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# **Entrepreneurs, Educators and the Slicing of Fish: Some Anglo-American Parallels in Higher Education**

**by**

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1940 -**

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degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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---

<sup>1</sup> Chris Duke, “Illusions of Progress - Confessions of an Unreformed Optimist” *Convergence*, XXV, 4 (1992).

## **ABSTRACT**

Links between entrepreneurialism and higher education have a long history, although their existence has not always been acknowledged. In consequence higher education in the United Kingdom and in the United States has been subject to market forces, both from clients in external markets and sponsors and financiers in the internal market. From the 1850s onwards, this resulted in the development of an entrepreneurial system of higher education in the United States, where from the 1950s, even small colleges began to seek a national, or even international market, marking a move towards the eventual globalisation of US higher education.

In the 1980s a Conservative government introduced an entrepreneurial system into the United Kingdom, but rapidly, by legislation, rather than gradually, by symbiosis. The UK system expanded substantially, with many non-university institutions, previously under the 'mort-main' control of Local Government, receiving their freedom as higher education corporations. Seeking prestige and security in size, many of these began to operate in an inadequately regulated global market. To meet the changed circumstances, trustees and governors tended to recruit a new type of college manager and in many institutions the entrepreneurial economocracy supplanted the academic oligarchy.

Parsons College, Iowa, in the 1960s, Upper Iowa University in the 1970s and Southampton Institute, England, in the late 1980s, were all led down an entrepreneurial path by a dominant individual, with varying results. In each case the burden of history, whether of the institution, its sponsors, or the milieu in which it was to operate, exercised a significant influence on the outcome of the entrepreneurial activity, with failure sometimes appearing to have been inevitable

A major theme is the extent to which prior events can influence and even determine the trajectory taken by an institution and its personnel, and the thesis examines the history and circumstances in which the current systems of entrepreneurial higher education developed, in part as a result of the social, economic and cultural benefits it can bring to a locality.

By reference to the three institutions, the thesis seeks to identify some Anglo-American parallels, the tensions which can arise, and the factors which determine success or failure within the academy and the educational market-place. It also seeks to gain some insight with regard to the effect entrepreneurialism in the academy has on the student, whose role as a learner may be overshadowed and obscured by the role of consumer. Scope for future research is also indicated.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAFRC	American Association of Fund Raising Counsel
AAU	American Association of Universities
ACE	Adult Continuing Education or American Council on Education
ACW	Athens Campus Wales
BCE	Bachelor of Divinity
BOV	Board of Visitors (Synod of Iowa)
CAVE	Continuing and Vocational Education
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMA	Centre for Management and Administration, Athens
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
COCDP	Co-ordinated Off-Campus Degree Program
COP	College Opportunity Program
CPE	Centrally Planned Economy
CVCP	Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals
DIKATSA	Greek Organisation for the Recognition of Non-Greek Qualifications.
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EdD	Doctor of Education
EPS	Education Policy Studies
GCE	General Certificate of Education
GCSE	General Certificate of Secondary Education
GPA	Grade Point Average
HEFC	Higher Education Funding Council
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEFCEAS	Higher Education Funding Council for England Audit Service
HEI	Higher Education Institute
HEQC	Higher Education Quality Council
HRB	Human Research Board
ICM	Institute of Commercial Management
IEK	(Greek) Technical College.
IEXL	Institute for Experiential Learning
IT	Information Technology
LEA	Local Education Authority
LSE	London School of Economics
MATC	Madison Area Technical College
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NAB	National Advisory Body
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NAO	National Audit Office
NARA	(US) National Archives and Records Administration
NCA	North Central Association
NTU	Nottingham Trent University
NYU	New York University
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCFC	Polytechnics and Colleges Funding Council
PGCE	Post-Graduate Certificate in Education
PHS	Presbyterian Historical Society

## **List of Abbreviations (Continued)**

PPE	Philosophy, Politics and Economics
QAA	Quality Assurance Agency
RTK	Rich, Thick Kids
SIHE	Southampton Institute
ST&R	Southampton Technology and Research
STV	Sail Training Vessel
SUNY	State University of New York
TEI	Technological Education Institute
THES	Times Higher Education Supplement
TOEFL	Princeton Test of English as a Foreign Language
UGC	University Grants Committee
UIU	Upper Iowa University
UMIST	University of Manchester Institute of Science & Technology
UoSNC	University of Southampton New College
UW-M	University of Wisconsin-Madison

## PREFACE

Whilst the path taken in the course of this research project has been anything but smooth, it has provided me with an invaluable learning experience. At a particularly low point I was introduced to a stanza from Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra," which gave my efforts new momentum:

Then welcome each rebuff  
That turns earth's smoothness rough,  
Each sting that bids nor sit nor stand, but go!...  
Strive, and... Learn...!<sup>1</sup>

The research is based in the United States and is concerned with the existence there of a market in higher education; the research also examines the changes which have taken place in British higher education, particularly in England, over the past decade, as it has moved from the traditional elitist 'ivory tower' and 'binary divide' model towards an American-style, stratified, mass model which implies, or even requires, that institutions of higher education operate in a competitive market. Although such an educational market has long existed in the United States, it is not always recognised that colleges in England have also existed to serve a market, although direct economic competitiveness was not a factor until the Education Reform Act, 1988. This legislated for further and higher education institutions to operate within a managed market, a process continued by the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. This enabled UK institutions to obtain university

status and resulted in the direct-funding system being re-designed so as to distribute additional, non-core, state funding to "those institutions able and willing to expand most rapidly and efficiently."<sup>2</sup> In consequence many British institutions became increasingly entrepreneurial in the recruitment of students, who came to be viewed more as a source of fee income than as the means of ensuring the continued intellectual life of the academy. Expansion has been promoted by the adoption of such measures as the 'modularisation' of courses,<sup>3</sup> a practice condemned as early as 400 BC, when a Greek orator, on being asked to give one-fifth of a course for one-fifth of the fee, which would have increased his potential audience, declined on the grounds that, "I cannot cut my courses into slices; the finest fish are sold whole."<sup>4</sup>

When I began the research, in Autumn 1995, I had some knowledge of the American system and its history from my prior work,<sup>5</sup> and I was aware that the concept of higher education operating in a competitive market had largely originated in the United States. I had also read Abraham Flexner's comparative work, Universities, American, English, German,<sup>6</sup> in which he paints a vivid, if sometimes polemic, picture of American higher education in the 1920s. In this he rails against "degrees through the mail," and institutions which competed for students, not on the basis of academic reputation or the ability of the prospective students, but on the novelty of the courses offered and on the ease of entry and

<sup>1</sup>Browning, R. "Rabbi Ben Ezra," Stanza 6, 1895. The Poems of Robert Browning (London: Penguin, 1981), 782. In this I am indebted to Gillian Weston, until recently of the Department of Modern Languages, University of Birmingham.

<sup>2</sup> HEFCE, A Guide to Funding Higher Education in Britain (Bristol: HEFCE, 1995), 11.

<sup>3</sup> David Robertson, "The National CATS Task Force - An Agenda for Action," Adults Learning 4, 2; October 1992; HEQC, Choosing to Change: Extending access, choice and mobility in higher education (The Robertson Report) (London: HEQC, 1994); Richard Taylor, "Accessibility and Institutional Change," in ed. Maria Slowey, Implementing Change From Within Universities and Colleges (London: Kogan Page, 1995), 62.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher J. Lucas, American Higher Education (New York: St Martin's Griffin, 1994), 11. Note: I am indebted to Lucas for the many pointers he provides in his Chapter 5, "The Evolving American University," and Chapter 6, "American Academe in the Early Twentieth Century."

<sup>5</sup> M. G. Spillane, Seeking to Graduate From American Non-Campus Colleges: Motivation, Aspirations and Successes of Intercontinental Students Resident in Britain and Ireland, MA Thesis, University of Warwick, 1994 (unpublished).

completion. Initially, I was particularly interested in courses offered by distance education, but as my reading progressed I became increasingly aware of ‘distant education,’ in which classroom-based education is provided at a location remote from the main campus. In this I came to distinguish between the situation where an institution merely absorbs a remote college and preserves the status quo, and that in which an institution uses the remote college, or opens a remote campus, specifically in order to expand by fulfilling an identifiable market need.

I began to study the American case and, fortified by funding from the Economic and Social Research Council, I visited the United States at the invitation of Professor Alan Knox of the Department of Continuing and Vocational Education (CAVE)<sup>7</sup> at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (UW-M). UW-Madison is a member of the ‘Big Ten’ group of major, Mid-Western, research-based state universities; admission is highly competitive and it draws its 40,000 students from all parts of the United States and abroad. Although the City of Madison (population 200,000) also has Madison Area Technical College (MATC), which is a major state community college, there are still gaps in the market and these are filled by the branch campuses of other, private, institutions such as Upper Iowa University, Cardinal Stricht College (Milwaukee), and Concordia University. (Such a situation is not uncommon in American cities and towns, and Martin Trow uses Grand Rapids, Michigan as “One illustration of what unrestrained market forces and competition in continuing education looks like in the United States.”<sup>8</sup>) Upper Iowa, a once Methodist, pre-Civil War, liberal arts foundation in Iowa, is the largest, operating a highly entrepreneurial sub-campus from a disused supermarket adjacent to the Beltline, the major

<sup>6</sup> Abraham Flexner, Universities, American, English, German (New York, Oxford University Press, 1930).

<sup>7</sup> Apparently an oblique reference to Plato’s allegory.

highway which binds the district together. (As will be explained more fully, later, ‘entrepreneurial’ in this context means that UIU have brought faculty and students together in a non-academic, off-campus setting to provide UIU degree level courses which are largely vocational and for which there is a guaranteed market, with the (mainly) adult students willing to pay substantial fees and the part-time faculty willing to be paid on a per-course basis.)

UIU thus appeared to offer the greatest potential for research, having 700 conventional students on campus in Fayette, Iowa, and claiming over 4,000 enrolled at its 19 off-campus centres and about 3,000 in its external (distance learning) program.<sup>9</sup> I therefore approached Dr. Joleen Bachman, Director of the Madison sub-campus, who then introduced me to David Fritz, the Executive Dean, who ran the highly expansionist Off-Campus and External Degree Programs from the home campus at Fayette, Iowa. He was extremely helpful and granted me access to the historical archives of the college. I later accompanied him to a UIU Summer School in Mexico City, being permitted to interview the students and examine their work. I was also due to accompany him on visits to the UIU overseas centres in Malaysia and Hong Kong. However, as my research progressed, I discovered that his entrepreneurial activities and, more particularly, his cavalier attitude to academic standards were a constant source of anxiety to the faculty. His contract ended in May 1996, and he was then appointed Director of Alumni Affairs, but almost immediately resigned. The following month I attended an Upper Iowa Summer School, which he had organised prior to his resignation and interviewed more students.

At the end of the Summer School, possibly as a result of what I had observed, I was informed by the Academic Dean that my access had been re-considered, that I could no

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<sup>8</sup> Trow, Martin, “Continuing Education - An Analysis of Market Forces and Latent Functions.” In K Abrahamson, K Rubenson and M Slowey, eds. Adults in the Academy: International trends in Adult and Higher Education. Stockholm: Swedish National Board of Education, 1988.

longer bee given access and that I should not use the material I had gathered. However, the staff, academic and administrative, at UIU the had been well aware that my purpose was to conduct PhD research and had accepted me as an audit student on both the Mexico City Course and at the Summer school, for each of which I had paid substantial fees to UIU and also incurred considerable travel and hotel expense. From my previous research, I was aware of the requirements for permission from the Human Research Board of UIU (HRB-UIU) and I had raised the issue with Dave Fritz, but he had advised me (incorrectly in the view of the UIU authorities, as it transpired) that, unlike the situation with postal questionnaires or off-campus interviews, as the students would be able to give their individual and informed consent at the time, such permission was not required. (Two students did in fact decline to be interviewed). On reflection I decided that in respect of my non-intrusive observations and the material I had gathered from the college archives (for which I had paid photocopy fees), such a post hoc directive was unreasonable and could be ignored, but that in the absence of consent from the Human Research Board, it would be inadvisable to use the material gathered in the 52 interviews I had conducted.

I had previously looked at UK colleges and universities and found that Southampton Institute of Higher Education (SIHE), under the entrepreneurial leadership of David G. Leyland, appeared to be one of the most successful, at least as measured in terms of expansion from a small base: despite being unable to grant its own degrees, it was offering its courses in Dublin, Athens, Alicante, Murcia and Bombay under franchise from Nottingham Trent University. It was also sub-franchising to Colleges of Further Education and in so doing, was creating a great deal of controversy. I therefore began tracking its progress, as depicted in the press, both popular and educational. On my return to the UK I approached Southampton Institute for research access, but by then its activities had

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<sup>9</sup> Figures quoted by David Fritz, Executive Dean, Upper Iowa University, in December 1995.

attracted the attention of the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC) and the Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC), and it was under siege from the press. When I telephoned Leyland's office, his personal assistant referred me to the Press Officer, by whom I was rebuffed on the grounds that it would not be in the "best interests" of the Institute to assist me. Later, when I telephoned the Press office about their operation in Bombay, I was referred to Leyland's Office and his personal assistant then denied that there was any such operation.

Somewhat sadder, but wiser, I then recalled that in the course of my research at Upper Iowa I had encountered several references to Parsons College, an institution which had gone bankrupt in 1973, just before UIU had commenced its entrepreneurial expansion. Parsons had been a post-Civil War, Presbyterian-sponsored, foundation, also in rural Iowa, which until 1955, had been unremarkable, but which had then operated in a manner comparable to that followed by UIU and, more recently, by Southampton and certain other UK institutions, such as Cardiff Institute of Higher Education and the University of Sunderland. Between 1955 and 1968, under the entrepreneurial policies of Dr. Millard George Roberts, Parsons had expanded from 250 to 5,500 students, specifically by recruiting those who were available rather than able. In 1968, Parsons College lost its NCA accreditation, the President resigned, and, largely as a result of its enrolment having halved overnight, in 1973 it went spectacularly bankrupt and closed.

Although these events had taken place over twenty-five years earlier, on my return to the United States, I succeeded in locating the college records, which had been abandoned in the basement of a disused Carnegie library in Fayette, Iowa and I had them transferred to the archives of the local public library. I was also fortunate in being able to persuade the Presbyterian Church to open its files, both at the Brick Church in New York City and at the

Presbyterian national archives in Philadelphia (the latter normally being closed for fifty years). Armed with letters of authority from the Brick Church, the Presbyterian National Church and the Director of the Fayette library, I then approached the North Central Association on the Accreditation of Schools and Colleges and was, uniquely, given access to the confidential files relating to Parsons College. (Copies of the letters of permission are in the Appendix, pages a-d.) I was also able to gain access to the Parsons College file in the archives of the Federal Bankruptcy Court in Kansas City and the file relating to Parsons College v. The NCA in the Federal Court archives in Chicago. I later located the records of Albert Lea College, Minnesota, one of six Parsons ‘clones’ founded by Roberts, all of which had gone bankrupt. I thus found that the material available to me from the United States was ample for my purposes and I decided to concentrate on the American angle.

By early 1997, it was apparent that my interests had diverged from those of CAVE and I was invited by Professor Andreas Kazamias to join him in the UW-M Department of Education Policy Studies (EPS). In the spring and summer of 1998, I visited Greece, in connection with a book we were co-editing,<sup>10</sup> and I took the opportunity to study the activities of the British institutions of higher education operating in Athens, amongst which Southampton Institute had been prominent. From interviews which I conducted in the Greek education community, with Greek civil servants, and through the British Council, I assembled a significant body of material, which I later discussed with Dr. Peter Byrd, my supervisor. I had intended to publish the results of this research independently of this thesis, but he reminded me that there had been a change of regime at Southampton and suggested that the new Principal, Dr. Roger Brown might well welcome an approach. In a notable parallel with prior events at Parsons, the Southampton governors had sought to

<sup>10</sup> A. M. Kazamias & M. G. Spillane, eds., Education and the Structuring f the European Space: North-South, Centre-Periphery, Identity-Otherness (Athens: Comparative Education Society in Europe/Serrios Editions, 1998).

resolve the college's difficulties by recruiting the former Chief Executive of the Higher Education Quality Council, who had been joint-author of the adverse HEQC report on the Institute. As Principal, he was now being called upon to resolve problems very similar to those which had faced Dr. Roberts at Parsons.

Dr. Byrd's instinct proved correct, and Dr. Brown proved willing, even eager, to co-operate in my research, but only on condition that access to my thesis be restricted for five years. After negotiation, he agreed to reduce this to three years, a period which was later approved by the Graduate School and the Higher Degrees Committee at Warwick, on condition that an extended summary was lodged in the university library. Having received approval, in December 1998, I went to Southampton where I was given access to the confidential files and the unrestricted use of a photocopier. I was also permitted to interview key members of the Institute staff and so I assembled a significant amount of additional material, much of which it has not been possible to utilise, due to the late stage at which it was obtained and the material already to hand.

In consequence, the amount of material obtained, in the United States, Athens and Southampton, far exceeds that which can be utilised or adequately analysed in this thesis and so will necessarily have to form the basis for future research, as will be indicated in the text and explored in the final chapter. Given the undertaking to Dr. Brown not to publish the Southampton material for three years and the undertaking to the University of Warwick to publish as much as can be published, this prospect offers both future challenges and exciting possibilities.

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**Note:** a minor complication has been presented by the differences in spelling between American and standard English. For quotations, the original spelling has been retained, as would be expected. Elsewhere the spelling used is that appropriate to the association or location. Thus, for example, in writing of a Centre located in or associated with the USA, the spelling used in the running text is the American spelling, Center, even although the English spelling might otherwise be used. A similar approach has been adopted in relation to capitalisation of proper nouns.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Market forces have long had a major influence on the location, organisation, curriculum and culture of institutions of higher education, but, in a remarkable reversal of the traditional time-scales, whilst the entrepreneurial system of higher education in the United States developed gradually over a “century or more,”<sup>1</sup> in the United Kingdom, under the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher, it burgeoned in a decade or less, having been introduced by major legislation.<sup>2</sup> Goaded by government, British higher education expanded rapidly and within five years become a mass, heavily entrepreneurial system, operating within a new and inadequately regulated market. In 1900, Sir Michael Sadler had argued that “A national system of education is a living thing, the outcome of forgotten struggles and difficulties, and ‘of battles long ago,’”<sup>3</sup> to which, in Britain, may now be added ‘well-remembered struggles, current difficulties and battles only recently won or lost.’

Higher education in Britain has in fact always been, to some degree, market-led, either in serving an ‘internal market,’ provided by the needs of its sponsors, be they church, state,

<sup>1</sup> Rothblatt, Sheldon, The Modern University and its Discontents (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 233; Martin Trow, “Comparative perspectives on British and American higher education,” in eds. Sheldon Rothblatt and Björne Wittrock, The European and American University Since 1800 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 282.

<sup>2</sup> Further Education Act, 1985; The Education Reform Act, 1988; The Further and Higher Education Act, 1992.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Sadler, “How Far Can We Learn Anything of Practical Value from the Study of Foreign Systems of Education?” an address given at the Guildford Educational Conference, Christ Church Oxford on

commercial or philanthropic, and an external market furnished by those who, for a variety of reasons, sought the higher learning, either for themselves or for their locality. Dearing argued that “the evidence points to a growing realisation of the importance of higher education to the locality of which it is a part.”<sup>4</sup> Dearing also noted that in post-graduate education there had been “a market system” operating during a period of increased demand, raising problems over the standards and comparability of awards, which provided “a salutary warning for undergraduate education, for should “greater market influences … be introduced, without an adequate framework or [control]mechanisms, … great damage could be done.”<sup>5</sup> In fact the market forces have already been unleashed, with colleges and universities responding to the market in varying ways and with a varying measure of success. In consequence, as Dearing acknowledges elsewhere “there is a significant body of opinion in higher education which holds that, with some exceptions, little precise comparability of standards exists [between institutions].”<sup>6</sup>

Sheldon Rothblatt rightly observed that if a higher education were not “…insulated from the cruder demands of a vigorous and undiscriminating market demand. … The traditional arts curriculum would be replaced by subjects with more practical use, and standards would be lowered as universities and colleges concentrated on student intake to meet operating costs.”<sup>7</sup> He was writing of American higher education in the 1850s, but his words are remarkably applicable to a substantial segment of British higher education in the 1990s. The latter has endured the simultaneous complications of moving from an ‘elite’ and relatively coherent system, comprising a limited number of broadly comparable institutions united by a gentlemanly (sic) academic code, to a ‘mass’ system, comprising a very much larger

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October 20, 1900; reprinted as George Z. F. Bereday, “Sir Michael Sadler’s ‘Study of Foreign Systems of Education’,” *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 8, February 1964, 307-314.

<sup>4</sup> Ron Dearing, *Higher Education in the Learning Society: National Committee of Inquiry into Higher Education*, Dearing Report (London: HMSO, 1997), 190, para. 12.6.

<sup>5</sup> Dearing, 144, para. 10.11-10.12.

<sup>6</sup> Dearing, 154, para. 10.57.

<sup>7</sup> Rothblatt, 428.

number of institutions, with varying characteristics and origins, largely disunited by fierce competition, and operating within a contrived and externally imposed market. Until relatively recently this new market went largely unregulated and the college entrepreneur could flourish, promoting fee-income over philosophy, and furnishing students with a thinly-spread educational experience, leading to what, in the United States, Philip Altbach has aptly called “post-secondary degrees of questionable quality and uncertain usefulness in the marketplace.”<sup>8</sup>

The American higher education market has had well over a hundred years to mature, and many of its ambiguities, of standards, location and financial instability, have been corrected by institutional change or closure. Where ambiguities have remained uncorrected, they are generally known, as with the unaccredited colleges at which students are not eligible for Federal funding or UIU off-campus courses which may do more to credential than to educate. The consumer can thus make an informed decision as to the benefit to them of what is on offer. The post-World War II move to mass US higher education brought a new wave of ambiguities as the market adjusted to meet the demand, providing a college place for everyone who had the money to pay, and furnishing new opportunities for ingenious and entrepreneurial college presidents. The United States now has variegated state and private systems, with institutions ranging from world-renowned excellence (however defined) to remarkable mediocrity, all operating in a competitive market with consumers making the decision as to which should flourish and which should perish. As the Carnegie Council observed in 1980, “For this process to work well, there need to be not only well informed consumers but also fair competition amongst institutions based on the quality of their services”<sup>9</sup> Whilst Dearing’s “precise comparability of standards” may not

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<sup>8</sup> Altbach, “Anatomy of Private Education,” 9-10.

<sup>9</sup> Carnegie Council Policy Studies in Higher Education, Final Report, Three Thousand Futures: The Next Twenty years for Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey Blass, 1980), 124.

have been achieved, the reputations of the individual colleges are largely known to their clients and to that extent the market mechanism functions.

## No Small Profit and Honour: the Goals of Entrepreneurial Higher Education

According to Clarke Kerr, higher education was a “successful export service for Athens within the Roman Empire,”<sup>10</sup> whilst the financial benefit to the vocational student had been recognised even before that, for in BC 1700 a student was apparently told of “the good fortune” awaiting him at the Babylonian Court if he studied hard and mastered the scribal craft.<sup>11</sup> The use of higher education as a vehicle to promote the interests of its sponsors and their clients is also nothing new, dating from at least the thirteenth century: in 1231 King Henry III of England acknowledged the “no small profit” and “honour” (in that order) that the recruitment of overseas students brought to the kingdom.<sup>12</sup>

More recently, the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (CVCP), reversed the order, noting first that “Overseas students are welcomed by universities as an important contribution to the international character of the institutions” and then, with remarkable frankness, acknowledging that “They are also a valuable source of income as they can often be educated at marginal cost to the universities.”<sup>13</sup> However, until relatively recently, overt personal entrepreneurial activity within British universities and colleges has tended to be avoided, both because of academic pride and because of a lack of financial incentives.<sup>14</sup> An 1852 description of the entrepreneurial coaching tutor at Oxford, who made a very good living from the extra-mural tutoring of undergraduates, illustrates the point:

<sup>10</sup> Clarke Kerr, Education Cannot Escape History (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), 96.

<sup>11</sup> Lucas, 3-4, citing the Babylonian “Examination Text A.”

<sup>12</sup> Henry III to the citizens of Cambridge, letter written from Oxford, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1231; quoted verbatim, Albert Mansbridge, The Older Universities of England (Boston MA: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923), 10, fn. 1.

<sup>13</sup> CVCP, Report of the Steering Committee for Efficiency Studies in Universities (the Jarratt Report), (London: Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals, 1985), 16.

<sup>14</sup> Coopers & Lybrand Associates, Good Management Practice Studies, Study C: Marketing, Entrepreneurship and Income Generation, Report for the National Advisory Body for local authority higher

It certainly must be annoying to a College Don that a man who has perhaps taken a lower degree than himself, and has no legal or formal place in the University, should yet enjoy a larger income and a greater local reputation in addition to the comforts of a family.<sup>15</sup> But the latter is a penalty which the Don must pay for his official dignity and extra-local reputation.<sup>16</sup>

However, whatever reservations the Don might have, the relationship was symbiotic: without the university, the coaching tutor would have been bereft of clients, but his service facilitated its functioning and conceivably lightened the load of the Don. Such informal arrangements often lubricate bureaucratic social organisations, which would otherwise cease to function.<sup>17</sup>

The market for higher education in Britain and the United States has long been provided by the needs of its sponsors and of those who, for a variety of reasons, sought the higher learning. The colleges of Oxford and Cambridge (and later those of Durham) served a religious market, of which they had a near monopoly, and received substantial endowments from church and Crown patronage. The early North American colleges "...stressed preparation for the ministry,"<sup>18</sup> but by the mid-nineteenth century new colleges were intended to promote the commercial interests of a town, as in Illinois where they were to meet the needs of "cultivators of the soil, artisans, mechanics and merchants."<sup>19</sup> American higher education has thus had "market-oriented colleges and universities"<sup>20</sup> since the first half of the eighteenth century. When grants of Federal land became available for colleges,<sup>21</sup>

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education (NAB), Sept., 1986, para. 1.4 & 2.47, "...perceived as the intrusion of commercial practices into an academic environment" and "inimical to professional educators."

<sup>15</sup> Such tutors, not being clerics bound by university rules, could marry.

<sup>16</sup> C.A. Bristed, Five Years in an English University (New York, 1852), Vol. I, quoted in Michael Sanderson, ed., The Universities in the Nineteenth Century (London & Boston, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 53. (Bristed was an American student visiting Oxford from Yale).

<sup>17</sup> William A. Westley, "The Informal Organisation of the Army: A Sociological Memoir" in Howard S. Becker et al., eds. Institutions and the Person (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1968), 200-207.

<sup>18</sup> Louis B. Wright: The Cultural Life of the American Colonies 1607-1763. (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1957), 121; Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton, 1746-1896 (Princeton, NJ., 1946), 11.

<sup>19</sup> David B. Potts, "College Enthusiasm! As Public Response," Harvard Education Review, Vol. 47 (1977): p 28-42; Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Colonial Experience (n., Random House, 1958; London, Sphere Books Ltd, 1988), 6-7, 22

<sup>20</sup> Rothblatt, 428.

<sup>21</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 178-181.

competition was fierce as towns recognised the double benefit of a liberal arts college which also taught “the natural and economic sciences as applied to agriculture, engineering, manufacturing and commerce.”<sup>22</sup>

In the same period, and as a consequence of the industrial revolution, colleges were also founded in England, by local benefactors,<sup>23</sup> who “expected [the new colleges] to pursue quite specific functions related to industrial growth.”<sup>24</sup> From the mid-1700s onwards, the English institutions which were profit-oriented were proprietary vocational schools, such as those founded by Sir Isaac Pitman to teach Londoners skills in clerking, typing and shorthand writing,<sup>25</sup> or company schools, such as Haileybury, which was founded in 1806 by the East India Company to train its future administrators.<sup>26</sup>

A century later, in the 1960s, the prospect of economic benefits and industrial expansion similarly induced various English towns to bid for the government-sponsored ‘new’ universities, including Warwick and the Open University,<sup>27</sup> whilst in the United States similar sentiments fuelled the founding of community and other colleges.<sup>28</sup> In 1992, Chris Duke provided a brief survey of universities’ views of their relationship to their local community and noted a move from “mission” to “enterprise,” with Warwick offering its locality “continuing education, economic regeneration, the improvement of industrial

<sup>21</sup> C. J. Fulton, “Higher Education in Iowa prior to 1875,” in Willis Edwards Parsons Fifty Years of Parsons College (Fairfield, Iowa: Parsons College, 1925), 11-12.

<sup>22</sup> Wayne D. Rasmussen, Taking the University to the People (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 20.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the Royal Commission on Oxford and Cambridge (London: Stationery Office, 1933), 151.

<sup>24</sup> Maurice Kogan, “Managerialism in Higher Education” in ed. Denis Lawton, The Education Reform Act: Choice and Control (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1989), 70.

<sup>25</sup> Foster Watson, The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England (Wakefield: S. R. Publishers, 1971); Alfred Pitman, Half a Century of Commercial Education and Publishing (Bath: Pitman Press, 1932).

<sup>26</sup> Brian Simon, Studies in the History of Education, 1780-1870 (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1960), 118.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Rees, A University Is Born: The Story of the Foundation of the University of Warwick (Coventry, Avalon Books, 1989); Walter Perry, Open University (Milton Keynes: The Open University Press, 1976), 38.

<sup>28</sup> James D Koerner, The Parsons College-BUBBLE (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1970), 176.

competitiveness and cultural development.”<sup>29</sup> Even where higher education was not expected to produce a direct economic benefit for its sponsors, it often facilitated success in other spheres, e.g. in promoting social or religious cohesion, the achievement of cultural or political aims, or the satisfaction of personal ambition (hence the rise of the non-academic honorary degree). As this can in turn produce a direct economic benefit, which might not otherwise be achieved, such indirect success can be regarded as ‘quasi-economic.

## The Origins of Anglo-American Higher Education

The systems of higher education in both the UK and the USA ostensibly follow the Western university tradition, the core values and purposes of which largely originated in the religiously-based collegiate system which had developed in the early Middle Ages.<sup>30</sup> This concept had been carried to the American colonies by graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, but the two academic streams diverged over time,<sup>31</sup> with American higher education moving towards a mass, layered, competitive model, which was a subset of a national free-enterprise system. Now, a century later and although operating in what are essentially different “social, political and economic spheres,” the UK system is moving towards the American model.<sup>32</sup>

Although seemingly similar, the systems differ not only in scale but also in that in the UK (with the sole exception of the very small University of Buckingham), the HEIs are entirely state-owned, whereas the American system includes both state and private provision. In a reversal of the normal time scales in each country, the US entrepreneurial-based system of higher education took a “century or more” to develop,<sup>33</sup> whereas in the UK it was introduced by legislation over a decade or less. As Dearing points out, “the problem

<sup>29</sup> Chris Duke, The Learning University (Buckingham: The University Press/SRHE, 1992), 39-42.

<sup>30</sup> T. L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education, Second Edition (London: John Murray, 1963), 90.

<sup>31</sup> Martin Trow notes that the divergence was almost immediate. “Comparative perspectives on British and American higher education,” in ed. Rothblatt and Wittrock, 280.

<sup>32</sup> Andreas M. Kazamias & Erwin H. Epstein, eds., “Introduction,” in Schools in Transition (Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1968), 1.

of reliance on ...a market system is that by the time the market has corrected the worst examples of ambiguous standards, damage may have been done to the whole sector.<sup>33,34</sup>

Whilst the American market has had 100 years to react, the British market has only had ten and damage is still being done.

Higher education has, in itself, seldom been considered to be a money-making proposition, with colleges and universities almost invariably relying on state subsidies, endowments and donations to ensure their continued existence. In general, British higher education has been less reliant on private funding than have been institutions in the United States,<sup>35</sup> where colleges, both private and, to a varying extent, public, have always relied heavily on their alumni for contributions and fund-raising, and on charitable foundations (such as that of Andrew Carnegie) to fund libraries, laboratories and other facilities.<sup>36</sup> In 1990, philanthropic giving to American education totalled \$12,410,000,000, second only to donations to religious groups, which amounted to \$65,000,000,000, some of which, in turn, 'trickled down' to church-sponsored colleges and schools.<sup>37</sup> Undifferentiated funds, income received from land grants, endowment funds and other non-state and entrepreneurial sources can attenuate the power of legislators, governments, and education departments, thus furnishing some degree of protection from the political, social and economic realities of the day, so enhancing academic freedom and even power. Such funding can also blunt the effects of rampant competition, as for example at the (private) New York University (NYU) in the early 1960s, when competition from the new state and community colleges abruptly reduced the 36,000 enrolment by 25%. With a \$25 million grant from the Ford Foundation

<sup>33</sup> Rothblatt, 233; Martin Trow in Rothblatt & Wittrock, 282.

<sup>34</sup> Dearing, 144.

<sup>35</sup> James Mountford, British Universities (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 18-45.

<sup>36</sup> See, Roger Geiger, "Introduction" in Jesse Brundage Sears, Philanthropy in the History of American Higher Education (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1922; Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publications, 1990), xi and Ibid., Jesse Brundage Sears, "Summary and Conclusions," 109-111.

<sup>37</sup> American Association of Fund Raising Counsel (AAFRC), 104, 110.

and a further \$75 million from alumni and other sources, the university raised its entry requirements, charged higher fees than Harvard and, by reinventing itself, prospered.<sup>38</sup>

In 1787, Alexander Hamilton had suggested that “Americans should ...erect one great American system, superior to the control of all transatlantic force or influence, and able to dictate the terms of the connection between the old and the new world,”<sup>39</sup> in which he would presumably include dictating the terms of the ‘educational connection’.<sup>40</sup> Martin Trow has argued that the American system of higher education is a product of “American exceptionalism,”<sup>41</sup> that is, of values and systems not generally found outside America. He questions that the system could be successfully installed in countries which do not share the American ideas of democracy and open access, e.g. in Britain, where even today elitism (although Dearing does not use that word) can prevent the acceptance of educational experiences and qualifications which do not conform to the traditional British pattern, leaving some “communities with especially low levels of participation.”<sup>42</sup>

Another irony of the present situation is that Britain is now adopting the American model (or system) of higher education, voluntarily and without the necessity for Hamilton’s “dictation of terms.” In 1979, Altbach had pointed out that “higher education planners ... often look to the United States as the most relevant model for academic development in their countries,”<sup>43</sup> and in 1994, Brian Salter and Ted Tapper observed that “...the sheer size of the expansion in recent years of undergraduate numbers in British universities would suggest that we are moving decisively closer to the American mass model.”<sup>44</sup> In 1998

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<sup>38</sup> Baldridge, in Riley and Baldridge, 123-133

<sup>39</sup> The Federalist, No. 11.

<sup>40</sup> M. G. Spillane, “International Credit Transfer: A Double Edged Sword?” Paper delivered at the University of Warwick Conference on International Credit Transfer and Skill Recognition, Manchester College Oxford, July 1995.

<sup>41</sup> Martin Trow, “The Exceptionalism of American Higher Education” in Martin Trow and Thorsten Nybom, eds., University & Society essays on the social role of research and higher education (London, Jessica Kingsley, 1991).

<sup>42</sup> Dearing, 108

<sup>43</sup> Altbach, Comparative Higher Education, 28.

<sup>44</sup> Brian Salter & Ted Tapper, The State and Higher Education (Ilford: Woburn Press, 1994), 190.

Martin Trow averred that Britain had in fact "...created a system of mass higher education, with both continuing elite survivals and rapidly growing forms and institutions of open access."<sup>45</sup>

In many institutions the expansion has been facilitated by the widespread adoption of mainstream American practices such as modular courses, course credit,<sup>46</sup> and the two term 'semester' instead of the traditional British three term 'trimester.'<sup>47</sup> Intriguingly, given the current drive for efficiency in British higher education, some colleges and universities in the United States, seeking to be more efficient, had long ago adopted the trimester system and in 1942, President Herbert C Mayer of Parsons College reported:

By careful reorganisation of our courses and program, we now offer a three year trimester plan which allows a student to complete a full college course in three years without any reduction of requirements or lowering of standards. Courses are taken in proper sequence, so that there is no loss. We believe that such a program offers the greatest flexibility and the best guarantee of good standing for college work after the war.<sup>48</sup>

From 1946 onwards, other American institutions had moved to a trimester system "in the interests of economy and efficiency,"<sup>49</sup> and more recently others have considered doing so.<sup>50</sup>

In consequence, although still provided almost wholly within the public sector, British higher education has become much more akin to the American mixed-economy college system, with the 'top' students competing for admission to a relatively small group of elite institutions and a continuum of other, non-elite institutions which compete amongst themselves for the other students. As Ben-David argues, "Even amongst institutions which

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<sup>45</sup> Martin Trow, "The Dearing Report: A Transatlantic View," Higher Education Quarterly, 52, 1, January 1998, 93-117 at 108.

<sup>46</sup> David Robertson, "The National CATS Task Force"; HEQC, Choosing to Change (The Robertson Report); Michael Shattock, ed., The Creation of a University System (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), 24-25.

<sup>47</sup> HEQC, Choosing to Change (The Robertson Report), 130.

<sup>48</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, "Minutes of the 61<sup>st</sup> Annual Session of the Synod of Iowa, June 22-25, 1942," 50-51.

<sup>49</sup> Baskin, 224.

<sup>50</sup> San Francisco Chronicle, "Stanford President Challenges Sanctity of 4-Year Degree," January 26, 1993, A1; Oberlin College, "Three Year BA Gains Favor with Students and Educators," press release, August 6, 1993; Oberlin College News Service (quoted Beaudreau, 100, fn. 38).

receive several times as many candidates as they can accept, there is still competition for the very best students. In fact, the only way for an institution to maintain standards of excellence is to have a large number of applicants in excess of the available places.<sup>51</sup> However, what appears to have changed is not the underlying principle of higher education operating in a competitive market,<sup>52</sup> but rather the scale, the means, the political motivation, and the adoption of some of the more extreme entrepreneurial ideas previously only found in an American educational context.

It has therefore been hypothesised that even if the recent changes in UK higher education have not been driven by the same factors as those which have driven change in the United States, the outcomes appear to be sufficiently similar to justify comparison of their historical antecedents. Whilst past trajectories may differ, and current courses be parallel rather than coincident, Sir Michael Sadler's contention that the "practical value of studying, in a right spirit and with scholarly accuracy, the working of foreign systems of education is that it will result in us being better fitted to study and to understand our own,"<sup>53</sup> still holds good. Thus a century later it appears that a parallel study of the American and UK systems of higher education could be similarly rewarding, particularly as they trace their lineage to a common source and now appear to display not dissimilar entrepreneurial characteristics. As Thucydides sagely observed, some twenty-three centuries ago and in justifying the writing of his 'History,' "events are very likely, in accordance with human nature, to repeat themselves at some future time, if not exactly the same, yet very similar,"<sup>54</sup> an argument which is still valid and provides the justification and rationale for this research.

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<sup>51</sup> Joseph Ben-David, Trends in American Higher education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 37.

<sup>52</sup> Rothblatt, 21.

<sup>53</sup> Sadler, reprinted as Bereday, 307-314.

<sup>54</sup> Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War (Hobbes translation) I, 22.

## The Americanisation of British Higher Education?

This research is intended to examine the development of the market systems of higher education in the United States and England. The UK legislation of the 1980s had resulted in a tendency for UK principals and vice-chancellors to be recruited as much for their entrepreneurial as their academic qualities, thus signalling the rise of the Economocracy in the governance and control of higher education, with decision-making to be primarily based on economic criteria. Those who were already ‘in post’ found that in the new economic climate they too had to move in that direction if they and their institutions were to thrive, or even survive.<sup>55</sup> The not-quite-so-elite institutions began to seek status and security in size, competing with each other for students, even the less qualified of whom would still attract funding and help render marginal courses, or even a marginal institution, viable, a principle which is still in effect.<sup>56</sup>

In 1988 the Governors of Southampton Institute stated that they were seeking “a new type of Principal, with broad management experience as well as academic qualifications.”<sup>57</sup> They appointed David G. Leyland, who had advocated “a major expansion of commercial academic services” at British institutions of higher education.<sup>58</sup> In ten years he quadrupled the enrolment, substantially increased real estate holdings, and opened branch campuses overseas, in the process engendering severe criticism from auditors and accreditors. SIHE then failed to secure degree-granting status and eventually encountered grave financial difficulties.<sup>59</sup> An almost exact parallel can be drawn between Southampton Institute and Parsons College Iowa, to which Dr. Millard George Roberts had been appointed president in

<sup>55</sup> Anthony Smith and Frank Webster, “Changing Ideas of the University,” in idem (eds.) *The Post-modern University* (SRHE & Open University Press, 1997), 2.

<sup>56</sup> Baty, *THES*, January 1, 1999, 5.

<sup>57</sup> Southampton Institute, “Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1988,” para. 148.2 (ii), reiterating comments recorded in Verbatim notes of Formation Committee, 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1988, 1.

<sup>58</sup> David G Leyland, “Commercialism and corporate strategy in British higher education,” *Higher Education Review*, 19, 1 (Fall 1986), 23-33.

1955. He had advocated “the sound business principle of providing a better product for less money ... in the processes of education.”<sup>60</sup> In ten years, he increased the enrolment from under 250 to 5,500, substantially increased its real estate, and opened satellite colleges in other states, but in the process engendered severe criticism from auditors and accreditors and press. In 1968, the College lost its accreditation and Roberts’ contract was terminated. In 1973 Parsons College went into liquidation with accumulated debts of \$16 million.

Another, essentially similar Iowa college which sought to expand was Upper Iowa University (UIU), which from 1973 onwards opened branch campuses and started a distance learning degree programme. However, these were not very successful and in 1977, the President, Dr. Paul resigned, saying that he was “deeply concerned that Upper Iowa was doing too much grubbing for money, and not working enough in education.” He was replaced by Dr. Darcy C. Coyle, who was said to be “a businessman, ... [who] spoke like a businessman, expounding on the need for a balanced budget.”<sup>61</sup> Under Coyle’s leadership, vigorous fund raising extinguished the UIU debt and student recruitment was extended, leading to substantial expansion and survival.

In each case the innovations had been introduced by a newcomer and, as Hefferlin notes:

The newcomer seems crucial for academic change. He (sic) may come from outside higher education altogether. He may be exploring problems regardless of departmental and disciplinary boundaries. He may represent different values, different goals, a different culture than his predecessors. The recruitment of such individuals as catalysts of change accounts for much of the process of reform.<sup>62</sup>

This also applies in situations where an institution is seeking to recover from the less-than-successful policies introduced under a previous regime, as was the case at Parsons College,

<sup>59</sup> National Audit Office, Report by the Comptroller and Auditor General: Overseas Operations, Governance and Management at Southampton Institute HC 23 Session 1998-99 (London: HMSO, 11 December, 1998)

<sup>60</sup> Millard G. Roberts, “Management Methods and Educational Policies in a Profitable College,” Michigan Business Review, November, 1964.

<sup>61</sup> Dan Crawford, “Treasures of Our College Home: An Informal History of Upper Iowa University,” unpublished manuscript, Upper Iowa University Library Fayette, Iowa, 1988 (Copy in possession of present author), 207 & 210.

<sup>62</sup> L. J. B. Hefferlin, The Dynamics of Academic Reform (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969), 48.

where in 1965 an insider sought to recover the situation and failed and at Southampton Institute, where, in 1998, Dr. Roger Brown, an outsider and former head of the HEQC, was appointed as Principal.

Both the American colleges were private: one preserved a liberal studies core and a vocational periphery, paid off its debts, expanded and survived; the other retained the liberal studies majors, over-expanded, incurred heavy debt and ultimately went bankrupt. However, although its closure resulted from the operation of the educational market, it followed external regulatory action by a peer group, which withdrew accreditation and so removed the veneer of peer approval. This left the ‘ambiguities’ exposed to consumer gaze, and the great majority of those who were qualified to do so, took their fees elsewhere. In the decade from 1988, Southampton Institute had adopted entrepreneurial policies which had previously been tried, tested and found wanting in the United States and is now struggling to retain its independence within the British state system, where colleges seldom die, but rather are “amalgamated.”

Thus, the differing entrepreneurial approaches adopted, and their outcomes, could provide valuable insights for the leaders of higher education institutions in the United Kingdom. For present purposes the path taken is that mapped out by Hébert & Link,<sup>63</sup> Schumpeter and Hisrich,<sup>64</sup> who specifically analysed entrepreneurialism in the state sector (where Schumpeter considered it could well be stifled by bureaucracy).<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> R. F. Hébert & A. N. Link, The Entrepreneur: Mainstream Views and Radical Critiques (New York: Praeger, 1982).

<sup>64</sup> R. D. Hisrich, “Entrepreneurship and Intrapreneurship: Methods for Creating New Companies that have an impact on the Economic Renaissance of an Area,” in ed., idem Entrepreneurship, Intrapreneurship and Venture Capital (Lexington MA: D.C. Heath, 1986).

<sup>65</sup> Joseph Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy. Fifth edition (New York: Unwin, 1942); idem, Theorie der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung (Leipzig, 1911) Trans. J. Opie as "Theory of Economic Development" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934).

## Some Signposts

With this in mind, the present chapter is intended to provide the trajectory to the research, to set out the areas to be covered, and to seek to justify the significance of the work and the approach which was taken. In the second chapter, the methodology is discussed, as are the problems and barriers encountered in obtaining the material and data, the tactics adopted to overcome them, and the effectiveness of the overall strategy is assessed. In the third chapter the literature relevant to the study is examined and reviewed, with the intention of indicating how it informed and influenced the research, thus leading to the methodology adopted. In the fourth chapter, the concept of entrepreneurialism and its role and limitations in an educational setting is considered and discussed. Chapter Five is devoted to an examination of the historical context in some detail, seeking to demonstrate how entrepreneurial activity in higher education began and developed over time, both in England and the United States. In Chapter Six, the differing approaches taken to entrepreneurialism at two essentially similar colleges in the Iowa corn-belt are related, compared and contrasted: Parsons College which had adopted a policy of rapid on-campus expansion and had gone bankrupt and closed, whilst Upper Iowa University had adopted a more conservative policy, expanded less quickly and off-campus, and survived. The seventh chapter considers the events and activities at Parsons between 1955 and 1973 in rather more detail, thus laying the ground for later comparison with events at Southampton Institute from 1989-1998. The eighth chapter seeks to analyse the conflict between the President of Parsons College, the Reverend Millard George Roberts, and the North Central Association for the Accreditation of Colleges and Schools. In particular it sets out to explain how Roberts failed to appreciate that the NCA had already changed the rules in his favour, and that salvation lay in co-operation, rather than in conflict. In Chapter Nine, the role played by the Presbyterian Church (USA) in the removal of Roberts is examined and suggestions are

made as to why the church chose to play a covert hand. In Chapter Ten, the formation of Southampton Institute of higher education, and its the subsequent expansion under the Directorship of David G. Leyland 1988-1998 is examined, relating it to events at the American colleges and seeking to suggest how its consequences might have been predicted and avoided. Parallels with Parsons College are seen in the relationship between Southampton Institute and the Higher Education Quality Council, the Higher Education Funding Council, and the National Audit Office (NAO). In the eleventh chapter, the failure of Southampton Institute's Athens Campus is examined, utilising empirical material obtained through interviews conducted in Athens, placing the burgeoning Greek market for illegally provided higher education in its historical, social economic and political context. In Chapter Twelve, the results of the research are summarised and some tentative conclusions are offered.

Given the volume and importance of the material made accessible in the course of this research, it might be tempting to offer the blanket defence formulated by William H. Weber, III, that “.. in a book of this length, none of our goals will be fully achieved.”<sup>66</sup> However, whilst this is undoubtedly the case, the material obtained furnishes substantial opportunities for further research, some of which are outlined in the thirteenth chapter. As John William Adamson wrote of English education: “Here is work in plenty for some of the many men and women now being trained in the universities to understand and to employ the historical method. We need more carefully documented histories of particular schools and colleges, more especially as these relate to purely educational activities.”<sup>67</sup> However, today the purity of higher educational activities has diminished and the educational and the entrepreneurial appear to be very much intertwined.

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<sup>66</sup> William H. Weber, III, Socioeconomic Methods in Educational Analysis (New York: Teachers College, 1978), x.

<sup>67</sup> Adamson, 161.

## Chapter 2

### A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

#### **The Indispensability of the Historical Approach**

Brian Simon argues that “...the historical approach is indispensable to an understanding of education and of the direction in which it is developing” and claims that “this was once generally accepted in England.” In support of his contention he notes that the pre-war reports on education made to the British government (such as the three Hadow and the Spens reports) were each prefaced by what he describes as “a scholarly introduction,” whereas post-war reports such as Crowther, Newsom and Robbins had departed from this practice. This, he argues, means that they lack a firm historical foundation on which to base their discussion, something which he regards as “marking a deterioration in the precision and relevance of educational thinking....”<sup>1</sup>

It is questionable as to whether or not there is any justification for believing that the readers of pre-war reports were less familiar with educational history than are the readers of post-war reports. Some notable post-war academic contributions did continue the tradition, as, for example, the first 167 of the 1,000 pages of the (American) Quattlebaum Report of 1968 and 43 of the 220 pages of the Society for Research in Higher Education monograph

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<sup>1</sup>Brian Simon, “Research in the History of Education” in ed. William Taylor, Research Perspectives in Education (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), 121.

The Future of Research, which in each case provide such a “scholarly introduction”.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, Ben-David, in his American Higher Education: Directions Old and New, deliberately dispenses with such an introduction, arguing (despite the “Old” in his title) that, although based on historical material, “the purpose of the inquiry is not historical.”<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Girwitz et al. in Markets, Choice and Equity in Education are found to make a passing reference to “the principles of collective responsibility … embedded in the welfare state after the second world war,” but otherwise appear to assume that educational history began in 1987, with the publication of a Conservative manifesto.<sup>4</sup>

### **The Adverse Effects of an Imperfect Knowledge of Educational History**

Citing P. H. Buck, Simon tells us that in the United States in the 1950s there had been a “a complaint by historians that imperfect knowledge of educational history had had an adverse effect on ‘the planning of curricula, the formulation of policy, and the administration of educational agencies’ in the post-war crisis of American education.”<sup>5</sup> Clark Kerr, argues that “Higher education cannot escape history as it moves from serving royalty and the upper classes, the ancient professions and the church, to serving all persons and all institutions in the more democratic and industrialized societies of modern times and in societies based more on new knowledge and higher skills.” In this he is acknowledging the burden of inertia, but makes haste to add: “But it must additionally respond to the changing contexts of external society,” thus recognising that it must respond to its market. He also

<sup>2</sup> US Government, Federal Educational Policies, Programs and Proposals (The Quattlebaum Report) Vols. 1-3 (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1968); Stuart S. Blume “A Framework for Analysis” in ed. Geoffrey Oldham, Monograph 47: The Future of Research (Guildford, Society for Research into Higher Education, 1982)

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Ben-David, American Higher Education: Directions Old and New (Berkley CA: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1972), xiv.

<sup>4</sup> Sharon Girtwitz, Stephen J. Ball & Richard Bowe, Markets, Choice and Equity in Education (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1995), 2.

<sup>5</sup> Simon, in Taylor, 121, citing H. Buck et al. (sic) The Role of Education in American History (New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1957).

acknowledges that “Much of the history of higher education is written by the confrontations of internal logic versus external pressures,” which, whilst having a much broader application, neatly encapsulates the social, economic, and political pressures which have faced British academia in the last decade of the twentieth century.

The importance of history in enabling comparative education to assess and address current problems has been emphasised by Andreas Kazamias, who argued that “Education, being bound to culture, ramifies into social, political and economic spheres and is always affected by historical antecedents and traditions.”<sup>6</sup> Isaac Kandel, in arguing the importance of the past in contextualising the present, contended that “Comparative Education is but the prolongation of the history of education into the present,”<sup>7</sup> whilst Simon similarly argues that the “study of the historical formation of educational institutions, administration, subject-matter, teaching methods, is relevant for all.”<sup>8</sup> Somewhat earlier, Thucydides had predicted that events “are very likely, in accordance with human nature, to repeat themselves at some future time, if not exactly the same, yet very similar,” for which reason he hoped that his History would be useful.<sup>9</sup> Thucydides was right, for the educational entrepreneurialism seen in Britain today had been seen in the United States over 150 years ago, where it has continued to this day.

In 1970, S. E. (sic) and Zella Lauria argued that the

...structural organization of [American] society ...generated the entrepreneurial system ...of the American university, in which the policy-initiating bodies - both administrations and faculties, acting in the manner of capitalist entrepreneurs have become actively and competitively involved in seeking out what kinds of intellectual

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<sup>6</sup> Kazamias & Epstein, 1

<sup>7</sup> I. L. Kandel, “National Backgrounds of Education,” quoted in William Brickman, Research in Educational History (Folcroft, PA: Folcroft Library Editions, 1973), 117.

<sup>8</sup> Simon, in Taylor, 121.

<sup>9</sup> Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War (Hobbes translation), I, 22.

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pursuits society could use (and therefore be willing to support) [i.e. pay for] and in developing the corresponding programs of research, education, and service.<sup>10</sup>

They continue by contending that it is unquestionable but that the “entrepreneurial system has contributed to make the American university the flourishing and effective institution that it is today.” However many educational researchers still appear startlingly oblivious to the long-standing (and even historic) role of entrepreneurialism in education. Thus Peter Schaffer tells us that “from about 1970 onwards,” (i.e. starting at about the time the Laurias were actually writing) the “entrepreneurial phenomenon” was seen in the United States with private colleges and universities finding themselves to be operating in an “educational marketplace, [and being] forced … to re-think their method of doing business [with] … many such schools [not surviving] … the effects of a dynamic market....”<sup>11</sup> Although “in the four years from 1972 to 1975, seventy-eight private colleges closed, merged or went under public control,”<sup>12</sup> in fact the dynamic market had been established over a century earlier. During the 1860s,

New universities [had] continued to arise proclaiming a belief in consumer sovereignty, … market-oriented colleges and universities in America responded by boasting of their unique flexibility and by welcoming (or pretending to welcome) the open market for the opportunities it provided for the exercise of imagination and initiative. … [accepting] that a dynamic society required a correspondingly dynamic educational system.<sup>13</sup>

In consequence, of the 516 colleges founded in the 16 Eastern states before the Civil War, by 1932, only 104 were still in existence,<sup>14</sup> 80% having succumbed to the dynamic market.

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<sup>10</sup> S. E. (sic) and Zella Luria “The Role of the University: Ivory Tower, Service Station or Frontier Post?” in Daedalus: The Embattled University, Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 99, 1 (Winter 1970), 108-121.

<sup>11</sup> Peter B. Shaffer, “The Identification of Market Positions of Wisconsin Private Colleges and Universities” (PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1978).

<sup>12</sup> Shaffer quotes the figures from National Council of Independent Colleges and Universities, as reported in the Chronicle of Higher Education, September 22, 1975, 1 (Parsons College and Lea College were amongst those which closed.)

<sup>13</sup> Rothblatt, 428.

<sup>14</sup> Donald G. Tewksbury, The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932), 28.

Slaughter and Leslie, although noting that “US higher education institutions have always participated to some degree in commercial activity,” claim that “colleges have had a tradition of autonomy from the market and the state,” and that it was not until the 1980s that “faculty and universities were incorporated into the market to the point where professional [i.e. academic] work began to be patterned differently”<sup>15</sup> At Parsons College, the change had taken place in 1955, when the 750 courses which faculty had on offer were reduced to 250.<sup>16</sup> Whilst this was largely a paper exercise, the 750 representing courses listed in the 1955 catalog, of which relatively few were taught each semester (168 in 1962), nevertheless, the reduction was imposed on faculty by the central administration.

In 1998, John E. Neal reported that he had noticed that “In the multicolored tapestry of academia a new colored strand has appeared - different but not yet distinct enough to permit identification - the ‘entrepreneurial’ university.”<sup>17</sup> His definition of an “entrepreneurial university” is remarkably narrow,<sup>18</sup> for he assumes that entrepreneurship can only be practised in

...an institution focused on nontraditional students (predominantly adult, part-time) that emphasizes the delivery of instructional services (as opposed to research or community outreach activities) in alternative formats (time, place, or technology) at multiple locations (including across state lines and national borders).

That Neal categorised such an entrepreneurial university as “a new colored strand,” also indicates a lack of awareness of the essentially similar activities of many institutions such as the Chatauqua University of New York, which from 1886 awarded degrees by distance

<sup>15</sup> Sheila Slaughter and Larry L. Leslie, Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University (Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, 1997), 5.

<sup>16</sup> Millard G. Roberts, “College Admissions and the National Purpose,” Address to the Connecticut Headmasters Association at Avon old Farm School, Avon CT, November 5, 1962; idem, “Academic Standards at Parsons College,” typescript dated May 1, 1962. (typescripts in PHS archives).

<sup>17</sup> John E. Neal, “Quality Assurance in the Entrepreneurial University,” in ed. Gerald H. Gaither, Quality Assurance in Higher Education: An International Perspective (Series: New Directions for Institutional Research No. 99), 25, 3 (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1998), 69.

<sup>18</sup> See Baron Perleman, James Gueths & Donald A. Weber, The Academic Intrapreneur (New York: Praeger, 1988), 14.

learning across national boundaries,<sup>19</sup> or Upper Iowa University, which opened distant centres, both being institutions which clearly fall within his definition.

Neal characterises the leadership style within an entrepreneurial institution as being one which “...would emphasize aggressive yet planned growth and expansion, openness to a wide range of partnerships and collaborative agreements, and the leasing of key resources (including faculty and facilities) to minimize administrative overhead and maximize future flexibility.” This would sound very familiar to the presidents and staff of Parsons College, Upper Iowa University and many other colleges in 1960s America. As will be discussed later, they would also recognise his somewhat simplistic summation that the “essence of entrepreneurship, ... seems to be a willingness to move out of traditional delivery structures - campuses and classrooms - and to seek new audiences and serve new constituencies.” Such policies had been adopted by the University of Chicago in the 1920s and were manifested in the distance learning and vocational education programmes which so annoyed Abraham Flexner.<sup>20</sup>

In discussing “the entrepreneurial movement in higher education,” which has emerged “over the past twenty-five years,” Neal examines “its relationship to traditional conceptions of quality, and ... the academy's ability to innovate while addressing issues of accountability and integrity. In fact the American academy, had developed “the ability to innovate” well over a hundred years previously in the colleges of the American frontier, where only the innovative could survive: in the great slump of 1857, the entrepreneurial president of Upper Iowa University had sustained his college by suggesting that impoverished students pay their

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<sup>19</sup> Huey B. Long, Early Innovators in Adult Education (London & New York, Routledge, 1991), 120; Sheila Sherrow & Charles A. Wedemeyer, “Origins of Distance Learning in the United States” in eds., D. Randy Garrison & Doug Shale, Education at a Distance: From Issues to Practice. (Nallabar FL, Robert E. Kreiger Publishing, 1990), 10.

<sup>20</sup> Flexner, 59 & 53.

college fees with produce useful to the college, such as firewood, hay, and turnips.<sup>21</sup> Had Neal chosen to address the narrower issue of the entrepreneurial institutions of higher education which are now publicly quoted on a stock exchange, such as the Apollo Group's University of Phoenix,<sup>22</sup> he might have been on safer ground. However, even University College, London, was founded in 1826 by a joint stock company, which promised a return on investments 6 percent,<sup>23</sup> although interest was never in fact paid.<sup>24</sup> As regards the "issues of accountability and integrity," which Neal sees as having emerged "over the past twenty-five years," according to Sheldon Rothblatt, they had actually arisen very much earlier, for "the danger in the 1850s was of standards being lowered "as universities and colleges concentrated on student intake to meet operating costs."<sup>25</sup>

Similarly, that issues of accreditation and quality in American colleges have been studied and evaluated for nearly a century, did not prevent a claim by E. Grady Bogue, Professor of Educational Leadership at the University of Tennessee and Chancellor Emeritus of Louisiana State University-Shreveport, that "One of the earliest rankings of college quality in the United States was a 1964 study by Allan Carter."<sup>26</sup> In fact Carter's study was not of "college" quality, but, as is apparent from his title, was confined to graduate education, which was found in very few colleges,<sup>27</sup> and he also acknowledged that a similar study had been conducted thirty-two years earlier for the American Council on

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<sup>21</sup> M. H. Alderson, "Upper Iowa University" in The Palimpsest, (Journal of the Iowa State Historical Society), 46, 3, (March, 1965), 139.

<sup>22</sup> Times Higher Educational Supplement, "Corporate Unis muscle in," July 9, 1999, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Green, V. H. H., The Universities (Harmondsworth: Penguin/Pelican, 1969), 104.

<sup>24</sup> Rothblatt, 351. (N.B. Green, 106, has 4 percent as being the rate on the subscription shares for Kings College.)

<sup>25</sup> Rothblatt, 428.

<sup>26</sup> E. Grady Bogue, "Quality Assurance in Higher Education: The Evolution of Systems and Design Ideals" in Gaither, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Allan Murray Carter, An Assessment of Quality in Graduate Education (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1966).

Education (ACE),<sup>28</sup> and that there had been “several earlier national commissions...” which had taken ”an overall-review of higher education.”<sup>29</sup>

From 1870 onwards, the US Commissioner for Education had published an Annual Report which contained detailed statistical information and an (often critical) commentary on US colleges. From 1892 onwards the question of quality in the Secondary Schools which supplied the colleges had been under active consideration, a committee appointed by the National Education Association reporting in 1894.<sup>30</sup> From 1896 onwards the concern had widened,<sup>31</sup> and from 1900 the American Association of Universities (AAU) admitted member institutions on the basis of the preparation they offered for graduate study, thus effectively accrediting colleges.<sup>32</sup> From 1904 the University of Berlin and other major European universities would only grant direct admission to their PhD programmes to graduates of the AAU member institutions.<sup>33</sup> In 1910, the US Bureau of Education listed some 602 institutions of higher education in four hierarchical groups, based on the relative success and rate of progress of an institution’s graduates towards graduate degrees.<sup>34</sup> To be included a college had to “give degrees; ... have definite standards of admission; ... give at

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<sup>28</sup> Raymond M. Hughes, Report of Committee on Graduate Instruction (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1934).

<sup>29</sup> Cartter, ix..

<sup>30</sup> Committee of Ten, Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies: With the Reports of the Conferences Arranged by the Committee (New York: American Book Company, 1894)

<sup>31</sup> Richard H. Jesse, “What Constitutes a College and What a Secondary School?” Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting of the NCA (NCA Proc.), 1896, 24-34; A. S. Whitney, “The Problem of Harmonizing State Inspection by Numerous Colleges So As to Avoid Duplication of Work and Secure the Greatest Efficiency,” NCA Proc., 1901, 25-26; S. A. Forbes, “The Desirability of So Federating the North Central Colleges and Universities As To Secure Essentially Uniform or At Least Equivalent Entrance Requirements,” NCA Proc., 1901, 11-21; idem, “Requirements for a Bachelor’s Degree,” NCA Proc., 1905, 34-51; George N. Carman, “Shall We Accredit Colleges?”, NCA Proc., 1906, 81-96; Edward James, “Classification of our Higher Institutions of Learning,” NCA Proc., 1908, 10.

<sup>32</sup> Jennings B. Sanders, “The United States Office of Education and Accreditation” in ed. Lloyd E. Blauch, Accreditation in Higher Education. (Washington DC, US Office of Education, 1959), 16.

<sup>33</sup> Edward James, 10; Sanders, ”...Evolution...” in Blauch, 11.

<sup>34</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1911 (Washington DC: United States Printing Office, 1911), p 884-885; Samuel Capen, “College Lists and Surveys Published by the Bureau of Education,” School & Society (July 14, 1917), 35-41.

least two years of work of standard college grade; and ... have at least twenty students in regular college status.”<sup>35</sup>

By 1906, the debate in the academy on the merits of entrepreneurial educational activity was clearly in full swing: that year, the President of the University of Illinois, Andrew Draper, argued that

...the university cannot become a business corporation, with a business corporation's ordinary implications.... The distinguishing ear-marks of an American university are its moral purpose, its scientific aim, its unselfish public service, its inspirations to all men in all noble things, and its incorruptibility by commercialism.”<sup>36</sup>

He continued, “Sane and essential business methods should ...be applied to the management of its business affairs. It is a business concern as well as a moral and intellectual instrumentality, and if business methods are not applied to its management it will break down.” In 1909, John Jay Chapman was complaining that “The men who control [the universities] to-day are very little else than business men running a large department store which dispenses education to the millions;<sup>37</sup> Thorsten Veblen considered that by 1910 the corrupting influence of the business ethos was to be found in practically every aspect of the modern university.<sup>38</sup> Yet, writing ninety years later, Neal concludes, that “Over the past twenty-five years, a number of ...institutions have evolved, shifted or stumbled into an organizational structure that is more strategic and businesslike than the traditional academy of scholars.”<sup>39</sup> This is true, but it ignores the many other universities and colleges which had followed that path, a century or more before, and from which lessons might be learned.

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<sup>35</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1911 (Washington DC: United States Printing Office, 1911), 642.

<sup>36</sup> Andrew S. Draper, “The University Presidency,” Atlantic Monthly, 47 (January, 1906), 36.

<sup>37</sup> John J. Chapman, “The Harvard Classics and Science,” Science, 30 (October 1, 1909), 440.

<sup>38</sup> The point is discussed in Veysey, 346-347. See Thorstein Veblen, The Higher Learning in America (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918); and the short extract in Hofstadter and Smith, 818-832.

<sup>39</sup> Neal, in Gaither, 69.

In pleading for academics to “suspend condemnation of the emerging [sic] entrepreneurial sector,” Neal quotes Robert Reich, former US Secretary of Labor, as having commented (in 1998) that he was :

not persuaded that the trend toward academic entrepreneurship compromises the capacity of universities to ‘speak the truth to power.’ If administrators articulate clear and compelling visions for their institutions, lack of direct financial control need not hobble the core intellectual mission. In fact, a looser and more entrepreneurial structure may invite a more lively and robust intellectual life than could be contained within traditional lines of university authority. Capitalism and intellectual freedom are not the same thing. But they are not opposites.<sup>40</sup>

Reich thus provides an ideal to which an entrepreneurial president might aspire.

However, educational entrepreneurialism has long played a significant role in the development of American higher education, something of which Reich does not exhibit any appreciation, his use of the conditional “may” indicating that he did not have it in mind. In consequence, before addressing the specific cases of Upper Iowa University, Parsons College and Southampton Institute, it is appropriate to take a longer view and to trace the entrepreneurial aspects of higher education from their roots in the ancient and entrepreneurial colleges of Oxford and Cambridge onwards, and to examine the educational entrepreneurialism which burgeoned in nineteenth century America and then, a century later, in the United Kingdom.

## **The Historical Context**

For the purposes of this research the genesis of the modern university is assumed to have been in the Middle Ages. In considering the historical context, a critical acceptance of the mainstream literature will be employed and, whilst it would be inappropriate and space consuming to rehearse the full bibliography here, certain books and contributors are worthy of specific note. These include the established authorities, such as Hastings Rashdall (1895),

The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, Albert Mansbridge (1923), The Older Universities of England, and T. L. Jarman (1963), Landmarks in the History of Education. These are accepted to be sufficiently ‘valid,’ i.e. factual, to provide the broad contextual canvas on which to paint the more detailed research picture. Although the consensus amongst them is that the ‘modern’ university has its roots in the Middle Ages, Ronald Barnett argues that any historical overview of higher education should start even earlier, i.e. with Plato and the Greek Academe. However, as his title implies and he implicitly acknowledges, his concern lies with the philosophy of higher education.<sup>41</sup> Christopher J. Lucas argues that institutionalised higher education existed as early as 1720 BC,<sup>42</sup> and suggests that the modern university, which emphasises “careerism and occupationally relevant instruction,” probably now resembles “its mediaeval forebear to a greater extent than ever before,”<sup>43</sup> thus helping justify the assumption that this examination of the modern university should start in the Middle Ages. In this, Pearl Kilbre’s (1962) Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages and S. C. Roberts’ (1947) monograph, British Universities provided a solid and well researched foundation for tracing the origins of many of the modern philosophies and marks of academic identity, which are sought after and adopted by new institutions of higher education in their pursuit of academic and market-place credibility. Barbara Smith’s (1986) edited collection of essays, Truth, Liberty, Religion, and Herbert McLachlan’s (1931) English Education under the Test Acts proved invaluable in tracing the alternative path provided by institutions such as the dissenting academies. For the later periods, much reliance is placed on the work of Brian Simon, H. C. Barnard, J. W Ashley Smith, Michael Argles, and Michael Sanderson, Robert Ulich, Detlef K. Müller et al., and

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<sup>40</sup> Neal, in Gaither, 83-84.

<sup>41</sup> Ronald Barnett, The Idea of Higher Education (Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press, 1990), 3-6.

<sup>42</sup> Lucas, 3-4.

<sup>43</sup> Lucas, 4.

Roy Lowe, which are described more fully in the text and bibliography. Amongst the alternative voices which have informed this research are Bruce Truscott (Edgar Allison Peers), Red Brick University (sic), Sheldon Rothblatt, The Modern University and Its Discontents, and E. P. Thompson, Warwick University Ltd. all of whom provided a salutary and dissident contrast to the mainstream point of view.

For the Americas, Daniel J. Boorstin's trilogy, The Americans: The Colonial Experience; The National Experience; and The Democratic Experience, although semi-popularist in style, are extremely well referenced and provided a substantial background, as did Freeman Butts, The Education of the West: A Formative Chapter in the History of Civilisation and Richard Hofstadter & W. Smith's two-volume edited work, American Higher Education: A Documentary History. These were supplemented by, inter alia, the work of Louis B. Wright, William Bentinck-Smith, Samuel Morrison, and Donald G. Tewksbury, Hofstadter and W. P. Metzger, Eric Ashby, and Lewis Flint Anderson, as detailed in the text. Dealing with more recent matters, A. H. Halsey, (who writes as "an undergraduate at LSE in the 1940s, a redbrick lecturer in the 1950s and an Oxford don from the 1960s")<sup>44</sup> provides a solid and well substantiated report on the 'state of the academy' by 1992 and how it got there, as does Sheldon Rothblatt on an Anglo-American platform.<sup>45</sup>

### **What exactly is Entrepreneurialism?**

In considering entrepreneurship in higher education, the path taken is that mapped out by Herbert & Link,<sup>46</sup> which leads to the seminal work of Cantillon (published posthumously).<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> A. H. Halsey, Decline of Donnish Domination: The British Academic Professions in the Twentieth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

<sup>45</sup> Rothblatt & Wittrock; Rothblatt.

<sup>46</sup> Hébert & Link.

<sup>47</sup> Richard Cantillon, Essai Sur la Nature du Commerce en General (Paris: Institute National d'Etudes Demographic, 1755).

as extended by Jean Baptiste Say, Schumpeter,<sup>48</sup> and Hisrich,<sup>49</sup> (who specifically analyses entrepreneurialism in the state sector, where Schumpeter considered it could well be stifled by bureaucracy).<sup>50</sup> Both Arbose and Pinchot distinguished this from Intrapreneurship, which involves fulfilling the functions of an entrepreneur within an already established organisation.<sup>51</sup>

### **Prior Research relating to the colleges under consideration.**

#### **1) Parsons College**

There are three accounts of the early history of Parsons College: Knight's A Short History of Parsons College and W. E. Parsons's Fifty Years of Parsons College,<sup>52</sup> both marking jubilees and both tending to be celebratory. Millsap's article, "Parsons College,"<sup>53</sup> gives a factual account of the college just prior to the period when Roberts was appointed as President. Between 1958 and 1970, Parsons was the subject of several studies, the first was Boroff's Campus USA,<sup>54</sup> which is populist in style and limited in scope, but seemingly well observed and providing thumbnail sketches of ten American colleges, including Parsons under Roberts.

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<sup>48</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1942); idem, Theorie der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung.

<sup>49</sup> Hisrich, Entrepreneurship, Intrapreneurship and Venture Capital.

<sup>50</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1942).

<sup>51</sup> Gifford Pinchot III, (1983) quoted in Robert D Histrich, Entrepreneurship, Intrapreneurship and Venture Capital. (Lexington MA: Lexington Books, 1986), 96; Pinchot is often incorrectly credited with having devised the term "Intrapreneur," as in Gifford Pinchot III, Intrapreneuring (New York: Harper & Row, 1985); Gifford Pinchot III, "Secrets of Intrapreneurship" in Inc., 7, Jan 1985, 69-72. In fact Jules R. Arbose had previously used the term in his "Intrapreneurship: Holding On to People with Ideas" in International Management, 37, March 1982, 16-17.

<sup>52</sup> H. B. Knight, A Short History of Parsons College (Fairfield Iowa, Parsons College Press, 1901); W. E. Parsons.

<sup>53</sup> The Palimpsest (Journal of the Iowa Historical Society) Vol. 31 No. 8, August, 1950.

<sup>54</sup> David Boroff, Campus USA (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958).

J. O. Hall's Parsons College: Nine Years of Change and Buell's PhD thesis, "Parsons College: Ten Years in Transition," both appeared in 1966,<sup>55</sup> when the college was on the crest of a wave. Hall, who was Director of Institutional Research at the University of Pittsburgh, produced an account which is largely uncritical and even adulatory: "President Roberts is a vigorous and daring innovator, ... taking his farsighted trustees along... [in his] remarkable accomplishments.... The future of private colleges in the United States may depend upon adopting and perfecting many of the practices already in operation at Parsons College."<sup>56</sup> However, elsewhere, Hall comments that "The budget for 1963-64" (i.e. after Roberts had had seven years to develop his 'practices') is "a document quite inadequate by modern standards. ... [A]s a managerial tool both for planning and executing the educational program, it is seriously defective."<sup>57</sup>

Buell included Hall's book in his bibliography, but did not refer to it in his text. In his thesis acknowledgements, Buell states that his "major professor, Dr. W. Hugh Stickler, deserves special recognition for his continued interest, encouragement, and guidance throughout the preparation of the study."<sup>58</sup> Although the facts would probably have been known to his dissertation committee, it might also have been appropriate for Buell to mention that he himself was a graduate of Parsons<sup>59</sup> and that Dr. Stickler, as well as being his major professor, was also a paid consultant to the College.<sup>60</sup> Buell evidently believed that nothing had been withheld from him, for he gave "...additional special thanks to President Millard G. Roberts...[who, by] making available all college records, including

<sup>55</sup> John Oliver Hall, Parsons College: Nine Years of Change (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh, 1966); Harold L. Buell, "Parsons College: Ten Years in Transition" (Ph.D. Thesis, Florida State University, 1966).

<sup>56</sup> J. O. Hall, Parsons College, 108 & 112.

<sup>57</sup> J. O. Hall, Parsons College, 96.

<sup>58</sup> Buell, ii.

<sup>59</sup> Parsons College, "Alumnus Active," Parsons College Report, Issue 10, (Spring 1968).

<sup>60</sup> Koerner, 83.

much unpublished and confidential material,...made it possible for this study to have an authenticity which could not otherwise have been achieved."<sup>61</sup>

Both Hall and Buell were enthusiastic about the college and its innovative educational, fiscal and administrative policies, but by June 1967, only six months after Buell had submitted this thesis and less than twelve months after Hall had published his opus, Parsons College was in disarray, and discredited in the eyes of many, for it had lost its accreditation, its trustees had dismissed President Roberts, and student enrolment (and hence fee income) had halved, all those who were qualified to do so having transferred to other colleges. Possibly Buell had had a premonition, for, despite his general enthusiasm, he concluded "Whether this college, and its president, Millard G. Roberts, are making any lasting impressions upon higher education in America cannot be stated with certainty at this time. Only time can write the final chapter to the Parsons Plan."<sup>62</sup>

In 1970, Koerner, a Senior Research Fellow with the Education Development Center, Inc. published The Parsons College BUBBLE, an account of the College under Roberts.<sup>63</sup> A New York Times review comments that the college and its president had provided a "tempting target for [Koerner's] ...keen and abundant wit," but considered that he had been "...admirably restrained."<sup>64</sup> In 1968 and 1969, Koerner had travelled to Parsons and interviewed "present, and past members of the Parsons faculty, the administration, the board of trustees, the student body, and a great many people outside Parsons." He states that his book "depended on the willingness of hundreds of people to discuss Parsons College...[none of whom] declined entirely to talk"<sup>65</sup> and he thus claims, by implication, to have interviewed "hundreds of people." Despite this, he does not appear to have fully

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<sup>61</sup> Buell, ii.

<sup>62</sup> Buell, 205

<sup>63</sup> Koerner, 176.

<sup>64</sup> New York Times, November 8, 1970, VII, 46

<sup>65</sup> Koerner, x.

appreciated the role of the Presbyterian Church or of the tensions between the national church in Philadelphia, the Synod of Iowa and the local presbytery in Fairfield,<sup>66</sup> which Roberts was able to exploit, so prolonging his survival as President.

Koerner expresses his resentment at the "NCA's secrecy" and acknowledges his lack of hard facts on the withdrawal of accreditation. He notes that the non-publication of the NCA accreditation reports was at the insistence of the college, but he does not admit that the correspondence and reports which he was shown at the college might be incomplete. Thus, he refers to the "thirty-two-page [NCA] report" of the February 1967 accreditation visit,<sup>67</sup> which is presumably the same thirty-two page report submitted by Parsons in Federal Court when fighting the withdrawal of accreditation.<sup>68</sup> Had the case gone to trial, the NCA might have produced their copy, which comprises thirty-five pages,<sup>69</sup> the additional pages being numbered 33-35, matching the format of the rest, and having every appearance of having formed part of the original, as would have been supplied to the College. The additional three pages summarise the "strengths" and "weaknesses" of the college and its administration and include the comment that "The College has yet to decide that statistical accuracy is a virtue. This is true internally and externally," reiterating a statement made earlier in the report, which Koerner does quote. The accompanying letter from the NCA to the college, which he also quotes,<sup>70</sup> gave the reason for the withdrawal of accreditation as being "the persistent failure of the College to correct these serious weaknesses." That the "32 page" report did not have a concluding summary might have given Koerner a clue that the report produced by Roberts was incomplete. (An internal note of the decision of the

<sup>66</sup> Koerner, 155-162

<sup>67</sup> Koerner, 171, 203, 206, 209, 176.

<sup>68</sup> Parsons College v. North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 271 F. Sup 65, 72 (1972), Exhibit II in the Federal Archives at Chicago.

<sup>69</sup> North Central Association, "Report of a Visit to Parsons College Fairfield, Iowa February 23, 24, 1967" (copy in the files of the NCA, Chicago)

<sup>70</sup> Koerner, 176-178.

NCA Executive Board in the files of the NCA gives as an additional reason “the [NCA] Executive Board’s lack of confidence in the administrative leadership of the college.”)

Despite the access Koerner claims to have been given at the college, his book is thinly referenced and must be treated with caution. Whilst historical narratives may be intended to “both entertain, or otherwise engage, the reader while informing him or her,”<sup>71</sup> in this case ‘entertainment’ may have exceeded ‘judgement,’ as in his ‘tongue in cheek’ treatment of President Roberts, (e.g. “Roberts the adolescent [was] ‘a short fat boy...’” and a “plump Presbyterian minister from New York [who was recruited] to save the institution’s body, not its soul.”<sup>72</sup>). Notwithstanding such deficiencies, in 1973 the book was used as a primary source by Bannon in his PhD research, which deals, *inter alia*, with the unsuccessful 1967 lawsuit by Parsons College against the NCA over the withdrawal of accreditation.<sup>73</sup> He relied solely on Koerner for the facts, explaining in a footnote that

“Koerner’s book was the only accessible source that dealt in any depth with the non-legal aspects of the expulsion of Parsons College from the North Central Association. Neither the association nor the College made public the relevant documents, specifically the visiting team reports discussed later... Reliance on the book was inevitable.”<sup>74</sup>

Bannon made no use of the work of Buell or Hall, nor of any contemporary press reports, nor does he mention having discussed the case with any of the participants. As a result his analysis of the non-legal aspects is based on incomplete and erroneous information. For example, in 1967 the Federal Court had ordered the NCA to file copies of the minutes recording the decision to de-accredit Parsons. Koerner states that “the minutes that record

<sup>71</sup> David F. Lancy, ed., Qualitative Research in Education (New York & London, Longmans, 1993), 254.

<sup>72</sup> Koerner, 9.

<sup>73</sup> J. Bannon Jr., “The Regional Accrediting Agencies and the Courts: A Study of the Marjorie Webster Case” (PhD Thesis, Syracuse University, 1973; Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1973). This included a consideration of the Parsons College suit against the NCA

<sup>74</sup> Bannon, 73.

the executive board decision are exactly seven lines long,”<sup>75</sup> which Bannon interpreted as meaning “the minutes of the Executive Board meeting which made the decision to disaccredit the college.... were a scant seven lines long.”<sup>76</sup> In fact the minutes of the meeting had extended over twelve pages,<sup>77</sup> but, acting on legal advice, the NCA had exhibited only that portion which related to Parsons College. Similarly, in arguing that “The college had no way of knowing precisely why it was being discredited”<sup>78</sup> Bannon again follows Koerner, who was evidently unaware that he had not seen the final, and vital, three pages, which had been before the Board when they made the decision.

Koerner had predicted that the College would “survive, ... recover its accreditation in 1970, will grow slowly for some years....” The College did recover its accreditation, but by 1973 was insolvent and had closed. His other prediction, that “in time [it] might become an experimental institution of some note,”<sup>79</sup> did come true and would have provided him with more tongue-in-cheek material: the campus of the defunct college was purchased by the Maharishi Yogi to house the Maharishi University of Transcendental Meditation,<sup>80</sup> one of the functions of which is assist the transcendentally meditating undergraduates to perfect their yogic flying.<sup>81</sup>

The only study which covers the period from 1955 to the demise of the College in 1973, is a retrospective account, originally written in 1983 for a local newspaper, “The Fairfield Ledger,” and then re-published in a more academic form in the Palimpsest, the journal of the State Historical Society of Iowa.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Koerner, 204.

<sup>76</sup> Bannon, 83.

<sup>77</sup> Original in the files of the NCA, Chicago.

<sup>78</sup> Bannon, 93.

<sup>79</sup> Koerner, 224.

<sup>80</sup> Gene I Maeroff, “College in Iowa Flourishes on Meditation,” New York Times, May 18, 1975, 16:1

<sup>81</sup> Maharishi International University, Fairfield, Iowa, 1997 Catalog.

<sup>82</sup> Dean Gabbert, “The Death of an American College,” Palimpsest, Vol. 65, (November/December, 1984), 190-206.

## Previously Unconsidered Publications

None of the above studies included in their considerations four substantial publications, each of which serves to cast light on the Parsons Plan and on Roberts' views on the running of a college as a business. Three are either by, or are edited by, Roberts: his PhD thesis on entrepreneurial activities of the Methodist Church in the nineteenth century,<sup>83</sup> The Inaugural Review" (a compilation of the papers given at his inauguration as President of Parsons College)<sup>84</sup> and A Plan for the Negro Colleges.<sup>85</sup> The fourth is Louise G. Mitchell's MA thesis, which is based on research which she undertook at the College in 1967.<sup>86</sup>

Koerner mentions, but does not reference, Robert's PhD thesis, characterising it merely as "an orthodox dissertation suitably ponderous and garlanded with elaborate footnotes and other scholarly apparatus"<sup>87</sup> before dismissing it without further discussion. This is a mistake of considerable magnitude, for it is a substantial and apparently well researched tome, which, whilst substantial, is far from being "ponderous," being eminently readable, and combining humour with erudition. It is concerned with the highly profitable promotion (in the best Wesleyan tradition) of the distribution and sale of Methodist books, news-sheets and tracts by the church salesmen in the American West. In the present work, no attempt has been made to re-visit Roberts' original sources, or to assess the validity of his research, for in the present context such matters are largely irrelevant: what is important is firstly the approach Roberts adopted to the material he cites and secondly the conclusions he drew, for

<sup>83</sup> Millard George Roberts, "The Methodist Book Concern in the West" (PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1947).

<sup>84</sup> Millard George Roberts, ed., The Inaugural Review. (Fairfield Iowa: Parsons College, 1956).

<sup>85</sup> Millard George Roberts, A Plan for the Negro Colleges (Fairfield Iowa, Parsons College 1964).

<sup>86</sup> Louise G. Mitchell, "The Effects of Remedial Procedures on the Reading Problems of Selected Freshmen at Parsons College" (MA Thesis, North East Missouri State College, 1968).

<sup>87</sup> Koerner, 9.

these provide a useful insight into the development of his philosophy with regard to religious entrepreneurialism.

The Inaugural Review is a seminal document, edited by Roberts, and published to mark his 1955 inauguration as President of Parsons College. It is subtitled “Two symposia relating business and religion to the role of the private independent college as presented for the inaugural program...” It is perhaps significant that the order, “business and religion,” which he employs for posterity in his title of the publication, is in fact the reverse of the order in which they had been given at the time, the original order possibly having been dictated by the predominately Presbyterian composition of the audience.

Koerner mentions the inauguration in passing, characterising it as “flamboyant,”<sup>88</sup> (which such ceremonies often are), and, whilst noting that “A number of well-known educators and churchmen were flown to Fairfield for the ceremonies,” he does not inquire as to whether or not, having flown in, they had anything of significance to say. In fact The Inaugural Review contains, in addition to Roberts’ Introduction and the inaugural sermon, eight papers given by the “well-known educators and churchmen” on subjects such as “Sound Fiscal Administration for the Small Arts College” and “What the Church Expects from Its Liberal Arts Colleges.” As Roberts undoubtedly had a large say in the selection of the speakers, and was probably influential in their choice of subject, it is fair to say that he was inaugurated as he intended to continue.

Roberts’ monograph, A Plan For the Negro Colleges, was published at Parsons College in 1964. In it Roberts seeks to demonstrate how it would be possible to create ten brand new self-funding colleges “to provide better education for the Negro for less money.” What is of particular interest is his explanation of the application of the Parsons Plan to meet the needs of a different milieu, unencumbered by historic debt, antiquated buildings or hide-bound

faculty. As ten satellite colleges were proposed on this plan, it will be of particular use for further research into the funding and (eventual) failure of the six which actually opened.

Louise G. Michell's MA thesis, The Effects of Remedial Procedures on the Reading Problems of Selected Freshmen at Parsons College, for historical matters, relies heavily on Hall.<sup>89</sup> However, her work is of interest not only for the research she conducted at the College, but also for her observations and seemingly factual account of the students and the College as they actually were, rather than as depicted by college staff or the press. This account is of assistance in triangulating some of the observations made by the examiners from the NCA, press reports and statements made for public consumption by college trustees, staff, faculty, alumni, inspectors from the NCA and the press.

## **2) Upper Iowa University**

It appears that very little research has been carried out on Upper Iowa University and the archival material available from Upper Iowa is far more limited than that from Parsons College. Not only does there appear to be less of it, but the current examination was conducted chronologically and had only reached 1956 when access was withdrawn. In consequence, much reliance has had to be placed on secondary material. Of this, the most important has been "Treasures of Our College Home: An Informal History of Upper Iowa University," a seemingly well-researched, book-length manuscript, by Dan Crawford, who "graduated magna cum laude from Upper Iowa University in 1978 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in library science. After working as an archivist in the Upper Iowa [University]

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<sup>88</sup> Koerner, 9.

<sup>89</sup> J. O. Hall.

library, he received a Master of Library Science degree from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, in 1980.”<sup>90</sup>

The manuscript goes into a great deal of detail and is well footnoted, but at times it displays a degree of naïveté which makes it unlikely to have appealed to the UIU oligarchy. Thus, for example, in writing of UIU’s first ‘off-campus program,’ introduced in 1973, Crawford confides that: “The faculty was dubious, wary of making Upper Iowa into a diploma mill,” but he adds, somewhat ambiguously, “the administration gave assurance that the program would be as high in quality as the faculty chose to make it.” Later he comments that “in 1975 the NCA investigated to see if [it] ... was a valid academic program. There was some breath-holding at Upper Iowa,...one never knew what the NCA might decide. Fortunately the report was favorable...”<sup>91</sup>

The manuscript represents the fruits of full-time access to the archives and many interviews, including those with four retired presidents.<sup>92</sup> The detail and, indeed, the very naïveté tend to indicate that it provides an accurate, if sometimes simplistic, account of events at UIU. As Crawford was an employee, the university retained copyright, and in 1988 decided against publication, apparently on the same grounds as those on which access had been withdrawn from this research, namely that “it would not be in the best interests of the university.” The manuscript was loaned by Dave Fritz, the Executive Dean, in order that a copy could be made for the purposes of this research.

Two specialist books which provided useful, if limited, background information are Clarke and Bowen’s solidly researched account of the service of a group of UIU students in the Union army in the American Civil War,<sup>93</sup> and Breckner’s less formal biography of a

<sup>90</sup> Crawford, 4.

<sup>91</sup> Crawford, 204 & 205.

<sup>92</sup> Crawford, 12.

<sup>93</sup> Charles B. Clarke & Roger B. Bowen, University Recruits Company C; 12<sup>th</sup> Iowa Infantry Regiment USA 1861-1866 (Elverson PA: Mennonite Family History, 1991)

UIU alumnus and local dentist who had coached the university's football team for half a century.<sup>94</sup> Other than these, the literature specific to the college was limited to two overlapping articles by Alderson, a former director of public relations at UIU.<sup>95</sup> According to a flyer inserted with this article, this article was to be expanded into a complete "History of UIU" and both it and Clarke and Bowen's civil war book were to be published by "UIU Publications." The former did not appear and, although the research for the latter was completed by 1965,<sup>96</sup> it was not published until 1991, and then elsewhere.

### **3) Southampton Institute**

Southampton Institute of Higher Education (SIHE) effectively dates from 1984, when it was formed by the merger of two local colleges. The primary sources relating to the Institute are the Institute internal records, the public records of Hampshire Council (which was the responsible Local Education Authority (LEA) until the institute became a Higher Education Corporation in 1989), and reports by the Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC), the Higher Education Funding Council (HEFC), the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA), the National Audit Office (NAO) and Nottingham Trent University (NTU), which awards degrees to successful SIHE candidates under a franchise agreement.

On 20 May, 1996 I telephoned the Institute and spoke to Anthony Chmarny, the Public Relations Officer, described my research and inquired about access to college records, such as the minutes of the Governor's meetings.. Chmarny replied that they were not available to the public and there was no point in me writing to ask. In November, following press publicity about SIHE opening a Bombay branch, I telephoned and asked the switchboard for

<sup>94</sup> Fred Breckner, Upper Iowa University: Dr. Dorman's Peacocks. (Huntsville, Alabama: The Strode Publishers, 1981).

<sup>95</sup> M. H. Alderson Upper Iowa University" in The Palimpsest, 46 (March, 1965), 129-131; idem, "Upper Iowa University," Incorporated Town of Fayette Centennial 1874-1974. (Fayette, Fayette Festivals Inc., 1974).

the address of the Institute's Bombay office. I was immediately put through to Lynne Edwards, whom I later discovered to be the Personal Assistant to David Leyland, then the Institute Director. She initially denied that the Institute had a Bombay office, but then conceded that the Institute did have a Bombay "link." Then, after a muffled consultation at her end of the phone, she told me that although she did not know the address, she did know someone who did, so I should write in and my letter would be forwarded to India. As the Bombay connection was later well explored in the press, I did not pursue the matter.

In April 1997, Leyland resigned as Director, departing in July. After an interregnum, he was replaced in April 1998 by Dr. Roger Brown, former head of the HEQC and joint-author of the adverse HEQC report. When I approached Dr. Brown, we discussed my Parsons College research and the research I had undertaken in Athens and he agreed to co-operate and give access to the Institute files, but only on condition that access to my thesis be restricted for three years, the period having been negotiated down from five. Although keen to introduce a spirit of 'glasnost' at Southampton, he is also seeking to heal institutional wounds and not to lay them bare to the public gaze. The previous regime at Southampton Institute had been obsessively secretive and most of the college papers, including minutes of Governors' and other meetings, are excessively candid in parts and, never having been for public consumption, are a potential source of embarrassment. Within these there appear to be significant gaps, as was specifically confirmed by the new Principal, Dr. Roger Brown. One member of staff commented (in private) that in the weeks before the previous Principal (or "Director" as he preferred to be called) left the college, the scene was "like Nixon in the White House," the shredder being "red hot." However all was not lost, for some crucial and highly confidential files had been misfiled, possibly deliberately by dissident staff.

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<sup>96</sup> Clarke & Bowen, vi.

Apart from reports by official bodies, such as the NAO and the HEQC, and internal documents there is very little literature on SIHE: although G. R. Evans devotes two pages to discussing the situation at the Institute,<sup>97</sup> she bases this on just two references.<sup>98</sup>

## **Other Literature Relevant to Southampton Institute**

In 1985, David G. Leyland was awarded an MBA by the University of Aston and, although he is an architect and town planner by training, his final project was on “The Marketing of Higher Education.” Regrettably, his dissertation is not available as Aston “only keeps copies of [MBA] projects in the Library for a maximum of 2 or 3 years”<sup>99</sup> and he himself was said to be in Australia.<sup>100</sup> However two published papers by David Leyland are available, entitled “Commercialism and Corporate Strategy in British Higher Education”<sup>101</sup> and “Corporate Strategy in Polytechnic Management.”<sup>102</sup>

As they were published in the 18 months before he became Principal of SIHE, they can be presumed to reflect his recent thinking at the time. The first concludes that “a well thought out strategy, honed through extensive staff participation, will be more effective and more rapidly implemented than the dictates of a management oligarchy,” whilst the latter concludes that “an open approach must be adopted which will involve the whole institution, in a process which benefits institutional performance and the dignity of staff.” However, the policies which he implemented as Principal of SIHE were radically different, as he acknowledged in a 1998 report “Staff Communications in the Management of the Institute -

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<sup>97</sup> G. R. Evans, Calling Academia to Account: Rights and Responsibilities (Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press, 1999), 82-83.

<sup>98</sup> (1) “Staff Communication Review at Southampton Institute, November 1996, conducted by Geoffrey Hall”, (2) “The Times Higher Education Supplement, 21 March, 1997.”

<sup>99</sup> Lindsey Ashford, Examinations & Records Administrator, University of Aston to M. G. Spillane, emails, 5 and 12 May, 1999.

<sup>100</sup> Lynne Edwards (formerly Mr. Leyland’s personal assistant), interview, 4 December, 1998

<sup>101</sup> Leyland “Commercialism,” 23-33.

<sup>102</sup> David G. Leyland, “Corporate Strategy in Polytechnic Management,” Journal of Further and Higher Education, 11, 1 (Spring, 1987).

the Qualitative Environment," prepared by his "Communications Assistant, Tim Foster," and then edited by Leyland. Whilst Leyland notes in his introduction that "A number of the more contentious views have been omitted from this final version," one that did remain was that "staff had developed a deeply felt sense that they were not genuinely involved in the enterprise and that their opinion was neither sought nor valued,"<sup>103</sup> thus raising some interesting questions.

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<sup>103</sup> Tim Foster and David Leyland, "Staff Communications in the Management of the Institute - the Qualitative Environment," Paper ref. 97/BG/76 presented to SHE Governors, 9 July 1998.

## Chapter 3

### **METHODOLOGY, SOURCES, AND VALIDATION OF THE MATERIAL**

#### **The Trajectory of the Research: “Fellow citizens, we cannot escape history”<sup>1</sup>**

Methodologies are normally dictated by the nature and subject of the research and this research is no exception. Over the past 150 years American higher education has experienced many of the challenges which face British higher education today and, in seeking to investigate such challenges, it appeared appropriate to consider the history of the American market in post-secondary education. Although the American system of higher education is substantially based on the mediaeval system which had developed at Oxford and Cambridge, in the course of its 350-year existence it diverged substantially from its origins. In the 1990s, the English mainstream model of higher education, which had itself also diverged from the mediaeval Oxbridge model, veered rapidly towards the American ‘mass’ model, not only in terms of competitiveness and the rapid increases in the number of ‘universities-sector’ institutions, but also in terms of the percentage of the population entering higher education.<sup>2</sup> In consequence, and in order to map their trajectories, and the terrain traversed, it appeared appropriate to examine the two systems from a point somewhat earlier than that at which they diverged.

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<sup>1</sup> Abraham Lincoln, “Annual Message to Congress,” 1 December, 1862, in R. Basler, ed. Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln 1809-1865, Vol. 5 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 537. Lincoln, Abraham,

<sup>2</sup> Salter & Tapper, The State and Higher Education, 190.

As Jacob Bronowski observed, “the root from which all knowledge grows [is] the ability to draw conclusions from what we see to what we do not see, to move our minds through space and time, and to recognise ourselves in the past on the steps to the present.”<sup>3</sup> Kazamias, quoted previously, has argued, “Education, being bound to culture, ramifies into social, political and economic spheres and is always affected by historical antecedents and traditions.... Problems in comparative education, therefore, are seen as best treated from several disciplinary vantage points.” Overall, the methodology which has been adopted is historical-comparative, not only in respect of educational matters, but also in relation to the adoption and adaptation of the policies and practices of business administration and the attempt to fuse, supersede or even usurp, traditional educational values with those of the entrepreneur in a market place.

Cohen & Manion argue that

The function of the review of the literature in historical research [differs from that in other research in that it] ... provides the data for research; the researcher's acceptance or otherwise of his hypothesis will depend on his selection of information from the review and the interpretation he puts on it.<sup>4</sup>

Other differences which they mention are those previously identified by Borg and which have also been encountered in this research:<sup>5</sup>

- (1) the historical researcher will have to peruse longer documents than the empirical researcher who normally studies articles very much more succinct and precise.
- (2) ... documents required in historical research often date back much further than those in empirical research.
- (3) ... documents in education often consist of unpublished material and are therefore less accessible than reports of empirical studies in professional journals.

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<sup>3</sup> Jacob Bronowski, The Ascent of Man (Boston: Little Brown, 1973), 56, quoted in Hébert & Link, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Louis Cohen & Lawrence Manion, Research Methods in Education (London: Routledge, 1998), 56.

<sup>5</sup> W. R. Borg, Educational Research: An Introduction (London: Longman, 1963), quoted by Cohen & Manion, 56.

The records are incomplete at all three institutions, with many of the gaps almost certainly representing documents which the former leadership had preferred not to be included in their legacy.

In assessing the value of such research, Cohen and Manion employ Hill and Kerber's argument that "the ability of history to employ the past to predict the future, and to use the present to explain the past, gives it a dual and unique quality which makes it especially useful for all sorts of scholarly study and research."<sup>6</sup> Their suggestion, that history has the ability "to employ the past to predict the future," gives the process an aura of certainty previously reserved for crystal ball-gazers and a concept of 'seeking to predict' would be sounder. The need to place events in their historical and contemporary context has been implicit in the methodologies employed in this research, specifically in order to identify the factors which are independent of time and context and are thus likely to be capable of wider application. In consequence it has been necessary to combine two approaches, which Cohen & Manion distinguish as being those of "educational research" and of "historical research."<sup>7</sup> They argue that the review of the literature in [non-historical]... educational research is regarded as a preparatory stage to gathering data and serves to acquaint the researcher with previous research on the topic he himself is studying. It thus enables him to continue in a tradition, to place his work in context, and to learn from earlier endeavours. They continue by arguing that the function of the review of the literature in historical research is different in that it provides the data for the research and that the researcher's acceptance or otherwise of the initial hypothesis "will depend on his selection of information from the review and the interpretation he puts on it."<sup>8</sup> Although they provide a useful distinction between the two approaches, it must be said that their view is surprising, for, even in historical research,

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<sup>6</sup> J. E. Hill and A. Kerber, Models, Methods and Analytic Procedures in Educational Research (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1967), quoted in Cohen & Manion, 49.

<sup>7</sup> Cohen and Manion, 59.

it must be necessary for the researcher “to continue in a tradition, to place his work in context, and to learn from earlier endeavours.”

John L. Rury considers that the distinction arises because historians traditionally frame their argument in terms of a narrative, whereas “social science history” adopts an explicitly argumentative form.<sup>9</sup> However, it must be said that ‘revisionist historians,’ if they are to justify their revisions, should also adopt an argumentative form and, in giving their narrative, should provide a critical commentary on the previous work now under revision. According to David F. Lancy, “most historians do not include formal literature reviews in their written work. Rather, historians and other scholars who have addressed pertinent issues are cited as they are relevant to the story being told, or to the historical analysis being performed.” However he does acknowledge that there are exceptions to this, “especially among historians whose work is influenced by the social sciences,” something which would presumably extend to social scientists who utilise the methods of historical narrative. In the view of the historian, he argues, “the objective ...is to tell a story with as little explicit reference to other works as possible. In the narrative tradition, the historical account should ideally be a virtually seamless description and analysis of events, personalities, and other forces at work in connection with a particular problem, and it should be accessible to non-specialists.”<sup>10</sup> These are lofty ideals, particularly when using mixed methodologies, but ones which to which the present research will aspire. It will also take into account the work of previous researchers and writers, but, with the added benefit of access to files and archives of which they had been unaware or to which they had been denied, or had not sought, access. In considering their work it has been necessary to provide a critical commentary, with the consequent danger of the wisdom of hindsight.

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<sup>8</sup> Cohen & Manion, 56. (Their use of the word “selection” is perhaps unfortunate, for it can imply that the researcher may pick and choose that which is convenient, rather than that which is relevant and significant.)

<sup>9</sup> John L. Rury, “Historical Inquiry” in Lancy, 265.

<sup>10</sup> Lancy, 254.

The methodologies to be employed in this research underwent significant shifts, first as a result of the unexpected withdrawal of access to Upper Iowa University and the ban on the use of empirical data gathered from UIU external students, then as a result of the discovery of the substantial amounts of archival material on Parsons College and Lea College, Minnesota, and later as a result of the unanticipated opportunity to conduct research in Athens and the eleventh hour agreement for access to the files at Southampton Institute.

As originally envisaged, the research was intended to examine the history of Upper Iowa University and, in particular, the degree programs and methods of delivery by means of which it had been able to survive, as a private institution, in a highly competitive market. During the 1960s, five major private universities, located in major centres of population, (Buffalo in New York State, Houston in Texas, Missouri in Kansas City, Temple and Pittsburgh, both in Pennsylvania), had only survived by being absorbed into the state sector,<sup>11</sup> something which had indicated that Upper Iowa, situated in rural Iowa, was a college worthy of further consideration. When access to Upper Iowa was withdrawn, and access to Southampton Institute was refused, pragmatic considerations pointed to the advantages of studying a deceased college, from which complaints were less likely to emerge and the risk of exclusion reduced. Parsons College presented itself as a candidate of considerable interest: although eventually declared bankrupt, in its heyday, Parsons had enjoyed spectacular success in the market place, particularly "as measured by [the] ... ability to attract more students," a standard which, thirty years later, has been set for British institutions of higher education.<sup>12</sup> Its history also paralleled that of Upper Iowa University, in respect of which historical material had already been obtained and which could still be

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<sup>11</sup> J. O. Hall, "Will Private Universities Survive? A Study of Five That Did Not" (PhD thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1968).

<sup>12</sup> Peter Scott, "University-State Relations in Britain," in eds. James E. Mauch and Paula L. W. Sable, *Reform and Change in Higher Education* (New York/London: Garland Publishing, 1995), 14.

used for comparison. That UIU, whilst recruiting far fewer students than Parsons, had survived presented an interesting paradox.

Cohen and Manion recommend “the formulation of an hypothesis (or set of questions),” which in this case would be “Why the paradox? How can fewer students give an institution financial stability? Is educational entrepreneurialism a relatively new phenomenon or has it a history? Can parallels be seen in British higher education in the 1990s? If such parallels can be seen, can they be extrapolated to assess future prospects?” They also note the need to collect, organise, verify, analyse and select data; “testing the hypothesis (or answering the questions) where appropriate;” and (seemingly almost as an afterthought) “writing a research report.” They also suggest that such research should involve “the identification and limitation of an area of study” and their idea of limiting the area of study at the outset is attractive and eminently sensible. However, this fails to take into account the fact that a true research journey may lead into a narrowing valley, in which case such limitation may be inevitable, or it may move through a narrow opening to be greeted with a vast vista where limitations have to be self-imposed. In this research, Upper Iowa University was a narrowing valley, which, whilst not infertile, became blocked. The second foray, towards Parsons, was made through a narrow opening with limited expectations, yet opened up vast fields of inquiry, requiring further limitation in the face of a multiplicity of options for research and the work already accomplished.

As will be discussed in the final chapter, it transpired that Parsons was not just a single prospect, something like 10 ‘Parsons Plan’ colleges having been proposed<sup>13</sup> of which six, in four states, actually opened.<sup>14</sup> No two were exactly alike, all eventually failed and they provide much scope for comparative research. In this respect the present research has been

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<sup>13</sup> Joseph Gusfield & David Riesman, “Innovations in Higher Education: Notes on Student and Faculty Encounters in Three New Colleges” in eds. Howard S. Becker, Blanche Geer, David Riesman, Robert S. Weiss, Institutions and the Person (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1968), 173.

<sup>14</sup>Koerner, 217.

limited to the archives of the Freeborn County Historical Society for just one of the six (Lea College, Minnesota) and then to give an extra dimension to Parsons, rather than in its own right. Similarly, as copies of the official minutes of meetings of the Presbyterian Synod of Iowa were held in the main archives at Philadelphia, this research was not extended to the Iowa archives, although these could prove fruitful as it appears that there was considerable rivalry between the Synod Board of Visitors (from which Roberts had selected three of his college trustees) and the Board of Christian Education in Philadelphia.

As noted previously, the limited time available in Athens and the late access to Southampton Institute meant that time presented its own limitations and here again, as discussed in the final chapter, there is still much scope for further research.

## **Access to the Data**

### **A) Upper Iowa University**

The archives and records of Upper Iowa University are all preserved on campus in the college library at Fayette, Iowa. Access was organised by Dave Fritz, the Executive Dean for External Degrees. In the 1980s the archives had been re-organised and made accessible by Dan Crawford, an assistant librarian, and author of Treasures of Our College Home: An Informal History of Upper Iowa University, a copy of which Fritz arranged to be given to the present researcher. The archives include the college records back to its foundation, together with files of the more recent newspaper clippings and copies of college publications such as the student publication “The Peacock.”.

### **B) Parsons College**

#### **1. College records**

When Parsons College closed in June 1973:

- a) The academic records were transferred to the (State) University of Iowa to facilitate subsequent verification of academic credit and graduation of Parsons' alumni.
- b) The administrative records went to the Fairfield Carnegie Library, where they were placed in a basement room.

In April 1995 the library moved to a new building and the records were "donated" to the Fairfield Historical Society, whose members failed to take possession. Eighteen months later, the present researcher located them in the basement of the old library, which had changed hands and was in the process of being substantially gutted and reconstructed, from whence they were removed to the new Fairfield Public Library. They were contained in fourteen boxes, were uncatalogued, incomplete and largely non-sequential, but included not only financial records and minutes of the meetings of the trustees and other committees and groups, but also a considerable amount of correspondence. The latter includes many carbon copy letters which had been received by a third party at the College, and which thus provides access to exchanges outside the College.

## **2. Federal Court Records**

- a) The United States District Court, Chicago: Parsons College v. The North Central Association of Colleges & Secondary Schools, Case No. 67-01109. These files are in the US National Archives (NARA), Federal Records Center, Great Lakes Region, Chicago, Illinois. They contain the applications, affidavits and exhibits submitted to the US District Court when Parsons College sought a Restraining Order enjoining the NCA from revoking their status as an accredited institution. The case did not come to trial, but the papers prepared by NCA's defense attorneys were available from the NCA files.
- b) The United States District Court, Southern District of Iowa, In the Matter of Parsons College: Bankruptcy Case No. 0-24-73: These files are held by the US National Archives and Records Administration, Mid-West Region, Kansas City, Missouri and

relate to the bankruptcy hearing and subsequent closure of the college. The files contain not only the applications, reports and correspondence from the auditors, liquidators and creditors, but also correspondence with the faculty and college trustees, local officials, both elected and appointed, and local institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce. They also contain confidential reports prepared for the financial institutions holding mortgages and liens on the college real estate, library collection and other assets. They are significant in that they provide a wide range of third party documents which permit corroboration of the college records.

### **3. Records of the (Presbyterian) Brick Church in Manhattan, New York**

The church records relating to Dr. Millard G Roberts' time there as an Assistant Pastor, immediately prior to his appointment as President of Parsons College, give some useful indications of how his entrepreneurial, marketing and publicising skills were viewed by the Deacons and other members of the church. Whilst the other Assistant Pastor was openly lauded for his pastoral and spiritual mission, Roberts was quietly commended for his temporal success, but cautioned for his aggressive fund-raising, which was too entrepreneurial for the Elders' liking.

### **4. Archives of the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.**

The records of the Presbyterian Society are normally embargoed from public access for fifty years, but after the present researcher had made a case to the National Office of the Presbyterian Church (USA), permission was granted for access, initially to those records relating to Parsons College which had been catalogued, but later extended to the un-catalogued records. These documents comprised reports, correspondence, internal notes and memoranda and a mass of un-catalogued material which included documents relating to the relationship between the Synod of Iowa Board of (College) Visitors and the Board of Christian Education in Philadelphia. Only a limited amount of this related to Parsons

College and as only a limited time was available, much of this remains open to future research.

### **5. Archives of the North Central Association for the Accrediting of Colleges & Secondary Schools, Chicago.**

The records of the NCA have been closed to previous researchers, but after the nature of the research had been explained to him, Dr. Stephen Crowe (then Acting and now substantive), Director of the NCA, agreed to give apparently unrestricted access to the Parsons College files of the NCA and to the minutes of the NCA Board and Executive Committee. These were neatly filed and well labelled and enabled comparison to be made, so demonstrating how Roberts misled commentators by manipulating the few NCA documents which he produced for public scrutiny.<sup>15</sup> Of particular interest are the private reports made by the visiting examiners; the comments are often uninhibited, but were almost invariably ‘toned down’ or suppressed during the preparation of the official ‘consensus’ report which was then furnished to the College. There were also notes of discussions and telephone calls which, when compared with college documents, reveal the gulf in mutual understanding which existed between Roberts and the NCA Accreditors.

### **6. Parsons College Alumni Web-site**

Although the Parsons College Alumni Association had been active until at least 1984, it appeared to have become defunct. However in the Spring of 1999, Steve Wynnart set up a Parsons web-site, which listed some 30 Parsons alumni. In August I sent out a bulk email requesting information on the Roberts era, from which I received eight positive responses. This group was self-selected, first by having chosen to register with Steve Wynnart and then by having responded to the bulk email. However, although they do not provide a representative sample, they are a diverse group and their individual views are useful in

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<sup>15</sup> Koerner, 176

providing a seemingly honest student's eye view of Parsons, albeit in some cases tempered by age and wisdom.

### **Other Colleges Opened on the 'Parsons Plan'**

#### **1. Lea College, Albert Lea Minnesota.**

The College records have been located at the library of Minnesota State University, Mankanto, but they have not yet been consulted. The Freeborn County Historical Society holds a comprehensive newspaper cuttings file which contains a great deal of secondary material relating to all the Parsons colleges. Amongst these is a weekly column written in the Albert Lea Tribune by the College President, in which he comments on events at the College, educational, social and financial, and on the then current trends in American education.

#### **2. Hiram Scott College, Scottsbluff, Nebraska.**

These records are said to be held by the University of Nebraska at Lincoln, but they have not been consulted.

#### **3. Charles City College, Charles City, Iowa; College of Artesia, Artesia, New Mexico; John J. Pershing College, Beatrice, Nebraska; and Midwestern college, Dennison, Iowa.**

So far, no attempt has been made to locate these records

### **Access to Secondary Data**

Access to secondary data has been through publicly available sources, such as the State Historical Societies of Iowa and Wisconsin, newspaper or public library archives. As a result of the heat generated by the ongoing debate at each of the institutions, there has been considerable press coverage with corroborative evidence available from others present or from other independent reports. Data have been obtained largely from articles in the press, both national and local, and from non-academic articles in general-interest magazines. In

many instances it has been necessary to apply a double standard, first in terms of their validity and also by accepting them at face value and attempting to determine their impact and implications for the colleges and other actors. Other documents, such as papers and monographs written by the principal actors, can rank as both primary and secondary sources,<sup>16</sup> depending on their usage.

The primary sources of written data have been the institutional records (including minutes of the meetings of executive officers, of faculty and of trustees), documents produced by the institution, such as official correspondence, submissions to official and quasi-official bodies responsible for oversight and accreditation of the institution, annual reports, catalogues, bulletins, prospectuses, and press releases, contemporaneous student publications, reports by accrediting agencies/quality councils, records of town and city councils and other bodies, such as religious organisations, which have had an interest in the institution. Primary data was also obtained through face-to-face interviews, correspondence and the exchange of electronic mail (email) with people who were present and either observed or participated in the changes at the institution, such as administrators, faculty, staff and students.

Secondary data has been obtained largely from the press, both national and local, and from non-academic articles in general-interest magazines, and also from published accounts of research, including the histories of the colleges which had been prepared to mark anniversaries and other events.

## **Evaluation of Data**

As the events with which this research is concerned are either contemporary or took place within the last forty years, the difficulties which are often associated with issues of

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<sup>16</sup> Judith Bell, Doing Your Research Project (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1993), 68, citing A. Marwick, The Nature of History (London: Macmillan, 1970), 134.

authenticity have been minimal. The location and provenance of the documentary evidence is generally verifiable, although the records of the colleges have to be approached with caution as they often tend to be celebratory and selective, rather than factual.

Institutional records are often incomplete, sometimes as a result of natural attrition over time, which would tend to be random, but frequently because those who had been in control preferred to exclude certain documents from their legacy. At Southampton Institute, this was specifically confirmed by the new Principal, Dr. Roger Brown and, as mentioned earlier, by a member of staff commented (in private) that many documents had been shredded by David Leyland. However all was not lost, for some crucial and highly confidential files had been mis-filed, possibly deliberately and by dissident staff. Other papers reappeared from personal filing cabinets and were refiled in the presence of the researcher, having previously been removed and preserved by members of the staff. Other significant gaps were filled because copy documents had previously been supplied to the researcher whilst Leyland was still Director of the Institute. Given the dangers of fabrication by interested parties, the returned files and the copies received from third parties could not be accepted as unconditionally valid, but, as Dr. Brown had made the bulk available, it was possible to authenticate such documents by comparison and placing them in context. No evidence or indication of tampering or fabrication was found, but that some of the gaps were premeditated rather than random made the search even more frustrating, for, whilst all the dross remained, the gold had been deliberately diminished.

The sheer volume of paper in the various archives was daunting, particularly as none of it had been catalogued. For Parsons, the college records alone occupied fifteen large boxes, into which the files had been dumped at random, items of college memorabilia being found at the bottom of one box, together with the official College seal and press.

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<sup>17</sup> Adamson, 161.

Any attempt at purely quantitative analysis of the data from the three colleges is fraught with difficulties, as data fabrication appears to have been a sub- (or even, major-) industry at each. At Parsons College, basic statistics were tailored to prove the point being made: thus the 1955 student enrolment at the College, when Roberts took over, is variously given as 212<sup>18</sup>, 236<sup>19</sup>, and 250,<sup>20</sup> depending on the source and original purpose of the statistic. A 1959 chart used by Roberts to illustrate his ‘plan’ shows that 360 freshmen were recruited in 1958, but by 1964 (when 960 freshmen are said to have been recruited), the need to exaggerate the 1958 figures had presumably passed and the chart shows the 1958 figure as only 310. Similarly, a 1960 chart shows student attrition as having dropped from 77.2% in 1955 (when Roberts took over) to 13.7% in 1958, rising to 27% in 1959, yet his 1964 chart shows that from 1958-1960 student attrition was steady at 13%, just fractionally below the national average. The definition of who constituted “faculty” also varied, expanding for the student/faculty ratio, but diminishing for the PhD/non-PhD ratio,<sup>21</sup> the proportion of “faculty” holding PhDs being inflated by as much as a third. Copies of some of these charts are reproduced on the pages which follow.<sup>22</sup>

In 1960, after a Presbyterian Board of Christian Education inspection team had visited the College, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Education informed the Chairman of the Parsons Trustees that there was a “radical distortion in [Roberts] ... understanding of the importance of the basic truth.”<sup>23</sup> He also concluded that “the team was fooled at several points ... [they] have not really gotten at the issues. This is the first

<sup>18</sup> Parsons College, “The Parsons College Story,” promotional brochure, October 20, 1956, 1 (Issued fifteen months into Roberts’ presidency).

<sup>19</sup> Parsons College, Fifteen Year Plan, Tenth Revision, June 1, 1966, 38. (possibly the most accurate figure, as by then enrolment was 5,000 and the precise base figure was relatively unimportant.)

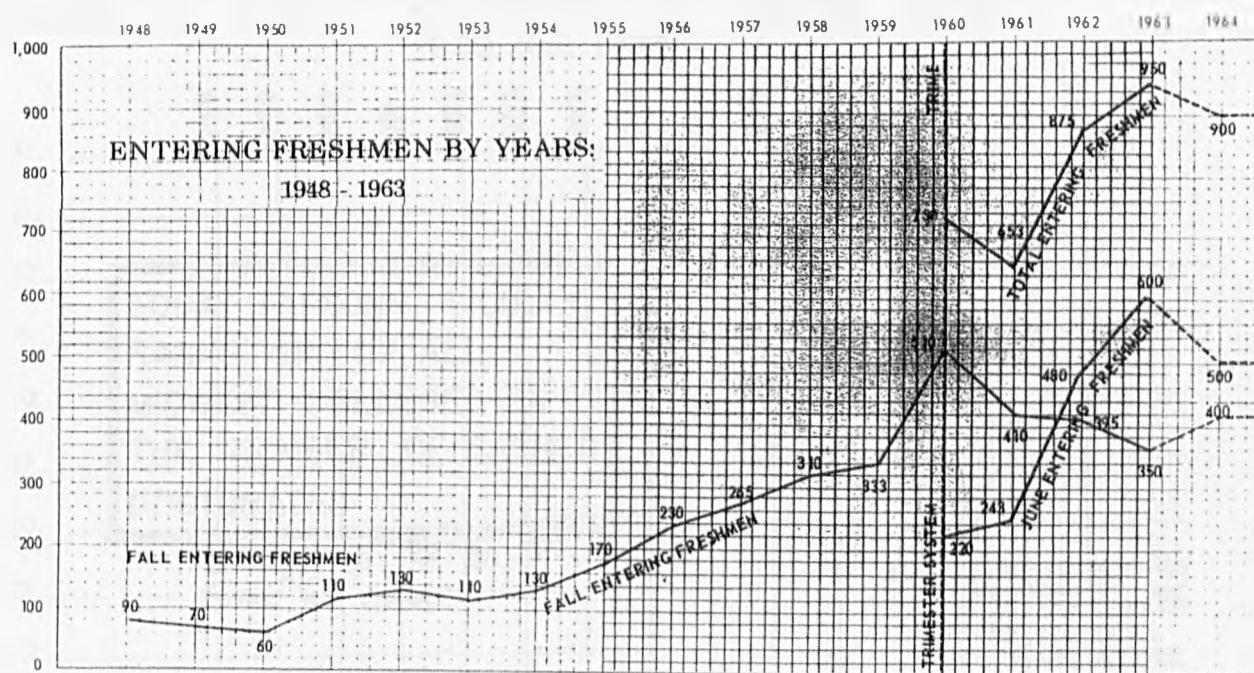
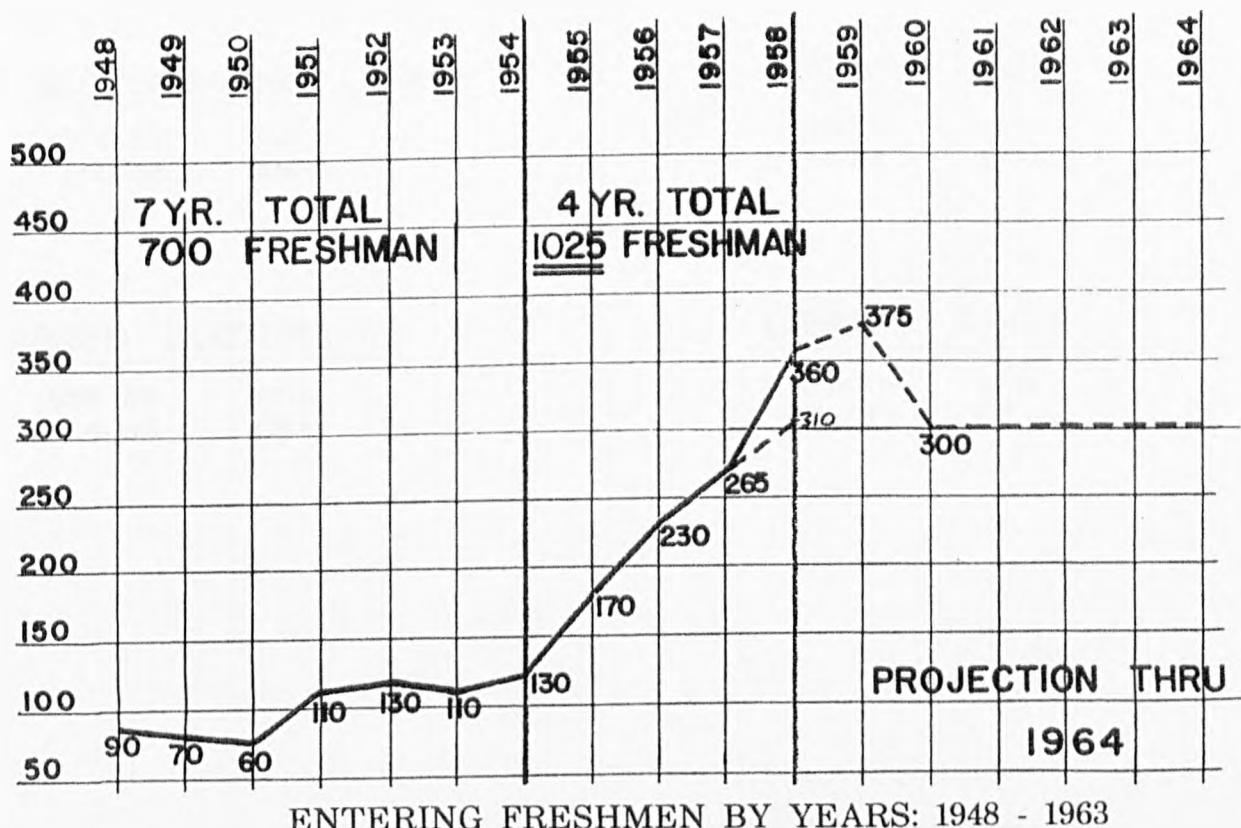
<sup>20</sup> Parsons College, “Institutional Data, Prepared 1958” (Parsons College archive)

<sup>21</sup> Parsons College, Charts in archives, Fairfield Public Library, Iowa.

<sup>22</sup> Parsons College, Charts in Parsons College archives, Fairfield Public Library, Iowa.

<sup>23</sup> William A. Morrison, General Secretary, Presbyterian Board of Christian Education to R. N. Hoerner, Chairman of Parsons Board of Trustees, letter, January 17, 1961 (carbon copy Presbyterian archives, Philadelphia).

FRESHMAN ENTERING PARSONS COLLEGE 1948 thru 1958



Source: Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library, Fairfield, Iowa.

**COMPARISON PARSONS COLLEGE WITH 234 ACCREDITED  
MIDWEST COLLEGES**

TODAY 1958-'59 and 1954-'55

**IN MEDIAN SALARY LEVELS**

1958-'59	8th
1954-'55	221 st

**LIBRARY BOOKS**

1958-'59	45th
1954-'55	190th

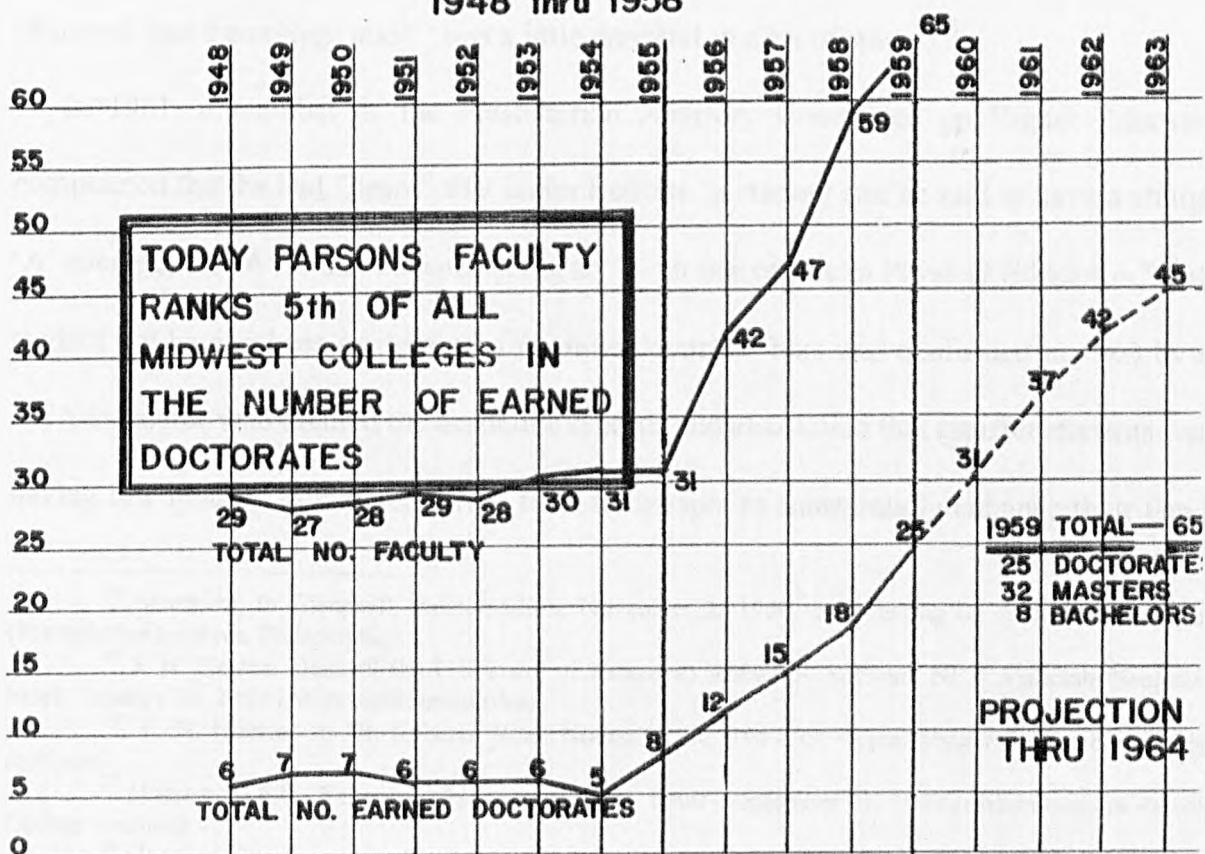
**EARNED DOCTORATES**

1958-'59	67th
1954-'55	215th

**LIBRARY STAFF**

1958-'59	37th
1954-'55	170th

**NUMBER OF EARNED DOCTORATES ON PARSONS FACULTY**  
1948 thru 1958



time this has happened.”<sup>24</sup> Soon afterwards, the NCA, having heard that Roberts was falsifying the financial records, sent an inspection team which was similarly unable to unearth any evidence.<sup>25</sup> In fact their suspicions were well-founded, for as early as 1957, R. N. Hoerner, Chairman of the College trustees, remonstrated with Roberts for his disregard of the truth when talking to the Board of Trustees:

For instance, the information you stated yesterday about the fact that we had over a million dollars in endowment funds was one that they are so ready to attack. Anyhow that I am just afraid we ought to be a little more careful - and say this in all kindness - in the things we say to these folks at Board meetings because they are ready to criticize anyhow that I just don't want to give them any more to criticize than they could possibly be given.<sup>26</sup>

In 1959, following a meeting with Federal Regulators in Chicago over the misuse of Federal housing funds, Hoerner again wrote to Roberts, “I hope we get along alright with the Federal Government, ...I would hate like the devil as embarrassing moment as I had to go through in pleasing those people, ...I know you needed to use the [Federal] money hither and yonder ...and you certainly balanced things all over the place to get things done.”<sup>27</sup> Later he observed that the college audit “was a little doubtful in a lot of spots.”<sup>28</sup>

In 1961, a member of the Presbyterian Advisory Committee on Higher Education complained that he had “heard” that under Roberts “a student can be said to have a straight ‘A’ average, the ‘A’ in one instance being an ‘A’ in one course in Physical Education,”<sup>29</sup> the student not having been given grades for failed courses. This was confirmed in 1963 by an NCA inspector who audited the academic records and also found that transfer students were having low grades “eliminated” from their transcripts to substantially enhance their Grade

<sup>24</sup> Morrison, to Campbell, memorandum, November 2, 1960, commenting on an inspection report (Presbyterian archives, Philadelphia).

<sup>25</sup> J. H. Nelson, Dean of the University of Kansas to Robert F. Sullivan, NCA Associate Secretary, letter, January 30, 1961 (NCA confidential files)

<sup>26</sup> R. N. Hoerner to Dr. Roberts, letter November 20, 1957, cc. Weissenbuger (in Parsons College archives).

<sup>27</sup> Hoerner to F.L. Walters, cc President Roberts, letter, September 21, 1959 (carbon copy in Parsons College Archive).

<sup>28</sup> Hoerner, Chairman to Roberts, letter, October 6, 1959 (Parsons College Archive).

Point Average, as were poor students seeking to graduate.<sup>30</sup> (This practice is often referred to as "credit washing.") In 1964, NCA inspectors again visited Parsons and found that "the kinds of data needed to support the claim of satisfactory student progress either were not available or were assembled in such a fashion as to make valid interpretation difficult if not impossible. Both reports had "called attention to the careless handling of statistics and to inconsistencies in the data that were assembled, with the result that the data were, in some instances, more likely to mislead than to inform. In 1967, the NCA report which led to loss of accreditation called attention to "the persistence of the same shortcomings ... lack of data,...inconsistencies, ...carelessness in the use of data, and excessive exaggeration."<sup>31</sup>

In June, 1967, the Parsons College trustees removed Roberts for breach of contract,<sup>32</sup> and in November 1967 an independent consultant confirmed the findings of the NCA team and stated that it was not until "the departure of Dr. Millard G. Roberts that [it was possible] ...for the first time to begin to bring the accounting and financial administration of the college into line with contemporary practices and to [disclose] ... fully the true status of the financial affairs of the institution."

At Upper Iowa University in the 1970s, according to Dan Crawford, "wide discrepancies in methods of counting enrolments ... caused figures to be in dispute. Some records show ...4,000. Other records indicate a peak of 2,000."<sup>33</sup> In 1972, the "New Horizons" campaign raised a million dollars, but when the College immediately asked for another million, "sentiment turned sour.... What, demanded donors, had happened to all the money?"<sup>34</sup> In

<sup>29</sup> F. C. Rosecrance, Dean of Wayne State University, MI to E. Fay Campbell, Secretary (Higher Education), Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, letter, January 17, 1961, commenting on an inspection report. (Presbyterian archives, Philadelphia).

<sup>30</sup> NCA to Earl S. Johnson, Frederick B. Oliver, Miller Upton, & Richard Davis members of NCA inspection team, memorandum dated May 20, 1963 (original in confidential files of NCA, Chicago).

<sup>31</sup> NCA to Parsons College, memorandum dated June 24, 1967 justifying withdrawal of accreditation (NCA files, Chicago).

<sup>32</sup> Joseph Semrow, Assistant Secretary of the NCA Commission for Colleges and Universities and Dr. Munson, Vice President for Academic Affairs, Parsons College, file note of a telephone conversation on June 26, 1967 (Confidential files of NCA, Chicago).

<sup>33</sup> Crawford, 205.

<sup>34</sup> Crawford, 196.

1996, when adults in an Information Technology class (taught by an ill-informed history professor) complained about the standard of teaching and the poor equipment, they were pacified by the whole class being given a grade of “A.”<sup>35</sup>

At Southampton Institute, in 1988, a training ship was sold for £30,000 and the Chairman of the Board of Governors, arguing that it was “not … illegal,” suggested the County Treasurer accept £25,000 for the vessel, plus a donation of £5,000, so circumventing Standing Orders (which required that goods valued at over £25,000 be sold by tender) and deceiving the Local Government auditors, a proposal summarily dismissed by the County Chief Executive as “grossly irregular.”<sup>36</sup> In 1994, Professor Jeremy Cooper, head of the SIHE Law Division, agreed to route fees for law courses outside the College records,<sup>37</sup> and payments of £1,000 and £12,690<sup>38</sup> were hand-carried from Greece, in “brown envelope(s),” with “no documentation” and “in complete disregard of financial regulations....”<sup>39</sup> In 1996 creative accounting had been required at SIHE “to balance the budget so as to arrive at a £1.4m surplus, the minimum acceptable … to satisfy the Bank's requirement for adequate cover of their interest charges,”<sup>40</sup> and Brian J. Bennett advised the Governors that “The budget forecasts an annual surplus of 1.4 million which is necessary to maintain confidence in the institute by outside bodies.”<sup>41</sup>

In the Autumn of 1994, Institute Director David Leyland told Professor Alan Hibbert, Director of Academic Operations, not to mention overseas ventures in the report to the

<sup>35</sup> Observed by the researcher and later confirmed by inspecting a student's grade report.

<sup>36</sup> Board of Governors of SIHE, Minutes of the Special Meeting, 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1988, para. 133.

<sup>37</sup> Jeremy Cooper to Alan Bates, STAR Ltd, and Registry, memoranda dated 7 July, 1994; Letter dated 5 April, 1994 from Spiros Avlonitis to Professor Jeremy Cooper, Head of Law Division. (SIHE confidential files).

<sup>38</sup> Spiros Avlonitis to SIHE, Franchising fee advice note, 2 February, 1995, Brian J. Bennett, Director of Resources to Mr. Avlonitis, letter, 13 February 1995 acknowledging receipt of £7,940 in cash and £4,750 in cheques, brought by hand from Athens

<sup>39</sup> Brian J. Bennett, Director of Resources to David G. Leyland, memorandum, 1 December, 1994 (SIHE Confidential files).

<sup>40</sup> SIHE, Resources Committee Meeting 18 June, 1996, approval of Revenue Budget 1996-97 (PAPER 96/BG 43), SIHE files.

<sup>41</sup> SIHE Director of Resources to Board of Governors, memorandum, 10 July 1996 re: 1996-97 Revenue Budget (Paper 96/BG/50, SIHE files).

HEQC, saying, "They are all extensions of our campus, so don't put them in," the logic being identical to that employed at UIU by President McKay when he designated the term "Extended University" to describe "more accurately the programs and curricula that are offered to students around the world. It describes and defines the University as existing far beyond the boundaries of the residential campus."<sup>42</sup> It also made it unnecessary to mention individual centers when inconvenient.

Thus the records of all three institutions cannot be taken at face value, particularly where numbers are concerned. However comparison with contemporaneous records and documentation, often from a different source, has facilitated confirmation of the authenticity of the information cited in the research. The work was facilitated by the researcher's prior experience in the UK Customs and Excise Investigation Branch, on secondment to US Treasury (Customs Department) as a Senior Special Agent and as a consultant to a New York City law firm.)

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<sup>42</sup> UIU, Alumni Association, "Extended Thinking: Notes from Upper Iowa's Extended University," The Bridge (Summer 1995), 14

## CHAPTER 4

### **THE CONCEPT OF ENTREPRENEURIALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION**

#### **“A Little Learning Is a Profitable Thing”<sup>1</sup>**

Although entrepreneurialism is generally considered to relate to the production of goods, it can apply equally to the provision of services or anything (e.g. ideas or concepts) for which consumers perceive a need. Hébert and Link credit Richard Cantillon with having originated the term ‘entrepreneur’ in 1732, although his work was not published until 1755, after his death.<sup>2</sup> However, they consider that the concept of the entrepreneur dates from the fourteenth century,<sup>3</sup> which is not to say that entrepreneurs did not exist prior to that date, merely that it was only then that they were identified as a distinct class within the broader mercantile field. Cantillon defined an “entrepreneur” as “someone who exercises business judgement in the face of uncertainty”<sup>4</sup> and Jean-Baptiste Say later extended this definition to include someone who advances a business interest by bringing together the factors of production. Perhaps more importantly, Say also distinguished between the profit that accrues from the capital which is invested and the profit which is generated by

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<sup>1</sup> John Fook, “At Parsons, A Little Learning Is a Profitable Thing,” Life Magazine, 60, 20 (June 3, 1996), 78. (presumably after Alexander Pope, “A little learning is a dangerous thing,” An Essay on Criticism (1711), line 215.)

<sup>2</sup> Cantillon, Richard, Essai Sur la Nature du Commerce en General (Paris: Institute National d'Etudes Demographic, 1755,) trans. Henry Higgs as Essay on the Nature of Trade in General (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1964).

<sup>3</sup> Hébert and Link, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cantillon, 17.

entrepreneurial activity,<sup>5</sup> which can include a decision to invest on behalf of others. The entrepreneur need not be a producer, but can act as an intermediary, linking the producer and the consumer.

Joseph Schumpeter, who is widely credited with developing the first coherent theory of entrepreneurial activity, argued that it was only by innovation that economic development could be achieved. His concept of the entrepreneur was of someone who devised “new combinations” of business methods, and he argued that “the function of an entrepreneur [is] ... to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an intervention or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source or supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an industry, and so on.”<sup>6</sup>

In the field of higher education, indications of such activity can arguably be dated at least as early as 1200, when the University of Paris received its charter,<sup>7</sup> signalling that scholarship in France had moved from being a ‘cottage industry’ to the more centralised concept of the university, thereby bringing together (in Schumpeter’s “new combination”) the “factors of production” in a particular place at which knowledge might be produced “in a new way.” In England, the concept of the university as vesting in a place or building, rather than in a group of itinerant scholars, had been recognised by 1231, when King Henry III wrote to the citizens of Cambridge, expressing a concern that the scholars might “leave our city [of Cambridge, abandoning]...the University.” He similarly confirmed that such an arrangement could be profitable when he referred to the “no small profit” and “honour” (in that order) that the recruitment of overseas students brought to his kingdom. He had

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<sup>5</sup> Jean-Baptiste Say, Catechism of Political Economy: Or Familiar Conversations on the Manner in Which Wealth is Produced, Distributed and Consumed by Society (London: Sherwood, 1815).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph A. Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy, Fifth edition (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1961).

<sup>7</sup> S. C. Roberts, British Universities (London: Collins, 1947), 7.

evidently heard that the townsfolk were trying to be over-entrepreneurial by seeking a greater return than was justified by the capital invested, for his letter continued:

But We have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so ... burdensome to the scholars ... that unless you behave yourselves more measurably and modestly ... they must leave our city, and having abandoned the University, depart from our land, which We in no respect desire. ... [if] any complaint should arrive to Us We should put our hand to the matter.<sup>8</sup>

Kilbre states that similar letters were also sent to the mayors and bailiffs of both Oxford and Cambridge and that the papal bull, Parens scientiarum, issued a month earlier in respect of the University of Paris, had also contained provisions for rent control.<sup>9</sup> Henry had presumably “exercised judgement in the face of uncertainty” as regards the scholars’ continued presence and concluded that the rents being charged were excessive, thus meeting Cantillon’s criterion. At the same time, his specific acknowledgement that the university was a source of income, and that ‘quasi-economic’ benefits would also accrue, meets Say’s criterion of ‘profit generated by entrepreneurial activity.’<sup>10</sup>

Earlier, in 1229, Henry had met Schumpeter’s criterion of “opening up a new source or supply of materials” when he offered to invest in the mediaeval equivalent of the “knowledge driven economy,”<sup>11</sup> by inviting the scholars at the University of Paris to relocate to England en masse:

We give your University to understand that if you will you may migrate to our Kingdom of England and stay there to study, and that We will assign to you whatever cities, boros and towns you may choose, and in liberty and tranquillity we will do all such things becoming to give you pleasure as shall suffice you and be pleasing to God.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Henry III to the citizens of Cambridge, letter written from Oxford, 3<sup>rd</sup> May 1231; quoted by Mansbridge, 10, fn. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Pearl Kilbre, Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages (Cambridge MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1962), 270.

<sup>10</sup> Say.

<sup>11</sup> UK White Paper, Our Competitive Future: Building the Knowledge-Driven Economy Cmnd 4176 (London: HMSO, December, 1998).

<sup>12</sup> Henry III to the Scholars of the University of Paris, open letter written at Reading, July 16th, 1229, quoted by Mansbridge, 9-10.

In 1999, in a not dissimilar attempt to entice bodies-corporate to the Kingdom, notably those involved in the “knowledge-driven economy,” the Prime Minister, Tony Blair, wrote:

As the global economy becomes ever more integrated, so companies of all sizes have to decide the most profitable location for their businesses. The UK has a dynamic, open and competitive market economy and government policies dedicated to long-term stability. That means you can plan corporate growth with confidence in the future. If you have not already done so, now is the time to join us.”<sup>13</sup>

Blair’s mention of “government policies dedicated to long-term stability,” in some measure corresponds to Henry’s offer of “tranquillity” and concern for rent stability at Cambridge, whilst the suggestion that they “decide the most profitable location for their businesses” corresponds to Henry’s offer “that We wilt assign to you whatever cities, boros and towns you may choose.” It is worthy of note that the cities, etc. were to be assigned to the Parisian scholars and not vice-versa.

### **The Agent as Entrepreneur**

Cantillon's definition of an entrepreneur is based on function rather than investment and it also admits the possibility of employees exercising “business judgement” (i.e. acting on their own initiative) on behalf of an employer, or as agents on behalf of their principal, as entrepreneurs, as was the case of the King's subjects at Cambridge or the DTI civil servants in the Invest in Britain Bureau, who offer incentives on behalf of the Government. The definition also recognises that being an entrepreneur does not require any direct financial investment in the entrepreneurial venture and distinguishes the 'value' added by the entrepreneur (or, by implication, subtracted as a loss) to the enterprise from the return on the capital which has been invested by others. Those who merely invest are not entrepreneurs, for other than an initial decisions to invest or, later, to divest, they do not exercise any “business judgement” in relation to the actual operation of the organisation.

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<sup>13</sup> Tony Blair, “Welcome Message from Prime Minister Tony Blair,” DTI Invest in Britain Bureau (IBB) Homepage, 15 August, 1999. <http://www.dti.gov.uk/public/exp.html>

Although Cantillon addressed the role of the entrepreneur in a commercial context, specifically in the heavily regulated context of the French republic, entrepreneurial activity within publicly owned organisations, such as state colleges, transport and other utilities, is also possible. In 1933, a study by Adolf Berle and Gardiner Means demonstrated that in most American corporations the stockholders, i.e. owners, had no direct role in management and that the managers generally had insignificant holdings of stock and so existing theories of entrepreneurial behaviour did not explain the behaviour of managers.<sup>14</sup> Robert Hisrich defined entrepreneurship as “the process of creating something different with value by devoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychological, and social risks and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary and personal satisfaction.”<sup>15</sup> This definition, whilst referring to “the accompanying financial … risks,” does not mandate investment of personal funds and corresponds to Schumpeter’s contention that “the entrepreneur [as such] is never the risk bearer.”<sup>16</sup> It also leaves it open for entrepreneurs to operate in a ‘not for profit’ state or private sector, where no individual invests. Whilst they will not be risking personal capital or bearing direct financial losses, they usually benefit directly from profits through a salary based on the size of their budget, performance related pay or bonuses and, whilst boosting their personal status, they will also face the risk of dismissal for failure. They will then lose control of the “economic capital” which, whilst never theirs, had given them “a much greater influence than those who possess (to use Bourdieu’s terminology) social, or cultural-educational capital.”<sup>17</sup> This,

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<sup>14</sup> Adolf A. Berle Jr. and Gardiner Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (New York, Macmillan, 1933).

<sup>15</sup> Hisrich, 96.

<sup>16</sup> Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1961), 137.

<sup>17</sup> Nicos Mouzelis, “Multi-Cultural Europe: Conceptualising Complexity on the Socio-Cultural and Educational Levels,” in eds., Kazamias & Spillane, 17.

given the Press interest in such matters, can result in a substantial loss of prestige and of their own personal 'human capital,' particularly in terms of future employability.<sup>18</sup>

The losses which can potentially befall the entrepreneur are graphically depicted in the life-size bronze statue, "The Entrepreneur," on the campus of Upper Iowa University. This is a half completed sculpture, in which the "self-made man," hammer in one hand, chisel in the other, is said to be seen "in his struggle to chisel himself from common stone. Blinded, the Entrepreneur must trust his instincts. His hand is battered from misplaced strokes of the hammer, constant reminders of his own mistakes. Not knowing if the next strike of the chisel will cut himself off at the knee or allow him to move further toward his goal, he continues unimpeded by his mistakes."<sup>19</sup>

However, the concept that the entrepreneur as an individual, such as Richard Branson of Virgin or Bill Gates of Microsoft, who has the "Go for it"<sup>20</sup> capability to pursue an idea until it balloons into a business, from which, in the best capitalist tradition, they make a great deal of money, would tend to confine entrepreneurialism to the 'for-profit' sector of an economy. Although Schumpeter initially considered that the entrepreneur would be an individual, with the changes being the fruit of new firms, he later concluded that such changes could take place within existing organisations, although he emphasised that in such circumstances the necessary innovations could well be stifled by bureaucracy,<sup>21</sup> major exemplars of which are generally found to be representing the State.

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<sup>18</sup> E.g. "From Limousine to Ignominy ... Fall Swift for Iowa Prexy," Headline to Associated Press story of the dismissal of Millard G. Roberts as President of Parsons College, Cincinnati Inquirer, Ohio, July 4, 1967. Thirty years later at Southampton, David G. Leyland fared better, the Institute having issued libel writs on his behalf against The Observer, the Southampton Echo and Andrew Head, the reporter who was pursuing the Institute 'story.' The latter therefore used the neutral and low key headline, "Committee to pick new Director," without a byline, Southampton Echo, 27 July, 1997.

<sup>19</sup> Dean Kermit Allison (1988) quoted on the UIU website, <http://www.uiu.edu/announce/entre.htm>.

<sup>20</sup> V. Kiam, Going For It! How to Succeed as an Entrepreneur (New York: William Morrow, 1986); David A. Silver, The Entrepreneurial Life: How to Go for It and Get it. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1982).

<sup>21</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 136.

Entrepreneurs in the commercial sector, when seeking to innovate, can “... most often settle for a plausible estimate of the outcome of a decision, rather than on any assured certainty.”<sup>22</sup> In the state sector, however, where public funds are seen to be at risk, the regulators, and the public they represent, would be more likely to expect a standard of “assured certainty.” Another major difference is that whilst shareholders in a commercial enterprise can express their displeasure by selling their shares or replacing the Board of Directors or company officers, the stakeholders in a state or municipal organisation cannot sell their stake and have little or no direct control of the operation.<sup>23</sup> (Except, of course, through a government-sponsored process of privatisation such as that mounted under the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher, when the sale was initiated, authorised and conducted by the ‘trustees’ rather than by the stakeholders.) In consequence, public sector entrepreneurial activity may face far more intensive indirect scrutiny, not only from MPs, the Press, the public and political interest groups, but also from state auditors and regulators, than do most commercial enterprises.

Some researchers have sought to restrict the concept of entrepreneurship to the founding of new enterprises, coining the term “intrapreneur” to define “an entrepreneur within an already established organisation.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, whereas entrepreneurship is said to involve “going into business for oneself,”<sup>25</sup> intrapreneurship involves “serving oneself and the company or organisation within which one works,”<sup>26</sup> and does not require direct involvement in market-based, personal gain, although the intrapreneur may benefit indirectly through salary increases or bonuses. (At Parsons, “Roberts persuaded the board to adopt the policy of always paying the president twice as much as the highest paid professor.” As Gibson dryly

<sup>22</sup> R. D. Hirsch, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Except through a government-sponsored process of privatisation such as was mounted under the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher, and then the sale was initiated, authorised and conducted by the ‘trustees’ rather than by the stakeholders.

<sup>24</sup> Gifford Pinchot III, (1983) quoted in Histrich, 96.

<sup>25</sup> Baron Perleman, James Gueths & Donald A. Weber, The Academic Intrapreneur (New York Praeger, 1988), 14.

adds, "Perhaps his incentive would cause some presidents to push faculty salaries slightly higher than normal.<sup>27</sup>)

Once the requirement to directly benefit from market success is removed, the concept of the intrapreneur who promotes 'preneurial' activity in a not-for-profit organisation becomes possible. However, a major factor which complicates any consideration of the contribution made by the entrepreneur in the public sector is that the operations in which they are engaged may be perceived by government and others as being economically, socially or politically desirable, and these therefore frequently receive publicly funded subsidies or grants. (In some circumstances, government subsidies and grants are similarly available to the private sector entrepreneur, but that is a separate issue.) The receipt of such funds, which have not been earned, but for which goods or services may well be delivered, distort any simple approach to identifying the 'profit' accrued from 'preneurial' activity, hence the insistence of funding agencies, such as the HEFC (and similarly in the US, the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency) that investments in, and profits and losses from, such activity should be strictly segregated from government-funded capital grants and associated fee income.<sup>28</sup>

Bös et al.,<sup>29</sup> focusing on Niskanen's concept of the "public utility entrepreneur,"<sup>30</sup> explored Schumpeter's duopoly game, to be played with the ruling bureaucrats, including regulators. They devised a complex mathematical model to explore the implications of entrepreneurial activity within an organisation operating in the public sector and receiving, not only its commercially earned income, but also non-earned (grant or subsidy) income

<sup>26</sup> Perleman et al., 14.

<sup>27</sup> Raymond C. Gibson, "The Scholarch of Parsons College, *Phi Delta Kappan*, June, 1968, 587-591.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. HEFCE Audit Service, "Evaluation of Internal Control Arrangements, Southampton Institute (October 1996), Recommendation 1, "The total losses on the Athens operation should be notified to the HEFC complete with a statement that such losses have not been borne by grant and fee income."

<sup>29</sup> D. Bös, G. Tillmann and H.-G. Zimmermann, "Bureaucratic Public Enterprises" in D. D. Bös, A. Bergson and J. R. Meyer, *Entrepreneurship* (Wien/New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984), 126-176.

from a sponsor. Their ‘duopoly’ model was conceptualised in terms of London Transport, but it is generalised and the mathematics could be equally applicable to a similarly financed institute of higher education, something which is beyond the scope of the present research.

In identifying the motivation of the “public utility entrepreneur,” Bös et al. adopt Niskanen’s hypothesis, which “imputes to the typical public utility entrepreneur the intention of maximizing his influence, his prestige, his income, the number of his subordinates, the amount of money he can spend, in short: he maximises his budget.”<sup>31</sup> (Raymond Gibson, Provost at Parsons College from 1966-67, says that in that year “Parsons had the highest administrative costs I have ever found in an institution with similar enrollment. Central administration costs could have been reduced by \$500,000 without curtailing services...” As Professor of Education at the University of Indiana, consultant on higher education to universities in Thailand and Peru and to the State Education Departments of three US states, he was presumably well qualified to judge.<sup>32</sup>)

Bös et al. argue that the motivation of the “public utility entrepreneur,” will typically differ from that of a “private entrepreneur” for three reasons, the first being that:

...the institutional arrangements will differ, the private entrepreneur being able to concentrate all his activities on his customers, the public utility entrepreneur splitting his activities between serving the customers and being engaged in a duopoly game with some supervisory public authority.<sup>33</sup>

However, except in the case of the private entrepreneur who is a sole proprietor, this is not correct, for, where there are investors or shareholders to consider, the concept of a duopoly may apply, particularly in times of stress. In the case of institutions of higher education, the duopoly may actually be a triopoly, comprising sponsors (such as a government funding agency (e.g. HEFCE), a church or a major benefactor), accrediting agencies (such as the

<sup>30</sup> W. A. Niskanen, Bureaucracy and Representative Government. (Chicago: Aldine, Atherton, 1971); idem, “Bureaucrats and Politicians,” Journal of Law and Economics (1975), 18, 617-643, cited in Bös et al., 126, fn. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Niskanen, Bureaucracy; idem, “Bureaucrats and Politicians,” cited in Bös et al., 126, fn. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Gibson, 587-591.

<sup>33</sup> Bös et al., 127.

NCA, the HEQC or the QAA) and the entrepreneur. In the case of American commercial universities, such as the University of Phoenix,<sup>34</sup> the parent company, Apollo, and its stockholders will take an interest, and that they are profit-oriented may put them even more at odds with the supervisory authorities such as NCA, membership of which is an essential marketing tool.

Secondly Bös et al. argue that:

...whilst the private entrepreneur may maximize his profits without any non-market constraint, the public utility entrepreneur will be obliged to achieve "a break-even position, taking into account the combined income from commercial revenue and from the grants from the above mentioned public authority

They appear to ignore the fact that additional "profits" can be made, without compromising the "break-even position," if such profits are expended as discretionary funds within the external constraints imposed on the public utility, as for example, on 'internal' welfare services and facilities: e.g. reduced fees for staff taking courses, subsidised staff canteen, turning a 'blind eye' to non-employment related use of institutional equipment and services, or (in the case of a college) expanding the library to the benefit of faculty (rather than the student-customers) or to pay for faculty to attend marginally useful conferences. Such funds will also assist in securing staff loyalty, and expenditure does not have to be justified by need, ranging, for example, from the purchase of a new executive desk (to use Leyland's example<sup>35</sup>) to the enlargement, refurbishment and re-furnishing of an executive office suite, both previously deemed adequate.

Babbidge and Rosenzweig suggested that "a workable twentieth century definition of institutional autonomy [is] the absence of dependence upon a single or narrow base of support."<sup>36</sup> Whereas it was formerly the churches, royal patrons and private philanthropists

<sup>34</sup> Times Higher Educational Supplement, "Corporate Unis muscle in," July 9, 1999, 3.

<sup>35</sup> David G Leyland, "Commercialism," 23-33; *idem*, "Corporate Strategy," 22-32.

<sup>36</sup> H. D. Babbidge and R. Rosenzweig The Federal Interest in Higher Education, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962; quoted by Burton R. Clarke, Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organisational Pathways of Transformation (Oxford: Pergamon, 1998), 7.

who endowed colleges, today non-government sponsorship more often comes from commercial concerns and foundations, and manifests itself in such public (and hence market oriented) ways as the naming (or re-naming) of colleges and universities in return for concrete cash. This is, of course, a tradition which started over a century ago in the United States, but the passage of time has disconnected the Carnegie Libraries from pig iron, Stanford University from railroad cartels, and the University of Chicago from crude oil. Thus, Kellogg College was more recently endowed with funds from the Kellogg's breakfast cereal company; Manchester College Oxford, was renamed Manchester Harris College Oxford in response to funds received from the Harris carpet retailing company; whilst Liverpool John Moores University is named for the mail order catalogue retailer. Such discretionary funds also facilitate "the opportunity to make significant moves without waiting for system-wide enactments that come slowly, with standardizing rules attached."<sup>37</sup> All such expenditure will assist the 'public utility' entrepreneur to "maximise his budget," in accordance with the hypothesis of Niskanen.

Thirdly Bös et al. contend that, "the public utility entrepreneur will not maximize profits....which does not necessarily mean that he maximises welfare."<sup>38</sup> By "welfare," they mean benefits to external actors, i.e. the customers, say in terms of lower fares, newer equipment, and the supply of uneconomic services to minorities e.g. services for small isolated communities, shift-workers or remote offices or industrial units. In higher education terms this can mean subsidies to students or the local community, either directly, for example through scholarships or book grants, or indirectly, as subsidies to access courses, student organisations and activities open to the public. The 1996 "Millais Centenary Exhibition" at Southampton Institute, "which received particularly glowing reviews in all of

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<sup>37</sup> Burton R. Clarke, Creating Entrepreneurial Universities: Organisational Pathways of Transformation (Oxford: Pergamon, 1998), 7.

<sup>38</sup> Bos et al., 126.

the national quality newspapers and specialist art magazines,”<sup>39</sup> demonstrates how the judicious use of such subsidies can serve not only to make a campus more attractive to potential students, but also to raise the national profile of an institution. Although such use is oriented towards marketing, the effect is to increase “welfare.”

### **New Outlets, New Combinations, and the Slicing of Fish**

One function of the education entrepreneur is to identify new markets where knowledge may be sold, in “new combinations,” old combinations (possibly repackaged) or sliced up into ‘modules.’ Although previously the purveyor of learning has determined how and when learning will be delivered, in the new regimen the customer makes the determination, and the entrepreneurial educator, of necessity, operates in markets which may be distinguished by time, place, and medium, by competition, participation, motivation and accessibility (in terms both of admission and travel), and last but, not least, by course offering (or ‘product’), position and price.

- ‘**Time:**’ This can include day or evening courses, part-time or full-time, or whenever the student feels inclined or has time, as for example at Summer Schools.
- ‘**Place:**’ Provision can be made on-campus, at an extra-mural department, at a remote campus, in a remote rented space or in the student’s home, and not necessarily in the same country or state as the main campus;
- ‘**Medium:**’ This encompasses the delivery of courses by mass lecture, small tutorial or facilitated private study (which may just be a book in the “Teach Yourself” series<sup>40</sup>), self-learn packages using paper-, audio- or video-based methods, and most recently and with the

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<sup>39</sup> Tim Wheeler, “Press and Media Coverage,” Report to the Board of Governors by Professor Tim Wheeler, Director of Academic Quality, SIHE, (Minutes of Governor’s Meeting, 18 September, 1996).

greatest potential for entrepreneurial delivery, by computer mediated courses and programmes.<sup>41</sup>

- ‘**Competition:**’ This reflects the alternative sources open to the student, which for distance learning programmes can be many, but, for classroom based instruction at a remote location, may be few. If the course being offered is itself unique, there will be little or no direct competition, hence institutional interest in creating ‘niche’ courses.
- ‘**Participation:**’ This can include the traditional 18-23 year old, the returnee to higher education after a gap, the professional (including the long term professional student), the mature student, the retiree, the status seeker, the ‘hobby’ student and even the lonely.
- ‘**Motivation:**’ One of the most complex factors, this can range from seeking a degree to seeking a social life (the two not being mutually exclusive), professional advancement, development or updating (possibly to meet employer or employment requirements), second language acquisition (not necessarily through courses intended to teach that language), personal gratification or the pursuit of a hobby.
- ‘**Accessibility:**’ This is closely linked to ‘Medium,’ for either the student must come to the learning or the learning must go to the student. It is also linked to the financial and academic standing of the student, for if the students do not have personal transport then transport will need to be provided. (as will be seen later, the branch campuses in Athens are located according to wealth of the students they are targeting.). Similarly, if the standard of applicants is low, the potential pool will need to be enlarged, or post-entry remedial courses provided to make up the deficiencies. Transport has always had significant implications for

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<sup>40</sup> E.g., John H. Elliott, Teach Yourself Botany, Teach Yourself Series (London: English Universities Press, 1958)

<sup>41</sup> William Seaton, “Computer Mediated Communication and Student Self-directed Learning,” Journal of Open Learning, June, 1993, 49-54.

education, the introduction of reliable mail services heralding the advent of organised distance learning, later to be completely reorganised and extended by the Internet, whilst the availability of public transport will facilitate the commuter student, so enlarging the catchment area. In 1863, the Rev. E. Parry, had told the Durham University Commissioners that it had always seemed to him “that Durham was intended to compete with Oxford and Cambridge, for north countrymen; but that in the present days of railways it cannot compete on the same grounds with the older Universities,” as these were now more accessible from the North. He suggested that if admission standards (by implication, social rather than academic) at Durham were lowered, “men of ability taken from a lower class, and therefore from a larger area, would seek it. The standard might thus be greatly raised.”<sup>42</sup>

- **‘Course Offerings:’** It is here that institutions can be particularly creative in carving out their own niche, often based on local interests and tapping into the local, and hence most accessible, market. Courses can range from the traditional, mainstream disciplines to ‘fringe courses,’ which meet a wide variety of tastes and requirements. In the UK these run from “Leisure Facilities Management (Football)” to “Menswear Studies” and “Culinary Science,” and, in further education,<sup>43</sup> to “Kazoo marching bands.”<sup>44</sup>
- **Position:** The market ‘position’ of an institution is determined by the perceptions of those who are considering buying its product, and in particular the immediate associations generated by the mention of its name, often as a result of publicity and press coverage, favourable or otherwise. Oxford, Cambridge, Trinity College (Dublin), are in a group on their own, as are Harvard, Yale and other ‘Ivy League’ institutions. Similarly the “former

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<sup>42</sup> Durham University Commissioners, Minutes of Evidence taken before the Durham University Commissioners, 1863, xlvi. Excerpted in Sanderson, 107-108, para 1428.

<sup>43</sup> BSc in Leisure Facilities Management (Football) at Liverpool John Moores University; BSc in Menswear Studies at Bothbrook College, Worthing; BSc in Culinary Science at Thames Valley University, Slough, Kazoo Marching Band course at Bilston College, Wolverhampton.

<sup>44</sup> BBC News, “Kazoo Marching Band course at Bilston College, Wolverhampton,” BBC Online Network, [Http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/education/newsid\\_332000/332626.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/education/newsid_332000/332626.stm), April 30, 1999.

polytechnics,” in the UK, and the “Big Ten” state universities in the USA describe groups of universities having specific characteristics. Some institutions form their own group, as did Parsons College (which was known as “Flunk-Out U,” because of the number of its students who had transferred in after failing elsewhere<sup>45</sup>) and its six satellite colleges. Positioning may extend to particular courses, as with Southampton Institute’s Marine Leisure Management degree (popularly known as “the water sports course” and now discontinued).<sup>46</sup> This was said to have been set up to attract “RTK’s” (Rich, Thick Kids), who could not get into a British University, but had parents who could afford to send them to Spain for three years.”<sup>47</sup> According to the Southampton Institute course literature, the “magnificent beaches and favourable climate” made the course “more pleasurable than Maths in Manchester.”<sup>48</sup> The application form provided only four spaces for subjects taken at either “O” or GCE “A” level, so applicants were presumably alerted to the idea that this course was unlikely to be intellectually taxing and few will have viewed it as an alternative to, say, Philosophy, Politics and Economics (PPE) at Oxford. Such positioning is governed by the realisation that students who are poorly qualified will be more interested in ease of admission, whilst those who are well qualified are likely to be more concerned with the reputation of the institution, the research rating of the particular department and the reputation of its academic staff. The Southampton course was thus ‘positioned’ to attract a particular type of student.

Peter Schaffer argues that “For an institution to develop marketing strategies to improve or to capitalize on its market position, it is necessary to know how it is perceived.”<sup>49</sup> Strategic planning for an institution should therefore include the development of

<sup>45</sup> Fook, 77-82.

<sup>46</sup> Barry Hughill, “Uproar Over Sleaze and Swank on the Campus, *Observer* 14 July, 1996, 10.

<sup>47</sup> *Observer*, 14 July, 1996, 10 (quoting staff member)

<sup>48</sup> *Observer*, 14 July, 1996, 10.

<sup>49</sup> Peter Brook Shaffer, “The Identification of Market Positions of Wisconsin Private Colleges” (PhD Thesis, University of Wisconsin Madison, 1978).

“differentiated programs for different markets, [and thinking] in terms of seeking meaningfully distinctive advantages which set it apart from all other institutions offering similar programs.”<sup>50</sup> However there are other factors, such as endowment, over which the planners may have less control: in 1863, the Rev. B. Jowett told the Durham University Commissioners that “it is not wise for the University to attempt to occupy the same ground as Oxford and Cambridge.... It ought to be as unlike Oxford and Cambridge as possible. It cannot compete with their rich endowments, and owing to the recent changes made in them [under the Oxford Act of 1854 and the Cambridge Act of 1856, which ended the disqualification of non-conformists], will hereafter be at greater disadvantage than hitherto.”<sup>51</sup>

- **Price:** In the United States, price is an obvious factor to be taken into consideration in selecting a college or university. However, in the United Kingdom, places at HEIs are generally made available at a price fixed under the contract between the relevant funding council and the HEI, and institutions wishing to compete on price have to do so in respect of specific courses for which they do not have such a contract. In 1999 Oxford Brookes University announced that it was effectively setting up a “private students” section within the university (akin to the Private Patients’ wing in a National Health hospital), where full cost courses would be provided for overseas students. The Vice-Chancellor, Jim Bradshaw, announced, “We identified an overseas opportunity where there was a large demand for courses and we did not have a contract with the HEFCE for student places.”<sup>52</sup> As the courses would not receive funding from the HEFCE, the university could set the fees at whatever the market would bear. For the same reason, many UK universities have opened overseas branches and campuses, or set up distance learning programmes, where they are

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<sup>50</sup> A. R. Krachenberg, “Bringing the Concept of Marketing to Higher Education,” *The Journal of Higher Education*, May, 1972, 369-80.

<sup>51</sup> Durham University Commissioners, xlvi, in Sanderson, 107-108, para 1935.

free to set fees at whatever level they choose. Thus whilst Oxford Brooks is proposing an annual tuition fee of £4,700 for its on campus private courses, Southampton Institute was charging £5,800 (tuition only) for the Marine Leisure Management degree course in Spain. The concept of competing on price had been mooted in 1863 by the Rev. E. Parry, who argued that the University of Durham had declined "because the education was not made as cheap as it might have been."<sup>53</sup>

### **Education, Pay-dirt and the Merchants of Learning**

It is thus open to the individual educator to identify a gap in the market and then to create a course to fill it. This can lead to dissent, both within the academy and with the external accreditors and arbiters of quality, including the press and the public (but not necessarily, the external examiners, who will presumably have been selected because they are wedded to the cause). Thus the "... curriculum has given away to marketplace philosophy: it is a supermarket where the students are shoppers and professors are merchants of learning. Fads and fashions, the demands of popularity and success, enter where wisdom and experience should prevail."<sup>54</sup> These words, which aptly describe the current situation in Britain, were in fact written in 1985, seven years before the passage of the 1992 UK Act, to describe the situation in the United States, where it still exists. There, as Eric Ashby had noted (even earlier), "...the idea that all knowledge, from genetics to golf, could ...be studied for credit, and that all professions, from medicine to advertising, could look to the university for vocational training, [was expressed by Ezra Cornell and condensed into the words found on

<sup>52</sup> "University ushers in back door private fee," *Times Higher Educational Supplement*, July 9, 1999.

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<sup>53</sup> Durham University Commissioners, xlvi, in Sanderson, 107-108, para 1428.

<sup>54</sup> Association of American Colleges, *Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community* (Washington DC: 1985), 2:2.

the great seal of Cornell University.] ‘I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study’.”<sup>55</sup>

In 1903, David Starr Jordan observed that “It is not for the university to decide on the relative merits of knowledge. Each man makes his own market, controlled by his own standards. It is for the university to see that all standards are honest, that all work is genuine.”<sup>56</sup> Somewhat more graphically, the director of a new off-campus program in the American Mid-West is said to have told his staff, “We’ve hit pay-dirt here, but if we get it wrong the academic boys will hang us.”<sup>57</sup>

### **To Market, to Market to Find a Stu-dent, Home Again, Home Again, the Professor Went!**<sup>58</sup>

In the late nineteenth century, the extension departments of Oxford and Cambridge, and later that of the Victoria University of Manchester,<sup>59</sup> were set up to serve an adult, non-matriculated constituency which was very different, both in personal circumstances and ultimate aims, from the undergraduates found at the university itself. Although the motives of the promoters were largely altruistic, the methods adopted were entrepreneurial, for the lecturers received fees and expenses and it was necessary to secure sufficient students willing and (more importantly) able to pay the lecture fee. According to Kelly, the fee for a twelve-lecture course could represent half, if not all, the worker’s weekly wage of “a little over £1.”<sup>60</sup> The lecturer received £3 or £4 per half-day lecture, an interesting reflection of the pay differential between lecturer and lectured. Various writers have noted that the

<sup>55</sup> Eric Ashby, Universities: British, Indian, African (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), 14.

<sup>56</sup> David Starr Jordan, The Voice of the Scholar, San Francisco: Paul Elder, 1903).

<sup>57</sup> Author not identified.

<sup>58</sup> Suggested by the heading, “Going to Market,” University of Birmingham, The Bulletin, Special Edition, 29, July 1999, 3

<sup>59</sup> Thomas Kelly, A History of Adult Education in Great Britain, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1962), 222-224.

<sup>60</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 225.

lectures served two constituencies, the serious students and those who attended the lectures for recreation,<sup>61</sup> it being the latter who had the money and largely attended the day sessions.

The extension centres were thus serving several markets simultaneously, each having its own characteristics, and “popularity of subject [was] ... in too many centres essential to financial success, educational continuity [being] ... neglected.”<sup>62</sup> Equity suggested entrepreneurial measures and so differential fees were introduced, based on what the market would stand, and the fee would be set at (say) £1.05 during the day and five shillings (£0.25) for the same course in the evening (which method presumably also separated the sheep from the goats). Fees were further mitigated by grants from various sources, philanthropic, employer and local authorities.<sup>63</sup> It was the lecturer who received Say’s ‘profit generated by entrepreneurial activity,’<sup>64</sup> possibly “by producing a new commodity or [finding] a new ... outlet for products, ... and so on.”<sup>65</sup> Although the centres received grants, they were seemingly regulated by the market rather than by ‘ruling bureaucrats, including regulators,’ and it is unlikely that Schumpeter’s duopoly game, as envisaged in Bös et al.’s model and Niskanen’s concept of the “public utility entrepreneur,” would apply.<sup>66</sup>

In serving the local populace, the extension centres were frequently designated ‘extra-mural,’ presumably to emphasise that they were without the wall, if not ‘beyond the pale.’ Although residential beach-heads were established at Oxford and Manchester, in each case they were separate from the university, being ‘in the town, but not of the gown.’ Ruskin College at Oxford was (notably) founded by three visiting Americans, Charles Beard, Walter Vrooman and his wife, Mrs. A. L. Vrooman.<sup>67</sup> They were presumably familiar with

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 233. Cf. “the cachet of a university course and an alternative to the bridge club,” M. G. Spillane, “Giving Credit Where Credit Is Due: Reviving Hyland’s De-Mythologised CATS” (Reply to Terry Hyland on Credit Accumulation and Transfer) in Adults Learning, 7 (May 1996), 233-235.

<sup>62</sup> Philip Hartog, quoted by Kelly, Adult Education, 234.

<sup>63</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 234.

<sup>64</sup> Say.

<sup>65</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

<sup>66</sup> Niskanen, Bureaucracy; idem, “Bureaucrats,” cited in Bös et al., 126, fn. 2.

<sup>67</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 244-245.

the American state systems of extension, which, in general, were more integrated with the main mission of the universities, and added “popular education to the traditional university functions of teaching and research.”<sup>68</sup> Although Kathleen Rockhill, writing of the relationship between the Extension Division and the Faculty at the University of California, was to note “...a fundamental tension ...between the entrepreneurial orientation of Extension and the purist [orientation] of the ideals of academe,”<sup>69</sup> the tension was not in relation to the principle of extension, but rather to its orientation. In 1905, Charles R. Van Hise, President of the University of Wisconsin, was to comment that it seemed to him that “a state university should not be above meeting the needs of the people, however elementary the instruction necessary to accomplish this.”<sup>70</sup>

However Ruskin College did not have an “entrepreneurial orientation,” the fees being kept remarkably low and the Vroomans losing “a great deal of money” in the process. A second and short-lived Ruskin College was founded in Manchester, linked to the Manchester University settlement and also outside the university. In both cases the working class college was insulated from the university, although at Oxford this was as much at the instigation of the Ruskin students, who were drawn from the English ‘working-class’ and rejected the influence and teaching of the university as being “bourgeois.”<sup>71</sup>

### **Industrial History Repeats Itself, But in a New Context**

In 1997, Dearing anticipated the need for life-long learning in higher education and sought to promote its provision by moving funding towards institutions which “can demonstrate a commitment to widening participation in the recent past, and have a robust strategy for

<sup>68</sup> Frederick M. Rosentreter, The Boundaries of the Campus (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), 21.

<sup>69</sup> Kathleen Rockhill, Academic Excellence and Public Service (New Brunswick NJ, Transaction Books, 1983), 239.

<sup>70</sup> Quoted by Rosentreter, 43.

<sup>71</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 244-246.

doing so in the future.”<sup>72</sup> (As all but the new-born have already participated in “the recent past,” common sense suggests that Dearing is not to be taken literally.) Dearing recommended that

the Government and the Funding Bodies..., when allocating funding for the expansion of higher education, ...give priority to those institutions which can demonstrate a commitment to widening participation, and have in place a participation strategy, a mechanism for monitoring progress, and provision for review by the governing body of achievement.<sup>73</sup>

(Presumably this was intended to mean “...provision for the governing body to review achievement” or “...provision for achievement to be reviewed by the governing body”).

The Government, as consumer, was to place its money with those purveyors who best produced what Dearing had commended to Government, thus promoting innovation as educational entrepreneurs followed Schumpeter and exploited the intervention.<sup>74</sup> Some of the older universities, which previously had not been at the fore-front of such activity, realised its future necessity and agreed to embrace Dearing, but only at a distance. They then set out to bring “...together the factors of production,”<sup>75</sup> to devise “new combinations” of business methods, to “...to reform or revolutionize the pattern of production,” to exploit technological possibilities for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source or supply of materials,<sup>76</sup> but, like the Victorian factory owners, chose not to do so in their own back yard.

In July 1999, using words which, in the present context, echo the concept of an “industrial estate,” the University of Birmingham announced that it was setting up “an educational precinct,” presumably as opposed to a ‘campus’ (which single word now embodies the concept of a university precinct). This is to be done, not through a take-over, a merger or an acquisition, but through a “strategic” alliance with the Westhill [former Free

<sup>72</sup> Dearing, 106, para. 7.21; 274, para 17.49 - 17.58

<sup>73</sup> Dearing, “Recommendation 2,” 107, para. 107

<sup>74</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

<sup>75</sup> Say.

Church] College of Education and ten local colleges of further education. The intention was stated as being to provide "...a multiplicity of entry and exit points for further and higher education [and] ...routes of progression from further education right through to post-doctoral study."<sup>77</sup> It is thus a reflection of the major changes which have taken place since 1957, when Eric James complained that "The only contact that the headmaster of Bricktown County Grammar School might have with Redbrick might well be a printed form from the registrar, or a cyclostyled letter from an indecipherable female describing herself as an administrative something." James might have been gratified that his contention, that "Universities should regard school representatives as genuine partners who must not be made to feel they are supplicants trying to wring concessions from aloof and jealous gods,"<sup>78</sup> would now appear to be fulfilled, for Birmingham's "vision for the next century" is couched in the "post-Dearing" rhetoric of 'community' and 'inclusion.' Even so, the underlying message is entrepreneurial rather than equitable, for the university "hopes [that the Alliance] will be able to reach out to students who in the past may have felt that the University of Birmingham was not for them,"<sup>79</sup> rather than broadening access by reaching out to those who felt that a university, *per se*, "was not for them."

Trow has argued that "those in charge of elite institutions strongly resist the introduction of either part-time or continuing adult education into their institutions,"<sup>80</sup> and as if in confirmation, Birmingham announced that "To the 'Westhill precinct' will be transferred the University's School of Continuing Education, with its multiplicity of extension courses," thus (intentionally or otherwise) distancing continuing and part-time education from the main campus and providing the in-built potential for the creation of an extra-mural ghetto.

<sup>76</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

<sup>77</sup> University of Birmingham, "A vision for the next century," The Bulletin Special Edition, 29, July 1999, 2

<sup>78</sup> Eric James, lecture at the University of Leeds, 24 Oct. 1957 on the relations between schools and universities, quoted by George F. Kneller, Higher Learning in Britain (Berkley: University of California Press, 1955), 257 fn. 48.

<sup>79</sup> University of Birmingham, "A vision," 2.

The latter was in fact the strategy used a century earlier by Firth College, later the University of Sheffield,<sup>81</sup> which, in its quest for university status, set out to teach only “those subjects which were academically respectable,” and was instrumental in the establishment of a separate Technical School to undertake the more sordid tasks.<sup>82</sup>

Dearing advised that institutions should look “outwards as well as inwards, as they develop their strategies for the future,”<sup>83</sup> and, adopting Duke’s mixture of metaphors, it may be that at Birmingham the rhetoric is intended to prevail and that the School of Continuing Studies will be “transmural, … [building] bridges, facing both out and in” (although Duke’s presumably deliberate choice of order may be reversed) or it could be that the Continuing Educators, whom Duke had perceived as having helped “the invaders by steadyng the siege ladders,”<sup>84</sup> are now being expelled from the citadel.

Elsewhere, Duke had suggested that at UK universities, “segmentation and integration vice as alternative modes of adultification,” and it is now apparent that Birmingham and other institutions are moving towards segmentation. This is in contrast to the situation at the Universities of Warwick and Leeds: At the former, “an integrated policy for the development of continuing education” was adopted in the 1980s and the Part-time Degree Office is now in Senate House and so close to the heart of the university,<sup>85</sup> and at Leeds, where part-time degrees became “a mainstream activity,” albeit in part because the Department of Continuing Education lacked adequate resources to adequately support “a

<sup>80</sup> Trow, “Continuing Education,” in Abrahamson et al., 83.

<sup>81</sup> A. W. Chapman, The Story of a Modern University (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1955, quoted Argyles, Michael., South Kensington to Robbins - An Account of English Technical and Scientific Education since 1851. (London: Longmans, 1964), 48

<sup>82</sup> Argyles, 48.

<sup>83</sup> Dearing, 69, para. 4, 84.

<sup>84</sup> Duke, Learning University, 116

<sup>85</sup> Chris Duke, “Adults into Higher Education: Trends and Issues in the United Kingdom” in Abrahamson et al. 37:1

full scale part time degree programme,” and the Access Office is closely integrated with the Registrar’s Department.<sup>86</sup>

Although the Westhill extra-mural precinct is in close proximity to the main campus and will use the university ‘logo,’ it is also to be distinctively branded, seemingly as part of the segmentation, as “The University of Birmingham, Westhill,” much as major airlines distinguish themselves from their subsidiary charter flight companies, e.g. British Airways and British Caledonian. Whilst this may be intended to preserve the name and goodwill of Westhill, the College being almost as old as the University, the move will also serve to distinguish the new precinct from the main campus. Westhill College is seemingly optimistic for its future role and issued a press release which stated (*inter alia*) that the new alliance will “reinforce and renew the academic strength of both institutions”<sup>87</sup> (emphasis added), thus furnishing an interesting perspective on the current needs of the University of Birmingham.

It could thus serve to mitigate Rockhill’s “fundamental tension,” the existence of which had been previously indicated at Birmingham University when, in implementing the provisions of the Further and Higher Education Act, 1992, the University had declared, somewhat defensively, that:

the standard of [Birmingham University] Continuing Studies courses has always been commensurate with them being provided by a major university... But links between such courses and traditional undergraduate teaching have not always been clear. This is soon to change ... people will be able to earn and accumulate credit for study on ... the full range of courses offered by the school,<sup>88</sup>

The same Bulletin announcement also stated that the degree to which the University would permit the extension credit to be applied was that of “Bachelor of Arts and Science (BA&S),” a degree not offered on the main campus.

<sup>86</sup> Richard Taylor, “Accessibility and Institutional Change,” in ed. Maria Slowey, Implementing Change From Within Universities and Colleges (London: Kogan Page, 1995), 67.

<sup>87</sup> Westhill College press release, 9<sup>th</sup> July, 1998 (but more probably issued in July 1999)

The opening of such an educational estate is not unique to Birmingham: at Durham, Continuing and Adult Education is similarly being removed (that is not to say ‘banished’) to a new centre at a remote campus in Stockton-on-Tees. An open letter by the Director of the new centre is prefaced by a possibly sardonic “Welcome to the new era of Lifelong Learning!” and states that this move demonstrates the University’s “support of the new Government’s commitment to the widening participation to higher education (sic),” adding that the Centre will offer “three part-time degree programmes in 1999/2000,” will build “on a century of Adult Learning at the University of Durham ...and will facilitate lifelong learning throughout the University”<sup>89</sup> (albeit at a distance of twenty miles from the main campus).

At the University of Southampton, an ‘off-shore model’ has been developed, with the launch in September 1997 of “University of Southampton New College (UoSNC),” a “self-contained community campus,” on the far side of the River Itchen and based at the former La Sainte Union College, which had effectively gone bankrupt and was then purchased by the University. UoSNC offers “broad based [degree courses] ... in the arts, sciences and social sciences, a mixture of popular conventional subjects and exciting new interdisciplinary programmes [which are] ... innovative and flexible [and] designed to help students reach their true potential.”<sup>90</sup>

Clearly anticipating that the change could cause apprehension, if not dissension, a ‘Letter from the Vice Chancellor’ was addressed to each “Continuing Education Student.” The Vice-Chancellor described the “expansion” of Adult Continuing Education (ACE) into UoSNC and then offered the student reassurance

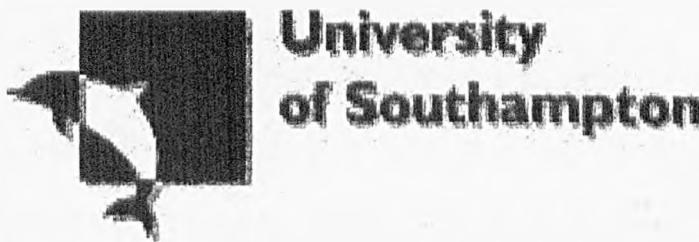
<sup>88</sup> University of Birmingham, GM, “Credit for All,” *The Bulletin*, No. 716, 14<sup>th</sup> February, 1994, 2.

<sup>89</sup> University of Durham, Viv Shelley, Open letter on the web-site of the Centre for Lifelong Learning, [http://www.dur.ac.uk/%7Edem8www/html/about\\_us.html](http://www.dur.ac.uk/%7Edem8www/html/about_us.html), accessed August 30, 1999

<sup>90</sup> University of Southampton website, <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~prospect/newcollege/toc.html>, accessed September 2, 1999.

...that the programmes of study that you are currently engaged in will remain clearly within the University of Southampton, and that all University of Southampton New College students will remain students of the University. All Certificates, Diplomas and Degrees gained through study at New College will be University of Southampton awards. I hope that through your continued study on part-time courses you will become part of the exciting developments represented by University of Southampton New College and will be able fully to participate in its future.<sup>91</sup>

However, from the main on-line prospectus of the University, it seems that (as had been the case at Birmingham) "links between such [continuing education] courses and traditional undergraduate teaching" are still not clear, for degree study at the University of Southampton is now divided into three categories: "Postgraduate courses, Undergraduate courses, [and] New College courses."<sup>92</sup> New College also has its own 'waving flag/three faces' logo and, encouragingly, does not share the logo of the University of Southampton, which consists of a fish (or rather an up-market dolphin), sliced in three, with the best part apparently being kept within the walls.



It thus appears that all three universities are "bringing together the factors of production"<sup>93</sup> at their new educational estates, devising "new combinations" of business methods, and seeking to "...to reform or revolutionise the pattern of production by exploiting an intervention [(Dearing)] or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source or supply of materials ("students who in the past may have felt that the University of Birmingham was not for them,"<sup>94</sup>) or "a new outlet for products by

<sup>91</sup> Howard Newby, Vice-Chancellor to "Dear Continuing Education Student," University of Southampton Website, [http://www.soton.ac.uk/~dace/vc\\_let.htm](http://www.soton.ac.uk/~dace/vc_let.htm), undated letter, accessed September 2, 1999.

<sup>92</sup> University of Southampton Website <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~prospect/>, accessed September 2, 1999.

<sup>93</sup> Say.

<sup>94</sup> University of Birmingham, "A vision," 2.

reorganizing an industry," all of which are "the function of an entrepreneur."<sup>95</sup> As most of these ventures involve some form of federation and are intended to promote competition, they might have given Matthew Arnold food for thought: according to Edward Fiddes, Arnold supported federations as a means of keeping down the number of competing universities, for competition was part of philistine culture.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

<sup>96</sup> Edward Fiddes, Chapters in the History of Owens College and of Manchester University 1851-1914 University of Manchester. Historical Series, no. 74 (Manchester: Manchester University Press 1937), 76

## Chapter 5

### **MEETING A NEED: A SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF ENTREPRENEURIAL HIGHER EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES**

#### **Introduction**

Universities and colleges have not generally been expected to produce a direct economic profit, either in Europe or in the United States, yet institutions of higher education have almost invariably been largely ‘market driven,’ at least in the sense of being founded or supported in order to serve the interests or economic needs of a specific group or patron, or to benefit the locality in which they were situated. Although, there appears to be a consensus that the ‘modern’ university has its roots in the Middle Ages, Ronald Barnett argues that any historical overview of higher education should start even earlier, i.e. with Plato and the Greek Academe. This probably because, as his title suggests, and as he explicitly acknowledges, he is as much concerned with the philosophy of education as with higher education as a modern social institution, and as much with “the intrinsic character” of higher education as with its function.<sup>1</sup> Lucas cites the Babylonian “Examination Text A” as providing evidence that institutionalised higher education existed early as 1720 B.C and that it was directed at economic personal advancement, as evidenced by the Master Scribe who tells an indolent student, “If you study day and night, and work modestly and without

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Barnett, The Idea of Higher Education (Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press, 1990), 3-6.

arrogance you can still become a scribe! Then you can share the scribal craft which is good fortune for its owner....”<sup>2</sup>

Based very largely on the differences in the scale and architectural style of the buildings, mode of scholastic dress, the usage of academic titles and nomenclature, and (perhaps more significantly) on the nature of the studies pursued, he argues that that the historical lineage of the modern university, in relation to its mediaeval counterpart, “is somewhat discontinuous and indirect in certain aspects.” However, he then immediately acknowledges that the modern university emphasises “careerism and occupationally relevant instruction,” and probably now resembles “its mediaeval forebear to a greater extent than ever before,”<sup>3</sup> thus to some extent justifying the assumption that an examination of the modern university should start in the Middle Ages.

Jarman tells us that from the eleventh century onwards, “the supply of universities evidently met some real European need, for universities were founded everywhere...” and, although he does not appear to identify the “real need,” he adds that by the end of the fifteenth century there were over 75 such institutions in Europe.<sup>4</sup> In 1231 King Henry III had acknowledged, not only the financial and social benefits which a college can bring to a town, but in particular the “no small profit” and “honour” (in that order) that the recruitment of overseas students brought to the kingdom:<sup>5</sup> two years earlier, presumably already having this in mind, he had sought to persuade the Masters of the University of Paris to relocate to a site of their choice in England, the generous terms and incentives offered being not dissimilar to those offered today by development corporations in seeking to attract foreign manufacturers to economically depressed areas.

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<sup>2</sup> Lucas, 3-4.

<sup>3</sup> Lucas, 67.

<sup>4</sup> Jarman, 103.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted verbatim, Mansbridge, 10, fn 1.

Today the concept of the English university and college has moved a long way from the mediaeval idea of a community of scholars,<sup>6</sup> from the “academic cloister of Cardinal Newman, [and from]... the research organism of Abraham Flexner,” and no longer is “the functional link between teaching and research” regarded as sacrosanct. Education provided in the ‘university sector’ institutions in England is now encapsulated in the generic term “higher education,” whether the institution is research-based, degree-granting or neither.<sup>7</sup> In the United States the term ‘college education’ suffices, and it encompasses not only the prestigious institutions of the Ivy League and the state university systems (including Clark Kerr’s “multiversity”), but also small liberal arts colleges and a multitude of two-year community colleges and area technical colleges.

However, both the American and the English institutions share a common heritage, for their Western academic tradition comes “from a lamp of learning first lighted by the ancient Greeks, tended by the Church through the dark ages, blown white and high in the medieval universities, and handed down to us in direct line through Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge,”<sup>8</sup> to which might usefully be added two lateral lines, the first passing through the early Scottish universities and the second through the mediaeval universities of Germany, but reshaped by Humboldt and passed on from the University of Berlin. The English and Scottish traditions were conveyed to the colonial colleges of New England,<sup>9</sup> by both non-conformist and conformist tutors, from whence it spread across America, adapting, and expanding, with parts later absorbing the Humboldtian research tradition, to form what J. Douglas Brown has called “a system of wholesome pluralism.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> S. C. Roberts, 7, Dearing, para. 3.69.

<sup>7</sup> Clark Kerr, The Uses of the University (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972; 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 1995), 1.

<sup>8</sup> Samuel Eliot Morrison, “John Harvard and the Note of Freedom,” Harvard Alumni Bulletin, November 22, 1935 reprinted in William Bentinck-Smith, ed., The Harvard Book (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 4.

<sup>9</sup> Elsie M. Sandell, Southampton Through the Ages (Southampton: G F Wilson & Co., 1960), 74.

<sup>10</sup> J. Douglas Brown, The Liberal University (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), xiv.

Two centuries after the departure of the Mayflower, the tradition was similarly passed to the new collegiate universities of London and Durham, both of which were founded for sound, yet totally divergent, economic reasons. Then, at the close of the nineteenth century, the tradition was in turn carried, albeit in attenuated form, to the redbrick universities, founded at the instigation of English middle-class philanthropists, who, for social, religious and vocational reasons found the four existing universities inappropriate,<sup>11</sup> as well as geographically remote. At Liverpool, in 1901, eleven of the fifteen full professors were from Oxford or Cambridge.<sup>12</sup> These ‘lamplighters,’ “made the necessary sacrifices and moved from the “genteel aloofness” of Oxbridge to the “dismal and depressing grey, or … hideously cheerful red brick buildings,” of the new provincial English universities,<sup>13</sup> a journey which they may have found almost as daunting as that which had faced their predecessors bound for the Americas. More recently, but similarly eased by the consolation of early promotion, their successors have journeyed across the binary divide to the former polytechnics.

The provincial academic may also make the reverse journey across the social divide, if only as an external examiner, who found the Oxford DPhil candidate and internal examiner

dressed as penguins, … this outmoded rig … so much of a piece with the surrounds, redolent of another age: the mediaeval elegance of the setting, the gentlemanly decency of conducting an examination before dinner, the silver and the freshly laundered linen napkins, the four-course dinner…, the port and snuff that circulated, even the learned discourse that flowed with the alcohol. … They live in another world there, and it would take more than a change of dress to bring them into the disagreeable world which we other academics inhabit.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> The word “vocationalism” was not actually coined until later: see Sanderson, 246, fn. 2.

<sup>12</sup> Roy Lowe, “Structural Change in English Higher Education,” in Detlef K. Müller, Fritz Ringer and Brian Simon, (eds.), *The Rise of the Modern Educational System* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 173.

<sup>13</sup> Bruce Truscott (Edgar Allison Peers), *Red Brick University* (sic) (London: Faber & Faber, 1943), 11, 17 & 18. (The first printing gave the title, apparently wrongly, as *Redbrick University*.)

<sup>14</sup> Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, Professor of Classics, University of Reading to the *Times*, letter, 16 November, 1991.

Both in England and the United States, colleges, newly-founded universities and other institutions of higher education have tended to adopt (or, possibly, give the impression of having adopted) many of the features of the mediaeval academic tradition, usually because potential users expect to find the traditions that have previously given a university its "strength, prestige and above all legitimacy."<sup>15</sup> Such features may also be retained in response to pressures from accreditors or funding agencies as being 'best' or 'accepted' practice.

Hastings Rashdal regarded the modern university as "a distinctly mediaeval institution...," arguing that the "very idea of the institution is essentially medieval, and it is curious to observe how largely that idea still dominates our modern scheme of education."<sup>16</sup> Jarman similarly argues that "Vast as are the budgets and imposing the number of students at many of the universities of to-day, and strange as many of the studies in them would be to students of the past, the origin of the modern university is to be found in the Middle Ages."<sup>17</sup> As a result, at the end of the twentieth century, mediaeval traditions, although sometimes seemingly worn thin, can still be seen in the university-sector institutions of England and also in the variegated American system of higher education, for the "American universities carry academic genes from England, Scotland and Germany...."<sup>18</sup> It thus appears appropriate to start this historical survey of the origins of the modern institutions of higher education, both English and American, at the beginning of the Middle Ages.

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<sup>15</sup> Rothblatt, 362.

<sup>16</sup> Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages (3 vols., 1895, ed. E M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936), Vol. III, 458.

<sup>17</sup> Jarman, 90.

<sup>18</sup> Eric Ashby, Any Person, Any Study: An Essay on Higher Education in the United States (New York: Carnegie Commission on Higher Education/McGraw-Hill, 1971), 7.

## The Origin of the Genus

The mediaeval concept of the university was of “a body of scholars,” that is a corpus or corporation, and it was only when a group of scholars took up permanent residence in a specific location that the term came to be applied to a particular place or building.<sup>19</sup> This began as early as 1200, when the University of Paris received its charter, whilst in England the concept had apparently been recognised by 1231, for a letter from Henry III (written from Oxford to the citizens of Cambridge), expresses a concern that the scholars might “leave our city [of Cambridge, abandoning]...the University.”<sup>20</sup>

The mediaeval European universities were based on academic guilds and religious foundations, differentiated by religious order (often reflecting doctrinal differences), by discipline or by the national or geographic origin of the students.<sup>21</sup> Scholars who “taught or devoted themselves to the propagation of the liberal arts” were entitled to special “rights, privileges and immunities” which had their origins in Roman civil law,<sup>22</sup> and they enjoyed the patronage (and, their institutions, the franchise) of the local bishop, royalty or civil power. When in conflict with the civil or ecclesiastical authority, they could appeal to the Pope,<sup>23</sup> and, in return for papal protection, the scholars served the intellectual needs of the Catholic Church. The texts of Aristotle had been translated into Latin and so the scholars were able to borrow “not only their philosophy, but also their views about nature,” and to receive “a refined logical method, accurate definitions and a whole world of new ideas” from the classical Greek.<sup>24</sup>

Being under papal jurisdiction

<sup>19</sup> S. C. Roberts, 7.

<sup>20</sup> Mansbridge, 10, fn. 1.

<sup>21</sup> R. Freeman Butts, The Education of the West: A Formative Chapter in the History of Civilisation (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 177.

<sup>22</sup> Kilbre, 1.

<sup>23</sup> Butts, 178.

<sup>24</sup> Robert Ulich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Company, 1945), pp 31-32.

was an enormous benefit to them because the authority of the church covered Europe; and so the medieval universities were truly supra-national. Their frontiers were those of the church which, for a European citizen of those times, were the frontiers of the civilised world. Their students spoke the same tongue and knelt before the same cross...<sup>25</sup>

something which facilitated the free movement of scholars between the various academic centres. Similarly, as they were “supra-national,” they could also use the threat of migration to another city, thereby depriving “the old centre of its fame and business.”<sup>26</sup> In England, despite periodic outbursts of violence between ‘town’ and ‘gown,’ the universities at Oxford and Cambridge came to be prized, the citizens being made well aware of the value of the university to the town. Thus, Oxford is said to have been “utterly discomfited,” both legally and practically,<sup>27</sup> in 1209, when the university teaching masters closed their schools in protest at the execution of “two or three” scholars involved in the accidental death of a townswoman, and dispersed with their students to Reading, Cambridge and Paris.

King John, who was in dispute with the Pope, seeking to strengthen his own position in relation to the church, backed the laity or townspeople, but his power was no match for that of the Pope. Five years later, in 1214 and just a year before he was forced to sign the Magna Carta, King John “requested the burgesses” of Oxford to accept an ordinance from Pope Innocent III, which required them to do public penance, pay annual damages for the benefit of poor scholars and, *inter alia*, to accept that all clerks and scholars had immunity from lay justice and came under the jurisdiction of the bishop, dean or chancellor.<sup>28</sup> The legal status of the university at Oxford was thus confirmed by the Papal Legate and the teaching masters returned with their students.<sup>29</sup> This display of papal strength in relation to Oxford, and a similar display in relation to the University of Paris, may have influenced King John’s successor, Henry III, to back ‘gown’ rather than ‘town’ at Cambridge. Under letters patent,

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<sup>25</sup> Ashby, Universities, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Jarman, 100.

<sup>27</sup> Mansbridge, 9, quoting Matthew Prior.

<sup>28</sup> Kilbre, 268.

which are remarkably similar to the papal bull, Parens scientiarium, issued to the University of Paris only one month earlier, he secured the status of the Cambridge scholars, empowering them to “punish offenders, to root out false scholars, and to restrict the exorbitant demands of the townspeople.”<sup>30</sup>

It is significant that the English Crown had recognised and acknowledged, as early as 1231, not only the financial and social benefits which a college can bring to a town and the kingdom. In 1231, Henry wrote to the citizens of Cambridge:

It is well known to you that a multitude of scholars flow together to our City of Cambridge for the sake of study from various places at home and abroad; which We hold right pleasing and acceptable for that from thence no small profit comes to our kingdom, and honour to Ourselves; and above all you, amongst whom the students have their daily life, should rejoice and be glad.

He also recognised the danger of ‘killing the golden goose’ and therefore directed that a ‘quality and cost control agency’ be established (at least as far as lodgings were concerned), for his letter continued:

But We have heard that in letting your lodgings you are so heavy and burdensome to the scholars dwelling amongst you, that unless you behave yourselves more measurably and modestly towards them in this matter of your exactions they must leave our city, and having abandoned the University, depart from our land, which We in no respect desire. And therefore We command you firmly enjoining you that, concerning the letting of aforesaid lodgings, and keeping yourselves in measure according to the custom of the University, you shall estimate the aforesaid lodgings by two masters and two good legal men of your town, and according to their estimate should permit them to be hired, thus bearing yourselves in this matter ye may be held safe, for if that any complaint should arrive to Us We should put our hand to the matter.

Witness the King at Oxford the Third day of May 1231.<sup>31</sup>

Kilbre states that similar letters were sent to the mayors and bailiffs of both Oxford and Cambridge and that the papal bull to Paris, had also contained provisions for rent control. Paris had been the scene of riots and disputes over the previous ten years, the enterprising Chancellor of Notre Dame being accused of “exacting money gifts” from university

<sup>29</sup> Mansbridge, 9.

<sup>30</sup> Mansbridge, 10.

<sup>31</sup> Henry III to Citizens of Cambridge, letter, 3 May, 1231, Quoted verbatim, Mansbridge, 10, fn. 1;

candidates seeking a licence to teach and of imprisoning candidates who failed to accept his franchise, by swearing an oath of allegiance to him rather than to the Pope. Major riots occurred after the breaking, by the Papal Legate, of the newly carved seal adopted by the university.<sup>32</sup>

Henry III was not averse to mass poaching, or, rather, ‘lateral hires’ and in 1229, on learning that the French scholars were leaving Paris because of the unrest,<sup>33</sup> he had sent the following open letter:

The King to the Masters and Scholars of the University of Paris, greeting.

Humbly compassionating the tribulation and not small griefs by which you are oppressed under an evil law at Paris, We desire for the reverence of God and of Holy Church, piously assisting, to lead you back to due liberty. For which reason We give your University to understand that if you will you may migrate to our Kingdom of England and stay there to study, and that We wilt assign to you whatever cities, boros and towns you may choose, and in liberty and tranquillity we will do all such things becoming to give you pleasure as shall suffice you and be pleasing to God.

Witness Ourselves at Reading, July 16th, 1229.<sup>34</sup>

However the Count of Toulouse made a better offer, which was backed by a Papal promise of “scholastic freedom” in “a land flowing with milk and honey.” Most of the Paris scholars accepted,<sup>35</sup> and, seven hundred and fifty years later, the secret for success in making lateral hires is still said to hinge on the need for “A school to win a scholar’s heart, mind and wallet.”<sup>36</sup>

Despite the offer to assign the Paris scholars to “whatever cities, boros and towns [they]...may choose,” it appears to have later become the king’s policy to support Oxford and Cambridge and, although Cambridge had been the fruit of a 1209 migration from Oxford, subsequent migrations were to be stymied. Thus, in 1261, a group of ‘Northern’

Kilbre, 270,

<sup>32</sup> Kilbre, 91, 95, 270.

<sup>33</sup> Kilbre, 90-91.

<sup>34</sup> Mansbridge, 9-10.

<sup>35</sup> Kilbre, 92-93.

<sup>36</sup> Chris Klein, “The New Free Agents: But do lateral hires assure prestige for a law school?”, *National Law Journal*, Monday, September 15, 1997, AO 1

Cambridge scholars, having been physically beaten and driven out by the ‘Southerners,’ migrated and, under licence from the King, set up the University of Northampton.<sup>37</sup> In 1265 the new university was dissolved, “by King’s Writ,” before any students could graduate. In 1334, a similar migration to from Oxford to Stamford, which was already home to several religious houses, was defeated by the university, and with the “aid of both Crown and Mitre...the malcontents were ejected from Stamford.” From then until 1827, candidates for an Oxford degree were compelled to swear that they “would not give or attend lectures at Stamford, as in a University seat of learning or general college.”<sup>38</sup> The duopoly of Oxford and Cambridge was to continue for five hundred years, effectively preventing the foundation of any other university institutions in England until University College, London in 1828 and the University of Durham in 1832.

In 1533, the Act for the Restraint of Appeals gave Henry VIII, as sovereign, full authority over the universities, so removing them from Papal jurisdiction,<sup>39</sup> whilst in 1534, under the Act of Supremacy, he also superseded the Pope as “the supreme head in earth (sic) of the Church of England.” Although the ‘rights and privileges’ of the scholars were continued, and even extended, they now flowed from the patronage of the King, rather than that of the Pope.<sup>40</sup> This also meant that the chancellor and vice-chancellors of the universities would be laymen, rather than ecclesiastics, and that the curriculum would have a “humanistic and Anglican slant,” which would gear the universities to the advancement of secular, rather than clerical, interests. The following year also saw the founding of the tradition of university “Visitors,” whose sole purpose was to ensure conformity with the requirements of the new regime. In 1571, the two English universities were designated as

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<sup>37</sup> S. C. Roberts, 9.

<sup>38</sup> Mansbridge, 30-31

<sup>39</sup> Butts, 262.

<sup>40</sup> Butts, 269-270; Jarman, 163.

corporations by virtue of royal charters, a move designed to confirm the primacy of the Crown, and extinguish the influence of the Pope.<sup>41</sup>

Although it may not have been immediately apparent, as a consequence of the changes, the Christians in England can be considered to have fallen, essentially, into four main groups:

- 1) Roman Catholics, who objected to the Act of Supremacy, rejected the King's claim to be Head of the Church in England and who sought to uphold the primacy of the Pope.
- 2) Anglicans, who subscribed to the Act of Supremacy and who, although rejecting the Roman Catholic church as such, had adopted much of its liturgical tradition, and who sought to uphold the primacy of the King as Head of the English Church.
- 3) Puritans, who rejected both the authority of the Pope and the Roman liturgy, and "considered the Church of England to be a true, although corrupt, church," which they should reform from within.
- 4) Separatists, who "rejected the authority of the state over the church and believed that a man should be allowed to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience."<sup>42</sup>

Thus, although the new 'Anglican' regime was English and 'Protestant,' it was not 'Puritan,' and it retained many of the features of the Catholic liturgy, something which was a source of discontent to many. In 1603, the Puritans presented the Millenary petition to James I, "humbly requesting" certain changes in the form of Divine Worship in the Church of England. James's reply is said to have been, "I will make them conform or harry them out of the land!"<sup>43</sup> As a result, many of those who were unwilling to conform, both Puritans and Separatists, left England for the Continent and, in some cases, for the Americas.

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<sup>41</sup> Butts, 262-263.

<sup>42</sup> Based on Jerald C. Brauer, Protestantism in America (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), 20-21; and S. Alexander Rippa, Education in a Free Society (New York: Longmans, 1984), 19-24.

<sup>43</sup> Sandell, 74.

## **Anglican Civilitie, Dissenters' Democracy, and the Colonisation of North America.**

In 1606 two groups of people departed from England, their circumstances being somewhat different. One consisted of Anglicans, who were voluntarily going to the ‘New World,’ whilst the other group was of ‘Separatists’ or ‘dissenters’ who were seeking refuge in Protestant Holland.

The Anglicans arrived in the Americas in 1607 and founded the colony of Virginia. Their instructions from King James included the requirement that the “religion now professed and established within our realm of England” should be regularly “practiced” [sic] by the colonists and spread “as much as they may amongst the savage people.”<sup>44</sup> Twelve years later, in 1619, the Virginian settlers decided to found a college and “a large grant of land at Henrico was given for its support.”<sup>45</sup> The college was, in part, intended to further the Christianising of the original inhabitants and it would have been the first ‘land-grant’ college in North America. However, the death-rate amongst the Anglican colonists was high, both through disease and conflict with the “savage people,” and, in 1622, the colony was almost wiped out. Christian charity then appears to have been replaced with a grim realism, for the ensuing report to London advised that:

The way of conquering them is much more easie than of civilising them by faire meanes, for they are a rude, barbarous, and naked people, scattered in small companies, which are helps to Victorie, but hinderances to Civilitie: Besides that, a conquest may be of many, and at once; but Civilitie is in particular, and slow, the effect of long time, and great industry.<sup>46</sup>

In consequence, the Henrico college, the foundation of which would have pre-dated Harvard by seventeen years, did not come to fruition.<sup>47</sup>

Meanwhile, the ‘Separatist’ group had remained in Holland, returning to England in 1620, where 120 of them boarded the Mayflower and the Speedwell and set sail from

<sup>44</sup> Brauer, 11-12.

<sup>45</sup> Brauer, 12-13; Butts, 278.

<sup>46</sup> Edward Waterhouse, “A Declaration of the State of the Colony and.... A Relation of the Barbarous Massacre...,” (1622). Document no. 210, in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., The Records of the Virginia Company

Southampton for America. However, the Speedwell sprang a leak and so they first put into Dartmouth and later into Plymouth, albeit only briefly. Then, leaving the unseaworthy Speedwell and 18 of their company behind, the other 102 sailed from Plymouth on the Mayflower to found the New Plymouth Colony.<sup>48</sup> It was thus by default, rather than by design, that Plymouth, rather than Southampton, came to feature so largely in the nomenclature of the dissenters' colony.

Five years later, in 1625, Charles I became king and permitted William Laud, Bishop of London (later the Archbishop of Canterbury) to seek religious conformity and the use of the new Book of Common Prayer throughout England.<sup>49</sup> In consequence many more English non-conformists, both Puritans and Separatists, decided to seek sanctuary on the distant shores of North America. In 1630, eleven ships arrived there, carrying Puritans who then founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the town of Salem, just to the south of the Separatists' town of New Plymouth, which it was ultimately to absorb.

According to Carl Bridenbaugh,<sup>50</sup> 80,000 people (or 2% of the population) left England between 1620 and 1642, of whom as many as 58,000 crossed the Atlantic. He also notes that amongst the 22,832 settlers who are recorded as having gone to New England, 100 were graduates of Cambridge and 30 were graduates of Oxford.<sup>51</sup> Not all the settlers were emigrating for religious reasons,<sup>52</sup> and according to Cremin, the rest tended to be "middling" people: those who were not so well served in England as to want to stay, but who had the experience, knowledge and confidence to emigrate; accompanying them were

of London (Washington DC: Government Printing Office 1933), vol. 3, 557, quoted in Butts, 279.

<sup>47</sup> Brauer, p 12, 13; Butts, 278.

<sup>48</sup> Sandell, 75; Brauer, 19.

<sup>49</sup> Brauer, 19.

<sup>50</sup> Brauer, 26, 21.

<sup>51</sup> US Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1960), 756.

<sup>52</sup> Brauer, 19.

indentured unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, whose journey may not have been voluntary.<sup>53</sup>

Bridenbaugh argues that “The exodus of the English Puritans to New England, 1629-42, was, and still is, unique in the annals of migration. [it was the] ... massive religious concern of the English people, and of the Puritans in particular, [which] impelled these immigrants to abandon England to save their souls; only secondarily did economic or social considerations figure in their decisions.<sup>54</sup> R. Freeman Butts considered that “All the evidence seems to point to the fact that the rate of literacy [in New England] was even higher than in England and the proportion of university graduates was probably higher than in any other society in the world up to that time,”<sup>55</sup> Brauer notes that amongst them were “65 ministers of such high caliber and educational attainment as John Cotton, John Wilson, Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker, John Davenport, and Richard Mather.”<sup>56</sup>

### **The Origins of Higher Education in North America**

Given the high literacy rate, the religious fervour and the availability of ‘Oxbridge’ graduates, it is perhaps not surprising that once the more immediate needs of the settlers had been met and there was some surplus in their economy, attention was given to the education of both the settler’s children and their future clergy. Within six years of founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Puritan settlers had endowed a grammar school and founded “the college at New Towne,”<sup>57</sup> schooling being made compulsory only six years later. The college was later named for John Harvard, a Cambridge graduate who was a minister and

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<sup>53</sup> Laurence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York, Vintage Books, 1970), 3.

<sup>54</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 434-435.

<sup>55</sup> Butts, 278-279.

<sup>56</sup> Brauer, 19.

<sup>57</sup> Samuel Morrison, The Founding of Harvard College. 193.

leader in the community, and who, on his death at the age of 31, left a major part of his considerable estate to the college endowment.<sup>58</sup>

The early years of the college proved difficult: the first master of the college, Nathaniel Eaton, was noted for beating the students with an apple-wood cudgel, whilst his wife, whom he had appointed as domestic bursar, starved them. In 1639, having apparently gone a shade too far by similarly beating his assistant, but with a cudgel of walnut,<sup>59</sup> he was brought before the Court and dismissed, whereupon he embezzled the college funds and fled to Virginia.<sup>60</sup> (As will be shown later, such nepotistic and opportunistic episodes were, "...in accordance with human nature, to repeat themselves at some future time, if not exactly the same, yet very similar,"<sup>61</sup> at Upper Iowa University in 1857 and in Britain in the 1990s.)

In Virginia, the Reverend Eaton is said to have taken it upon himself "to be a minister, but was given up of God to extreme pride and sensuality, being usually drunken...".<sup>62</sup> Ironically his doctoral thesis on "Sabatarianism" had arisen as a result of observing drunkenness and "Sabatarian licentiousness" in the Netherlands, where he had been studying.<sup>63</sup> More in keeping with the Puritan ethic of the colony was his successor, Henry Dunster, the second Master, who, in a famous passage, wrote:

AFTER GOD had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the civil government, one of the next 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.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Samuel Morrison, in Bentinck-Smith, 4-10.

<sup>59</sup> Samuel Morrison, The Founding of Harvard College. (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1963), 234.

<sup>60</sup> Mistress Eaton, "I Own the Shame and Confess" (1639) reprinted in Bentinck-Smith, 113-114; Rippa, 46.

<sup>61</sup> Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War (Hobbes translation) I, 22.

<sup>62</sup> James K. Hosmer, ed., [John] Winthrop's Journal "History of New England" (New York, 1908), II, 18, quoted in Wright, 158.

<sup>63</sup> Samuel Morrison, The Founding of Harvard College, 234.

<sup>64</sup> Master Henry Dunster "In Respect of the College" in New England's First Fruits. (Cambridge, Harvard College, 1643) reprinted in Bentinck-Smith, 3-4.

In this, his belief was not dissimilar to that of Henry VIII, who judged “no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our universities. For by their maintenance our realme shall be well governed when we be dead and rotten.”<sup>65</sup> By “to advance learning,” Dunster probably meant “to advance the cause of learning” rather than “the creation of new knowledge.”

Master Dunster may have had in mind the long-standing shortage of qualified clergy in England, acknowledged by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1560, when he wrote: “occasioned by the great want of ministers, we... have heretofore admitted into the ministry sundry artificers and others, not [trained] ...and brought up in learning, and ...some that were of base occupations.”<sup>66</sup> However, the situation had continued, and many of these ‘unqualified’ clergy later joined the Puritans. As a result, Richard Carter is recorded as having complained in 1640, that “Instead of Orthodoxe Divines they set up all Kinde of Mechanicks, [such] as Shooe-makers, Cobblers, Taylers, and Botchers, Grovers, who preach of nothing but Magpies and Crows, Boxe Makers, and Button-Makers, Coach-men, and Felt-makers, and Bottle-Ale-sellers.”<sup>67</sup>

The purpose of Harvard College was to prevent such a situation arising in New England and so it was originally concerned only with disseminating the existing body of classical knowledge to the next generation of clergy and pedagogues. Such colleges, and the Protestant colleges founded subsequently, had no research function and, according to Boorstin, whilst religious in tone, they reflected the Puritan pre-occupation with the application of theology and doxology to the settler’s every-day life rather than to its

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<sup>65</sup> Quoted in S. C. Roberts, 16-17. Curiously, and seemingly less sensibly, Mansbridge, 50, renders it as “...no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities, for by their maintenance our realm shall be self-governed when we be dead and rotten” (Emphasis added).

<sup>66</sup> Matheus Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, letter. J. Bruce and T. T. Perowne, eds., *Correspondence of Matthew Parker* (Parker Society, 1853), 120; quoted A. T. Hart, *The Country Clergy in Elizabethan and Stuart Times* (London: Phoenix House, 1958), 24.

<sup>67</sup> Richard Carter, *The Schismatic Stigmatised: wherein all make-bates are branded: whether they are eves-dropping-newes-carriers, murmurers, complainers, railers, reproachers, revilers, repining reformers, fault-finders, quarrell-pickers and corner-creepers with all the rabble of brain-sicks who are enemies to old England's*

refinement in a philosophical sense.<sup>68</sup> This is in accord with the order in which Dunster gives priority to the early activities, “houses, … necessities for our livelihood, … convenient places for God’s worship, … civil government” and with Max Weber’s interpretation of the “Protestant Ethic” as including “…the religious valuation of restless, continuous, systematic work in a worldly calling, as the highest means to asceticism, and at the same time the surest and most evident proof of rebirth and genuine faith....”<sup>69</sup> There is an interesting contrast between Master Dunster’s avowed purpose for Harvard College, which was to avoid the dread possibility of leaving “an illiterate ministry to the churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the dust,” so not preserving the Puritan tradition for posterity, and that of the abortive Anglican attempt, seventeen years earlier, to found the first land-grant college at Henrico in Virginia, the primary intention of which had been bring ‘Civilitie’ to the ‘Indians.’ Butts argues that “the Puritans, at least, came to America primarily to establish their own forms of civilization for themselves, not particularly or primarily to civilize the indigenous populations they found.” Thus, whilst the Anglicans were sponsoring an institution to serve an ‘external’ market, the Puritans were seeking to serve their own ‘internal’ market. Although the Anglican intention had been firm at the time, it was shelved after the massacre of settlers in 1622, at least until “the wilderness had been pushed back a little,”<sup>70</sup> that is, until Anglican “forms of civilization” had become more established.

Elsewhere in the colonies, where settlement was insufficient to support a college, itinerant preachers, many of them Presbyterians from Scotland and Ulster, set up small academies, of which the Log College in Pennsylvania is best known.<sup>71</sup> These academies were often conducted by a single preacher, and “...they stressed preparation for the

peace (London: Printed by J. Okes for Francis Coles, 1641; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms, 1967).

<sup>68</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 6-7.

<sup>69</sup> Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. translated by Talcott Parsons (New York: John Scribner’s Sons, 1958), 172.

ministry.”<sup>72</sup> They also tended to be evangelical in character, something which promoted dissent from the more Calvinistic Presbyterians, who believed that all ministers should either be graduates of Yale or Harvard, or have been trained in Europe. This dispute led to the foundation of the College of New Jersey (later renamed Princeton University), which was intended to ensure that no one could say that the evangelical ministers were “deficient in learning, either in the classics or in Calvinistic theology.”<sup>73</sup> accusations which, if correct, would presumably have devalued their sermons and possibly diminished their congregations.

### **The Rise of the Non-Conformist Colleges in ‘Old’ England.**

Of course not all English Non-conformists emigrated to the American colonies, and from 1662 onwards the activities of those who had remained in England were much affected by the passage of the Act of Uniformity. This introduced the requirement that all those holding, or seeking, positions as ministers, schoolmasters or fellows of colleges, or seeking to be admitted to Oxford or to graduate from Cambridge must have subscribed to the Act of Supremacy (thereby acknowledging the Sovereign as head of the Church of England) and to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion of the established church. This resulted in ejection from office of some 2,000 Non-conformists who were not willing “...‘outwardly to conform’.”<sup>74</sup>

The exclusion of Non-Conformists from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge and the ready availability of the ‘ejected’ ministers, teachers and fellows, fostered the creation of illegal colleges which came to be known as ‘dissenting academies.’ These initially came into being to train candidates for the Non-Conformist ministry,<sup>75</sup> but they provided

<sup>70</sup> Butts, 278.

<sup>71</sup> Wright, 121.

<sup>72</sup> Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Princeton, 1746-1896 (Princeton, NJ., 1946), 11.

<sup>73</sup> Wright, 121.

<sup>74</sup> Kenneth Charlton, “Universities in England 1500-1800” in C.R.E.-Information No 65, 1st Qtr., 1985, 55; R. K. Webb, “The Unitarian Background” in Barbara Smith, 4.

<sup>75</sup> H. C. Barnard, A Short history of English Education 1760-1944 (London: University of London

instruction, not only in the more usual classical and religious studies, but also in the sciences and the more practical subjects,<sup>76</sup> and are said to have provided a remarkably high standard of education with meagre resources.<sup>77</sup> In the early days, many of the tutors were pre-exclusion graduates of Oxford and Cambridge<sup>78</sup> who were eager to make the academies worthy of university status.<sup>79</sup> Thus, for example, in 1690 John Tomlins, a Cambridge graduate, opened a dissenting academy at Southampton, under the auspices of the Presbyterian fund,<sup>80</sup> and between 1663 and 1820, 72 such academies are known to have existed, half of which were also open to lay students.<sup>81</sup> Many people apparently considered them to have greater moral purity and to provide a more satisfactory education than did the old universities,<sup>82</sup> thus giving them a useful and distinctive marketing image.

The English dissenting academies were less well organised and funded than were their counterpart colleges in New England, probably because non-conformists were in a minority in England and the majority of the populace preferred to conform, or at least to appear to do so. Although the academies were generally established in urban areas, the shortage of non-conformists resulted in them being not dissimilar in character to the 'log cabin' academies found in the more sparsely populated areas of New England. Not untypical was Rathmel Academy in Yorkshire, founded by Richard Frankland: by 1695, after at least five moves, he had 80 students under his tutelage and one assistant.<sup>83</sup> In New England, the settlements were very much more homogenous, in denominational terms, if not in sectarian terms, and a college could thus serve as a focus for the whole community.<sup>84</sup> It would also often act as a

Press, 1947), 33.

<sup>76</sup> Butts, 335.

<sup>77</sup> Herbert McLachlan, English Education under the Test Acts (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1931), 24.

<sup>78</sup> McLachlan, 62-70

<sup>79</sup> McLachlan, 16-18

<sup>80</sup> J. W. Ashley Smith, The Birth of Modern Education (London: Independent Press Ltd, 1954), 292.

<sup>81</sup> McLachlan, 6-15

<sup>82</sup> Jarman, 193.

<sup>83</sup> Ashley Smith, 17; Barbara Smith, Truth, Liberty, Religion, (Oxford, Manchester College, 1986), xix.

<sup>84</sup> Boorstin, The Americans: The National Experience (np Random House, 1965; London, Cardinal Books, 1988), 157.

commercial ‘booster’ for the locality, something which in itself would promote funding and subscriptions from the businesses which thereby stood to gain. (As will be shown later, in the mid-eighteenth century it was the geographical location of Upper Iowa University that determined which of two adjacent and competing towns would survive.<sup>85</sup>)

The colonial college would also attract like-minded settlers, who desired such education for their children, thus reinforcing the existing homogeneity of the community as it enlarged. In contrast, the dissenting academies in England served only a very limited sector of their local population, the students (rather than their parents) being drawn to the locality from across the country, thus sparing them the journey to a Scottish university. In consequence the dissenting academies had a relatively minor impact on the commerce of the town in which they were established and, tending to lack local ties, were not as embedded in the community as were the American colonial colleges.

### **The Governance of Higher Education in Colonial North America**

Generally speaking, the Non-Conformist settlers, Puritan and Separatist, had emigrated to America as a result of being oppressed, to one degree or another, by the proponents of the dominant religion of their home country, with whom they had had major doctrinal, organisational and often political differences. Although the various groups were divided by doctrinal distinctions, which had led to the formation of the different Puritan denominations, they tended to share a distinctive view of ‘democracy’ in ecclesiastical governance, including a rejection of the ‘top-down’ ecclesiastical governance found in the Anglican and Roman churches.

The Presbyterians argued that “...governance of the church should be confided to a [national] hierarchy of mixed lay and clerical bodies,” whilst other groups, such as the

Baptists and Congregationalists, claimed that governance should remain with the congregation.<sup>86</sup> Although such differences were important in the microcosm of the fledgling colonies, in comparison to the general agreement that the laity should play a significant role in such governance, the long term effect was small. In consequence, although the American colleges founded by the non-conformist groups all broadly followed the traditions of the English university colleges, they did however differ from the English colleges in ways which were ultimately to prove to be of fundamental importance in the shaping of the American educational system: firstly that they imposed no religious tests and, secondly, that they were founded at the initiative of, and with funding provided, by the predominantly English, non-conformist settlers.

That the colleges did not impose religious tests was not as open minded as might be first perceived, for in 1637 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay passed an order which required that only persons whose orthodoxy had been approved by the magistrates could settle in the colony, the unorthodox being given their liberty to leave.<sup>87</sup> However, many of the settlers, although sufficiently orthodox to be allowed to remain, were not actually members of the Protestant church and so were excluded from participating in the governance of either the church or of the newly founded colleges.<sup>88</sup> This was distasteful to some, for it paralleled the exclusion of Non-conformists from the universities in England. That the funding for the colleges came from the community was of great significance, for “he who paid the piper calls the tune,” and in consequence, even where day-to-day control of a college might lie with the clerics, governance tended to rest with the community.<sup>89</sup> Ways were therefore found to make the governance of the colleges more inclusive and

<sup>85</sup> Alderson, 130; Cyrennus Cole, A History of the People of Iowa (Cedar Rapids, The Torch Press, 1921), 241 et seq.

<sup>86</sup> R. K. Webb, “The Unitarian Background” in Barbara Smith, 4-5.

<sup>87</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 7

<sup>88</sup> James W. Hall, Access Through Innovation (New York, American Council on Education, and Macmillan, 1991), 16; Brauer, 19.

<sup>89</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience 176; J. W. Hall 15.

Massachusetts Bay Colony, for example, introduced the “Half-way Covenant,” which permitted those who had not affirmed their conversion to still participate in church matters and hence in the governance of the colleges.<sup>90</sup> The principle of lay participation applied even in the colony of Virginia, where the Anglican church was dominant and oversight of ecclesiastical matters lay with the Bishop of London and his appointed Commissary. Distance, reinforced by the hazardous ocean journey, furnished a break in the hierarchical structure and governance was effectively at the parish level, for the day to day control of church affairs lay with twelve ‘vestrymen,’ elected by the congregation of each church.<sup>91</sup> This presented a sharp contrast to the ecclesiastically-based governance of the English colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, where the considerable endowments of the colleges made it unnecessary to solicit funds from the town, so insulating the learned scholars from the community and allowing them to remain aloof and independent behind their “mediaeval walls.” There was also a distinct hierarchy within the universities, headed by the Chancellor and the Masters,<sup>92</sup> and based on rank and seniority. This was embodied in an academic culture, which gave the English academic community its collective strength. Eric Ashby, citing Richard Hofstadter and Metzger, suggests that this had not been the case at the early American colleges, for the academic staff had been “young, inexperienced, and migratory” and that by the time they had gained experience they had been promoted to “posts of greater responsibility in church or state.”<sup>93</sup> Thus, by the time they gained the necessary experience and respect, they were likely to be outside the college and functioning as part of the system of external governance.

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<sup>90</sup> J. W. Hall, 15.

<sup>91</sup> Wright, 75.

<sup>92</sup> Kilbre, 269.

<sup>93</sup> Ashby, Universities, 12, citing “R. Hofstadter and W. Metzger, The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States (New York, 1955).”

Even where control of the American colleges was ecclesiastical, it was Protestant, Non-conformist, (and so not averse to lay participation), and inter-denominational.<sup>94</sup> Thus, Princeton, although a solidly Presbyterian foundation, had an inter-denominational student body and took great pride in its ‘scientific’ (i.e. rational) teaching.<sup>95</sup> When King’s College (now Columbia University) was founded in New York, it was an Anglican institution, but (albeit only after protests from the Presbyterians) included in its Board of Trustees the pastors of the four non-Anglican denominations in New York City.<sup>96</sup> As a result a college tended to be supported and influenced by several sectors of the community, depending more on the culture in which it was immersed than “the pedagogical atmosphere created artificially within it.”<sup>97</sup> Such a college was, as James Hall describes it, “an echo chamber of its social milieu.”<sup>98</sup>

### **The Origins of the English Entrepreneurial College**

In their quest for survival, the English dissenting academies tended to be ‘market-led,’ as, for example, at Warrington, where, if the demand was sufficient and an instructor available, courses were given on the “natural history of all the principle materials of commerce”<sup>99</sup> and on “fortification, gunnery and [military] tactics.”<sup>100</sup> When Warrington closed in 1786, it was succeeded by a similarly market-led academy at Manchester, the first Principal of which was Thomas Barnes, a Unitarian minister who had been educated at the Warrington Academy.<sup>101</sup> He had played a major role in the founding of a Manchester College of Arts

<sup>94</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 176-7

<sup>95</sup> Richard Hofstadter & W. Smith, eds. American Higher Education: A Documentary History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) Vol. I, 97.

<sup>96</sup> Wright, 121-122.

<sup>97</sup> Jose Ortega y Gasset, Mission of the University (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1946), 38

<sup>98</sup> J. W. Hall, 9.

<sup>99</sup> William Turner, The Warrington Academy, 29, cited by Jean Raymond and John V. Pickstone, “The Natural Sciences and the Learning of the English Unitarians” in Barbara Smith, 132 and 160, fn. 8.

<sup>100</sup> Raymond and Pickstone, in Barbara Smith, 132.

<sup>101</sup> Simon, Studies, 30.

and Sciences, an evening institute which was open from 1783 to 1787,<sup>102</sup> and he was also Secretary of the somewhat longer-lived Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society.<sup>103</sup> He is credited with having been a very advanced and liberal thinker, who had announced that he wanted to educate businessmen to “contradict the disgraceful idea that a spirit of merchandise is incompatible with liberal sentiment and that it only tends to contract and vulgarise the mind.”<sup>104</sup> At the inaugural meeting of the foundation committee it was announced that the new academy would be called Manchester College and would offer “a plan affording a full and systematic Course of Education for DIVINES, and preparatory instruction for the OTHER LEARNED PROFESSIONS, as well as for CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL life.”<sup>105</sup>

The inspiration to found a dissenting academy generally came from a minister or an academic, rather than a benefactor or a community, and colleges often had a life-span of ten years or less.<sup>106</sup> As with the American colleges, governance was by a Committee or Board of Trustees, generally composed of benefactors and members of the sponsoring congregation, ministers and, in due course, former students,<sup>107</sup> many of whom became subscribers. However, whereas in the American colonies support for the colleges usually came almost entirely from the immediate locality (or, as at Parsons College and Yale University, from somebody who resided elsewhere, but had direct connections with the locality), financial support for the dissenting academies also came from congregations and individuals much further afield: thus, for example, the academy at Warrington was founded at the instigation of John Seddon, the local minister, and was supported by donations from

<sup>102</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 108.

<sup>103</sup> Simon, Studies, 25-26.

<sup>104</sup> T. Barnes, “A Plan for the Improvement and Extension of Liberal Education in Manchester,” Memoires of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, Vol. 11, 29, quoted in Barbara Smith, 85.

<sup>105</sup> Manchester Academy, “Report of Committee, 22<sup>nd</sup>. February, 1786” (Oxford, Manchester College archives).

<sup>106</sup> Barnes 29, quoted in Barbara Smith, 85; Barnard, English Education, 33.

<sup>107</sup> David L. Wykes, “Sons and Subscribers: Lay Support and the College,” in Barbara Smith, 33-77.

industrialists and merchants in Manchester, Warrington, Liverpool and Birmingham.<sup>108</sup> Later, the academy at Manchester was to enjoy support from London and the South of England,<sup>109</sup> apparently at the expense of the universities, for some London merchants “favoured the Puritan colleges.”<sup>110</sup> In consequence, as noted earlier, the dissenting academies tended not to be embedded in a particular locality and, if suffering from a dearth of students, would survive by moving, so making a “new combination” by changing the catchment area.<sup>111</sup> Thus Manchester College, after 17 years in Manchester, moved to York in 1803, only to return to Manchester in 1840, moving to London in 1853 and, finally, in 1889 to Oxford. During its return visit to Manchester it was known as Manchester New College.<sup>112</sup> It is now a constituent college of the University of Oxford and is called Harris Manchester College, following a substantial donation from a carpet manufacturer. In this it resembled the Collegiate School of Connecticut, which, unlike many other colonial colleges, only found a settled existence after its endowment fund received a donation from Elihu Yale, which enabled it to settle in New Haven, as Yale University.<sup>113</sup>

Elsewhere, as the settlers moved west from New England, new ideals also gave birth to new colleges, which were often founded as much to promote the commercial interests of a town as to protect the temporal interests of a religious denomination.<sup>114</sup> In either case the motivation for such provision was the furtherance of the interests of the sponsoring group. As it was rare for students from one sect or group to be sufficiently numerous to support a college, pragmatism and commercial good sense usually prevailed and, in consequence,

<sup>108</sup> Simon, Studies, 29. However, A. Temple Patterson, in The University of Southampton (Southampton: University of Southampton, 1962), attributes the slow growth of the University at Southampton, in part, to the fact that the shipping magnates lived elsewhere, whereas the other provincial universities were supported by the industrialists who lived and operated in their immediate locality.

<sup>109</sup> Wykes, in Barbara Smith, 39.

<sup>110</sup> Green, 37.

<sup>111</sup> Ruth Watts, “Manchester College and Education” in Barbara Smith, 39.

<sup>112</sup> Barbara Smith, xxi - xxii.

<sup>113</sup> Geiger, “Introduction” in Sears, x. However, Elihu Yale’s gift was presumably more symbolic than substantive, as the goods he sent from England yielded only \$500 (See Wright, 120).

<sup>114</sup> Potts, 28-42; Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 6-7.

most colleges were not strictly sectarian, but would accept all Protestants or, in some cases, all Christians, who could afford to pay the fees. In 1778, Ezra Stiles, the Congregational President of Yale, justified such an open-door policy with the comment "There is so much pure Christianity among all sects of Protestants, that I cheerfully embrace all in my charity."<sup>115</sup>

Boarding students at the English academies tended to come from the non-conformist, middle class, merchant or manufacturing families, or to be the sons of ministers or subscribers. Others came from poorer families who lived in the immediate locality.<sup>116</sup> As the academies were set up in response to the exclusion of the Non-Conformists from the English universities, they were demonstrably open, possibly even more so than the colleges in New England, for they were happy to accept even those who were not Protestant (although this may, of course, have been as much due to their lack of a guaranteed supply of students as to non-conformist conviction). At Warrington Academy, immediately prior to its closure in 1786, one third of the students were Anglicans and its successor, the new academy at Manchester was declared to be "... open to young men of every denomination, from whom no test, or confession of faith will be required."<sup>117</sup> Of the eight students who enrolled for its first session, "three were studying medicine, one was following law, two were intended for commerce, and two had chosen divinity, one preparing for Holy Orders in the Church of England, one for a ministry amongst the dissenters."<sup>118</sup> Students at the Manchester Academy who later became famous for their scientific research included James

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<sup>115</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 178-181.

<sup>116</sup> Wykes, in Barbara Smith, 47 -65.

<sup>117</sup> McLachlan, 303, quoted by Wykes in Barbara Smith, 51.

<sup>118</sup> Manchester College Oxford, "The Principal's Address," Proceedings and Addresses on the Occasion of the Opening of the College Buildings and Dedication of the Chapel, October 18-19, 1893 (London: Longmans, 1894; Woodbridge, CT: Research Publications International, History of Education Microfiche 5004, 1989), 10280-10282.

Joule, Joseph Priestley and John Dalton,<sup>119</sup> whilst students elsewhere included Thomas Secker (at the Tewkesbury Academy), who was to become Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>120</sup>

### **Education for the Unserved Classes**

Whilst the ancient universities, the dissenting academies and the commercial colleges were serving the literary (and to some extent the business) needs of the youth of the English upper and upper-middle classes, beyond the collegiate wall there was a burgeoning demand for technical education and adult education.<sup>121</sup> This was met by the organisation of libraries and popular lectures and between 1760 and 1770 numerous Literary and Philosophical Societies were formed. Such was the popular interest, that by 1841 there were 300 Mechanics', Literary and Scientific institutes in Great Britain, a figure which increased to nearly 700 within ten years.<sup>122</sup> In 1851, the combined membership of the four major institutes (at Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds and Greenwich) exceeded the number of undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>123</sup> Most were concerned with the dissemination of knowledge to the middle and working classes, in contrast to the Royal Society, founded in 1662, and the more practical Lunar Society, founded in 1766, which were intended to promote research and enable the leading scientists, inventors and engineers of the day to meet, exchange ideas and discuss new discoveries, technologies and industrial processes.<sup>124</sup>

Although luminaries such as Charles Dickens, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Brougham and scientists such as Joseph Priestley, lectured at the larger institutes, there was generally an acute shortage of speakers. As a result, a lecture which was delivered by an expert to one institute, be it on political economy, philosophy or science, would be transcribed onto

<sup>119</sup> Raymond and Pickstone, in Barbara Smith, 129-130;

<sup>120</sup> Barnard, English Education, 33.

<sup>121</sup> Thomas Kelly, George Birkbeck (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1957), 258.

<sup>122</sup> Kelly, George Birkbeck, 258.

<sup>123</sup> Kelly, George Birkbeck, 264

<sup>124</sup> Simon, Studies, 19.

printed sheets which then circulated from institute to institute.<sup>125</sup> These were then read to the members, thus introducing an element of ‘mass production’ and providing not only a form of ‘distance education,’ but also economies of scale.

Although the early mechanics’ institutes had provided practical classes, some early lectures had been viewed as postulating “a proletarian political economy” and propagating “...opinions [which], if they were to spread, would be the subversion of civilised society....”<sup>126</sup> As a result there was a tension between the ‘mechanics’ and the middle class members and the latter increasingly sought to take control.<sup>127</sup> A speaker at the 1838 Annual Meeting of the Liverpool Mechanics’ Institute argued that the institution, “though originally formed for the benefit of mechanics, has gradually become a great educational establishment for the middle classes.”<sup>128</sup> One factor which facilitated this was the low standard of basic education amongst the working-class population,<sup>129</sup> something which was not to change until a whole generation had benefited from the limited improvements in basic education which were introduced by the Education Act of 1870.

In the United States, Mechanics’ Institutes were organised in the larger cities, the first being that in New York City, founded in 1820 by a mutual benevolent association of tradesmen and mechanics. However, as in England, the greatest difficulty encountered was that the mechanics lacked the fundamental education needed to understand the lectures, and it was the recognition of this that led to the founding of a free day school for the children of members. The next American institute, the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, was founded in 1824, not by the mechanics themselves, but by a Samuel V. Merrick, a local industrialist and William H. Keating, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania who had seen the Anderson Institute in Glasgow. Although public elementary schools were already in

<sup>125</sup> Kelly, George Birkbeck, 249.

<sup>126</sup> Simon, Studies, 156.

<sup>127</sup> Kelly, George Birkbeck, 269; Charles Alpheus Bennett, History of Manual and Industrial Education Up to 1870 (Peoria, Illinois: Chas. A. Bennett & Co., 1926), 306.

existence, they were found to be inadequate to equip children to advance in life, and so the institute founded a high school.<sup>130</sup> Although mechanics' institutes were later founded in other large cities, they were not really suited to small-town America, where the Lyceums fulfilled a similar function.

There were two major differences between the English and American institutes, namely the nature of the instruction furnished and their intended purpose. In England the lectures were, according to Henry Brougham, intended only to promote interests which, "without any view to a particular employment, may be united with a life of hard labour, even in its most humble branches, and may prove both its solace and its guide,"<sup>131</sup> so making the artisans more acquiescent to their humble lot in life. In 1826, Brougham had founded the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge,' supposedly with the intention of better informing the working class, but more to protect the interests of the middle class and, according to Simon, to "stifle the demands of the workers." From 1830 the Society published extensively, their pamphlets in the field of political economy being written in a "doctrinaire, theoretical and patronising way."<sup>132</sup> However the middle class who supported the Society were simultaneously voicing criticism of the absence of scientific and technical education at Oxford and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Cambridge.<sup>133</sup> This viewpoint was reflected in the Quarterly Journal of Education, which the Society also published and which regularly assailed the universities as being irrelevant. The principal complaint was that the universities were seeking the answers to "make believe problems, the circumstances of which are for the most part impossible, and the results nearly always useless,"<sup>134</sup> instead of addressing the every-day technical problems which faced the country (or, more specifically,

<sup>128</sup> Thomas Baines, History of Liverpool (1852), 649, quoted in Argyles, 8.

<sup>129</sup> Bennett, 307.

<sup>130</sup> Bennett, 319-322

<sup>131</sup> H. Brougham, Practical Observations upon the Education of the People (1825), 27, quoted Simon, Studies, 159.

<sup>132</sup> Simon, Studies, 159-162.

<sup>133</sup> Simon, Studies, 90-95.

the middle, industrialising class). These sentiments were echoed by Sir Lyon Playfair, MP, who argued that “Until our schools accept as a living faith that a study of God's works is more fitted to increase the resources of the nation than a study of the amours of Jupiter or of Venus, our industrial colleges will make no material headway against those of the continent.”<sup>135</sup> In 1852, he similarly remarked that: “As surely as darkness follows the setting of the sun, so surely will England recede as a manufacturing nation, unless her industrial population becomes more conversant with science than they are now.”<sup>136</sup> In 1887, he argued that “The experience of commercial nations was that the competition of industries was a competition of intellect.”<sup>137</sup> A former professor of chemistry at Edinburgh, a Commissioner for the Great Exhibition of 1851 and married to an American, he was instrumental in using the profit from the exhibition for the purchase of the land in South Kensington on which the Imperial College of Science, Technology and Medicine and the great museums are now located.<sup>138</sup> South Kensington was also to become the home of the Department of Arts and Science, the policies of which were later to be significantly influenced by the “South Kensington … attitude of mind,” which tended to favour theory over practice.<sup>139</sup>

In thus promoting scientific colleges and interests by the provision of land, Playfair’s actions to some extent paralleled those of Justin S. Morrill in the United States,<sup>140</sup> whose ‘land-grant’ colleges combined the teaching of the “practical knowledge” required by agriculture and industry with the “liberal studies” favoured by the “sectarian and aristocratic sectors,”<sup>141</sup> the approval of which was needed if his proposals were to receive congressional

<sup>134</sup> Quarterly Journal of Education, Vol. IV, No. 8, October 1832, quoted Simon, Studies, 91.

<sup>135</sup> David Bogue, Lectures on the results of the Great Exhibition of 1851 (1852), 202, quoted Argyles, 16-17.

<sup>136</sup> Lyon Playfair, “The Study of Abstract Science Essential to the Progress of Industry,” Introductory Lecture to the Government School of Mines (1852), quoted Roderick and Stephens, 42.

<sup>137</sup> The Times, 1 July, 1887, quoted in Argyles, 48-49.

<sup>138</sup> Argyles, 16-18.

<sup>139</sup> Argyles, xii.

<sup>140</sup> The Morrill Act 1862, Section 4; Harold M Hyman, American Singularity (Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1986).

<sup>141</sup> David Ward, Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin Madison, "Undergraduate Education at a Research University" Madison Literary Club essay, September 12, 1994.

support. However, whereas the great majority of Morrill's audience broadly accepted the principle of social mobility, Playfair's English upper- and middle-class audience rather tended towards Brougham's view, that the purpose of the institutes was to preserve social distinctions, for, as Cecil Frances Alexander had written only three years previously,

The rich man in his castle,  
The poor man at his gate,  
God made them high or lowly,  
and ordered their estate.<sup>142</sup>

In contrast to the mechanics' institutes in Britain, those in America were more specifically vocational and were intended to enable the artisan to rise in the world. Hudson commented that only in America can a "perfect Mechanics' Institution be seen in which a machine shop, supplied with the necessary tools for the diligent and for inventors, is accessible to all."<sup>143</sup> The second major difference, that of purpose, was even more significant, for the American Institutes were intended, not only to elevate their members, but also

to give to the sons of tradesmen, and other citizens in moderate circumstances, the same advantages of education, which have heretofore been almost exclusively enjoyed by the children of the rich...[for in] this country, where permanent distinctions of rank are inconsistent with the spirit of our republican institutions, it is impossible to tell, from the situation of the parent, what may be the destiny of the child.<sup>144</sup>

They were thus intended to promote the very social mobility which, according to Simon, the institutes in England were intended to stultify. England had to wait another fifty years before J. H. Yoxhall, MP, was to tell the House of Commons that

What was wanted was two ladders - one leading from the gutter to the wall of the University, a ladder by which the child of the poorest workman, born with capacity, could ascend to the University, and afterwards enter one of the learned professions. Such a child might be a born commentator, preacher, teacher, or writer, and the ladder from the gutter to the University should be there for him. They also wanted a

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<sup>142</sup> Cecil Frances Alexander, "All Things Bright and Beautiful" (1848), Stanza 3.

<sup>143</sup> James William Hudson, The History of Adult Education (London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1851, quoted by Lewis Flint Anderson, History of Manual and Industrial School Education (New York & London: Appleton & Co., 1926), 138-9.

<sup>144</sup> Franklin Institute, Journal of the Franklin Institute (Philadelphia, 1928), quoted Bennett, 320-321.

ladder leading from the University to some place where technological knowledge could be obtained....<sup>145</sup>

Given that the Imperial College of Science and Technology had opened that year as part of the University of London, it is curious, that Yoxhall seemingly did not expect technological knowledge to be found at a university.

### **The United States: “A Land of Colleges”**

The westward expansion created a demand for colleges in the United states, and those founded in the early to mid-nineteenth century were often ‘booster colleges,’ founded by,<sup>146</sup> or subscribed to,<sup>147</sup> by businessmen who considered a college to be essential if their town or city was to expand and thrive.<sup>148</sup> In doing so they were endorsing the view of Henry III (expressed in 1231 and mentioned previously), that a college can bring financial and social benefits to a town.<sup>149</sup> In 1851, Absalom Peters, an American college promoter, was able to predict that “Our country is to be a land of colleges,”<sup>150</sup> a view supported by the founding of 516 colleges in the 16 Eastern states before the Civil War,<sup>151</sup> amongst which was Upper Iowa University, (where the male students had joined the Union army en masse),<sup>152</sup> but not Parsons College, which was a post-Civil War foundation. However, of the 516, by 1932, only 104 were still in existence,<sup>153</sup> 80% presumably being unable to meet Eric Ashby’s conditions for the survival of an institution: that “it must be sufficiently stable to sustain the ideal which gave it birth and sufficiently responsive to remain relevant to the society which supports it,”<sup>154</sup> which in many such cases was to mean “sufficiently

<sup>145</sup> Hansard, Fourth Series, 171 (1907), 114.

<sup>146</sup> e.g. Upper Iowa University funded by the entrepreneurial Colonel Roberts and his son-in-law.

<sup>147</sup> e.g. Parsons College, where the Fairfield businessmen bid \$27,000 to match the Parsons bequest.

<sup>148</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 157.

<sup>149</sup> Quoted verbatim by Mansbridge, 10, fn. 1.

<sup>150</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 155.

<sup>151</sup> Tewksbury, 28.

<sup>152</sup> Clarke & Bowen.

<sup>153</sup> Tewksbury, 28.

<sup>154</sup> Ashby, Universities, 3.

entrepreneurial....”

Somewhat surprisingly, the colleges thus founded “typically did not attempt to provide the practical subjects” required by a largely rural, small manufacturing economy.<sup>155</sup> David Ward argues that this was because:

The impetus for the early development of colleges and universities in America came largely from sectarian and aristocratic sectors. The curriculum came to reflect their interests, and consequently was directed toward perpetuating a leadership class, well-versed in subjects considered essential to responsible citizenship. Because the public leaders of the time came primarily from an aristocracy schooled in the classics, Greek and Latin texts formed the basis for instruction. This classical model grew out of the premise that there is a fundamental core of knowledge and skills that citizens need to develop in order to properly serve the larger society -- which in this case was the landed gentry. This notion has its roots in the Greek concept of the republic, a group of people united in the pursuit of the same cause.<sup>156</sup>

Boorstin, in contrast, claims that the ‘booster’ colleges, being deeply embedded in the life of the community which had subscribed to them, concentrated on the teaching of skills and ‘useful’ knowledge,<sup>157</sup> something which was certainly not the case at either Parsons College or Upper Iowa University, where instruction was confined to the classics, literature and natural science (although in 1865 UIU opened a separate School of Commerce).<sup>158</sup> That Justin S. Morrill was to lay such stress on the importance of his ‘land-grant’ colleges combining the teaching of “practical knowledge” with “liberal studies,”<sup>159</sup> also indicates that the existing ‘liberal arts’ colleges, of which there was no shortage, were deficient in the former.

This situation was perhaps inevitable, for the traditionalists argued that the purity of the pursuit of knowledge should not be sullied by practicalities,<sup>160</sup> whilst the farmers did not accept that it was necessary to go to college to learn to be a farmer or a mechanic, skills

<sup>155</sup> J. W. Hall, 21.

<sup>156</sup> Ward, 1994.

<sup>157</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 157.

<sup>158</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 143.

<sup>159</sup> The Morrill Act 1862, Section 4, Hyman 1986.

<sup>160</sup> James Morgan Hart, German Universities - A Narrative of Personal Experience. (New York, 1874): reprinted in Hofstadter and Smith, Vol. II, 569.

which could be learned whilst working on the farm.<sup>161</sup> It is also highly probable that Ward's "aristocratic and sectarian sectors," which supported the colleges financially, were able to do so from surplus funds, either personal or church, and a college which attracted the (already) moneyed, middle, or professional, class would do most to boost a locality. A farmer, eking out an existence, would not be able to contribute much to a college and so would have very little influence, or indeed interest, in its form. They would be more interested in keeping their extended family on the farm, working the land, rather than giving their children a 'fancy' education which might distract them: thus David Coop, an Iowa settler who died in 1837, in his last will and testament expressed the desire "that my beloved wife should keep my children together in raising them and that they should have a common English education," whilst Henry Rowe, who died in 1838, similarly requested that his children "receive a common country education."<sup>162</sup> The need was thus for local colleges which would provide such an education, yet (as Matthew Arnold was later to recommend for England) would "let the students follow lectures there from their own homes, or with whatever arrangements for their living they and their parents choose."<sup>163</sup> (Curiously, whilst Arnold could have had no conception of electronically-aided distance learning, his words now have additional meaning.)

The problem still exists, as is shown by newspaper headlines such as "Nebraska struggles to hold onto its best" and statements such as "We, and some other states have educated our young people for jobs that don't exist," by Walter Scott Jr., billionaire owner of a Nebraska construction company which, with other Nebraska businesses, has provided \$47 million to fund a new Institute of Information Science, Technology and Engineering, the state providing \$23 million. The State of Iowa is similarly a net exporter of talent and is

<sup>161</sup> Alfred Charles True, A History of Agricultural Education in the United States 1785-1925 (Washington, DC: US Govt. Printing Office, Miscellaneous publication no. 36, 1929).

<sup>162</sup> W. E. Parsons, 3.

<sup>163</sup> Matthew Arnold, Schools and Universities on the Continent (1861), 198, quoted in Gordon W.

running a \$500,000 campaign to convince the 200,000 expatriate graduates of Iowa universities to return to their home state<sup>164</sup>.

Alden Partridge, the President of Norwich University, was amongst the first to recognise this need and in 1841 he proposed that the US Congress should use the income from the sales of public land to provide funds to the individual States, "in proportion to their representation in Congress," for the endowment of institutions to teach "the natural and economic sciences as applied to agriculture, engineering, manufacturing and commerce."<sup>165</sup> His proposal made no progress, nor did a similar one from Jonathan Baldwin Turner. Turner had obtained the endorsement of the Illinois legislature and in 1854 he presented a proposal to Congress for an industrial university to meet the needs of "cultivators of the soil, artisans, mechanics and merchants" in Illinois<sup>166</sup> Even Harvard was not immune from such proposals and in 1850 a special committee of the Massachusetts Legislation complained that

The college fails to answer the just expectations of the people of the State. A college should be open to boys who seek specific learning for a specific purpose. It should give the people the practical instruction they want and not a classical literary course suitable only for aristocracy. It should help young men to become better farmers, mechanics, and merchants.<sup>167</sup>

In other words, its justification should be economic, rather than intellectual. As Murray G. Ross points out, "this was a theme heard increasingly in the United States. The desire was not, as in Britain, for an aristocracy but for those practical skills that would contribute to the growth of a developing country."<sup>168</sup>

The local college, which taught 'useful' knowledge, was made a reality by the first Morrill Act of 1862, which, in order to "promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life," set aside Federal

Roderick and Michael D. Stephens, Scientific and Technical Education in Nineteenth Century England (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1972), 11.

<sup>164</sup> Svenson Swanson "Keeping best, brightest is Nebraska's toughest sales job," Chicago Tribune, November 18, 1998, 1 & 16.

<sup>165</sup> Rasmussen, 20.

<sup>166</sup> Rasmussen, 22.

<sup>167</sup> Quoted, Murray G. Ross, The University (New York: McGraw Hill, 1976), 45.

Government land in each state, both to endow new colleges and support existing colleges, which would, "...without excluding other scientific and classical studies, ...teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, ... in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes...."<sup>169</sup> (as opposed, that is, to the non-industrial classes, who had founded liberal arts colleges to furnish their children with a 'classical' education). That the Morrill grants were to be used "in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe" was also of significance, not just because it acknowledged that education was a matter reserved to the States, but also because it meant that the grants could be used to support both private and state institutions. In consequence small state colleges such as Texas A & M (Agricultural and Mechanical) College, large state universities such as Wisconsin, and private universities such as Cornell and the University of Chicago, all benefited from the Federal grants of land. That the grants were to support "such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanical arts" caused much dissent, for those who arguing that the purity of the pursuit of knowledge should not be sullied by practicalities favoured a dichotomy between the two, as was the case in the German and English universities.<sup>170</sup> The purists did have some success, but only in that new institutions specialising in post-graduate work tended to follow the German model and be separate from the undergraduate colleges.<sup>171</sup>

However, the idea that higher education should serve the broader community had taken root. In 1868 the Board of Regents directed that the Kansas Agricultural College provide local lectures "so that the benefits of farming according to correct agricultural principles

<sup>168</sup> Ross, 45.

<sup>169</sup> The Morrill Act 1862, Section 4; Hyman 1986.

<sup>170</sup> Brown, xviii.

<sup>171</sup> Ross, 45-47; Brown, xviii.

may be disseminated throughout the state,”<sup>172</sup> whilst in 1885 the State of New York chartered the Chautauqua University as a community based college without a campus.<sup>173</sup> Bonner suggests that it was the widespread adoption of the Chautauqua methods by the land-grant and other colleges which was responsible for the accessible, community-based, public service role of the modern American university.<sup>174</sup>

### **The Genesis of Non-Sectarian Higher Education in England**

From the mid-1700s, the commercial, military and organisational needs of an expanding Empire were serving to fuel a demand for more practical alternatives to the donnish and still religiously-oriented colleges of Oxford and Cambridge. This led to the founding of the British military colleges and the college of the Honourable East India Company at Haileybury.<sup>175</sup> The latter educated the next generation of Company administrators and later developed into what was virtually a private, fee-earning university, with a staff of 20 academics and linguists recruited from Oxford and Cambridge, including Thomas Robert Malthus, the economist.<sup>176</sup> Subsequently, the engineering and scientific needs of the industrial revolution created similar demands for colleges which taught what Justin Morrill was later to call “useful knowledge” and others, still later (and possibly in post-modern fashion), were to call “useable knowledges.”<sup>177</sup>

This created a gap in the educational market which the dissenting academies, with their practical and scientific tradition might usefully have filled. However, they were generally

<sup>172</sup> Rasmussen, 28.

<sup>173</sup> Sheila Sherow & Charles A. Wedemeyer, “Origins of Distance Learning in the United States” in eds. D. Randy Garrison & Doug Shale, Education at a Distance: From Issues to Practice. (Mallabar FL, Robert E. Kreiger Publishing Company, 1990), 10.

<sup>174</sup> Richard K. Bonner, The Chautauqua University: Pioneer University Without Walls, 1883-1898 (Kent State University, PhD Thesis, 1989).

<sup>175</sup> Simon, Studies, 118.

<sup>176</sup> Brian Gardner The East India Company (New York: A. M. Heath & Co., 1971; Barnes & Noble, 1997), 190.

<sup>177</sup> K (Moti) Gokulsing and Cornel DaCosta (eds.), Useable Knowledges As the Goal of University Education. Mellen Studies in Education, Vol 33 (Lewison/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellin Press, 1997).

small and under-funded, and the need for them had peaked, for in 1813 much of the seventeenth century legislation directed against Unitarians was repealed, as, in 1828, were the Test Acts. Whilst both events were to benefit the dissenters personally, they simultaneously weakened the position of their academies, which, although deliberately ‘un-sectarian,’ were still small religious foundations and did not have the power to award degrees, something which could only be remedied by the granting of a Royal Charter or the passing of a Act of Parliament. Neither of these was a possibility in the political climate of the time and, whilst support for the academies had been widespread, even coming from some Anglicans, it had been thinly spread. In the non-conformist tradition, there was also no effective, centralised structure which might have provided leverage on the London political stage.

However pressure was growing elsewhere for the creation of new, and secular, degree-granting institutions, which would be inexpensive, and free from the religious and social restrictions of Oxbridge.<sup>178</sup> The feasibility of creating new, full-scale, universities, as opposed to small individual colleges, had been demonstrated at Berlin (founded 1809), Bonn (1818) and appraised with approbation by Matthew Arnold.<sup>179</sup> It had even proved possible to create a modern university in the backwoods of a former colony, for in 1819 Thomas Jefferson had founded the University of Virginia, the concept of which was discussed in the influential “Rockfish Gap Report.”<sup>180</sup> In 1820, Thomas Campbell, the Scottish poet, visited the new universities on the Continent and on his return considered the possibilities for England. His thoughts culminated in a letter to the Times of 9<sup>th</sup> February, 1825 in which he proposed “A great London University.” This he saw as being intended to

<sup>178</sup> Thomas Lloyd Humberstone, University Reform in London (London, George Allen & Unwin, 1926), 27.

<sup>179</sup> Matthew Arnold, Schools and Universities on the Continent (London : Macmillan, 1861; new edition 1868); idem, Higher Schools and Universities in Germany. 2nd edition (London, New York: Macmillan, 1892), 21.

<sup>180</sup> Simon. Studies. 121; Rockfish Gap Report: Report by the Commissioners appointed to fix the scite [sic] of the University of Virginia (Richmond: John Warrock, printer to the senate, 1818), 1.

go beyond mere “lecturing to people of both sexes” and to be concerned with “effectively and multifariously teaching, examining, exercising and rewarding with honours in the liberal arts and sciences, the youth of our middling rich people...” Significantly, the latter corresponded to Cremin’s “middling” people, who, two hundred years earlier had been emigrating to America.<sup>181</sup>

Many of these “middling rich people” were non-conformists,<sup>182</sup> and the proposal, for a new university in London, drew support from virtually the whole of the non-Anglican middle-class and the promoters included political and social Radicals, Utilitarians, Dissenters, Catholics and Jews,<sup>183</sup> and the necessary leverage was to be provided by the Radical movement. Simon tells us that the “demand for educational reform developed as an essential part of this movement,”<sup>184</sup> which “represented a new political grouping on a national scale, ... had a middle class approach to the content and organisation of education,” and was not concerned to civilise the upper class, but rather to reduce their influence.<sup>185</sup>

The Radicals evidently saw no immediate prospect of reforming Oxford or Cambridge and therefore, using a device with which many of them, as businessmen, were familiar, set up a joint stock company to operate a “University of London,”<sup>186</sup> which duly opened a college under the somewhat less imposing name of ‘University College.’ Rothblatt suggests that the use of the more conventional (and financially less risky) charitable trust may have been avoided because it would have brought the institution, as a charity, under the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Church of England.<sup>187</sup> Simon considers that the avoidance of charitable status also permitted “control to be vested in a lay council, so ensuring close contact between the university and the life of the city it was to

<sup>181</sup> Cremin, 3.

<sup>182</sup> Humberstone, 27.

<sup>183</sup> Simon, Studies, 119.

<sup>184</sup> Simon, Studies, 72.

<sup>185</sup> Simon, Studies, 119-121; Green, 104-105. Parliamentary reform was high on the Radical agenda and they were instrumental in securing the passage of the Reform Act of 1832.

<sup>186</sup> Simon, 119-121; Green, 104-105.

serve.”<sup>188</sup> Its governance would thus resemble that of the colonial colleges of North America, and not being subject to narrow sectarian control from within, would similarly, in Ortega’s words, be “a functional organ of the nation,”<sup>189</sup> or at least of a substantial and unserved part of it.

Although the proponents of the new university had chosen an entrepreneurial vehicle, the joint stock company, to raise the £100,000 required for the new enterprise, their promise of a return of 6% on the stock was illusory,<sup>190</sup> for the new university was not expected to produce a direct economic profit. Rothblatt states that a cap of a 4% return was put on the shares “in order to counter the reproach that profit, and not education, was the true object of the new foundation,” and that interest was never in fact paid.<sup>191</sup>

Given the wide range of sponsors of University College, which included political and social radicals, Jews and Christians (both non-Anglican and Catholic),<sup>192</sup> it is not surprising that a consensus could not be reached on the matter of theology, with the result that it was not included amongst the courses to be offered. In line with the market orientation of the dissenting academies, there was, however, a consensus that what should be taught should be “useful” and “relevant.” This meant not only courses which were related to business, industry, international trade, and the Colonial and Civil Service, but also general or liberal arts courses, which gave the college respectability, would offend very few of the sponsors and were also in accord with the Puritan tradition, the great men of which had been “steeped in the culture of the Renaissance.”<sup>193</sup> It also drew on the Scottish university tradition, which was not difficult, given that twelve of the twenty-four original professors were recruited from Scottish universities. Six came from Cambridge and none from Oxford.

<sup>187</sup> Rothblatt, 351.

<sup>188</sup> Simon, Studies, 121.

<sup>189</sup> Ortega y Gasset, 38.

<sup>190</sup> Green, 104.

<sup>191</sup> Rothblatt, 351.

<sup>192</sup> Simon, Studies, 119.

<sup>193</sup> Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic, 68.

in order to serve a specific group, in this case middle class students, largely resident in Central London, who were ideologically disinclined, or could not afford, to go to Oxford or Cambridge. The College admitted the first students in 1828 and that it was a-sectarian aroused much controversy, particularly amongst the Establishment, that is the Anglican Church, the landed gentry and the Tories, with Thomas Arnold dismissing it as that “godless institution in Gower Street.”<sup>198</sup>

Recognising that the “University of London,” was a reality, those who opposed it reacted by founding their ‘own brand’ London institution, King’s College, “in which the doctrines and form of worship of the Church of England would be recognised and religious instruction incorporated.”<sup>199</sup> The inaugural meeting, held in June 1828, was presided over by the Duke of Wellington (who was then Prime Minister and in 1834 was to become Chancellor of Oxford) and was attended by no less than seven bishops and three archbishops. Reportedly to cheers, the Duke announced that the new college should enable youth

to perform their duties to their Sovereign and to their country in their various stations of life; and above all to give them knowledge of God (cheers)- a knowledge of the principles, precepts, and examples on which all his doctrines are founded (loud cheers) - a knowledge which shall teach them to be satisfied in this life, and give them hope in the mercies of future one.<sup>200</sup>

He did not favour too narrow a training for “a British officer [who] may have to serve ...as governor of a colony or ...as a magistrate” and therefore must ‘know something of the Constitution and the laws.’<sup>201</sup> The Duke evidently did not intend the new college to promote social mobility, free-thinking or dissent, but rather to preserve the status quo and uphold the primacy of the Church of England, and the college received its charter the following year.

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<sup>198</sup> W. A. C. Stewart, Higher Education in Post-War Britain (London: Macmillan, 1989), 10.

<sup>199</sup> Stewart, 10.

<sup>200</sup> Green, 106.

## Progress in the Provinces: Church and Politics, Commerce and Colleges

In 1826, the same year as University College London was founded, the Reverend John Yates, a Unitarian minister who had supported and financed the Hackney (dissenting) Academy, had published his Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England,<sup>202</sup> in which he argued that

Holland now has three celebrated Universities, open to all sects without distinction. Why should not Yorkshire and Lancashire, which equal Holland in wealth, population and extent...and the adjoining counties, have the benefit of at least one university, planted in the midst of them...?

Yates also recognised the importance of non-governmental funding and continued by acknowledged that the town or city which “shall first arrive at the honour of containing a National University, will probably depend on the inducements, which may be offered by the promptitude and liberality of their inhabitants.” Such a state of affairs was evidently not uncommon: in 1818, such a possibility had been specifically considered and rejected by the foundation Commissioners of the new University of Virginia, who had stipulated that, although they would accept “...any voluntary contributions... for the benefit of the university, yet they did not consider this as establishing an auction, or as pledging the location to the highest bidder.<sup>203</sup> In contrast, in 1869, the founding trustees selected Fairfield as the location for Parsons College, but only after it outbid other Iowa towns by offering subscriptions totalling \$27,000.

Yates’s concept of a “National” university was not to be fulfilled, or at least not in the provinces, but his prediction that the location of a new university would depend on “the inducements” to some extent was, for the cities which were to nurture the next wave of universities were largely selected by major benefactors, and owed little to central planning.

<sup>201</sup> Aldington, Richard, Wellington: Being an Account of the Life and Achievements of Arthur Wellesley (London: Heineman, 1946), 333.

<sup>202</sup> John Yates, Thoughts on the Advancement of Academical Education in England (London, 1826) excerpted in Sanderson, 56-57.

<sup>203</sup> “Rockfish Gap Report,” 1818, 1.

The founding of the two new colleges in London was symbolic of the struggle between the Whigs, who were in the ascendancy and the Tories who were tending towards decline. The gradual shift of power was illustrated by the limping progress of the three parliamentary Reform Bills, the first of which was defeated, in April 1831, in the Commons and the second, (after a General election), which passed the Commons to be defeated in the Lords, the 21 Anglican Lord Bishops having voted against it. After riots, the burning of bishops in effigy, and the Episcopal Palace at Bristol in reality, the bill was again defeated in the Lords, sixteen Bishops again voting against it. After threats that the King would create new, and more acquiescent, peers, the dissenting Bishops capitulated and, in June 1832, the bill was passed. The Reform Act of 1832 reduced the parliamentary representation of the landed, high church Tories and increased that of the relatively new industrial and mercantile middle class who typically represented Schumpeter's entrepreneur. Shortly afterwards the Duke of Wellington was to write

It is my opinion that the Reform Bill has effected a compleat revolution in this country, as it has taken the political power of the House of Commons out of the hands of those who possess property in order to place it in the hands of those who keep shops and exercise trades who are doubtless very respectable, but who are not connected with some of our establishments, and many of them are inimical and opposed to them.<sup>204</sup>

Having so vigorously, and unsuccessfully, opposed the reform of the House of Commons, the Anglican hierarchy became concerned that they might be next in line for reform. In 1820, John Wade had published The Black Book; or, Corruption Unmasked, which contained, inter alia, "an account of places, pensions, and sinecures, the revenues of the clergy and landed aristocracy." Its statistics were said to be questionable, but its central argument was sound and it represented a serious attack on the wealth of the church and its prelates. The fifth edition, published in 1831 under the title The Extraordinary Black Book,

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<sup>204</sup> Wellington to Octavius Temple, a retired major and gentleman-farmer, letter, 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 1833, in eds. John Brooke and Julia Gandy, Wellington, Political Correspondence (London: HMSO, 1975), 57.

"stirred up much bitter feeling against the Church of England"<sup>205</sup> and is said to have been a "prime factor in the later introduction of ecclesiastical legislation."<sup>206</sup>

In 1826, James Mill, an intellectual leader amongst the Radicals, had declared that

All sinecure places must be abolished. All overpaid places must be retrenched. All extravagant establishments must be reduced. Army, navy, ordnance, all must come down to a fraction of what they are. What a breaking up of the resources of the aristocracy! Even then, we should not be at the end of our resources. There is, first of all, the crown lands, which should be sold to the last acre, and the last brick. Next we shall be able to do, and much better than we do now, with a far less costly ecclesiastical establishment; and the whole of the tythes and church lands may be rendered available to the discharge of the national debt. Even 'the decent splendour of royalty' must part with some feathers to avert the calamity of a national bankruptcy.<sup>207</sup>

Of the English chapters, Durham was one of the wealthiest and in July, 1831, following the Tory losses in the General Election, Prebendary Durell wrote to his Bishop, W. Van Mildert, that "it appeared morally certain that as soon as the Reform Bill is disposed of, an attack will be made on deans and chapters, and as certain that Durham will be the first object." He suggested that "...no plan is so likely to take as [attaching a large college to the cathedral, so] making the public partakers of our income."<sup>208</sup> The idea of a university at Durham had been mooted some months earlier, by Charles Thorp (who was eventually to become its first warden),<sup>209</sup> "to prevent the establishment of a very doubtful Academical institution which is now taking root in N[ew]'castle."<sup>210</sup> This was a reference to a proposal to found a college or university there "...for the promotion of Literature and Science, more especially amongst the Middle Classes,"<sup>211</sup> on the same a-sectarian lines as University College in London. The

<sup>205</sup> C. E. Whiting, The University of Durham, 1832-1932 (London: Sheldon Press, 1932), 30-31.

<sup>206</sup> G. C. B. Davies, Henry Phillpotts Bishop of Exeter 1778-1869 (London, 1954), 322-333, quoted in Brose, fn. 9.

<sup>207</sup> James Mill, Westminster Review, VI, 12 (October 1826), 274-275.

<sup>208</sup> Prebendary Durell to Archdeacon Thorp, letter, 20<sup>th</sup> July 1831, quoted Whiting, 33.

<sup>209</sup> T. A. Whitworth, Yellow Sandstone and Mellow Brick: An Account of Hatfield College, Durham, 1846-1971 (n.p., 1971), 12.

<sup>210</sup> Charles Thorp to W. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, letter, 11 June, 1831, quoted Elizabeth A. Varley, The Last of the Prince Bishops: William Van Mildert and the High Church Movement of the Early Nineteenth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 150.

<sup>211</sup> Thomas Greenhow, paper for the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Literary and Philosophical Society, 5<sup>th</sup> April 1831, quoted in Varley, 149.

Bishop, who was also a fellow of Queens College, Oxford, and Regius Professor of Divinity, wrote back to Thorp, requesting that a plan for a Durham college be prepared immediately

...so as to anticipate, not only any mongrel attempt at Newcastle, but any fierce attack upon Church-Dignities, from the H. of Commons, where there is great reason to apprehend a movement, as soon as the Reform Bill is disposed of & it is not at all improbable that [the Durham] ... Chapter may be selected for the first onset.”<sup>212</sup>

Such use of church funds was argued not to be “plunder” because the university would be the “legitimate successor to Durham College [Oxford], the property of which has remained since the Reformation in the hands of the Chapter... The principle [is] ...to apply funds temporarily merged in the Dean and Chapter to their original uses -- not to misappropriate church property. (The question of whether it had originally been misappropriated to the church, was left moot, although justification was offered in the church having needed the funds for “support of our parochial system and the maintenance of the clergy.”)<sup>213</sup> The economic and defensive arguments for such a university were clearly articulated by Prebendary Durell, in a letter to the Bishop, when he wrote “That considerable sacrifice must be made is unquestionable, & I hope the Dean & Chapter will consider it a premium paid to secure the remainder.”<sup>214</sup>

### **Once Again, “Higher Education Cannot Escape History”<sup>215</sup>**

The minds of the Bishop, and the chapter and cathedral clergy, had quite possibly been concentrated by the burden of history, both as regards the origin of their wealth, the perils of procrastination, and the fate of previous proposals for a ‘University of Durham. Their wealth dated from the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540, when Henry VIII had

<sup>212</sup> W. Van Mildert, Bishop of Durham, to Charles Thorp, letter, 26 July, 1831, quoted in Varley, 151

<sup>213</sup> Archdeacon Thorp to a (presumably critical) correspondent, letter, 1<sup>st</sup> December, 1831; quoted Whiting, 37.

<sup>214</sup> Durell to Van Mildert, letter, 26 July, 1831, quoted Varley, 152.

<sup>215</sup> Abraham Lincoln’s Second Annual Message to Congress, used by Clark Kerr as his title in Education Cannot Escape History (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), his source acknowledged at xvi.

transferred the temporal possessions of the Abbey of Durham and the associated Durham College (at Oxford, with eight monastic ‘fellows’ and eight secular students) to the Chapter of Durham. By 1544, the Oxford college had failed and site and buildings were surrendered to the Crown (later to become Trinity College).

In 1649, under Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector, all the cathedral chapters of England had similarly been dissolved, the property of the church at Durham had been seized, and “every official had been turned out [and the church properties] … began to go to ruin.” The cathedral had later been used to house some 3,000 prisoners, who had done considerable damage.<sup>216</sup> The City of Durham had then petitioned Parliament to use the buildings as the site of a Puritan (land-grant) university, to be financed from the expropriated chapter land. Cromwell had given his approval under Letters Patent dated 1657,<sup>217</sup> buildings had been assigned, a president appointed, faculty recruited, some of whom actually came into residence, but the all-important charter had not been granted when Cromwell died. Richard Cromwell had succeeded his father as Lord Protector and he approved the scheme, but just as the charter was about to be granted, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had intervened. Independently, but on the same day, 18<sup>th</sup> October, 1659, they presented their petitions:<sup>218</sup> Oxford, being desirous of “preventing the erecting of the university at Durham”<sup>219</sup> had decided to provide a quality assessment, whilst Cambridge, sensing a threat to their duopoly, requested a delay in order that the universities might be heard in defence of “their charters and ancient rights,”<sup>220</sup> the plural demonstrating the closing of ranks in the face of competition. C.E. Whiting has conveniently summarised the petition from Oxford, saying that it

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<sup>216</sup> Whiting, 17.

<sup>217</sup> J.W. Ashley Smith, Birth of Modern Education, 120; Whiting, 26.

<sup>218</sup> Whiting, 28-29.

<sup>219</sup> Oxford University, Vice Chancellor’s Accounts of 1659, entry for the expenses of Drs. Greenwood and Wallis, who travelled to London to present the petition. Life of A. Wood, Oxford Historical Society, iv, 64, quoted Whiting, 27-28.

set forth that so small a body as the staff of the college was unfit to confer degrees and licences in all faculties, when scarcely more than one man in a faculty would be able to examine and judge of the fitness of candidates. English graduates hitherto enjoyed a high repute; but if this were allowed they would become contemptible to all the world. The thing proposed would be a dangerous precedent; it would lead to the establishment of universities in all the large towns, and so depreciate their value. Scarcely three years ago those who started the Durham scheme earnestly disclaimed any intention of conferring degrees. The object of a university being not so much to teach individuals as to advance learning, that object is best attained by a concourse of students in one place. A multitude of universities would only divide and separate. Witness the religious houses among the papists, each with its professors and readers, but none producing men of eminence. The German universities suffered from partition as from a disease, and would be much improved if their number were curtailed. The foundation of a new university was against national policy. Graduates of Oxford and Cambridge took an oath not to read or profess anywhere else but at Oxford or Cambridge. The princes of the nation in times past had founded colleges, but opposed the foundation of universities elsewhere. It would not be to the advantage of the northern counties to endow a college with the powers of a university: but instead colleges might be provided specially for them at Oxford and Cambridge. Lastly, if so small a number of persons were trusted with the powers of a university, and one or two of them introduced Arminian, Socinian, popish, or other dangerous doctrines, they could not be so easily refuted as in a large university like Oxford or Cambridge, and the evil would spread.<sup>221</sup>

Three hundred years later, in the late twentieth century, the arguments presented against the expansion of higher education still have a familiar ring, covering as they do size of college, loss of international reputation for English degrees, proliferation leading to devaluation, advantages of expanding existing universities, etc.<sup>222</sup> Even the “dangerous doctrines” which small colleges might permit to be introduced, although then religious, now have their parallel in what opponents regard as the “fallacious theory” of grade “points” and modular “units,”<sup>223</sup> or credit accumulation and transfer,<sup>224</sup> the arguments for which are not “so easily refuted [in a small institution] as in a large university...”<sup>225</sup>

The petition from the University of Cambridge protested that “the grant of university powers to the college at Durham ... would be prejudicial and destructive to the charters and

<sup>220</sup> Whiting, 28-29.

<sup>221</sup> Whiting, 23.

<sup>222</sup> Müller et al., 167.

<sup>223</sup> Flexner, 46-47.

<sup>224</sup> Terry Hyland “Demystologising CATS,” *Adults Learning*, Vol. 7, No 4 (December, 1995), 81-82; Spillane, “Giving Credit where Credit is Due,” 233-235.

privileges of the University of Cambridge, and asked that the grant might not be sealed until they had been heard in defence of their charters and ancient rights.”<sup>226</sup> The arguments offered thus differed little from those offered in the twentieth century by existing universities seeking to protect their territory.

Richard had replied that he would do nothing to the prejudice of the two universities and the matter went into abeyance. The following year the Protectorate fell, the Monarchy was restored, the Chapter of Durham regained possession of its land and buildings and the clergy and members their rights and privileges. The prosperity of the Durham Chapter had then continued unabated, through what Whiting calls “the sloth of the eighteenth century,” until the threat posed by the anti-establishment Reform Movement made new defensive measures necessary.<sup>227</sup>

Bishop van Mildert’s proposal for a University of Durham was intended to pre-empt seizure of the church lands and it was not intended to serve an external market, or even to serve the internal (Anglican) market, but to rather preserve the Chapter’s assets and secure the clergy’s lucrative livings. Whitworth surmises that the Bishop and Chapter had “determined that, rather than have their resources appropriated for purely secular purposes, they would use parts of it for the provision of a higher education which could be closely linked to religious orthodoxy, thus spiking the guns of their adversaries, and indirectly serving their own inclinations.”<sup>228</sup>

The organisers were agreed that speed and secrecy was essential and, as Varley argues, “Their anxiety was purely pragmatic: they wanted ‘to secure the whole credit of the proposal to the Church of Durham, so that it may not appear to be the result of any previous

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<sup>225</sup> Whiting, 23

<sup>226</sup> Whiting, 28-29.

<sup>227</sup> Whiting, 28-29; Green, 99.

<sup>228</sup> Whiting, 7.

attack'.”<sup>229</sup> Although the Bishop argued that he wanted the college, not just as “a peace offering to the public, [but] for its own sake,”<sup>230</sup> his prime concern was not to serve the community, but to secure church immunity. This was secured in 1832, by virtue of “An Act to enable the Dean and Chapter of Durham to appropriate part of the property of their church to the establishment of a university in connection there-with,” the admission of dissenters being made possible by the adoption of the Cambridge policy of requiring no religious tests or subscriptions until candidates took their degrees.<sup>231</sup> The University opened in October 1833, with three Divinity students, nineteen ‘Students of the Foundation,’ eighteen ‘Students,’ and two other students of Divinity who already held the degree of Bachelor of Arts, giving a total of forty-two.

As had been anticipated, in 1835, on the recommendation of the Tory Prime Minister, Robert Peel, and with the goodwill of the Archbishop of Canterbury, William IV appointed Commissioners to examine the state of the dioceses of England and Wales, including their revenues.<sup>232</sup> Henry Phillpotts, Bishop of Exeter (who favoured church reform) informed the Commission that “In particular, the civil powers and privileges of the see of Durham are a source of envy and odium, making the whole country jealous of the Church.”<sup>233</sup> In 1836 Lord Althorpe, Chancellor of the Exchequer, observed that “with the exception of shortening the time for being called to the Bar, I do not believe the [Durham] degrees are of service to any but those who are about to enter the Church,”<sup>234</sup> thus acknowledging the utility of such credentials. However, the university had served its purpose, for in 1837 the Commissioners’ recommendation for “a reduction in Episcopal incomes” at Durham was

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<sup>229</sup> Varley, 154, quoting correspondence in the Jenkins Papers, IVA, University of Durham library.

<sup>230</sup> Varley, 152; Whiting, 33.

<sup>231</sup> Whiting, 41.

<sup>232</sup> Brose, 125-127.

<sup>233</sup> Church Commissioners, 112.02, “General Suggestions of the Bishop of Exeter,” quoted in Brose, 131.

<sup>234</sup> Quoted in Whiting, 42.

defeated by Episcopal claims that expense of maintaining the university (which had been specifically authorised by the 1832 Act of Parliament) made such reductions impossible.<sup>235</sup>

Although the Durham students numbered 114 in 1850, by 1862 this had declined to 46,<sup>236</sup> and Althorpe's belief was largely confirmed, for by 1863 it was estimated that ten out of every eleven Durham graduates took Holy Orders.<sup>237</sup> (Whitworth disputes this and claims that the percentage of students studying theology peaked at 38% in 1878. This may be so, but the first figure probably includes non-theology students who took Holy Orders after further study at a theological college.) However, had it not been for the strength of the church connection and the endowments which had been the reason for its foundation, it is unlikely that the University of Durham would have survived.

Of the two London colleges, King's College had received its charter in 1829 and had an enrolment of 383 students in 1853, but by 1868 the number had declined to 237. In contrast, the University of London (which had opened in 1827 with 250 enrolled students and over 700 people attending the first lectures),<sup>238</sup> by 1829, had 630 students enrolled.<sup>239</sup> This 'godless' University of London met with considerable resistance from the Tory government and the Anglican church and it was not until 1836 that it received a charter, and then only as a private, but constituent, college, alongside King's College, of a newly created (state) University of London.

The charter granted to the federal University of London resolved the matter,<sup>240</sup> for it authorised the university to award degrees without any religious test or declaration.<sup>241</sup> It also

<sup>235</sup> Richard Brent, *Liberal Anglican Politics: Whiggery, Religion and Reform 1830-1841* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 197.

<sup>236</sup> Green, 108.

<sup>237</sup> Rev. T. Chevallier, "Evidence to Durham University Commissioners, para. 313" (Quoted in Sanderson), Whitworth (1971), 12, disputes this and claims that the percentage of students studying theology peaked at 38% in 1878. The discrepancy is probably due to the non-theology students destined for Holy Orders after further study at a theological college.

<sup>238</sup> Green, 105.

<sup>239</sup> Green, 108-109.

<sup>240</sup> Humberstone, 27.

<sup>241</sup> Green, 107.

provided for colleges outside the university to apply for a Royal warrant, authorising them to enter their students for the London degree. The University of Durham had received its charter three months previously, but as the charter permitted religious tests for graduation, it did nothing to assist the Dissenters. The Whig government therefore overcame this by unilaterally issuing a royal warrant for Durham, giving its students access to the new London degree.<sup>242</sup> From 1858, the University of London would also admit ‘external’ candidates to the examinations, i.e. people who were not attending either the university or a college holding a royal warrant and for whom instruction was neither provided, nor prescribed, and awarded degrees to those who were successful.<sup>243</sup> In 1859 Cardinal Newman pronounced against this aspect of the University of London,<sup>244</sup> for he was firmly of the opinion that students who simply resided together at a university or college, even at one which provided no teaching or examinations whatsoever, would be intellectually better served.<sup>245</sup>

Whilst University College (London) could not set its own examinations or award its own degrees, the principle of a-sectarian education had been established, something which was, in itself, to have an unexpected consequence. The Unitarian Church was itself undergoing a “shift in intellectual priorities,” and so, for example, the trustees of Manchester College, welcomed the establishment of such colleges as places “to which the students of the college may hereafter resort, to receive at least a portion of their literary and scientific instruction,”<sup>246</sup> thus leaving the Dissenter’s Manchester College to its core-business of providing for “the education of a learned ministry.”<sup>247</sup>

<sup>242</sup> Brent, 198.

<sup>243</sup> Ronald Bell and Malcolm Tight, Open Universities: A British Tradition? (Buckingham: SRHE & Open University Press, 1993), 31.

<sup>244</sup> Bell & Tight, 33.

<sup>245</sup> John Henry Newman, The Scope and Nature of University Education (New York, 1852; Paperback Edition, E.P.Dutton & Co., 1958), 31 et seq.

<sup>246</sup> Raymond & Pickstone, 155.

<sup>247</sup> Manchester College, 1833 report, quoted by Ruth Watts in Barbara Smith, 82.

## The Road Not Taken: The Start of the Binary Divide

Elsewhere in the country, progress at Durham and London was being watched with interest, for pressure was growing for the local provision of technical and higher education, although there were differing views as to the form it should take. In 1835, at the urging of William Ewart, a Liverpool MP who believed that there was a need for some form of non-theoretical adult education, Parliament established a Select Committee to “inquire into the best means of extending a knowledge of the Arts and of the principles of design among the people (especially the manufacturing population) of the country.”<sup>248</sup> The Committee recommended that schools of design be organised, both in London and the provinces and these were then set up under the control of the Board of Trade, rather than the Department of Education, which had the education of children education as its remit.

In 1852 a new government department, that of Arts and Science was created, with responsibility for secondary and technical education, and this took over the design schools. In 1857 it moved to South Kensington and became part of an academic and administrative ‘culture’ which was to greatly influence the shape and ethos of technical education. This culture considered that practical instruction had little or no place in the classroom and fostered a tradition of studying the “‘principles underlying’ the different trades rather than the technical processes themselves.”<sup>249</sup> Thus when the first London school of mining opened in 1851, although wholly vocational in character, it was called “The Government School of Mines and of Science Applied to the Arts.”<sup>250</sup> Two years later it was re-named “The Metropolitan School of Science applied to Mining and the Arts,”<sup>251</sup> but in 1890, ennoblement put its status beyond doubt, for it became “The Royal School of Mines.” This practice, of exalting the academic and theoretical and discounting the technological and

<sup>248</sup> The Report of the Select Committee on Arts and Manufactures. 1836.

<sup>249</sup> Argyles, 68.

<sup>250</sup> Charles de Cocquiel de Terherleir, Industrial Instruction in England: A Report to the Belgian Government

practical, served to initiate, and then reinforce, the social divide between the scientist and the engineer, a divide which, to a great extent, still exists in Britain.

Herbert Spenser recognised the inadequacy of the existing provision for the systematic study of science, and in 1859 (with sideways references to the clerics who taught at Oxford and Cambridge and to their love of Latin and classical Greek) complained that "...the ordained agencies for teaching have been mumbling little else but dead formulas...."<sup>252</sup> In 1867, the British Association for the Advancement of Science told the Schools Inquiry Commission that

At present public opinion in the Universities does not reckon scientific instruction as on a par with mathematical or classical; hence the progress of the subject seems enclosed in this inevitable circle - the ablest men do not study natural science because no rewards are given for it, and no rewards are given for it because the ablest men do not study it.<sup>253</sup>

The following year, Matthew Arnold, having studied Continental systems, argued that it was foolish to expect

the mass of students come and reside three years or two years or one year or even one month at Oxford and Cambridge, which neither suit their circumstances nor offer the instruction they want. We must plant faculties in the 8 or 10 principal seats of population and let the students follow lectures there from their own homes, or with whatever arrangements for their living they and their parents choose.<sup>254</sup>

Perkin has noted that change was slow, "paradoxically," because British universities are "too free and too democratic," and "a Royal Commission backed up by an Act of Parliament had been the only effective instrument of major reform."<sup>255</sup> The Royal Commissions appointed to look at Oxford and Cambridge had reported in 1852 and Acts of Parliament had followed,<sup>256</sup> yet in 1880, over fifty years after John Yates had cited the

<sup>251</sup> Trans. from the French. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1853), 23.

<sup>251</sup> Argyles, 19.

<sup>252</sup> Herbert Spenser, "What Knowledge is of Most Worth," Education, Intellectual, Moral and Physical (London, 1861), excerpted in Sanderson, 126.

<sup>253</sup> Schools Inquiry Commission Report, vol. III (!868), 224; quoted in Roderick and Stephens, 11.

<sup>254</sup> Arnold, 198, quoted in Roderick and Stephens, 11.

<sup>255</sup> H.J. Perkin New Universities in the United Kingdom, Paris: OECD, 1969), 17.

<sup>256</sup> The University Reform Acts: Oxford, 1854 and Cambridge, 1856.

example of three celebrated universities of Holland,<sup>257</sup> nearly fifty years after the Reform Act of 1832 had enfranchised the English middle class, and thirty years after the founding of Owens College,<sup>258</sup> it was still possible for Frederick A.P. Barnard to contrast the 37 degree-granting colleges for the three million people in the State of Ohio with England's four degree-granting institutions for 23 million people,<sup>259</sup> the great majority of whom were still unserved.

In 1910, Lord Haldane was to proclaim that "it is in universities that ... we see how the soul of a people at its highest mirrors itself,"<sup>260</sup> but, in writing "the soul of a people at its highest," he could have written with more accuracy of "the soul of a dominant class." Green was closer to the mark when he wrote that in the past, "...life at the older universities mirrored the social gradations of the outside world." Haldane could also have acknowledged that inertia may cause the image mirrored to be considerably dated: in 1852 the Oxford Hebdomadal Council, in arguing against further change, had told the Royal Commission on Oxford University that

two centuries ago - in 1636 - the University revised the whole body of its statutes, and the academic system of study was admirably arranged at a time when not only the nature and faculties of the human mind were exactly what they are still, and must of course remain, but the principles also of sound and enlarged intellectual culture were far from imperfectly understood.<sup>261</sup>

### **Taxes, Technology and Science for the Industrial classes**

Butts argues that the dissenting academies, the mechanics institutes and the literary and scientific societies served Britain well and had "sparked the industrial techniques..."<sup>262</sup>

<sup>257</sup> Yates, excerpted in Sanderson, 56-57.

<sup>258</sup> Argyles, 47.

<sup>259</sup> Frederick A. Barnard, Two Papers on Academic Degrees (New York, 1880), 18 (The four being Oxford, Cambridge, Durham and London).

<sup>260</sup> Richard Burdon, Viscount Haldane, "The Soul of a People," in Universities and National Life: Four Addresses to Students (London: John Murray, 1912), 29 (rendered by Flexner, 4, as "it is in universities that ... the soul of a people mirrors itself."

<sup>261</sup> Green, 310.

<sup>262</sup> Butts, 338.

which, by implication, fuelled the Industrial Revolution. The Victorian entrepreneurs introduced “new combinations” of manufacturing methods, to “reform or revolutionize the pattern of production by exploiting an intervention or, more generally, an untried technological possibility for producing a new commodity or producing an old one in a new way, by opening up a new source or supply of materials or a new outlet for products, by reorganizing an industry, and so on.”<sup>263</sup>

The competitive edge given by these techniques had enabled Britain to take the major share of the prizes at the Great Exhibition of 1851. Britain’s success impressed the Belgian government, who blamed their own failure on their lack of a system for industrial instruction and they despatched Chevalier Charles de Cocquiel de Terherleir, the economist, to investigate the English system. He reported that the success of England, “the greatest manufacturing power in the world,” was clearly not due to its ‘system of industrial instruction,’ as it did not have one! He was impressed by the informal education given in the Mechanics’ Institutes, but concluded that English workmanship and scientific method were in fact greatly inferior to that on the Continent, that design theory and manufacturing practice were kept apart, and that the English success was due to astute copying of continental designs, commercial skill in international trade and the country’s vast natural resources.<sup>264</sup> (More recently, the Open University brought together “new combinations” of academics, working as a team, “breaking with tradition and ...designing something new,”<sup>265</sup> using broadcasting facilities, production line printing and delivery of learning ‘modules’,<sup>266</sup> to become “the most admired model for the development of distance learning institutions

<sup>263</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

<sup>264</sup> Cocquiel de Terherleir, 23. (The translator’s introduction states that the Belgian Government was aware that England did not have a system of industrial instruction, but Cocquiel’s report indicates that it came as a surprise to him.)

<sup>265</sup> Walter Perry, Open University, 54.

<sup>266</sup> Walter Perry, Open University. *passim*.

across the world.”<sup>267</sup> Hall goes on to argue that “the British Open University represents … a contemporary, if benign, educational analogue to the political and economic importance of the nineteenth-century British Empire.” Whilst true in many ways, a more accurate analogue would be introduction of the factory system during the Industrial Revolution, which in turn led to Hall’s “political and economic importance.”)

Britain took very few prizes at the 1867 Paris Exhibition, and Sir Lyon Playfair, MP, a judge at both exhibitions, blamed this on the lack of a good system of industrial education, such as existed on the Continent.<sup>268</sup> It was thus on economic, rather than educational grounds, that, at his urging, the ‘Select Committee on Instruction in Science for the Industrial Classes’ was appointed. (One hundred and thirty years later concern was similarly based on economic rather than educational grounds, the fear being that the delivery overseas of an inferior educational product would “gravely undermine … the reputation of the UK's education system, … leading, in due course, to a devaluation of its qualifications. .... In short that the bubble will burst...,”<sup>269</sup> the concern seemingly being, not for the actual quality, but for the foreigner's perception of it and the potential for the loss of profit.)

The Select Committee reported in 1868, but concluded that economic and social factors on the Continent, rather than educational factors in England, were contributing to the pressure of foreign competition. The Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction followed in 1872-75 and in 1876 the City of London Livery Companies resolved to promote the education of “young artisans and others in the scientific and artistic branches of their trades.”<sup>270</sup> This led to the founding of the City and Guilds of London Institute in 1880, which in turn established the first Technical College at Finsbury in 1881, whilst in 1882,

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<sup>267</sup> J. W. Hall, 140.

<sup>268</sup> Lyon Playfair, to Lord Taunton, Chairman of the Schools Inquiry Commission, letter, reproduced in the *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 7 June 1867, Vol. XV, 477.

<sup>269</sup> David Elliott, Head Education Production Group (sic), “Paper 7/96 - Anglo-Greek HE Collaboration,” The British Council, Manchester, February, 1996, para 4.1

<sup>270</sup> Quoted Argyles, 22-23.

Quentin Hogg founded the polytechnic at Regent Street. In 1883, the City Parochial Charities Act provided for Special Commissioners to support such existing institutions and to set up new ones. Stewart,<sup>271</sup> after Cotgrove, argues that this was conceived as charitable “rescue work for the improvement of artisans and workers,”<sup>272</sup> rather than education as such. The London Mechanics Institute received direct government funding under the 1883 Act and, as Birkbeck College, briefly became part of the City Polytechnic. Cotgrove notes that, under the influence of George Birkbeck, the college broke away and crossed the divide to become a constituent college of the University of London. He contrasts this with Regents Street Polytechnic, which, under the influence of Quentin Hogg, remained a polytechnic and did not undertake any degree work.<sup>273</sup>

The Royal Commission on Technical Instruction sat from 1882 to 1884 and produced an eight volume report, which took account of technical education in the United States and continental Europe and recommended across-the-board increases in the provision of technical education from primary school level onwards. The creation, in 1888, of the County Councils and County Borough Councils in England and Wales provided an administrative structure by means of which central government could give support to technical education in the provinces,<sup>274</sup> and the Technical Instruction Acts of 1889 and 1891 enabled these councils to levy a tax on property for that purpose. The Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act of 1890 then enabled the central government to provide additional funding for technical training from indirect taxes. Following these changes, many of the mechanics’, scientific and literary institutions, including those at Birmingham, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Manchester, were taken over by their local

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<sup>271</sup> Stewart, 33

<sup>272</sup> Stephen F. Cotgrove Technical Education and Social Change (London: Allen & Unwin, 1958), 63.

<sup>273</sup> Cotgrove, 65, fn. 3.

<sup>274</sup> Argles, 35.

authorities to become Technical Colleges.<sup>275</sup> Some of these later progressed to become universities, e.g. Heriot-Watt at Edinburgh and UMIST at Manchester.<sup>276</sup> Others were to become Colleges of Advanced Technology, and eventually Polytechnics, but unlike the universities, they remained under the control of the local authority. Had the provisions of the 1883 Act extended beyond London, the history of the provincial Mechanics and Literary institutes would have almost certainly been very different, for their successors, the technical institutes and the old polytechnics, could have been directly funded through Special Commissioners. They would then have been funded from central government and, not being under local authority control, might have had more autonomy. Whilst a divide, binary or otherwise, could still have been inevitable, the divide would have been elsewhere, possibly between the undergraduate and graduate levels, or between research-oriented and teaching-oriented institutions or between the competitive-entry and the open-access, public service institutions. The English model of higher education might then have corresponded more closely to that of Germany or the United States, or even Scotland.

### **Culture, Commerce and the Political Advancement of the Middle Classes**

That the voluntary academies, institutes and societies which had brought success to Britain at the 1851 Exhibition were “scientific and practically oriented” displeased a great many middle-class people, who argued that they did not make any “provision for the culture of the imaginative faculties”<sup>277</sup> and, in consequence, there was a counter-reaction. Although members of the new middle class recognised the need for utilitarian values, they were also concerned with their position in society and so sought the classical and liberal studies which would not only distinguish them from the working class, but would also enable them to

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<sup>275</sup> Kelly, Adult Education, 198-199.

<sup>276</sup> Argyles, 75, 101, 118.

<sup>277</sup> William Chambers, Memoir of William and Robert Chambers (1872, revised edition, n.d.), 235, quoted

benefit from their enfranchisement under the Reform Act of 1932.

In this connection, Müller et al. cite Engels, who, in 1892, wrote:

In England, the bourgeoisie never held undivided sway. Even the victory of 1832 left the landed aristocracy in almost exclusive possession of all the leading government offices. The meekness with which the wealthy middle class submitted to this remained inconceivable to me until the great Liberal manufacturer, Mr. E. W. Forster in a public speech implored the young men of Bradford to learn French, as a means to get on in the world, and quoted from his own experience how sheepish he looked when, as a Cabinet Minister, he had to move in a society where French was at least as necessary as English....

Engels continued,

[The fact was that] the English middle class of that time were, as a rule, quite uneducated upstarts, and could not help leaving to the aristocracy those superior government places where other qualifications were required than mere insular narrowness and insular conceit, seasoned by business sharpness. . .<sup>278</sup>

Forster was the Cabinet Minister in charge of the 1870 Education Bill (to introduce public Elementary Education in England and Wales) and was well aware of this, arguing that the Liberals “must make up the smallness of our numbers by increasing the intellectual force of the individual.”<sup>279</sup>

Thus, when John Owen, a Manchester textile merchant, died in 1846 he left £100,000 to found a college to provide “instruction in the branches of learning and science usually taught in the English universities,” this was interpreted by his executors to mean “classical languages and literature, mathematics, and natural philosophy, and ... mental and moral philosophy....” and classical literature, because

In a locality where men’s minds and exertions are mainly devoted to commercial pursuits, it seems particularly desirable to select, as an instrument of mental training, a subject, which, being general in its nature, and remote from the particular and daily occupations of the individual, may counteract their tendency to limit the application, and, eventually, the power of applying the mental faculties [and so the new college should provide] the principle part of the knowledge required for the elementary training of engineers, machinists and others destined for pursuits in

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Kelly. Adult Education. 182.

<sup>278</sup> Frederick Engels, “Introduction,” to Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, reproduced in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Selected Works (Moscow and London: Foreign Languages Publishing House, Lawrence and Wishart, 1950), vol. 2, 102-103.

<sup>279</sup> Hansard, 17 February, 1870,. Vol. 199, Col. 465.

practical science...

The economic value of education was clearly a major motivating factor, for the Report continued: “as a large proportion of the students will probably consist of sons of merchants, or others engaged in the commercial pursuits of this district ... in adaptation to the wants of this class, instruction shall be given in the principles and elements of such departments of knowledge as are most generally subservient to the purposes of commercial life.”<sup>280</sup> Even so, The Manchester Guardian, a major radical newspaper and supporter of the utilitarian movement, seemingly failed to recognise the broader needs of the middle class and complained that the college was “dissipating itself in the propagation of a traditional classical curriculum.”<sup>281</sup>

In 1869 a witness had told the Select Committee on Instruction in Science for the Industrial Classes that “... those who advocated technical education” were simply seeking to teach apprentices “the technical principles of chemistry, mechanics, or geometry, in order that, when they get into the workshop, they may know the rationale of their work, and apply it to practice in their business.”<sup>282</sup> In Birmingham, Josiah Mason,

being deeply convinced, from his long and varied experience ... in different branches of manufacture, of the necessity for a benefit of thorough systematic scientific instruction, specially adapted to the practical, mechanical, and artistic requirements of the manufactures and industrial pursuits ... determined to devote a portion of his remaining property to the foundation of an institution wherein such systematic scientific education may be given ... to the exclusion of mere literary education and instruction, and of all teaching of theology and of subjects purely theological....<sup>283</sup>

However, those charged with putting his plan into effect, in particular Joseph Chamberlain, the Birmingham Unitarian Liberal and the University’s first Chancellor, argued that “... we do not want to neglect in any way the older learning ... and while giving the general education which is calculated to train the mind and broaden the sympathies, we hope also to

<sup>280</sup> The Owens' College, Substance of the Report on the General Character and Plan of the College (Manchester, 1850), quoted Sanderson, 91-92.

<sup>281</sup> Quoted in Argyles, 47.

direct the instruction so as to be of practical advantage to those concerned.”<sup>284</sup> The “practical advantage” was arguably the political and economic, as much as the technical, interests of the middle class.

The ancient universities had done little to train the “captains of industry,” and in 1888, Swire Smith, a Yorkshire woollen manufacturer and a member of the Royal Commission on Technical Instruction,<sup>285</sup> had commented that

the wealthy manufacturer … reverses the example of the conquering Romans, and sends his son to a classical school to learn Latin and Greek as a preparation for cloth manufacturing, calico printing, engineering, or coal mining.... After his scholastic career, he enters his Father’s factory at 20 to 24, absolutely untrained in the chief requirements of the business he is called upon to direct, the complex details of which he has never had an opportunity of mastering....

He had then made a case for the technical training of such business tyros, asking: “Is it fair to the young chemical or jute manufacturer that he should have been taught nothing of chemistry, or of practical mechanics, steam, electricity, the methods of commerce, or even of modern languages?”<sup>286</sup> Stewart tells us that the contemporary view was that “universities can train at officer level; polytechnics are for the non-graduate rank and file,”<sup>287</sup> a view actually expressed in the 1904 University of Birmingham prospectus:

It is clear that the Chamberlain ideal for the Midland University has always been a school of general culture, specialising in the facilities for training applied scientists. It is not a technical school; there was already a most excellent one in Birmingham before the university was erected. It is for training ‘captains of industry’, not the rank and file, or even the non-commissioned officers.<sup>288</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Cotgrove, 34.

<sup>283</sup> Trust deed of Josiah Mason’s Scientific College, 12 December 1870, quoted by Sanderson, 158-159.

<sup>284</sup> Letter by Joseph Chamberlain, 11 December 1889, quoted in Sanderson, 215-216.

<sup>285</sup> Reports of the Royal Commissioners on Technical Instruction. First and Second Reports, 5 vols., HMSO, 1882-4.

<sup>286</sup> “Technical Education”: inaugural address at Dundee Technical Institute, October, 1888, 20, quoted by Argyles, 32, fn. 7.

<sup>287</sup> Stewart, 33.

<sup>288</sup> University of Birmingham Prospectus, 1904 quoted Müller et al., 164.

The ‘Mason ideal’, which had called for “systematic scientific education [to] be given ... to the exclusion of mere literary education and instruction,” had thus been superseded by the “Chamberlain ideal.”

Firth College, later the University of Sheffield, was founded in 1874 and also followed John Owen, being intended “especially for the teaching and cultivation of any branches of learning taught or cultivated in the English Universities.”<sup>289</sup> In its quest for university status, the College set out to teach only “those subjects which were academically respectable,” thus becoming a “school of general culture,” as envisaged by Chamberlain. In 1884, as if to emphasise the point, it was instrumental in the establishment of a separate Technical School.<sup>290</sup>

In 1889, the Treasury approved grants-in-aid to ten English institutions to assist them in the provision of higher education. The group of ten comprised Kings’ and University Colleges, London; the future ‘red-brick’ universities of Owens College (Manchester), Mason College (Birmingham), Firth College (Sheffield), Yorkshire College (Leeds), the University Colleges of Bristol, Liverpool and Nottingham, and the Durham College of Science at Newcastle. The Hartley Institution, which had initiated the joint application and was later to become the University of Southampton, was excluded because of “the lack of an adequate teaching staff” and because there “did not appear to be a proper representative governing body”<sup>291</sup> Whilst Firth College had qualified for a Treasury grant-in-aid to assist it in “the provision of higher education,” in the same year the Technical School received a grant under the Technical Instruction Act of 1889.

The institutions of higher and further education reflected the distinction between the classical and the vocational, the technical colleges tending to be associated with the

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<sup>289</sup> A. W. Chapman, quoted Argyles, 48.

<sup>290</sup> Argyles, 48.

<sup>291</sup> H M Treasury, “Treasury Minute, July 1889,” quoted by Patterson, 76.

working class, whilst the universities remained the preferred (or only) destination for the middle and upper class. In 1980, Robin Inskip, Viscount Caldecote, the chairman of Investors in Industry deplored “the low esteem in which the engineering profession was held in society,”<sup>292</sup> whilst in 1989 Stewart was to argue that “the class emphasis in technical education and its part-time basis ...are themes which we shall meet again in one form or another up to the present day.”<sup>293</sup> In the 1990s it can be seen in the “educational precincts” where part-time learning (seemingly construed as differing from ‘academic’ learning) can be delivered to the “Continuing Education Student.”<sup>294</sup>

Whereas Firth College had resorted to a separate Technical school, elsewhere engineering was introduced into the universities under the patronage of natural science: the Manchester Mechanics Institute became the Manchester College of Science and Technology and, notwithstanding that the University already had a Faculty of Science, retained that full title when it became the Faculty of Technology of the University of Manchester.<sup>295</sup> Similarly, at Mason College and its successor, the University of Birmingham, the Engineering departments were retained within the Faculty of Science and Engineering until 1985. It was only then, when economic factors, such as the need to “join... in the revitalisation of the economy of the region”<sup>296</sup> and to “recognise the significance of the wealth producing sectors”<sup>297</sup> (i.e. the funding potential of the engineering industry as a non-governmental source of research funding), facilitated a reassessment of the academic and disciplinary (and possibly even social) status of the engineer and the Engineering Faculty was then permitted to establish a separate existence.

<sup>292</sup> Times, “Obituaries: Viscount Caldecote,” September 22, 1999, 23

<sup>293</sup> Stewart, 33.

<sup>294</sup> Professor Howard Newby, Vice-Chancellor to “Dear Continuing Education Student,” University of Southampton Website, [http://www.soton.ac.uk/~dace/vc\\_let.htm](http://www.soton.ac.uk/~dace/vc_let.htm), undated letter, accessed September 2, 1999

<sup>295</sup> Argyles, 75, 101, 118; Nuffield College, The Problem Facing British Universities (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948), 74.

<sup>296</sup> Speech by the Dean at the inauguration of the new faculty, March 1986; quoted in Stewart, 214.

<sup>297</sup> Quoted by Stewart, 214.

In 1965, a century after the initiation of the science/technology divide in English higher education, its continued existence was to be acknowledged, and perpetuated, by Anthony Crossland, Labour Minister of State for Education, who, shortly after taking office, in a famous speech at Woolwich, spoke of having “inherited two traditions, first the autonomous principle of the universities and, second, the structure of the publicly maintained regional colleges....” He said that he wanted this binary structure to continue in order to avoid “a continuous rat-race to reach the first or university division” such as would occur in a unitary system. He then made a plea to “move away from our snobbish caste-ridden hierarchical obsession with university status,” thus indicating that the real divide was horizontal and hierarchical, rather than vertical and functional, and that snobbery was reinforcing the division.<sup>298</sup> Thirty years later the distinctions, first of organisation and then of nomenclature, was to be abolished, resulting in an equally divided, but layered structure, in which the “snobbish caste-ridden hierarchical obsession with ...status” was sponsored by the then Conservative government.)

### **Education: “the communication of knowledge, whether of nature or art, of science or literature”<sup>299</sup>**

James E. Grinnell, an educational historian, has argued that at the close of the nineteenth century, “Nowhere in the educational field....was there more marked discomfort than at the junction between ... school and college. The need to perfect a closer articulation at that point was as urgent as any problem of the decade....”<sup>300</sup> Grinnell was in fact writing of the United States, where colleges were concerned with the standard of the secondary schools which supplied their freshmen.<sup>301</sup> However, similar concerns were being voiced in England,

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<sup>298</sup> Quoted by Stewart, 138.

<sup>299</sup> UK Royal Commission on Secondary Education, Report of the Commissioners (London 1985), Vol. I, 135. Hereinafter cited as the “Bryce Commission.”

<sup>300</sup> Grinnell, 472.

<sup>301</sup> Forbes, “Federating the North Central Colleges,” 11-21.

as by J. E. Kitchener, a member of the Bryce Commission, who studied the secondary schools in Manchester and concluded “that number of Manchester boys making use of the ladder [into the university] is very small.”<sup>302</sup> In 1894, the Bryce Commission had been invited

to consider what are the best methods of establishing a well organised system of Secondary Education in England taking into account existing deficiencies, and having regard to such local sources of revenue from endowment or otherwise as are available or may be made available for this purpose, and to make recommendations accordingly.<sup>303</sup>

The Commission, in a report published in 1895, concluded that

the communication of knowledge, and whether the faculty be of the eye and hand, or the reason and imagination, and whether the knowledge be of nature or art, of science or literature, if the knowledge be so communicated as to evoke and exercise and discipline faculty, the process is rightly termed education.<sup>304</sup>

Had this finding been adopted, it could have had important implications for the future of college education in Britain, bringing it closer to the American idea that undergraduate education should also furnish what Morrill had termed “useful knowledge,” so reducing the distinction between science and technology which was to reinforce the structural schism (or binary divide) in UK tertiary education and might even have reduced the distance between C.P. Snow’s two cultures. (Although Duke, in an obiter dictum, dates the binary system “from the later sixties,”<sup>305</sup> it was arguably systematised in British society in the previous century, but only labelled as such in the late 1960’s.)

Of course the divide envisaged by C. P. Snow was small compared with that which separates both from a third culture. As a Devon farmer told the Bryce Commission in 1894:

A man consists of three parts - back, belly and brains - and what we have to do is to fill the belly. Now this technical education may work the brains, but it won't fill the belly, and so I say it is of no practical use; but if you work the back then you can fill the belly, and so get on. My boys want to go in for bicycling and athletics and these

<sup>302</sup> Quoted in Andreas M. Kazamias, *Politics, Society and Secondary Education in England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1966), 52.

<sup>303</sup> Bryce Commission, Vol. I, iii-iv.

<sup>304</sup> Bryce Commission, Vol. I, 135.

<sup>305</sup> Duke, “Adults into Higher Education” in Abrahamson et al., 32:2.

'ologies, but I say to them: "They won't fill your belly, and how are you to get on if your belly is not filled?" And so I say you must always recollect that a man consists of three parts - back, belly and brains.<sup>306</sup>

### **Worthy Philosophers With a Contempt for Trade, But a Need For Funding**

In 1901, Andrew Carnegie, The Scottish-American philanthropist, made a substantial gift to the Scottish universities: Arthur Balfour, who shortly afterwards became Prime Minister, in his speech of acknowledgement, evidently felt compelled to say that he was “amazed and almost ashamed at the indifference with which the British public has acquiesced in the wholly inadequate provision which we make for scientific training and research and this not merely in the Scotch universities but at Oxford, Cambridge and other great seats of learning.”<sup>307</sup> In fact science had been introduced to the old universities and the Clarendon Laboratory had opened at Oxford in 1872. It was followed (and soon overshadowed) by the Cavendish Laboratory, which opened at Cambridge in 1894 and specialised in nuclear physics.<sup>308</sup> However, both were concerned with pure, rather than applied, research and neither had an immediate impact on industry.<sup>309</sup>

In 1903, John Perry, Professor of Mechanics and Mathematics at the Royal College of Science, complained that Oxford continued to remain not only “aloof from technical education...” but also from

the very much greater thing of which this movement is only a symptom, namely the phenomenon that trade and manufacture are no longer left to themselves as they used to be; they are being organised on scientific lines in all countries. [Oxford] has always ostentatiously held herself aloof from manufacturers and commerce. It is almost incomprehensible that a university aiming at breadth of culture should scorn those things which keep England in her high position.

Presumably in an attempt to administer the ultimate ‘put-down,’ he wrote: “Oxford is like a technical school, training ... men for the higher posts in the Church, in the Civil Services, in

<sup>306</sup> Kazamias, 65-66, quoting “Gerrans’ report on Devonshire,” Bryce Commission, Vol. VI, 71.

<sup>307</sup> R. Simpson, How the PhD Came to Britain: A Century of Struggle for Post-Graduate Education (Guildford: Society for Research Into Higher Education, 1983), 105.

journalism, at the Bar, and in boys' schools.<sup>310</sup> This was, of course, the traditional role of Oxford, but he also characterised the Oxford graduates as having "dwarfed imaginations and no power to think for themselves outside their narrow professional groove."<sup>311</sup> However he could very well have made the same remark about Bryce's Devon farmer who similarly had "no power to think for [himself] ... outside [his] ... narrow [bucolic furrow]."

The Oxbridge dons were now well aware that they were in direct competition, both for funding and for students, with the University of London and the new provincial (or 'redbrick') universities.<sup>312</sup> In 1903, as a result of its insistence that aspiring naval engineers should learn Greek, the University of Cambridge lost a promised endowment of £100,000,<sup>313</sup> whilst the previous year, a proposal for a 'super' College of Science and Technology in London, on the lines of the German Technische Hochschulen, had been met with enthusiasm and offers of endowment from major industrialists. The latter were, in any case, likely to favour the new institutions over any which, however ancient, had "a contempt for trade." The new London college was to be "made accessible by low fees and scholarships" and to admit "only advanced students," including "the ablest of those ... now training in the polytechnics and elsewhere [that they] may be able to raise themselves to the highest positions in the world of scientific industry,"<sup>314</sup> an ability group which might otherwise have been drawn the Oxbridge. (This proposal was to result in the founding, in 1907, of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, which incorporated the existing colleges of mining and science on an enlarged South Kensington 'campus.')

<sup>308</sup> Simpson, 29.

<sup>309</sup> Sanderson, 190.

<sup>310</sup> John Perry, "Oxford and Science," Nature, 31 December, 1903, 214, Quoted in Sanderson, 235-6.

<sup>311</sup> John Perry, quoted in Sanderson, 235-6.

<sup>312</sup> The Victoria University of Manchester had been chartered in 1880 as a federation of northern colleges, and by 1903 Manchester and Liverpool were on the verge of receiving their own charters, with Leeds and the independent Firth College at Sheffield not far behind. Birmingham had received its charter in 1900.

<sup>313</sup> Sanderson, 211

<sup>314</sup> Letter dated 27 June, 1903, from Lord Rosebery to Lord Monkswell, Chairman of the London County Council, Imperial College Archives, reprinted by Sanderson, 224-226.

In 1903, His Grace the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge then found it necessary to call a confidential meeting, on a Sunday, to discuss what George Liveing, Professor of Chemistry, called “the complaint of men engaged in business ... that the University does not provide an education for their sons suited to their needs....”<sup>315</sup> At the meeting Liveing argued that they ‘ought to pay far more regard to the future careers of our students, and interest them by making them feel that what they learnt would serve them in after life.’<sup>316</sup> He also argued that “a contempt for trade is not justifiable, and to express it is unworthy of a philosopher,” but acknowledged that “a section of Cambridge society does profess to hold itself superior to trade, and it is not surprising that men engaged in commerce should not like to let their sons imbibe that tone.” In turn, Professor A. R. Forsyth argued that “public opinion in England [fails] ...to appreciate properly the value of University [i.e. classical] education” (presumably even to naval engineers), and he noted that the movement in the new universities was towards “professional and industrial science and ...business training.” He acknowledged that Cambridge had “moved partly with the current of this modern opinion,” but that to even maintain their present position “further endowment was needed.”<sup>317</sup>

### The Rise of the Economocracy

In the late nineteenth century, the income of UK universities was substantially supplemented by Treasury ‘grants-in-aid’ and in 1919 the University Grants Committee

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<sup>315</sup> Sanderson, 234.

<sup>316</sup> It appears that he distinguished college life from the post college extra-mural life and, possibly unconsciously, equated the transition with a form of death.

<sup>317</sup> MS report of a conference at Trinity College, 18 June, 1903, quoted Sanderson, 234-235.

(UGC) was created, it being intended “to enquire into the financial needs of University education in the United Kingdom and to advise the Government as to the application of any grants made by Parliament to meet them.”<sup>317</sup> The UGC distributed government funds to the universities as quinquennial block grants, which were not specific as to purpose and no objection was raised to virement within an institution. The UGC thus acted as a ‘buffer,’ largely sheltering the universities from adverse government policies.<sup>318</sup> In the post-World War II period, 90% of UK university funding came from government.<sup>319</sup>

Efficiency became an issue with the Percy Report of 1945, which drew attention to the waste in the technical colleges and called for a coherent path from the elementary school to a technical college at which “innovations could take place.” Anticipating the Education Act of 1988 by forty years, Percy recommended that a college should be a 'self-governing institution with a character and a bank account of its own.<sup>320</sup> He similarly anticipated the modern MBA by recommending that the colleges should offer courses in higher industrial management, in competition with the training offered by the public schools and universities. He also suggested that to fully exploit the facilities of a college would require originality and imaginative leadership, in other words what the SIHE Governors would later call a “new type of Principal, with broad management experience as well as academic qualifications,”<sup>321</sup>

In the post-war period the Fulbright fellowship program drew British attention to the benefits recognised previously by Henry III, for it was announced that when the scheme was fully implemented “20 million dollars [would be] spent in Great Britain, and British Universities are likely to attract as many [American] candidates as they can admit”<sup>322</sup>

<sup>317</sup> Stewart, 63.

<sup>318</sup> Halsey, 107

<sup>319</sup> Burton Clarke, 16.

<sup>320</sup> Lord Eustace Percy, *Education at the Cross-roads* (London: Evans, 1930) quoted Argyles, 69

<sup>321</sup> SIHE Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1988, para. 148. 2 (ii), reiterating comments recorded in Verbatim notes of Formation Committee, 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1988, 1.

<sup>322</sup> Nuffield College, para. 72, 42 .

In 1963 the Robbins Report recommended more university places at both postgraduate and undergraduate level<sup>323</sup> and, fore-shadowing the concept of the “Learning Society,” recommended that specialised undergraduate courses be broadened, “both on educational grounds and in the interests of the students’ future careers,”<sup>324</sup> for a broadly educated and adaptable workforce was the key to the country’s future success. It thus reinforced the plea made in the 1959 Crowther Report, for broader education “to save scientists from illiteracy and ... arts specialists from innumeracy.”<sup>325</sup>

In 1964 the UGC was transferred from the Treasury to the new Department of Education and Science, becoming less autonomous, after which successive governments eroded the ‘rights without responsibilities’ basis of university funding, and “legitimised the principle of central control in education.”<sup>326</sup> From 1979 to its demise in 1989, the Conservatives seemingly considered that the UGC sheltered the universities from ‘reality,’ and it came under increasing government pressure.<sup>327</sup> Two years later, this view was probably reinforced by the Croham Report, which recommended that the University Grants Committee be reconstituted, with more representation from business and industry, providing a more managerial approach. The effect of this would be to remove the ‘buffer’ and give the government greater financial control.<sup>328</sup> The recommendations were incorporated in a Green (discussion) Paper, in which the Government “regretted” its inability to shed any “substantial part of established public funding responsibilities” and advocated “rationalisation” and “collaboration” as a means of saving public money. A concurrent observation, that “It is not improbable that some institutions of higher education will need

<sup>323</sup> Committee on Higher Education (Chairman, Lord Robbins), Higher Education Report (London: HMSO, 1963)

<sup>324</sup> Robbins Report, 263-264.

<sup>325</sup> Crowther Report, Fifteen to Eighteen (London HMSO, 1959), Chapter, 25.

<sup>326</sup> Salter and Tapper, Education Politics and the State, ch 9; Salter and Tapper, The State and Higher Education, 126; Halsey, 107.

<sup>327</sup> Halsey, 107.

<sup>328</sup> Department for Education and Science, Review of the University Grants Committee (The Croham Report) Cmnd. 811987 (London: HMSO, 1987)

to be closed or merged...,"<sup>329</sup> hinted at the idea of a competitive market. The Green Paper was followed by a White Paper, which was followed by the Further Education Act of 1985, which specifically enabled entrepreneurial activity in education, authorising local government educational establishments to "sell goods and services which arise as bi-products of their educational activities."<sup>330</sup>

In 1988, the principle of competition in a 'free market' was enshrined in further legislation,<sup>331</sup> which promoted the conversion of the local government-controlled institutions of higher and further education (such as the polytechnics) to free-standing, risk-bearing corporations, no longer under the control of City and County administrations. This gave these institutions the capacity to expand and to fund such expansion through increased fee income, either from the finite pool of 'home' students (whose fees were ultimately paid by central government) or from abroad through 'international' students, the government arguing that "the real key to achieving cost effective expansion [lay] ...in greater competition for funds and students."<sup>332</sup>

In consequence, from 1988 onwards, UK higher education was 'force-marched' from the dual system of 'elite' universities and 'semi-elite' polytechnics to a semi-unified system, policed by the various higher education funding councils and the HEQC. According to Peter Scott, the intention was "to channel state funds to those universities which were most successful in the market-place, as measured by their ability to attract more students."<sup>333</sup> Barnett, in a crucial 1990 critique, suggested that the "intrinsic character" of UK higher education was being sacrificed to economic considerations,<sup>334</sup> but in 1994, Salter and Tapper were optimistically referring to "the ability of the universities to resist, at least to

<sup>329</sup> Department of Education and Science, The Development of Higher Education into the 1990s, Cmnd. Paper 9524 (London: HMSO, 1995), paras. 9.9, 4.12, 8.18, 9.4. and para. 1.13.

<sup>330</sup> Further Education Act, 1985.

<sup>331</sup> The Education Reform Act, 1988

<sup>332</sup> Further and Higher Education Bill, HL 4 50/5 (London: HMSO, 1991).

<sup>333</sup> Scott, 14.

<sup>334</sup> Barnett, 4-5.

date, some of the more overtly competitive strategies that their paymasters have wanted to foist upon them.”<sup>335</sup> At the same time Pritchard was writing of a “paradigm based on market values,”<sup>336</sup> imposed by a Conservative government (although Moodie had dated the change as having been initiated earlier, in the late 1970s and under a Labour government, when Shirley Williams proposed thirteen ways for higher education to expand at lower cost.<sup>337</sup>)

The introduction of overt entrepreneurialism into UK higher education has not been on an ideological or social basis, but rather on economic grounds, which elsewhere has been attributed to “the rise of the Economocracy,”<sup>338</sup> which, “in the sphere of higher education, [has taken] the form of a gradual displacement of the academic by the managerial ethos” and regulation by a “market logic” under which “those who possess economic capital have a much greater influence than those who possess (to use Bourdieu’s terminology) social, or cultural-educational capital.”<sup>339</sup>

In 1992 the distinctions between universities and polytechnics were largely abolished, the polytechnics being re-designated as universities, supposedly levelling the higher education playing field.<sup>340</sup> Peter Scott contends that the intention was “to channel state funds to those universities which were most successful in the market-place, as measured by their ability to attract more students;”<sup>341</sup> decisions were to be taken on an economic basis, rather than on educational, democratic or egalitarian grounds, thus giving power to the economists. Graham has suggested that the problem facing the British state was that it “funded education, but did not control it.” He argues that the utilitarian dogmas of the ‘New Right’ required greater productivity at less cost and, although this could be achieved though

<sup>335</sup> Salter and Tapper, State and Higher Education, 192

<sup>336</sup> Rosalind M. O. Pritchard, “Government Power in British Higher education,” Studies in Higher Education, 19, 3 (1994), 5-13.

<sup>337</sup> Graham C. Moodie, “Debates about Higher Education Quality in Britain and the USA,” Studies in Higher Education, 13, 1 (1988), 5-13.

<sup>338</sup> Spillane “State-Market-Civil Society,” 13-18.

<sup>339</sup> Mouzelis, in Kazamias & Spillane, 25 & 17; Beaudieu, Pierre. Homo Academicus, trans. Peter Collier (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988).

<sup>340</sup> The Further and Higher Education Act, 1992.

a market mechanism, the government also wanted to ensure that the goods produced benefited the national economy. Schugurensky has labelled this the heteronomous (as opposed to ‘autonomous’) model, where the institution’s “mission, ...agenda, and ...outcomes are defined more by external controls and impositions than by its effective and rapid response to external demands.”<sup>342</sup> Although Richard Bird has disputed that the incoming Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher had adopted a “market approach,” to higher education,<sup>343</sup> this would appear to be post hoc wishful thinking. Salter and Tapper suggest that what that government constructed was a “managed market,” within which the (largely ex-polytechnic) higher education corporations would compete with the universities for funds largely derived from the public purse, and for other income to be earned by entrepreneurial means.<sup>344</sup> Although ‘privatisation’ was a Tory ‘mantra,’ it was difficult to apply to the ‘business’ of higher education, even after institutions of higher education were incorporated under the Higher Education Act of 1988, for all the ‘stock’ is held ‘in trust’ for the populace by the state, itself, a monolithic, monopolistic entity which (except at election time) is largely immune from stock-holder pressure. On the demand side, although students may have buying power, if only centrally planned goods are available (or at least those sanctioned by Government, or promoted by targeted funding), choice may be constrained and there will be no true market. This is a situation which Andrew Ryder has likened to the centrally planned economies (CPES’) once found in the countries of the former Soviet ‘bloc,’<sup>345</sup> where central interventionism subsumed market principles. As Maria Slowey has

<sup>341</sup> Scott, 14.

<sup>342</sup> Schugurensky, “Higher Education Restructuring in the Era of Globalization: Towards a Heteronomous Model?” in Robert F. Arnove and Carlos Alberto Torres, eds., Comparative Education: The Dialectic of the Global and Local (Lanham MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 296.

<sup>343</sup> Richard Bird (until 1990, Deputy Secretary for Higher and Further Education at the DES), “Reflections on the British government and Higher Education in the 1980s,” Higher Education Quarterly, Vol 48.2, 73-85, as reprinted in Shattock, 258.

<sup>344</sup> Salter & Tapper, The State and Higher Education, 202.

<sup>345</sup> Andrew Ryder, “Reform and UK Higher Education in the Enterprise Era,” Higher Education Quarterly, 50, 1 (January 1996), 54-70.

observed, there is “an irony in a Conservative government firmly committed to market principles adopting such overtly interventionist strategies.”<sup>346</sup>

Understandably, this resulted in tension between the utilitarian and entrepreneurial dogmas of the ‘New Right’ and those of the traditionalist Tories of ‘Middle England’ who favoured liberal education and high culture, and the promotion (or rather the maintenance) of middle-class values. These implied elitism, rather than massification, in higher education, but Graham suggests that the latter found support from the “new middle class”<sup>347</sup> (by implication “new yuppies”), to whom ‘what you consume is who you are,’ with higher education forming an important part of that diet. In arguing that this group is responsible for the rise in consumer-based, lifestyle studies, such as “sport, fashion, popular music and popular culture” (and, it must be added, media), Graham also warns against a failure to realise that such higher education is now a cultural commodity, possession of which legitimises a lifestyle.<sup>348</sup> This fits well with the post-fordist concept of the standardised ‘university education,’ being ‘customised’ to meet individual tastes (and, perhaps, in some cases, academic ability).

This was the very concept that Abraham Flexner had inveigled against, that of the “chain-store” college at which the student finds “almost every imaginable article on the counter, [including] a miscellaneous aggregation of topics and activities that defy general characterisation,”<sup>349</sup> and which correspond to the degree courses in England which are modular rather than structured, ‘generic’ rather than ‘disciplinary,’ such as Classical Studies, (no Latin or Greek required), Media or Sports Studies. Graham also suggests that other “educational purposes” now play a significant role, the “moral crisis of the late 1990s ... calling into question the material excesses of the ‘greed is good’ Yuppie culture of the

<sup>346</sup> “Reflections on Change,” in ed. Maria Slowey, Implementing Change, 25.

<sup>347</sup> Graham, in eds., K. (Moti) Gokulsing and Cornel DaCosta, Useable Knowledges As the Goal of University Education, Mellen Studies in Education, 33 (Lewison/Queenston/Lampeter: Edwin Mellin Press, 1997). 40; R. Usher and R. Edwards, Postmodernism and Education (London: Rutledge, 1994), 191.

Thatcher years" and "Ethical education for citizenship being discovered ...in a strategy for moral renewal."<sup>350</sup> In fact it may be that such concepts have yet to impinge on the "new yuppies": for, whilst materialism may be passé, consumerism is far from dead, but now focuses, not on materialistic ostentation, but rather on the possession of 'cultural' capital. This can include Graham's 'lifestyle' studies, and, as Van Den Haag explains, such studies can simultaneously be both "a capital and a consumption good."<sup>351</sup> To media students who make it into journalism, films or television production, their study will have proved to be a capital investment. To those who held no such ambition, it is a consumer good, as it will be for those who in fact become lorry drivers or long term unemployed. However, as at the time of acquisition, it may not be possible to predict which, and it may start with the potential for either.<sup>352</sup>

Where such studies are primarily vocationally oriented, success may be defined in terms of competency as much as the ability to appreciate the origin, significance and trajectory of the particular knowledge or skill.<sup>353</sup> As Hyland expressed it, such studies promote "performance at the expense of the wherewithal to generate performance."<sup>354</sup> They also fail to recognise that "...education means ...to be able to do what you have not done before,"<sup>355</sup> i. e. to acquire transferable skills, the educational seed-corn being discarded for a short term gain. This, however, does not conflict with the primary goal of the Economocracy, which, as has been argued elsewhere, tends to be "economic efficiency and the advancement of profit, measured per cent, and not philosophical enrichment and the advancement of knowledge,

<sup>348</sup> Graham, in Gokulsing and Da Costa, 141.

<sup>349</sup> Flexner, 59 & 53.

<sup>350</sup> Graham, in Gokulsing and Da Costa 120.

<sup>351</sup> Ernest van den Haag, Education as an Industry (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1956), 19. At 18-20, he also provides a useful discussion of the concept of "education as consumption."

<sup>352</sup> Van Den Haag has an interesting discussion on the social and economic justification for each, which would repay consideration in a contemporary perspective.

<sup>353</sup> E.g Sports Management, Media Studies, Menswear Retailing

<sup>354</sup> Terry Hyland "Professional Development and Competence Based Education," Educational Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, 1993, 123-132.

<sup>355</sup> Bridget, in George Herbert Palmer, The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer (Boston, 1908, 225-26), quoted Frlexner, 9.

measured per se.<sup>356</sup>

Efficiency operates at two levels, (a) to provide more saleable goods at a lower cost, e.g. soft ‘lifestyle’ options, which can be mass-provided and even traditional adult education programmes which may “merely reflect the cachet of a university course and an alternative to the bridge club.”<sup>357</sup>), and (b) to promote national efficiency (e.g. economic growth through vocational education), the two being conjoined (rather than colluding) in a market-driven, consumerist, demand-led form of higher (or rather further) education. The utilitarian New Right, whilst tending to be averse to non-vocational continuing education (hence the introduction of “outcome-related funding,”<sup>358</sup>) and who might be expected to reject ‘lifestyle’ subjects, possibly recognise a marketable commodity when they see one, and so ignore any inherent contradictions. That such ‘cultural capital’ also finds a ready market makes it grist to the mill, which could explain the tolerance and muted critique it receives from that quarter. At the same time, as Richard Taylor suggests, “liberal, social-purpose” educators are “working with other people’s … agendas to achieve at least part of [their own] … agenda,”<sup>359</sup> half a liberal loaf presumably being viewed as better than no bread.

However, it is only since about 1992 that entrepreneurialism has been a central plank in the funding of UK higher education. England had long been active in the export trade,<sup>360</sup> and, just as the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century provided manufactured goods for export, so it was perhaps inevitable that when the Information Revolution of the late twentieth century brought with it the “knowledge society,”<sup>361</sup> thus making education a

<sup>356</sup> Spillane “State-Market-Civil Society: 13-18.

<sup>357</sup> Spillane, “Giving Credit Where Credit Is Due,’ 233-235

<sup>358</sup> Department for Education, Further Choice and Quality: The Charter for Further Education (London: DfE, 1993).

<sup>359</sup> Taylor, “Accessibility and Institutional Change,” in Slowey, Implementing Change, 72.

<sup>360</sup> Thomas Mun, (1571-1641), England's treasure by forraign trade, or, The ballance of our forraign trade is the rule of our treasure (sic) written by Thomas Mun; and now published for the common good by his son John Mun. - London: Printed by J. G. for Thomas Clark, 1664.

<sup>361</sup> David C. B. Teather, ed., Higher Education in a Post-Binary Era: National Reforms and Institutional Responses (London: Jessica Kingsley, 1999), 15.

tradable commodity produced in what Kumar has termed “knowledge factories,”<sup>362</sup> that education should similarly be packaged for export.

In 1992, in furtherance of this aim, the state direct funding system was re-designed so as to distribute additional, non-core, funding to “those institutions able and willing to expand most rapidly and efficiently.”<sup>363</sup> At the same time the polytechnics were re-designated as universities and the ‘binary divide,’ which had previously divided the universities from the polytechnics and other non-university tertiary institutions, now became the ‘trinary’ divide. The universities, both ‘old’ and ‘new,’ (i.e. the former polytechnics) were separated from colleges of higher education which could award their own degrees, which in turn were separated from the other non-university institutions which could only award degrees which were franchised from, or validated by, another institution. (These distinctions were to prove critical when such institutions offered their degrees in Greece, giving the distinct marketing advantage of the title ‘university’ and enabling lesser institutions which had older and more illustrious near-namesakes to benefit from the reflected glory.) All such institutions were to be centrally funded through the new Higher Education Funding Councils (HEFC), but the changes were to impact least on the existing universities, which were already incorporated under Royal charter and had previously been centrally funded through the University Grants Committee. Elsewhere in the higher education sector, it did, however, give institutions a much greater degree of independence and provided a major stimulus for their expansion.

These sweeping changes in the structure, funding and governance of British higher education served to promote a competitive market for higher education, with institutions competing for students on the basis of academic reputation, novelty of the courses offered, vocational utility of the degrees awarded, and ease of entry. The attempt to abolish the

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<sup>362</sup> Wesley Kumar, “Higher Education and the State: the Irony of Fordism in American Universities” in J. Smythe, ed., *Academic Work: The Changing Labour Process in Higher Education* (Buckingham: SRHE & the Open University Press, 1995), 85.

<sup>363</sup> Kumar in Smyth..

distinctions between universities and polytechnics, rather than making them equal, in fact arguably tended to emphasise the differences between what was perceived as being the “best” and the “worst.” Institutional status came to be measured by ‘league tables,’ by status as ‘new’ or ‘old’ university (i.e., pre- or post 1992),<sup>364</sup> and by membership of the elite ‘Russell Group’ of nineteen leading universities,<sup>365</sup> a public ‘Ivy League’ for admission to which the ‘best’ students would compete amongst themselves.<sup>366</sup> British higher education, although still provided almost wholly within the public sector, had thus become much more akin to the American mixed-economy college system, with a relatively small group of elite institutions and, below that, tiers of less- or non-elite institutions competing with each other for students, with the bottom tier institutions offering degrees under a sub-franchise from another institution which was itself operating under a franchise.

From the early 1980s onwards, many UK institutions had formed partnerships with overseas institutions for the exchange of staff and students, particularly under the ERASMUS programme in Europe. Such programmes enable institutions to attract additional students by offering the inducement of a ‘year abroad’ and also by bringing an ‘exotic’ element of diversity to the home campus. Other new programs involved the supply of British expertise in higher education to foreign governments, particularly in the former ‘Iron Curtain’ countries,<sup>367</sup> thus promoting the idea that such education and educational expertise were exportable commodities. From 1992 onwards, many British institutions started to explore the possibility of combining the two, by unilateral overseas expansion, rather than through exchanges with a foreign peer institution. This could involve the use of

<sup>364</sup> Dearing, 249, Charts 16.1 - 16.4

<sup>365</sup> So called for the somewhat mundane reason that their representatives meet at the Russell Hotel in London, presumably selected because of its convenience for rail-travel from the North. Cf. The famous “Rockfish Gap Report” of 1818, for selecting the “scite” of the University of Virginia, so named because the University Commissioners met at the tavern at Rockfish Gap

<sup>366</sup> Alexandra Williams, “Top universities to set up ‘gold standard’ Ivy League courses,” *The Times*, October 4 1998 (Internet edition)

<sup>367</sup> E.g. By 1992, the University of Humberside had 64 such European partnerships: David Foster & Roger King, “The University of Humberside,” in Teather, 126.

the premises or services of a lesser institution overseas, by enabling a foreign institution to offer British degrees or diplomas through franchise or accreditation, or by opening an overseas branch. Such branches are sometimes collaborative ventures between different British institutions, which between them offer a complementary range of courses or diplomas.<sup>368</sup>

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<sup>368</sup> E.g. Athens Campus Wales, offering degrees from the University of Wales at Swansea and degrees and Higher National Diplomas from the University of Bournemouth.

## Chapter 6

### **ACADEMIC ENTREPRENEURIAL ACTIVITY IN RURAL IOWA - A TALE OF TWO COLLEGES**

#### **Introduction**

Parsons College (Parsons) and Upper Iowa University (UIU) were founded in Iowa as rural seminaries at the time of the American Civil War and each gradually developed into liberal arts colleges. Like many such American colleges, they each led a financially precarious existence as a private four-year institution, following essentially similar paths and remaining unsullied by Humboldtian ideas of the need for academic research. Each received endowments from church members who had heeded John Wesley's exhortation, that the good Methodist (and indeed, by implication, any good non-conformist Christian) by being "diligent and frugal," could not fail to grow rich, and should lay up treasure in heaven by giving their wealth to the church (which would include its colleges).<sup>1</sup> Even so, both colleges led a marginal existence, their survival often depending on presidents who met Schumpeter's concept of an entrepreneur.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic, 175-176

<sup>2</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 130-135.

The two colleges were not in direct competition, initially because they were at opposite ends of the state and each served a local constituency.<sup>3</sup> Both had endowments dating from before the American Civil War of 1861-65 and had originally been affiliated to a church. UIU had been founded in 1856 and was sponsored by the Methodist Episcopalian Church. Parsons was sponsored by the Presbyterians, but schisms in the church delayed its foundation until 1875.<sup>4</sup> Prior to their post-World War II periods of innovation and expansion, each was what might be termed an “introspective” institution, largely relying upon its natural constituents (members of the local church and community, local businesses, national and state organs of their sponsoring religious denomination, charitable foundations, college trustees and alumni) for financial support.<sup>5</sup>

The experience of both colleges were remarkably similar, UIU narrowly escaping closure in 1928,<sup>6</sup> in 1966, 1970-72 and again in 1978,<sup>7</sup> whilst Parsons survived similar crises in 1962,<sup>8</sup> in 1966,<sup>9</sup> and finally succumbed in 1973.<sup>10</sup> At various times, both colleges suffered from the withdrawal or suspension of their regional accreditation on financial grounds, whilst, ironically, at the same time the regulators were largely commending many aspects of their educational programmes.<sup>11</sup> Thus the problems faced by their presidents were virtually identical and, in due course, each determined that, if their college was to survive, it would be necessary to increase student enrolment, and hence fee income, both direct (from

<sup>3</sup> Western Historical Company, A History of Fayette County, Iowa (Chicago, 1878); Knight; M. E Parsons; Alderson, “Upper Iowa University.”

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin J. Lake, The Story of the Presbyterian Church in the USA ((Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956).

<sup>5</sup> Knight ; Alderson “Upper Iowa University”; Koerner 1970.

<sup>6</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 169.

<sup>7</sup> De Moines Register, 1978 (undated cutting in files of UIU); Crawford, 197.

<sup>8</sup> Koerner 1970:51

<sup>9</sup> Koerner, 1970,167

<sup>10</sup> Gabbert 1984:190

academic fees) and indirect (from the sale of books and services). In seeking to achieve this aim, the colleges were to adopt similar strategies, but differing tactics.

## Background

The Mid-Nineteenth century saw the opening of the American mid-west to settlement, one result of which was the proliferation of small towns, with promoters seeking to enhance the value of their investment by attracting settlers and so ensuring the commercial viability of their particular town. Whilst geographical features, such as a convenient river crossing or site for a dam, could indicate an appropriate location for a settlement, it would be the “added value” of facilities such as a saw-mill, store, hotel, stage-coach service, or a church and settled pastor, which would encourage people to settle down and not move on. The establishment in the town of major commercial, service or administrative enterprises such as State or County offices, courts, jails, hotels, banks, railway depots and colleges would give a further ‘boost,’ attracting relatively well-to-do “professionals” as settlers and drawing funds to the town from beyond its immediate boundary, diminishing the importance of the adjacent towns thereby further increasing the likelihood that the settlement would achieve the ‘critical mass’ needed for its survival.<sup>12</sup> ‘Booster’ colleges were regarded as being particularly effective and thus in 1865 an Ohio newspaper, The Republican, echoing Henry III’s words to the citizens of Cambridge, encouraged the town of Wooster to bid for a new Presbyterian college, arguing that it would “...not only be an honor to the place...but will so enhance the value of real estate throughout the vicinity and county that none will be the

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<sup>11</sup> Koerner, 171.

<sup>12</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 152-168, provides a more complete account and explanation,

losers by the investment.”<sup>13</sup> Boorstin quotes a college promoter as describing “1851 America” as a ““Land of colleges”,” and he also cites President Frederick A. P. Barnard who in 1880 contrasted the 37 colleges for the three million people in the State of Ohio with England’s four degree granting institutions for 23 million people. The foundation of a religious college also made it possible to combine the piety of a church endowment with unbridled commerce, with the result that a large number of denominational colleges were endowed, although commercial good sense usually ensured that the colleges were not strictly sectarian, but would accept any Christian who could afford to pay the fees.<sup>14</sup>

### **Born into a Competitive Market: A Tale of Two Colleges**

Parsons College was the fruit of a major bequest from Lewis B. Parsons, a New York merchant whose third son, Charles, had settled in the Iowa town of Keokuk.<sup>15</sup> Parsons Senior, had been in ill-health and, on his doctor advice, had toured Iowa on horseback in the early 1850s, being much impressed by the fertility of the land and by its potential for development. Undeveloped land was available at \$1.50 an acre and so he realised his savings and purchased some 3,600 acres.<sup>16</sup> In 1855, shortly before his death, he made a will, bequeathing the land to be “used and expended in founding and endowing an Institution of learning in the State of Iowa, or to be expended, if it shall be deemed best by my said executors, in aiding and endowing an Institution which may have been already endowed...”<sup>17</sup> thus indicating that he had purchased the land to found a college, rather than

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<sup>13</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 157.

<sup>14</sup> Boorstin, Colonial Experience, 178-181.

<sup>15</sup> Fulton in Willis Edwards Parsons, 20.

<sup>16</sup> Knight, 21.

<sup>17</sup> Louis Baldwin Parsons, Will, quoted by Fulton, 21

for personal profit. That he had been the fifth son in a low-income family and had left Massachusetts at the age of 14 to work as a clerk in upstate New York,<sup>18</sup> could explain his interest in education.

Parsons directed “that the Institution be selected or located and the expenditure commenced as early as consistent, and unless for very special reasons not to be delayed beyond the period of five years after my decease, and the entire fund to be expended and invested as soon thereafter as the same can be made most available.” Justin S. Morrill’s 1862 Act had similarly mandated that “Any State which may take and claim the benefit of the provisions of this act shall provide, within five years, at least not less than one college...” or the land granted or the proceeds of sale would be returned to the United States. In fact the “very special reasons” referred to by Parsons did arise, first because of further splits in the two branches of the Church, then the Civil War of 1861-65 and later, as will be discussed in Chapter 9, because of complications as different factions re-united in combinations which had not been foreseen.<sup>19</sup> The trustees had therefore again postponed the distribution of the assets,<sup>20</sup> but in 1869 began to consider bids from towns in Iowa. They finally settled on Fairfield, in part, because General Parsons, son of the benefactor, was impressed because it was the only town where the townspeople had opened the meeting with a prayer.<sup>21</sup> That they could also meet the executors requirement of subscriptions

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<sup>18</sup> Fulton, 18.

<sup>19</sup> Lake, 70-77; W. Stanley Rycroft, The Ecumenical Witness of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA (Philadelphia: Board of Christian Education of the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, 1968), 62-66.

<sup>20</sup> Fulton, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Knight, 18

totalling \$27,000 was possibly even more significant, as was their previously demonstrated eagerness to promote a college.<sup>22</sup>

In 1840, whilst Iowa was still a territory, the town had established the “Fairfield Lyceum,” which survived until 1849, providing instruction for “the youth of both sexes in arts, sciences and literature.”<sup>23</sup> The citizens had also been concerned for the education of women and in 1849 had opened the Fairfield Female Seminary, which in 1860 had been the subject of a Sheriff’s sale.<sup>24</sup> In 1849, the Governor had approved the establishment of a branch of Iowa State University at Fairfield. Construction had begun, but the expected state funding was not forthcoming. In 1851 the building works were wrecked by a hurricane and in 1854 the assets were acquired by “a company composed of citizens of Fairfield” who announced that “no effort will be spared to make Fairfield University one of the best institutions for young men in the West....” with emphasis being placed on “the cultural side of education.”<sup>25</sup> The following year, 1855, the university rejected a seemingly handsome offer of land and endowment from a Mr. Ward Lamson to enable the university to teach “agriculture, horticulture and floriculture...as well as the sciences now taught,” which was very similar to Morrill’s proposal that public lands be used to provide “...Colleges for the benefit of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts.”<sup>26</sup> In 1863 the Fairfield University was re-incorporated as Fairfield College, a limited stock company with links to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and in 1865 it actually paid a 5% dividend to the stockholders.<sup>27</sup> In 1867, the school mortgage was foreclosed and, possibly in an early example of an educational

<sup>22</sup> Fulton, 7-15

<sup>23</sup> Fulton, 4

<sup>24</sup> Fulton, 7

<sup>25</sup> Fulton, 10

<sup>26</sup> Fulton, 11-12.

'management buyout,' the school was bought at the Sheriff's Sale by its principal, a Lutheran minister, who continued to operate the school until 1874, when it finally succumbed.

All the previous ventures into the provision of college education in the town of Fairfield had foundered because of their lack of financial stability. It may be that local politics or personalities or anti-vocationalism played a part in the rejection of the Lamson endowment, that Morrill had paved the way, that desperation had set in or that the association with the Presbyterian church gave respectability, but twenty years later the Parson's executors were courted assiduously and Fairfield secured the bequest. The college admitted its first students in September 1875,<sup>28</sup> the bequest and the matching contributions from the townsfolk providing an endowment which enabled Parsons College to survive as a small rural college, furnishing a liberal education in the non-conformist Christian tradition, largely for students from the immediate locality. The enrolment seldom exceeded 500, peaking in 1925 at 763,<sup>29</sup> and then declining to about 250 in 1955.<sup>30</sup>

#### **Sawmill, School, College, Hotel, Store, Doctor: Progress in Northern Iowa .**

At about the same time Louis B Parsons was touring Southern Iowa for the good of his health, a Colonel Alexander was exploring Northern Iowa for the good of his wealth. He was a hatter by trade, but in 1832 the Black Hawk war had broken out and he had enlisted as a private with Davidson's Mounted Dragoons. After a week, not having seen action, he had

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<sup>27</sup> Fulton, 14.

<sup>28</sup> Fulton, 18 & 38.

<sup>29</sup> W. E. Parsons, 115

<sup>30</sup> Parsons College Institutional Data, prepared 1958 (Parsons College archive)

resumed his trade but had thereafter assumed the rank ad style of ‘Colonel,’<sup>31</sup> presumably for reasons of social and business advancement. The entrepreneurial Colonel had arrived in the Volga valley in 1849, with his wife, Elizabeth, and two of their four daughters, entered his first claim on July 12, 1849 and by 1854 owned some 8,000 acres and a saw-mill. In 1851 he laid out the town of Westfield, on land which he owned to the north of the river, and built the Westfield Public school, of hewn logs with “real glass windows and a plank door.”<sup>32</sup> That year their elder daughter Sabra and her husband, Samuel H Robertson, began buying land to the south of the river and laying out the (presumably rival) town of Fayette.<sup>33</sup>

In 1855 Mrs. Alexander raised the question of the future education of their two daughters,<sup>34</sup> as she and her daughters were Methodists<sup>35</sup> and the nearest suitable college was Cornell, some 80 miles away. The cost of attendance there was about \$1,000 per child and it would mean long term separation, so Mrs. Alexander proposed that they start their own college, to which suggestion her husband acquiesced.<sup>36</sup> Numerous frontier colleges were being founded in the Mid-West,<sup>37</sup> and were seen as an asset to a locality and the Colonel donated \$10,000 towards the new college. His son-in-law, Samuel H Robertson, donated \$5,000 and 10 acres of land, to the South of the river and in his recently laid out town of Fayette, upon which the college was to be built.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Crawford, 18.

<sup>32</sup> Fayette Public School Manual, 1907; Alderson “Upper Iowa University” 129-130; Schwartz, 10.

<sup>33</sup> Fayette Public School Manual, 1907.

<sup>34</sup> Western Historical Company, 474,

<sup>35</sup> Edna Luce, “The United Methodist Church,” in Fayette Centennial 1874-1974 (Fayette IA, Fayette Festivals, 1974), 50-52.

<sup>36</sup> Fellows, Stephen Norris, DD, History of the Upper Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church 1856-1906 (Iowa, 1907), 59.

<sup>37</sup> Boorstin, National Experience, 157.

<sup>38</sup> B. G. Bowen & Co., Past and Present of Fayette County, Iowa (Indianapolis, 1910), 268; Alderson “Upper Iowa University,” 129, 131

This may have been a deliberately shrewd move on the part of Samuel, for it was the location of the college which ensured the economic supremacy of his new town of Fayette over that of Colonel Alexander's town of Westfield, which was on the other side of the river. Westfield had enjoyed a four year start and was predominating, the Westfield Public School, built by the Colonel, being reputed to be "by far the most imposing structure for miles around."<sup>39</sup> However, on completion of the college in 1857, the school moved from the purpose-built log schoolhouse in Westfield to the even more imposing stone building at Fayette, where it occupied ad hoc accommodation in the college chapel.<sup>40</sup> The town of Westfield no longer exists, having subsequently gone into decline, its wooden buildings being dismantled and re-erected on the other side of the river in Fayette.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast to the altruism of Louis B. Parsons in making his bequest, the local promoters of both UIU and Parsons College were settlers with a permanent stake in their locality. Thus, although Mrs. Alexander's initial suggestion had been for a college to meet the immediate needs of the family, the men proceeded to invest in UIU on a scale which was far more substantial than such needs would justify and it therefore appears probable that they believed that, like the sawmill, the college would serve to boost the value of the families' investments in the locality. The three-storey college building, in sawn stone,<sup>42</sup> appears to have justified their confidence for, in the year that they started building the college, Fayette saw the opening of a hotel, a store and a Physician's consulting room.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 130; Cole 1921: 241 et seq.

<sup>40</sup> Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 130;

<sup>41</sup> Schwartz, Emily "Fayette in Focus" in Centennial 1874-1974 The Incorporated Town of Fayette Iowa, (Fayette IA, Fayette Festivals Inc. 1974), 10.

<sup>42</sup> Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 129-131; B G. Bowen & Co., 268;

<sup>43</sup> Schwartz, 10.

Mrs Alexander, her daughters and her son-in-law, Samuel H Robertson, were active members of a small Methodist congregation, which had been founded by a Methodist Circuit Rider in 1850,<sup>44</sup> (who almost certainly also acted as a distributor for the Methodist Book Concern, which was later to be the subject of Millard G. Roberts PhD thesis.<sup>45</sup>) The Robertson's therefore proposed that the college should be under the patronage of the Iowa Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church,<sup>46</sup> the original articles of incorporation providing that the college should be known as the "Fayette Seminary" and that it should "furnish the most thorough liberal & religious elevation to Youth of both sexes ever received in schools of the same grade." Significantly, whilst the articles also provided that the college should be "under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church for moral character & efficient operation," they made no mention of actual ownership by the church and also required that the college should "avoid everything like offensive Sectarianism."<sup>47</sup>

In this they echoed the report of the 1832 Indiana Conference of the Methodist Church, which stated that the majority of the "literary institutions [in Indiana] ... are in the hands of other denominations, so that our [Methodist] people are unwilling (and we think properly so) to send their sons to those institutions," and so "we think it very desirable to have an institution under our own control from which we can exclude all doctrines which we deem dangerous." However, economic and entrepreneurial good sense appears to have entered the equation, for the Report continued, "... we do not wish to make it so sectarian as to

<sup>44</sup> Luce, 50

<sup>45</sup> M. G. Roberts, "Methodist Book Concern."

<sup>46</sup> Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 131

<sup>47</sup> UIU "1928 Merger File," Copy, Archives, UIU Library

exclude or in the smallest degree repel the sons of our fellow citizens from the same.”<sup>48</sup>

Sixty years later, in 1894 the President of Indiana [State] University, having established that 385 Indianans were studying outside the state, asked the State Legislature to: “Give us the money to make a great institution of learning and Indiana will not only save the greater part of the one-half million dollars spent by Indianans elsewhere, but she will bring the sons and daughters of other states to spend a half million more.”<sup>49</sup> This was a classic case of entrepreneurialism, for he was seeking “an intervention” (State funds), which he would “exploit” to open up “a new source or supply of material” (e.g. students), and to reduce the cost to the State “by reorganizing... [Indiana higher education]”<sup>50</sup> There was thus an explicit recognition, in both Iowa and Indiana, that there was an unsatisfied market for college places, but, more importantly, a clear recognition by the Iowa Methodists that sectarian compromise would be necessary to make a college viable. This pragmatic view is one to which the entrepreneurial founders of Upper Iowa University are also likely to have subscribed.

Louis B. Parsons, in considering the nature of the college he intended to found, had recognised that it would be necessary to provide oversight from a stable institution, but similarly rejected sectarianism. In his testament he therefore wrote: “...while I would not desire said Institution to be strictly sectarian in its character, yet its best interests require it should be under the control of some religious denomination, and I therefore direct that it shall be under the supervision of Trustees, Presbytery or Synod, ....of that branch of the

<sup>48</sup> William Warren Sweet, *Indiana Asbury-De Pauw University 1837-1937: A Hundred Years of Higher Education in the Middle West* (New York, 1937), 26.

<sup>49</sup> James Albert Woodburn, *History of Indiana University, 1820-1902* (1940), 426-427, quoted Frederick Rudolph, *The American College & University* (New York: Vintage books, 1965), 52.

<sup>50</sup> Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1961), 130-135.

Presbyterian Church distinguished as the New School....”<sup>51</sup> (This distinction arose because there was at that time a schism in the church, in respect of which Parsons commented that he trusted that the time “will speedily come... when a reunion of the two branches of the...Church shall be honorably accomplished”). That Parsons considered that the “best interests [of Parsons College] require it should be under the control of some religious denomination” and that the founders of UIU considered it should be “under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church for moral character & efficient operation,” whilst at the same time none of them desired to endow a “church” college, indicates a remarkable degree of agreement. Such unanimity was not confined to their perspective, for, writing at about the time, John Henry, Cardinal Newman, argued that the “essence of a university” was that it should teach ‘universal knowledge,’ which he accepted to be “...independent of its relation to the [Catholic]Church. [Thus]...practically speaking, it cannot fulfil its object duly, such as I have described it, without the Church’s assistance; or, to use the theological term, the Church is necessary for its integrity. Not that its main characters are changed by this incorporation: it still has the office of intellectual education; but the Church steadies it in the performance of that office.”<sup>52</sup>

The affiliation of the college to a religious denomination meant that the trustees, the College President, and possibly many of the faculty, would all be members of the same congregation. At that time, for an individual, “Admission to the congregation is recognised as an absolute guarantee of the moral qualities of a gentleman, especially those qualities

<sup>51</sup> Knight, 16-17 The distinction arose because there was at that time a schism in the church, in respect of which Parsons commented that he trusted that the time "will speedily come... when a reunion of the two branches of the...Church shall be honorably accomplished." A hundred years later, the two branches did amalgamate.

<sup>52</sup> J. H. Newman, *The Idea of a University*, (London 1853), 7.

required in business....if he got into economic straits through no fault of his own, the sect arranged his affairs, gave guarantees to his creditors, and helped him in every way."<sup>53</sup>

It did not, however, provide an cast-iron grant of probity, for, as Thucydides predicted, events were to repeat themselves, "in accordance with human nature, not exactly the same, yet [in] very similar circumstances."<sup>54</sup> At Harvard, it had been Nathaniel Eaton and his wife,<sup>55</sup> at Upper Iowa it was to be the twenty-five year old Reverend William Poor as Principal, with his father, the Reverend David Poor, who, as College Steward, was in charge of business affairs and the selection of the faculty. The latter was quickly recruited, for it consisted of the Rev. W. Clark Poor and Miss Clarissa M. Poor (being the Principal's brother and sister); the Principal's mother, Mrs. Julia A. Poor (who was also the Steward's wife); Miss Louise Rice (the Principal's betrothed); and three others. The Poor dynasty lasted only eight months, for the Steward was dismissed and in August the entire family moved on.<sup>56</sup> A hundred and forty years later, such circumstances were to arise in British higher education, with several Principals similarly moving on.

However, the religious affiliation did give the college a network of support, so helping ensuring its survival and providing it with a form of accreditation. It also gave a college a "brand name," and access to a fund-raising network, and thus represents an early form of franchising. The Morrill Act, constrained as it was by the constitutional requirement for the separation of Church and State, achieved similar aims by providing that the grants of land should be used by each state for "the endowment, support and maintenance" of colleges and

<sup>53</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism*: trans. H. H. Gerth & C. Wright Mills (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1946; New York, Firth Galaxy, 1958.)

<sup>54</sup> Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War (Hobbes translation) I, 22.

<sup>55</sup> Mistress Eaton, in ed. Bentinck-Smith, 113-114; Rippa, 46

<sup>56</sup> Crawford, 25 - 26.

that it should be under the control of the relevant State legislature.<sup>57</sup> The latter, being an organ of a representative democracy, had the structure not dissimilar to that of a Non-Conformist church, but without the theological commitment, and could provide stability, an efficient fund-raising machinery (where the donors, as taxpayers, need not be volunteers), and a generic, but effective, brand name of ‘State.’ In return the institutions could support the state with ‘professional’ advice on policy, legislation and on innovation in horticulture and engineering, as, for example, at the University of Wisconsin, where it was said that ‘the boundaries of the campus are the boundaries of the state.’<sup>58</sup>

Although Mrs. Alexander and the Robertsons appear to have been committed to the Methodist Episcopal church, Parsons was presumably able to exercise his choice in a relatively free market, for he himself does not appear to have specifically supported any one church. In 1893, his son Charles, was to write “In religion my father was a Puritan of an enlightened stamp....The ruling principle of his life was to do good....”<sup>59</sup> Parsons Senior had declared that “I have long been convinced that the future welfare of our country, the permanency of its institutions, the progress of our Divine religion and an enlightened Christianity greatly depend upon the general diffusion of Education under correct moral and religious influences....”<sup>60</sup> Justin S. Morrill’s intentions were very similar, for, as he explained in a speech some thirty years after the passage of his Land grant bill, his intention had been to offer an opportunity to everyone, “...not merely to those destined to sedentary professions,” for “...theoretical instruction in the various branches of sound learning...[to]

<sup>57</sup> Morrill Act, The (1862): 12 United States Statutes at Large, 503-505.

<sup>58</sup> Robert C. Nesbit, Wisconsin: a History, Second edition, ed. William F. Thompson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 426-427.

<sup>59</sup> Charles Parsons, 1893, quoted in W. E. Parsons, 22-23.

<sup>60</sup> Louis Baldwin Parsons, Will of, quoted by W. E. Parsons, 21.

prepare men for the active uses of life... to give [labor] ...a profounder meaning than that of mere drudgery, be it of the hand or the head.<sup>61</sup>

### The Nature of the Methodist Franchise Re-Defined

The original (1855) Articles of Incorporation of the Fayette Seminary read “And while it is under the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church for moral character and efficient operation, yet [y] to avoid anything like offensive Sectarianism, [x] and the said Institution to be called the Fayette Seminary,”<sup>62</sup> which could be taken to imply either “so long as it is under the control and patronage...” or that the control and patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church was limited to matters relating to moral character and efficient operation. The Iowa Methodist Conference evidently did not consider that it had “control” for it merely recommended that the college “be received under the patronage of the Conference.”<sup>63</sup> According to Crawford, the lack of scrutiny was because a “Seminary was not only a Good Thing, ...and [so] to be encouraged, but a seminary could also turn a profit for the conference.” He also argues that the Trustees, when they first surveyed the locality, had realised that there were, as yet, insufficient students at college level, and the seminary (which was not to be a ‘theological seminary’) would have to train people up to high school standard and so create the market.<sup>64</sup> The seminary had barely opened when the major financial crisis of 1857 erupted, but it managed to survive by introducing an ingenious

<sup>61</sup> Justin S. Morrill, State Aid to Land-Grant Colleges (Montpelier, VT: Argus & Patriot Publishing House, 1888). Print of speech made at Montpelier, VT, on October 10, 1888.

<sup>62</sup> O. W. Stevenson, UIU alumni and Iowa attorney, to the UIU Trustees, memorandum, April 10, 1928. He suggested that a line may have been omitted at the point marked [x]. However, sense would equally be achieved if the words “it is” were accepted as implied at the point [y], which would accord with the 1858 revision.

<sup>63</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference, 1855.

<sup>64</sup> Crawford, 23.

system of barter, whereby students were permitted to pay their college dues with produce useful to the college, such as hay and turnips from a farm, or firewood which they could gather.<sup>65</sup> The catalogue of the time announced that the "Fayette Seminary would take produce at 'highest prices' in lieu of currency."<sup>66</sup> The original Articles could well have been drawn up in haste and when they were revised in 1858 they not only took account of the creation of a new Upper Iowa Conference, but were re-worded to read "While all offensive sectarianism shall be avoided, for moral character & efficient operation, said Institution shall be under the control and supervision of the Upper Iowa Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church."<sup>67</sup> Some 70 years later, this distinction was to become extremely significant, for the UIU trustees could argue that the college was not bound to operate under the Methodist franchise and UIU avoided being merged into Cornell College,<sup>68</sup> by seceding from the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The revised Articles had been legalised on February 17, 1862, not by the Church, but by the 9<sup>th</sup> General Assembly of [the State of] Iowa, Chapter 13 of the Acts of which provide that "all rights, titles and interests belonging to the said Fayette seminary are hereby declared to be fully vested in the Incorporation known as Upper Iowa University."<sup>69</sup> The "Upper Iowa University" title was thereby formalised just in time for the award of degrees to the first two graduates, the title providing the institution with an important marketing tool in the years to come.

<sup>65</sup> Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 139

<sup>66</sup> Crawford, 32.

<sup>67</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, "(Revised) Articles of Incorporation of the Fayette Seminary Article III," Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference, 1858.

<sup>68</sup> UIU, Documents in "1928 Merger File", Archives, UIU Library.

<sup>69</sup> Alderson "Upper Iowa University," 142.

The 1860 edition of the Upper Iowa University catalogue, by means of which the College extolled its wares, described the location of the campus as being “healthy and beautiful” and the college building as being “unsurpassed by any similar structure in the state.” The population of Fayette was given as “between 600 and 700” and the town was described as being “free from those demoralising influences frequently prevalent in colleges.”<sup>70</sup> Although Fayette was served by daily stage coaches, it was not a stagecoach ‘hub’ and could thus position itself in the market as a “quiet educational retreat, removed from the corrupting influences which affect the morals, as are found in towns located on public thoroughfares.” In addition to awarding the degree of Bachelor, the University could also bestow the degrees of Master of Arts, Science or Accounts on “every Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science of three years standing who has been engaged since graduation in appropriate pursuit and has sustained a good moral character.”<sup>71</sup> The College thus, by offering a post-graduation, higher-grade diploma for minimal effort, as at Oxford and Cambridge, increased the likelihood of post-graduation contact with alumni/ae.

Land values had dropped and by 1859 Colonel Alexander’s 8,000 (now largely undeveloped) acres to the North of the river had slumped to 40% of their previous value, his town of Westfield having migrated to Fayette, attracted by the permanence of the stone-built college. Alexander had to surrender 4,004 acres to settle the mortgage he had taken out to finance the College, but it seems that he and his wife had no resentment: in 1857 he had been baptised in the UIU chapel and his wife “thought 4,000 acres a small price to pay for salvation.”<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> UIU, Catalog 1860-62, 22-24

<sup>71</sup> Alderson “Upper Iowa University,” 134

<sup>72</sup> Crawford, 36.

In 1858 the university had petitioned the Upper Iowa Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal church to "allow the agents of Upper Iowa University to operate in the State, for the purpose of procuring endowment funds, north of a line parallel with the north line of Dubuque County.<sup>73</sup> It was thus seeking an exclusive territory, within which to raise funds under the Methodist franchise. In the Methodist Education Committee's report for 1859, two institutions were recognised, Cornell College and Upper Iowa University. The Committee, in recommending that measures be devised for the endowment of UIU, noted that there was "a large area of the country dependent upon this institution for a thorough and liberal education," observed that the assistance of the people of Northern Iowa had yet to be sought and that:

The field is an important and promising one, and an agent who will heartily espouse this important interest, is greatly needed, who will prosecute the work of endowment for a few years to come. The co-operation of the preachers in their respective fields of labor is most earnestly solicited by the Trustees. We ask, in behalf of the University, your prayers and your efforts. The Institution wants men and women to educate, and lands and money for endowment. It should grow into a power that shall be known and felt for the good of men and the glory of God in Northern Iowa.<sup>74</sup>

The agent was to be the new principal, William Brush, a Yale graduate who, much as Richard Branson uses balloon stunts to raise the visibility of his Virgin enterprises, conducted his fund-raising drives around the State in a chaise towed by two white mules. The mule-drives succeeded and by 1860 UIU was on "the high road to stability."<sup>75</sup>

In 1867, seeking to create a new niche market for UIU, Professor Henry Hurd opened his National Business College, offering an imaginative and innovative programme called "Mutual System Business Training," a forerunner of the MBA programmes at the modern

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<sup>73</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference, 1858

<sup>74</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, "Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference," 1858.

<sup>75</sup> Crawford, 36 - 37.

business schools. Hurd used a variety of what might today be called ‘models,’ in which the student was required to make decisions as a store manager, a manager in a steamship or railroad company, finally acting as a manager in “Hurd’s Commercial Bank,” using mock currency, cheques “and other simulated items.”<sup>76</sup> Later he was to offer a ‘state of the art’ course in the new technology, ‘Telegraphy,’<sup>77</sup> presumably equating to the computer courses to be offered a century later.

In 1873, John William Bissell was appointed President, the fifth incumbent in four years. On arrival he found that his legacy from the previous presidencies included a dearth of paperwork, a situation not dissimilar to that faced 125 years later by Dr. Roger Brown, when he took over at Southampton Institute. However, Bissell overcame the disability, recovered the financial situation and, in 1877, he, Professor Hurd and Vice-President Adam Fussell were given complete control of the College for a period of three years, during which time they reduced indebtedness from \$5,000 to \$400. Thus, by 1875, when Parsons College was founded, UIU had already survived a hostile take-over, and had undergone the full cycle from idealism to entrepreneurialism.

UIU continued its search for a “competitive edge,” and in 1913 introduced an agriculture program with twist: it was open to trainee ministers and teachers who were destined to work in rural areas.<sup>78</sup> In 1915 UIU President Cooper proposed to extend this to a degree course combining “sociology, domestic science, religion, agriculture and commerce,” the programme being intended to “produce ministers uniquely able to deal with

<sup>76</sup> Crawford, 48. Crawford also tells us that in 1975, the Fayette News carried a ‘spoof’ story of a robbery at the bank, which was picked up by several national newspapers “and the newspaper had a lot of explaining to do.”

<sup>77</sup> Crawford, 50.

<sup>78</sup> Crawford, 89.

matters of importance to a small rural congregation.” The Trustees proscribed it, on the grounds that it was too specifically vocational.<sup>79</sup> However, short courses in business, agriculture and domestic science were introduced and UIU also became a founder-institution in the ‘Hawkeye Athletic Conference’ (Iowa being the Hawkeye state), which heralded a new ‘Certificate in Physical Education,’ based on coaching courses.<sup>80</sup>

In 1915, the same year that Cooper proposed his ‘rural ministry course’ at UIU, Parsons College had identified two new niches: a summer school for the professional development of teachers and a “School of English Bible and Christian Service.” In 1919 the summer school brought 254 teachers to campus, at a time when enrolment was 563. The Bible School was intended to “train young men and women for effective Christian service at home and abroad,” on the basis that, “[whilst] Parsons had always emphasised Bible study as an essential to a complete education, the matter of teaching the Bible had not received, from a scholastic standpoint, the same careful attention as the [teaching of] other subjects of the curriculum.”<sup>81</sup> (Seventy-five years later and 4,000 miles away, this slightly apologetic, yet self-justifying, tone was to be heard from the University of Birmingham: “the standard of [our] Continuing Studies courses has always been commensurate with them being provided by a major university.... But links between such courses and traditional undergraduate teaching have not always been clear. This is soon to change ....”<sup>82</sup>)

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<sup>79</sup> Crawford, 92.

<sup>80</sup> Eighty years later a similarly entrepreneurial BSc in Leisure Facilities Management (Football) was to be introduced at Liverpool John Moores University.

<sup>81</sup> W. E. Parsons, 101.

<sup>82</sup> University of Birmingham, GM, “Credit for All,” 2.

### **Amalgamation, Consolidation and “Hearty Co-operation”**

According to W. E. Parsons, in 1914-15, the “idea of merging all sorts of institutions was much in vogue … and even the colleges were infected.”<sup>83</sup> The Board of Trustees of Parsons College invited the Iowa and the Des Moines Methodist Conferences and two other Southern Iowa colleges to consider the union of the three institutions. After six months, when it became apparent that any such union would not centre on Fairfield, the Board of Parsons backtracked and resolved that “reports that Parsons College will remove from Fairfield have no basis in fact, and are unwarranted, as no question of that kind is under consideration.”

The same year, the Iowa Methodist Conference were also considering the viability of UIU as compared with Cornell College,<sup>84</sup> a consideration which had dogged UIU since its foundation. In 1855 and 1856, conflicting announcements in the Fayette County Pioneer had indicated that the founders had been ambivalent: four months before construction began, the Pioneer announced that the institution “will be exclusively owned by and under immediate supervision of the Methodist Church.” Three months before the first meeting of the Trustees appointed by the Methodist Conference, the Pioneer announced “The Seminary located in Fayette County is not yet under the patronage of the Conference.” Only months later, UIU had come under threat when the 1856 Conference had resolved to “adopt Cornell College, formerly known as the ‘Iowa Conference Seminary’ as their College,” adding that they pledged themselves “to its patronage and support.”<sup>85</sup> By then the Fayette Trustees had

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<sup>83</sup> W. E. Parsons, 102.

<sup>84</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 162

<sup>85</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 131

changed the name "Fayette Seminary" to "Fayette Collegiate Institute,"<sup>86</sup> thus broadening the appeal of the Institution, but also distancing it from the Church. Ten years later, in 1866, the (Methodist) Committee on Central Institutions of Learning had recommended to the Upper Iowa and Des Moines Conferences that Cornell College should be "The Central Institution of Learning upon which the two conferences might unite."<sup>87</sup> However, UIU preserved its independence until 1927, when the loss of accreditation brought matters to a head. That UIU was merely under the "patronage" of the Conference, rather than owned by the Methodist Church, then became both its weakness and its strength: Cornell had been founded on land gifted direct to the Conference,<sup>88</sup> whereas UIU was a private foundation incorporated under the laws of the State of Iowa.<sup>89</sup> (The illustrations at the next page are maps prepared at UIU in 1928 to demonstrate (a) that Cornell, Simpson and Iowa Wesleyan Colleges were all situated in an over-served quarter of the state and one of them should be discontinued in preference to UIU and (b) the location of competing colleges in Iowa. In the event, UIU went independent. Note: the location of Parsons has been added..)

In 1922, the Commission on Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, to which both Parsons and UIU belonged, announced the adoption of more stringent financial requirements, to be met within five years, if an institution was to remain accredited. By 1927, Parsons enrollment had reached 763 and a fund-raiser in 1923 had enabled it to meet the new requirements. For UIU, these included an

<sup>86</sup> UIU, "Articles, Art. 2<sup>nd</sup>." Transcript in "1928 Merger File", Archives, UIU Library.

<sup>87</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, "Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference," 1855, transcript in "1928 Merger File", Archives, UIU Library.

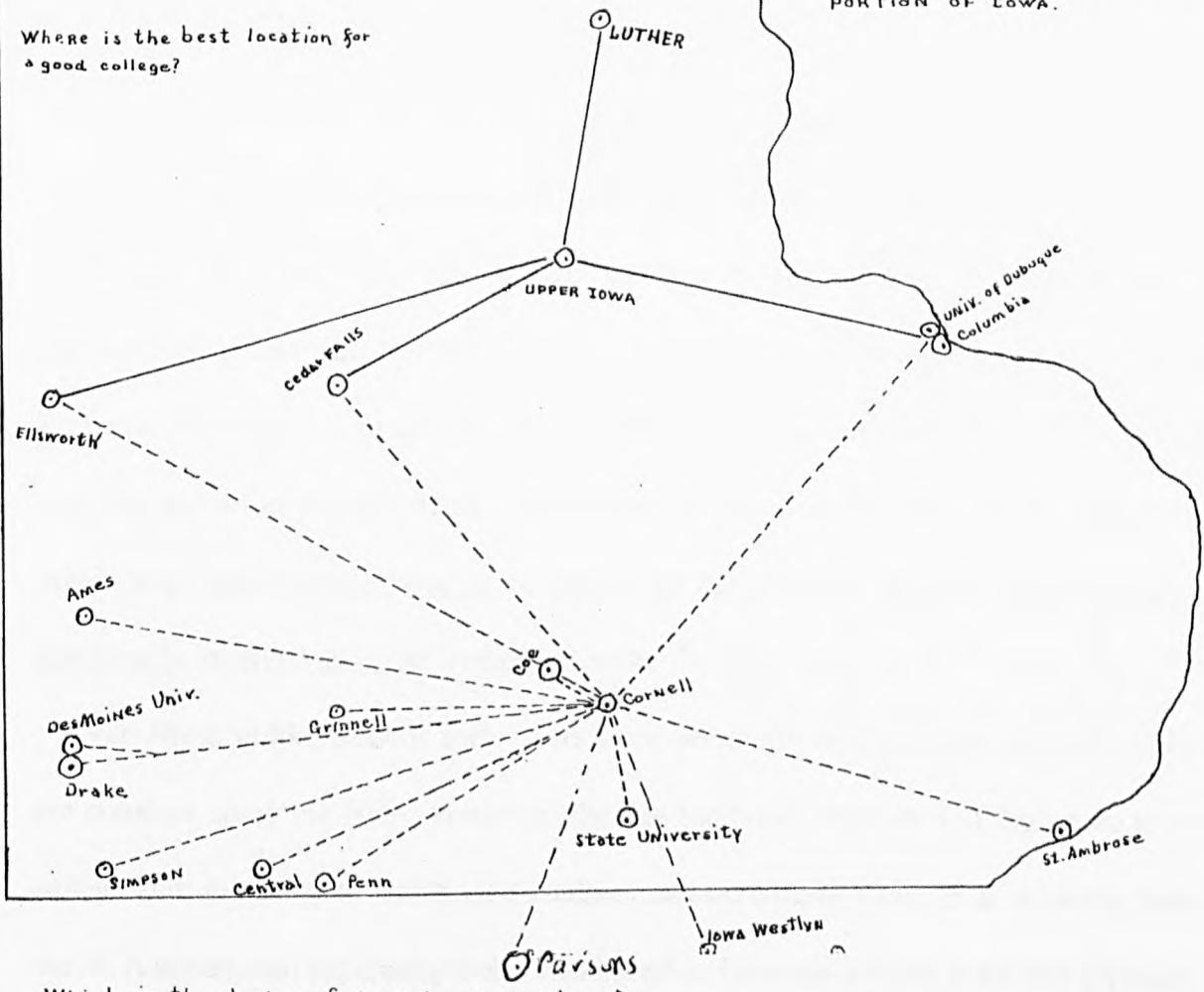
<sup>88</sup> Methodist Episcopal Church, "Minutes of the Iowa Annual Conference," 1858.

Minutes of the Upper Iowa Annual Conference 1856; Documents in "1928 Merger File", Archives, UIU Library.

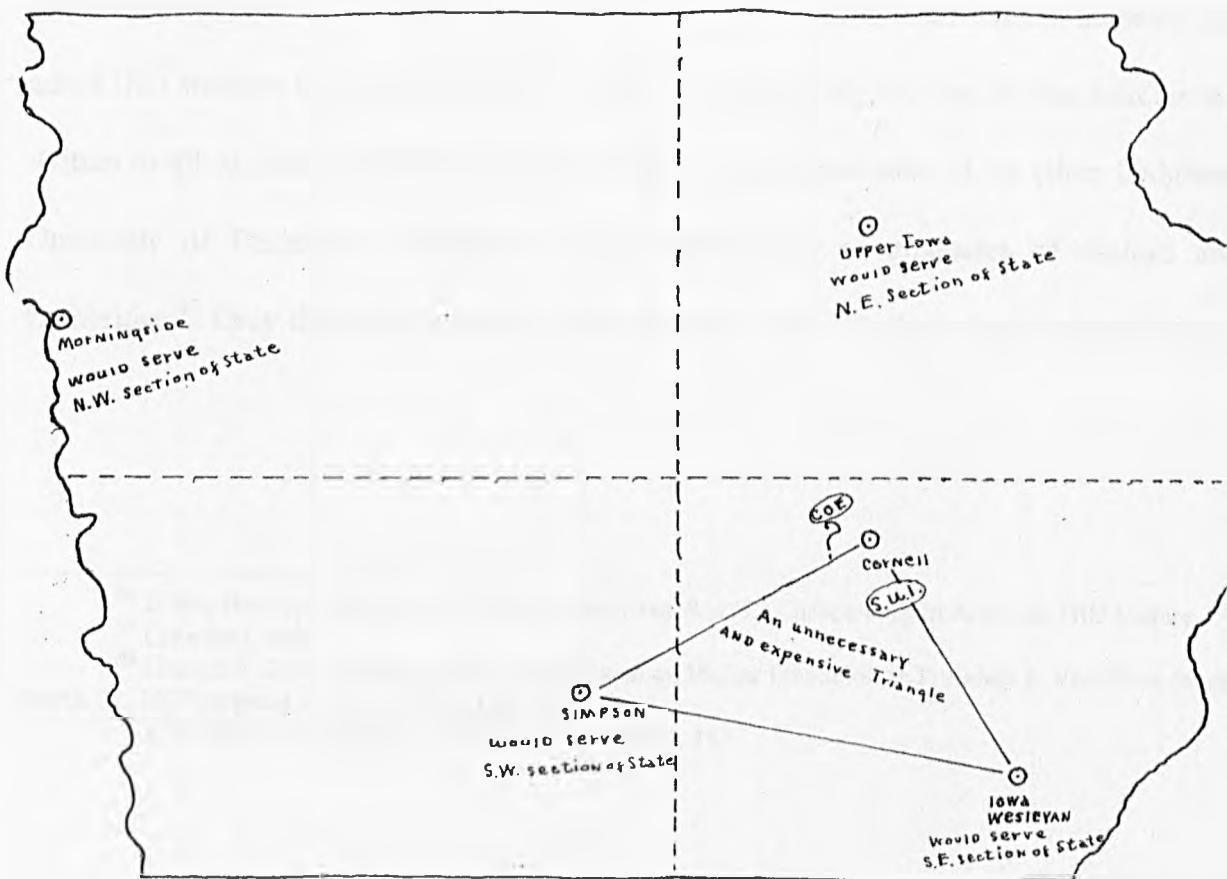
<sup>89</sup> Alderson "Upper Iowa University," 142

NORTH EASTERN AND EAST CENTRAL  
PORTION OF IOWA.

Where is the best location for  
a good college?



Which is the logical School to discontinue?



Source: "1928 Merger File," Upper Iowa University Archives, Fayette, Iowa

Endowment of \$550,000 over and above all indebtedness, at a time when the college income was \$56,000 a year and its expenditure \$65,000,<sup>90</sup> and it lost its accreditation. Crawford argues that the letter from the NCA was “apologetic” and he quotes it as saying, “This action does not in any way involve standards of scholarship,”<sup>91</sup> thus implying that the standards of scholarship had been addressed. In fact the letter, though starting “My dear President Van Horn,” contains no hint of apology and the sentence from which Crawford took the quotation actually reads, “This action does not in any way involve standards of scholarship, either unfavorable or favorable, as the financial standard was the only one specifically involved this year” (emphasis added).<sup>92</sup>

Van Horn, unlike Roberts forty years later, seemingly accepted the inevitable and did not consider suing the NCA. However, the day the NCA letter arrived, he wrote to every college and university to which UIU students had previously transferred, advising them of the NCA action, and explaining that it was based on financial and not academic grounds. He asked them to confirm that they would still accept UIU credits from transfer-students and admit UIU students for graduate study. (In 1834, in similar fashion, Bishop Van Mildert had written to all his fellow Bishops, inviting them to accept graduates of the (then fledgling) University of Durham as ordinands on the same basis as graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.<sup>93</sup> Only three had declined to do so, one “until Durham degrees proved their

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<sup>90</sup> J. Van Horn to Attorney C. L. Parker, letter, Jan. 8, 1922 Carbon copy in Archives, UIU Library.

<sup>91</sup> Crawford, 106.

<sup>92</sup> George F. Zook, Secretary NCA Commission on Higher Education to President J. Van Horn, letter, March 29, 1927 (original in the Archives, UIU Library).

<sup>93</sup> Van Mildert to the Bishops 8<sup>th</sup> Feb, 1834; Varley, 153.

value," whilst another abhorred "the evils to be apprehended from admitting a greater number of the inferior orders of the people into the learned Professions."<sup>94)</sup>

In Van Horn's case, thirty-one institutions are known to have replied, all favourably. The major universities of Minnesota, Missouri-Columbia, Nebraska-Lincoln and Wisconsin-Madison advised that so long as the State University of Iowa accepted UIU credits and students, so would they,<sup>95</sup> Missouri even taking the opportunity to solicit UIU students, specifically reminding Van Horn that "... enrolment in our School of Medicine is limited. If any of your students should wish to apply for admission to our School of Medicine for next fall, application should be made right away."<sup>96</sup> The University of Michigan required only that the UIU student provide a "special letter of recommendation from [the President of UIU] ...or some member or members of the [UIU] faculty who [were] ...especially interested in the student's line of specialization,"<sup>97</sup> nothing being said about the relevance of their qualifications. The response from Parsons College, which had retained its accreditation by a very narrow margin, was especially warm:

We are truly sorry that Upper Iowa University has lost its membership in the North Central Association and we wish to encourage you by expressing our belief that you will come back in the near future.

In regard to accepting your credits, we have no disposition to discriminate against you whatever and I will say that students coming from Upper Iowa will have exactly the same status that they have had in the past. We will accept all credits which seem to fit into our course of study and this is our policy in regard to all schools.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Varley, 238, endnote 15.

<sup>95</sup> UIU Correspondence 1927 (originals in the archives, UIU Library).

<sup>96</sup> S. W. [?] Cenoda, Registrar to President Van Horn, letter April 9, 1927 (Original in archives, UIU Library).

<sup>97</sup> John R. Effinger, Registrar, to J. Van Horn, letter, April 4, 1927 (Original in archives, UIU Library).

<sup>98</sup> H. T. Smith, Registrar to President Van Horn, letter, April 1, 1927 (Archives, UIU Library).

In its seventy years of existence, UIU had established an academic reputation, a college tradition, a sports following and a strong alumni base,<sup>99</sup> and it was these which enabled it to survive the withdrawal of accreditation. Van Horn continued his fund-raising efforts and the Trustees authorised a motor-car mileage allowance for his trips around the State, at "twelve cents a mile for driving a large car and ten ... for driving a Ford."<sup>100</sup>

In 1928, in order to preserve its independence, UIU separated from the Methodist Episcopal Church, but continued in the tradition until commercial considerations dictated its attenuation to facilitate student recruitment.<sup>101</sup> Dr. John Dickman, a member of the faculty for forty years, one-time lumber merchant, and former Acting President became President. He employed the Hancher Organization to promote a fund-raising drive, but Dr. Hancher's other major clients were Methodist colleges and, under pressure from Methodist bishops, he withdrew.<sup>102</sup> They had presumably suggested that Hancher could not serve both them and Mammon. However, despite the opposition of the Methodist oligarchy, and echoing the later situation at Parsons, where the Synod was to support the College against centre, UIU continued to receive active support from the local Methodists and in 1932 the Fayette Methodist Minister acted as joint organiser of the pageant to celebrate UIU's seventy-fifth anniversary.<sup>103</sup>

According to Crawford, during the Great Depression of the 1930s, "the word went out [from UIU] to recruit anybody -- dropouts, the unemployed, anyone at all who would

<sup>99</sup> Breckner, *passim*.

<sup>100</sup> Crawford, 103.

<sup>101</sup> UIU Catalogs 1928-1970; Alderson, "Upper Iowa University," 181

<sup>102</sup> Crawford, 115.

<sup>103</sup> Crawford, 117.

consider coming to college. They would figure out how to pay later.”<sup>104</sup> This resulted in some distinctly entrepreneurial, if small-scale, ventures, such as the three “co-operative” (as opposed to co-ed or mixed-sex) dormitories, in which students paid for their board and lodgings, but also did all the work themselves, “going hunting so the manager would not have to buy meat and eschewing heat in the winter.”<sup>105</sup> At the end of the year the resulting profit was distributed amongst the residents. Other student ventures included a broom factory, students making three grades of broom and later selling them door-to-door, and a print shop, which had the contract and produced labels for the brooms. Students were thereby enabled to pay their fees and also “given an edge in the work world after graduation.”<sup>106</sup> UIU also set up a radio studio, which produced a program networked in Iowa,<sup>107</sup> thus giving the students experience in the new broadcast medium and also raising the profile of the institution.

In 1940, anticipating America’s entry into World War II, UIU acquired an aircraft and introduced a flying course, using existing faculty to teach navigation and meteorology.<sup>108</sup> Eighteen students graduated before US government-sponsored courses took the market away. At the end of the war, UIU, despite having again been refused accreditation by the NCA in 1943, was “officially listed … with the Veteran’s Department, Washington, DC, as a school accredited for participation in the provisions of G. I. Bill #346” and other similar legislation.<sup>109</sup> In other words the Federal Government would pay the fees for ex-service

<sup>104</sup> Crawford, 122.

<sup>105</sup> Neale Zelmer, quoted by Crawford, 123.

<sup>106</sup> Alderson, Centennial, 25.

<sup>107</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 173-175; Crawford, 125.

<sup>108</sup> Alderson, Centennial, 26; Crawford, 130-131.

<sup>109</sup> Crawford, 134; Alderson, Centennial, 26; The Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1945; The Veterans’ Rehabilitation Act, Public Law 16; and The GI Bill of Rights Public Law 346.

students, either in cash or its equivalent in surplus military material such as portable buildings,<sup>110</sup> and in consequence enrolment increased.

In 1949, Dr. Smith, President since 1938, set out to regain accreditation. On their 1943 visit, the NCA team had criticised the antiquated system of book-keeping, which was the responsibility of a book-keeper who had been employed at UIU since 1880. Smith demonstrated his determination by discharging her, a major step, for she was 83 and the sister of a major benefactor. He also gave the faculty notice that within two years they must either hold the Master's degree specified by the NCA or leave. He garnering mixed publicity when he "fired a winning football coach" who taught Physical Education, but who did not have a the requisite Master's degree. This decision was met by student demonstrations and hostility from the local Trustees, but Smith, backed by the faculty, lobbied the out-of-town Trustees, presenting the issue as a test of his authority, the under-mining of which could influence the NCA. The Trustees voted 22-3 to support his decision and the consequent press coverage was largely favourable, for: "A school that would go to the lengths of dropping a winning coach in the name of academic standards was something to be praised." Even so, in Autumn 1949 the NCA still declined to accredit UIU.<sup>111</sup>

Accreditation was eventually restored in 1951 and, pre-dating Roberts by three years, from 1952 onwards Smith sought to increase student enrolment at UIU by recruiting from beyond Iowa. In the mid-1950s, although both inter-state jet travel and President Eisenhower's interstate highway system were still in their infancy, students travelled long distances to study at the more prestigious institutions, but UIU was a small, rural liberal arts college in the corn-fields of Iowa, and any attempt to attract to students from either New

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<sup>110</sup> Crawford, 136; Alderson, Centennial, 26.

England or California represented a courageous attempt to ‘globalize’ the American liberal arts college market.

When UIU had been staunchly Methodist, students of all denominations had been admitted, regardless of the effect they might have on the sectarian orientation of the College. However, the Trustees now drew the line at students from all ‘locations,’ arguing that Smith “...would twist Upper Iowa out of shape with his floods of students from everywhere, and if Upper Iowa could not make it on local students it was poor management.”<sup>112</sup> The scheme foundered and shortly afterwards Smith resigned.

Recruitment had always been related to global politics, diminishing as male students went to fight in various wars and rising on their return, a cycle only to be broken by the Vietnam war, when men registered as students in order to avoid the military ‘draft.’<sup>113</sup> (The latter practice had arisen as early as 1712, when the State of Connecticut exempted students of the Collegiate School (later Yale University) from military service and taxes.<sup>114</sup>) Now recruitment was linked to local politics, clearly demonstrating the importance of the entrepreneurial President being able to carry his trustees with him, and to that extent justifying the actions of Roberts at Parsons and Leyland at Southampton Institute in seeking to secure a compliant Board. On the other hand, subsequent events at Parsons could be taken to justify the UIU Trustees’ stance, for Roberts did “twist” Parsons “out of shape with his floods of students from everywhere,” and the 9,000 Iowans of Fayette were to be

<sup>111</sup> Crawford, 143-146.

<sup>112</sup> Crawford, 141.

<sup>113</sup> Alderson, “Upper Iowa University,” 164,-5, 177-9, 181; Alderson Centennial, 27; W. E. Parsons, 78, noted a similar cycle in relation to the Spanish-American War of 1898

<sup>114</sup> Oviatt, Edwin: The Beginnings of Yale 1701-1726 (Yale: Yale University Press, 1916), 28

shocked and bemused by the excesses of the 5,500 Parsons students, who spawned banner headlines such as “Prostitution on the Campus.”<sup>115</sup>

Smith was succeeded by Dr. Eugene Emmett Garbee, a “self-proclaimed, Ozark hill-billy” (sic),<sup>116</sup> who was an extrovert and a former Athletics Director at a state university. He similarly sought to expand the UIU student catchment area, but on a much more modest scale. He also streamlined the “educational production lines” and avoided the need for substantial borrowing by relying on alumni gifts for capital investment.<sup>117</sup> Crawford describes him as “perhaps the most influential president UIU had ever had,” and as “a Silver Beaver Boy Scout,” who invited the press to “wild-game dinners” at his house.<sup>118</sup> It seems that “The guests were generally enthusiastic about the meals, though some reacted as did W. Earl Hall, editor of the Mason City Globe-Gazette, when he was served armadillo meat. ‘It was good,’ he said, ‘but not necessarily habit-forming’.”<sup>119</sup>

In 1955, as Roberts was taking up his post as the entrepreneurial president of Parsons, Garbee succeeded where Smith had failed, the UIU Trustees agreeing to vary his status from that of ‘President’ to that of ‘President and Board’s Executive Officer.’ This gave him executive power and made it unnecessary for him to consult the Trustees before “each change and expenditure.”<sup>120</sup> Although he still had to proceed cautiously, he introduced a “Master of Arts in Teaching” degree and professional and vocational courses,<sup>121</sup> and achieved a steady, although not remarkable, increase in enrolment. At Parsons, Roberts

<sup>115</sup> Parsons College Portfolio, January 9, 1967, 7. (The Parsons student newspaper. It was not apparent from the headline, but the alleged “prostitution” was educational, rather than sexual.)

<sup>116</sup> Alderson, Centennial, 26:2; Crawford, 150.

<sup>117</sup> UIU, Catalogues 1996.

<sup>118</sup> Crawford, 150-151.

<sup>119</sup> Crawford, 152-153.

<sup>120</sup> Crawford, 153.

<sup>121</sup> Crawford, 175.

adopted a supply-led strategy, erecting accommodation and teaching-blocks using borrowed money and then seeking to fill them with students, whereas Garbee proceeded more cautiously, using money solicited from alumni and other benefactors to erect buildings as the demand arose. Roberts enjoyed immediate and spectacular success, for he opened “sales” offices in populous states<sup>122</sup> and increased on-campus enrolment from 200 in 1955 to a peak of over 5,000 in 1967,<sup>123</sup> the proportion drawn from within a 100 miles radius of Parsons College falling from 80% to 21% (See charts at next page). Roberts also substantially increased both campus acreage, college buildings, and faculty salaries, as he sought to make Parsons the “Harvard of the Midwest,”<sup>124</sup> but in doing so incurred debts of \$16 Million.<sup>125</sup> In 1967, Parsons had its NCA accreditation withdrawn, numbers fell dramatically overnight and in 1973 the college went bankrupt and closed.<sup>126</sup>

Garbee retired in 1969, when UIU had 1,100 full-time students on campus, with a further 750 attending Summer Schools and 900 students on extension courses. The latter were mainly teachers updating their qualifications, including some seeking the short-lived MA in Teaching degree, which was offered from 1968 until 1970 when the NCA demanded its discontinuance.<sup>127</sup> (Interestingly, in the same year, 37% of those enrolling with the newly-opened UK Open University were teachers, similarly engaged.<sup>128</sup>) Garbee was succeeded by Dr. Aldrich K. Paul, Chairman of the Department of Speech and Theatre at the University of Cincinnati. However external factors such as the ending of the military

<sup>122</sup> Koerner, 63.

<sup>123</sup> Koerner, 67.

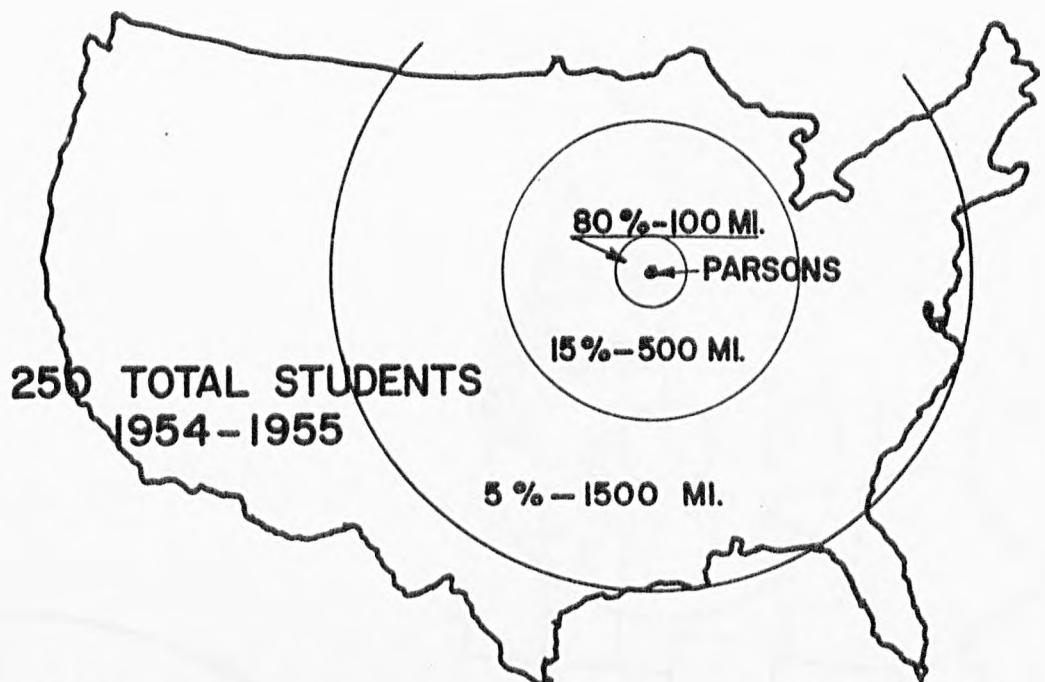
<sup>124</sup> Koerner, 3.

<sup>125</sup> Koerner, 57.

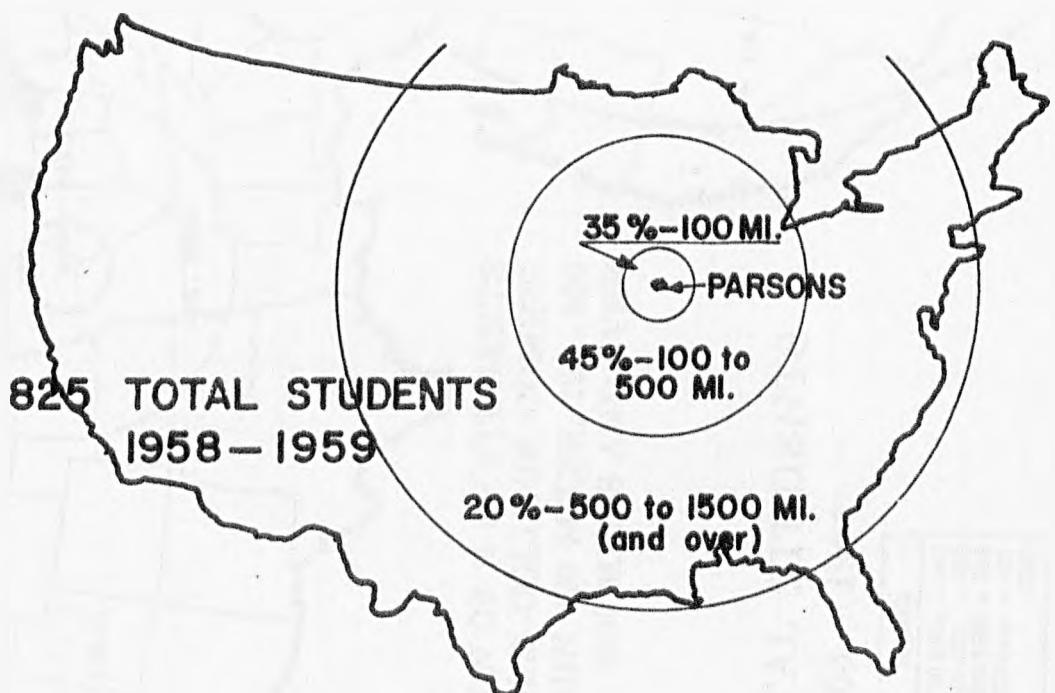
<sup>126</sup> New York Times, June 2, 1973, 37:2

<sup>127</sup> Crawford, 195-196, 203.

<sup>128</sup> John Ferguson, The Open University from Within (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 103.



COMPARISON OF % OF STUDENTS AT PARSONS COLLEGE COMING FROM WITHIN 100 MILES, 100-500 MILES, 500-1500 MILES OR OVER.



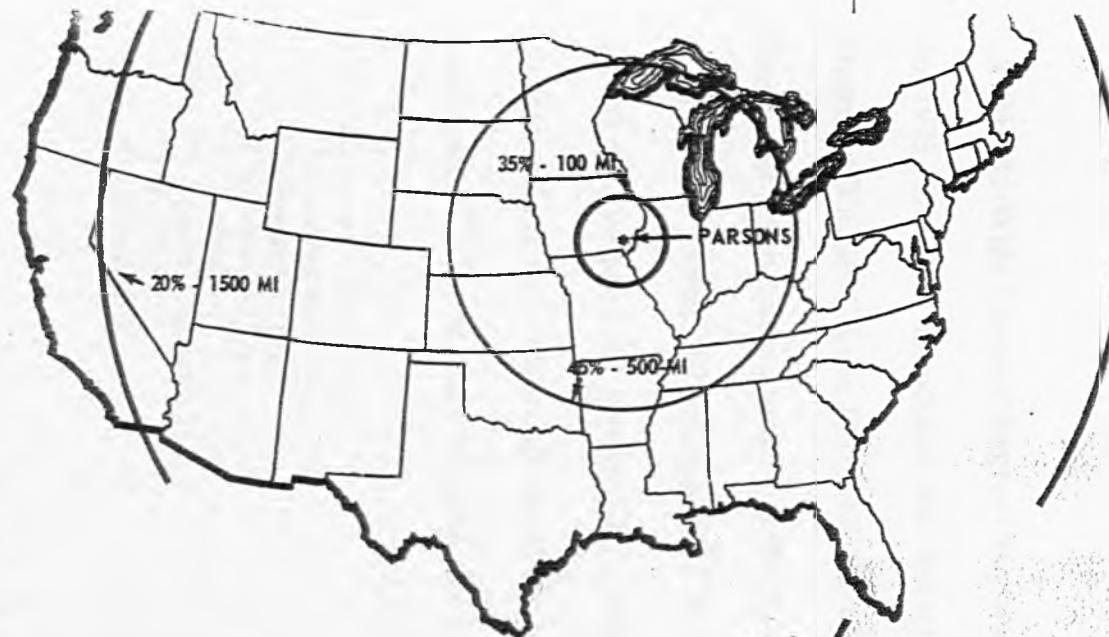
Source: Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library, Fairfield, Iowa.

Source: Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library, Fairfield, Iowa.

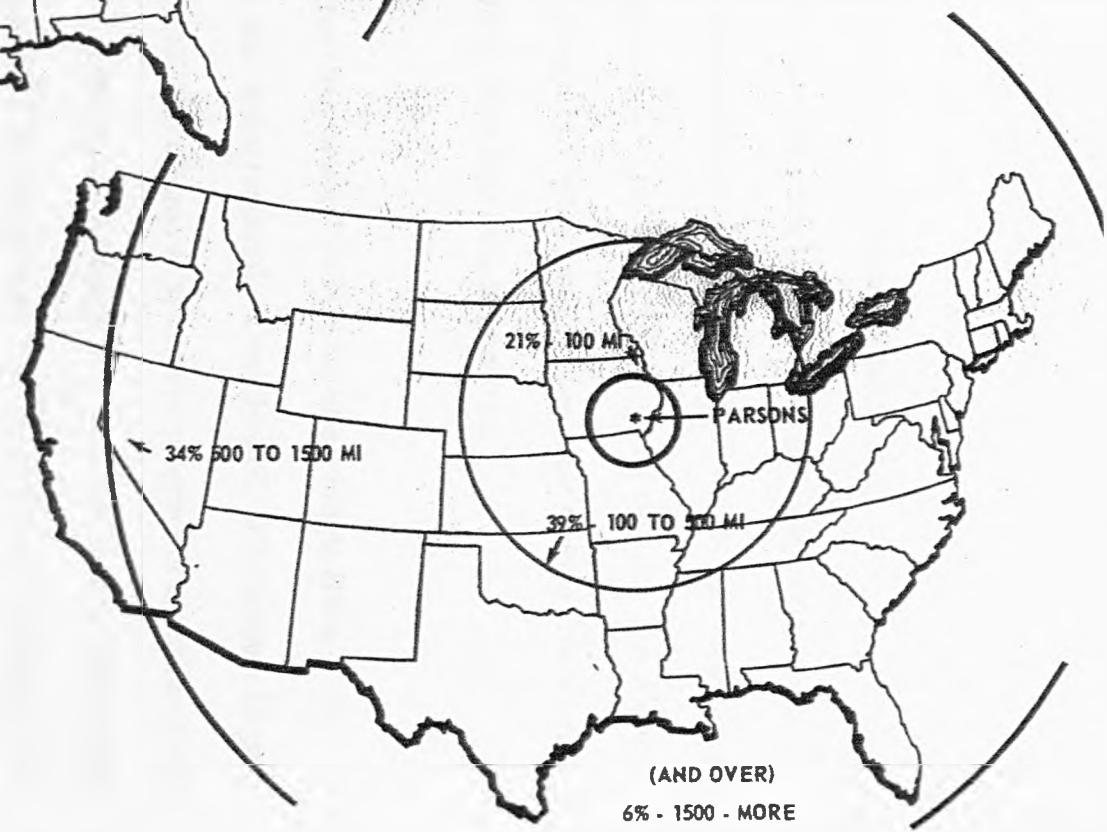
COMPARISON OF % OF STUDENTS  
AT PARSONS COLLEGE COMING  
FROM WITHIN 100 MILES, 100 - 500  
MILES, 500 - 1500 MILES AND OVER

2250 TOTAL STUDENTS  
1963 - 1964

RADIUS
100 Miles - 467
100-500 - 896
500-1500 - 760
1500-Over - 2250



850 TOTAL STUDENTS  
1958 - 1959



draft and the opening of numerous public community colleges was now to have a significant effect and on-campus recruitment at UIU began a steady decline, dropping from the 1,100 of 1969 to 750 in 1971, and then 505 in 1979. The freshmen-class in 1969 had numbered 368 students, but that of 1971 was only 131.<sup>129</sup> Crawford quotes a 1972 memo which boasted that UIU had “one of the best faculty-student ratios in the country,”<sup>130</sup> but as a product of student attrition, rather than of presidential planning. Crawford tells us that initially, Dr. Paul reduced admission standards, dropped required courses, introduced easy payment plans and did not replace faculty.<sup>131</sup> In 1971, he introduced the College Opportunity Program (COP), in which 75 High School juniors were offered free summer tuition in the hope that UIU would become their college of choice.<sup>132</sup>

### **A “World-Wide External Degree Programme”: UIU’s Greatest Single Hope**

In 1973, Dr. Paul introduced the entrepreneurial “Co-ordinated Off-Campus Degree Program (COCDP).” Since 1921, UIU had offered a “systematic program of extension work throughout north-eastern Iowa”<sup>133</sup> offering non-college-level lectures, which Smith had expanded and Garbee had continued.<sup>134</sup> Dr. Paul’s plan took college-level learning to the student and widened the concept of a ‘college student’ to include working adults, both civilian and military, who could be given “a certain amount of credit for military and job experience.”<sup>135</sup> The scheme involved the introduction of a “world-wide external degree

<sup>129</sup> Crawford, 194-195.

<sup>130</sup> Crawford, 195

<sup>131</sup> Crawford, 196.

<sup>132</sup> Crawford, 203.

<sup>133</sup> Alderson, Centennial, 25:1

<sup>134</sup> Crawford, 153.

<sup>135</sup> Crawford, 205.

program" and was run in co-operation with a commercial group from Roanoke, Virginia.<sup>136</sup> It also included the provision of UIU courses in classrooms rented by the evening from high schools in locations where there appeared to be an un-served population.<sup>137</sup> As the courses were taught by existing faculty or by part-time lecturers, who were paid per class taught, these courses did not require any increase in either faculty or fixed assets. (In 1994, the University of Sunderland were to carry the principle a step further, when having made a video-taped MSc course to be delivered overseas, the tutors who gave the lectures, the camera operator who made the video, the video-tape editor and even the technicians who inserted the background music, graphics and captions, were all remunerated wholly on the basis of a percentage of the gross earnings.<sup>138</sup>)

In 1973, when the program had started, UIU finances were in a parlous condition: on-campus enrolment had dropped from 1,100 students in 1969 to 556 in 1973 and the contribution made by the 232 external students was thus highly significant. Crawford quotes Dr. Paul as calling the programme "The greatest single hope of the college at this point."<sup>139</sup> In 1975, the NCA investigated the COCDP to determine its academic validity and, according to Crawford, "There was some breath holding at Upper Iowa. ... In fact the NCA report was favorable, with only two recommendations - that Upper Iowa professors do all the grading [of papers] and that external students be required to fulfill a period of [on campus]residency."<sup>140</sup> UIU also made agreements with local two-year junior colleges to admit their graduates to complete their Bachelor's degree. This 'open access' had

<sup>136</sup> Upper Iowa Bulletin (1995-97), 7.

<sup>137</sup> Alderson, Centennial, 27:2

<sup>138</sup> Malcolm Pearson, University of Sunderland. Discussion following his paper at the University of Wisconsin Conference on Distance Learning, August, 1995.

<sup>139</sup> Crawford, 204.

apparently resulted in the admission of students who were “undesirable,” resulting in “expensive equipment going missing and students’ rooms being looted.”<sup>141</sup> In 1977, there were 507 students on campus, and that only after admission had been made open.

In July 1977, Dr. Paul resigned, possibly having had events at Parsons College in mind, for they had received wide coverage in the national newspapers. In May 1973, the insurance companies to which Parsons was indebted had foreclosed, Parsons had gone bankrupt, the sale of the campus realising only \$2 million towards the \$16 million debt. This had been a possibility at Parsons for several years and would have undoubtedly caused discussion at UIU, where debts to a similar consortium of insurance companies totalled \$2 million. The loans had been taken out in 1963, through a finance broker called David Bolger and in the early 1970s, when UIU was in danger of defaulting, Bolger had been appointed Chairman of a committee of creditors to negotiate with UIU.

Two months after Parsons went bankrupt, the UIU Trustees awarded Bolger an honorary doctorate,<sup>142</sup> just as Roberts had “tried …to make friends on the Synod…[by giving] President Fisher a degree....”<sup>143</sup> Dr. Bolger continued to chair the committee of creditors, which similarly continued to extend latitude to UIU. Then, in 1976 and 1977, Dr. Bolger used his professional skills to buy the UIU mortgage notes from the insurance companies for one fifth of their face value, but Dr. Paul remained aware that the full amount was still due,

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<sup>140</sup> Crawford, 205-206.

<sup>141</sup> Crawford, 209.

<sup>142</sup> Crawford, 206.

<sup>143</sup> M. G. Roberts, to Richard Hoerner, Chairman of the Parsons Board of Trustees, letter ,July 4, 1957. (Carbon copy. Trustees file, Parsons College Archive, Fairfield Iowa).

albeit to a friendlier party.<sup>144</sup> In 1978 he resigned, apparently concerned that UIU was “doing too much grubbing for money and not working enough in education.”

There were two external candidates for the vacant presidency, one of whom withdrew after inspecting the UIU accounts, the other, Dr. Darcy C. Coyle, being appointed. Crawford cites Coyle’s business associates as having described him as “a businessman, a little blunt in approach but certainly honest, if not diplomatic at give and take” and as having “expertize in lifting a debt-ridden institution into the black.”<sup>145</sup> One of Coyle’s first actions was to contract with the American Bureau of International Education Inc. for students to be recruited from abroad.<sup>146</sup> He also forged a link with a Korean college, whereby students could sit UIU exams in Korea and be awarded a UIU degree, but this was abandoned as a result of “the remarkable similarities” seen in the examination scripts forwarded from Korea.<sup>147</sup> (Twenty years later, such a situation was to arise in Athens, where the University of Glamorgan had had serious concerns, particularly after a factual error in the marking scheme sent to Athens was replicated in the examination scripts.<sup>148</sup>)

A new arrangement enabled students from Kyung-won University of Seoul to come to the UIU campus for an English language summer school before entering in the Autumn.<sup>149</sup> (Ten years before, Parsons College had signed a student and staff exchange agreement with Dongguk University of Seoul,<sup>150</sup> but almost simultaneously lost its NCA accreditation and the scheme appears to have foundered.)

<sup>144</sup> Crawford, 207.

<sup>145</sup> Crawford, 210.

<sup>146</sup> Crawford, 212-213.

<sup>147</sup> Informal interview with Becky Wadian, UIU Director of Library Services, 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1996 Fayette, Iowa.

<sup>148</sup> Professor Chris Hutchinson, Confidential report, 14 September, 1994 (confidential files of SIHE).

<sup>149</sup> Crawford, 213.

<sup>150</sup> Parsons College Portfolio, April 24, 1967, 5.

In 1978, the Des Moines Register published a series of articles on Iowa colleges and identified UIU as a college in trouble, under the headline “Upper Iowa scraping Bottom of Barrel.”<sup>151</sup> However, matters improved when shortly afterwards UIU received a legacy in almost that exact amount that Dr. Bolger had paid or the mortgage notes. He then sold the notes to his honorary alma mater for what they had cost him,<sup>152</sup> so recovering his outlay, at a time when the odds were against it, but substantially assisting the College in the process.

The COCDP programme continued to expand, but Crawford says that “the faculty was dubious, wary of making Upper Iowa a diploma mill,”<sup>153</sup> and in a footnote he adds “From year-to-year students were counted more than once and seemed to multiply. This was part of the diploma mill syndrome, in which many students enrolled, but never took courses.”<sup>154</sup> The clear implication is that either students paid fees for which they received no value or that they received degrees for which they did no work.<sup>155</sup> He also says that fears persisted that the Roanoke group “wanted to turn Upper Iowa into a diploma mill...,” such fears being exacerbated in 1979, when the State of Virginia suggested that an unrelated Roanoke nursing programme was “academically unsound.” He adds that the NCA continued to be concerned that UIU was only receiving 37.5 percent of the fees paid by COCDP students.

Crawford is silent on whether anyone connected with UIU was acting as a consultant to the Roanoke organisation, thus receiving a proportion of the 62.5% as fees. However, in 1979, Dr. Coyle, Dr. Bolger (who by then was a UIU Trustee), and the Chairman of the

<sup>151</sup> Crawford, 211.

<sup>152</sup> Crawford, 212.

<sup>153</sup> Crawford, 204.

<sup>154</sup> Crawford, 205, fn. 5.

<sup>155</sup> In considering the weight to be given to this, it must be borne in mind that Crawford, as a student, was present at UIU from 1975 to 1978, when he graduated Magna cum Laude in Library science, and was then employed there as the library assistant handling the archives. In 1980 he was awarded the degree of Master of

Trustees went to Roanoke to re-negotiate the agreement. Dr Bolger apparently felt that 59 percent commission was justified by “the work Roanoke did” and Crawford says that when the Trustees discontinued the arrangement with Roanoke in 1980, “Dr. Bolger washed his hands of Upper Iowa.”<sup>156</sup> From 1980 onwards, UIU received 100% of the COCDP fees, the programme becoming stronger.

In 1984, Dr. James R. Rocheleau was appointed President and, whilst on-campus enrolment had fallen to 256, there were 458 students in the COCDP. Rocheleau had been Chief Executive Officer for nearby Buena Vista College’s highly successful off-campus branches, having moved to that college thirteen years previously from the food company, Nabisco, where he had moved their merchandise in volume. In consequence whilst at Buena Vista the press had branded him “The cookie-salesman who saved the college.”<sup>157</sup>

On arrival at UIU, Rocheleau immediately dismantled the large committees favoured by his predecessors and introduced a cabinet structure consisting of a provost and four vice-presidents. This he justified because he “wanted a team atmosphere in which he could hire creative and dynamic managers who are also committed to excellence.”<sup>158</sup> David Leyland considered that such an arrangement “most importantly ...enables the considerable intellectual power that exists ...to be brought to bear on the solution of the institution’s problems,” with “managers acting as catalysts and opinion leaders.”<sup>159</sup> At Parsons, Roberts argued that “The small independent colleges have a splendid opportunity for free enterprise, if they will use it. This requires administrative efficiency on the level of a major

Library Science from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. In general he appears to be favourably disposed towards UIU and appears unlikely to have invented such details.

<sup>156</sup> Crawford, 214.

<sup>157</sup> Crawford, 219.

<sup>158</sup> Crawford, 215.

corporation, where all personnel have an excellent future if they will work, and the knowledge that they will be removed if they do not.<sup>160</sup> Rocheleau further streamlined the course offerings, reducing the majors from 23 to 13 and introducing "split-term" or semi-semesters, each lasting eight weeks. He then moved forward to enlarge the off-campus programs with remarkable success.

Dr. Paul, had founded off-campus 'education centers' at Des Moines and Waterloo (Iowa) and at Madison (Wisconsin). Rocheleau now upgraded them to "satellite centers" and in all subsequent UIU publications is credited with having "begun" them.<sup>161</sup> He did open additional off-campus centers as follows:

1988	Prairie du Chien (Wisconsin),
1989	Newton (Iowa),
1991	Manchester (Iowa),
1992	Ft. Riley (Kansas) Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Wausau (Wisconsin)
1993	Fort Irwin (California)
1994	Fort Polk, (Louisiana) Calmar (Wisconsin) Janesville (Wisconsin)

In 1990, Rocheleau founded the "UIU Institute for Experiential Learning" to conduct Summer Schools for students in the external and off-campus programmes, and in 1991 David Fritz was recruited as the Executive Dean in charge of all off-campus activities. Fritz led Summer Schools which in consecutive years were held in Japan, Germany and Mexico,<sup>162</sup> giving six credits for one week of attendance, double the accepted rate, which

<sup>159</sup> Leyland, "Corporate Strategy," 30 & 31.

<sup>160</sup> Millard G. Roberts, "Must Your College Always Lose Money Each Year?" An Address Delivered before the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges, at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts August 1, 1962 (Fairfield, Parsons College, 1962).

<sup>161</sup> UIU, Bulletin 1995-97, 7

<sup>162</sup> UIU, Institute for Experiential Learning brochure, 1996.

gave rise to academic apprehension at UIU. From 1992 onwards the rate of change in the off-campus programs accelerated, promoting further dissent and tensions within the College, as the academic staff, whose concerns tended to be for quality, consolidation and the tradition of liberal education, feuded with the business development staff, who were more concerned with quantity, market share and the development of educational courses as a tradable commodity.<sup>163</sup>

In 1993, UIU started to open centers on US military bases, where the audience is captive and the demand guaranteed by military regulations, which make an Associate's, Bachelor's or Master's degree a necessary condition for promotion to various levels. As the centers keep the soldiery busy, often in remote locations where diversions are limited, the US Military provide lecture-rooms and offices at minimal cost.<sup>164</sup> Thus, in 1993, UIU opened at the US Army National [Field]Training Center, Fort Irwin (California), where there are 5,000 troops and dependants, surrounded by 1,000 square miles of the Mojave desert. The Bachelor's degree in management, taught with two minors, attracted 40 students on opening.<sup>165</sup> Later that year, UIU opened at Fort Polk (Louisiana), 800 miles south of Faith, and offering Bachelor of Science degrees in management, public administration and marketing. Gregory Player, the Centre Director, evidently regarded it as part of the main campus, for he announced that "UIU is the only four-year institution within a two-hour drive of Fort Polk and all classes will be held at Fort Polk." He added, "I have tried to let everyone at Fort Polk know that we are here to serve the student soldiers. I will be as flexible as I need to be to help them complete their education with Upper Iowa University"

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<sup>163</sup> Informal interviews with David Fritz, UIU Executive Dean, 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1996 Fayette, Iowa and in Mexico City, 2<sup>nd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> March, 1996 and with Tony Tjaden, UIU faculty, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1996, Fayette Iowa.

<sup>164</sup> Trow, "Continuing Education," in Abrahamson et al., 79:1.

(emphasis added).<sup>166</sup> This statement could have a deeper significance, in terms of quality, than might at first appear, for the courses are held on Federal property. In consequence they are beyond the control of the State Education Departments, whilst the Federal government is not engaged in the regulation of education, relying on the Regional accrediting bodies, such as the NCA. The resources of the latter do not normally permit close supervision of sites which are scattered, and often remote, with relatively small enrolments.

Providing an excellent metaphor, the UIU center at Madison (Wisconsin) is housed in a former supermarket, the building having been selected, not for its academic atmosphere, but for its large car-park, this being the first consideration for the commuting student.<sup>167</sup> In the Spring of 1993, the Madison (Wisconsin) center had 407 students, that at Prairie du Chien (Wisconsin) had eighty,<sup>168</sup> and 80% of the graduating class of 1993 came from the off-campus programs.<sup>169</sup> By 1995, UIU was a secular, commercial, and entrepreneurial institution, operating nineteen off-campus 'centers,' in seven American states and Malaysia;<sup>170</sup> and the Trustees therefore adopted a new vision statement:

Upper Iowa University's vision is to become a distinctively entrepreneurial university meeting educational needs of learners worldwide. It dedicates all its expertise and resources to the delivery of needed educational services to working adults in ways which recognize and complement their maturity, experience and personal and professional responsibilities.<sup>171</sup>

UIU President McKay announced that

<sup>165</sup> UIU, Alumni Association, "Fort Irwin Center," The Bridge, Fall 1993, 17

<sup>166</sup> UIU, Alumni Association, "Fort Irwin Center: Upper Iowa University Heads South," The Bridge (Summer 1993), 27

<sup>167</sup> Joleen Bachman, Informal interview, Madison Center, February, 1996.

<sup>168</sup> UIU, Alumni Association, "Madison Center," The Bridge (Fall 1993), 18 & "Prairie du Chien Center," The Bridge (Fall 1993), 19.

<sup>169</sup> UIU Alumni Association, "Welcome - to our newest alumni," The Bridge (Summer, 1993), 6-9.

<sup>170</sup> UIU, 1996 Catalogues.

<sup>171</sup> UIU, Bulletin 1995-97, 4.

the term ‘Extended University’ replaces the terms we at Upper Iowa used to use, such as continuing education, non-traditional, off-campus, and adult education. It describes more accurately the programs and curricula that are offered to students around the world. It describes and defines the University as existing far beyond the boundaries of the residential campus.<sup>172</sup>

However, it also appears to have the advantage of making all the off-campus components part of the amorphous “extended university,” facilitating obfuscation as to what this comprised, so that individual centers need not be mentioned when inconvenient. Thus, although by 1995, Fritz had opened five centers in Malaysia, these were not mentioned in UIU literature until 1996, “for fear of an adverse reaction from the NCA.”<sup>173</sup> From 1996 onwards, “to deflect any criticism which might arise,”<sup>174</sup> the UIU External Degree Bulletin listed just one, “Upper Iowa University - P J Community College, Petaling Jaya, in Selangor” as an “External Degree,” i.e. distance learning, center. However, all five Malaysian centers continued to be omitted from the “UIU Center Bulletin” where all the US-based off-campus centers were listed.

At centers such as Fort Irwin, situated in the middle of an the Mojave Desert, or Fort Polk, in the swamps of Louisiana, UIU faced no competition and had a captive audience of 5,000 potential candidates. In Malaysia, UIU was a small liberal arts school from the cornfields of Iowa, seeking to compete with major universities from Australia, Britain and the United States.<sup>175</sup> In order to do so, UIU had to find a competitive advantage, which it did by:

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<sup>172</sup> Upper Iowa University Alumni Association, “Extended Thinking,” 14

<sup>173</sup> Informal interviews with David Fritz, UIU Executive Dean, in Mexico City, 2<sup>nd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> March, 1996.

<sup>174</sup> David Fritz, UIU Executive Dean, informal interview in Mexico City, 2<sup>nd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> March, 1996.

<sup>175</sup> Sue Roth, “Golden Triangle polishes skills,” Times Higher Education Supplement, April 15, 1994,

- (1) Allowing graduation after two years study in Malaysia followed by one year on campus at Fayette (thus shaving a year off the four years normally required for completion of an American Baccalaureate degree,<sup>176</sup>
- (2) Admitting unqualified students on a ““Special Admission’ basis” and without the normal TOEFL certificate, and
- (3) Giving ‘double coupons.’

Thus a student completing the “Foundation Year” in Malaysia was awarded “(a) [The] Certificate in Business Administration, ICM [The Institute of Commercial Management], UK, & (b) [The} Diploma … of Upper Iowa University, US.” The student completing the second year “Professional Program” in Malaysia was awarded “(a) [The] Associate Diploma in Business Studies, ICM, UK & (b) [An} Associate Degree in Business Administration, Upper Iowa University [plus] …15 additional credits by Upper Iowa University.” On completion of the third year, which was undertaken at Fayette, the student received a “Degree in Business Administration at Upper Iowa University, US.”<sup>177</sup>

Fritz was also planning further centers, first in Taiwan, then in Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and Singapore, there already being twenty students from Singapore on the UIU campus. However, there were internal problems at UIU over entertainment expenses and the extra-statutory payments to Malaysian officials which had been necessary to obtain the required permits. David Fritz commented that “[In setting up in Malaysia], we would not have been able to proceed if we had not made the appropriate payments. Advertisements were paid for, but never appeared.” UIU had paid the agent in Malaysia for expensive advertisements in national newspapers, the advertisements had never been placed and the

<sup>176</sup> UIU, “Upper Iowa University (USA) Brochure for Malaysian Programs, Petaling Jaya, Malaysia,” (n. d.).

<sup>177</sup> The School of Marketing, Jalan Kampar, Ipoh, Perak, Malaysia, 1996 ‘Flyer’ reproducing a press advertisement.

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resulting surpluses had been used to make “the appropriate payments.” Fritz also said he had faced problems when the Malaysian agent “produced a bill for 67 beers and our accountant said she was not prepared to pay for beer. I had to tell her that it was probably during those beers that the final contract was signed and that without them we would not be in business.”<sup>178</sup>

Doubts had arisen at UIU over the use of local (Malaysian) faculty and there was concern over the Iowa Education Department’s interest in UIU off-campus teacher education programmes. These, and an impending accreditation visit by the NCA resulted in a move to discontinue the overseas programs. (After the NCA accreditation visit had taken place, UIU announced that “A visiting North Central accrediting team commends University personnel for revitalization of the institution.”<sup>179</sup> No mention is made of the NCA view of academic quality or other significant issues at UIU.)

### **Subverted Standards, Course Trading, and the “You Can All Have Candy” Defence.**

In March 1996, the UIU Institute for Experiential Learning (IEXL) held a course in Mexico City, organised by David Fritz. The present researcher attended as an “auditing only” student and his wife as a ‘for-credit’ student. The course was intended to give students an introduction to the Mexican culture and to the problems faced by Mexico in implementing the NAFTA agreement, successful completion to give students six semester-hour credit, three in Business Administration 450 and three in Spanish Culture 250 (the latter fulfilling a prerequisite for the UIU Bachelor’s degree). That six credits could be given for a one week (effectively six-day) course appears to be very liberal, or at the very least optimistic, given

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<sup>178</sup> Dave Fritz, in-class discussion on business ethics, UIU Summer School, Mexico City, 1996.

that in terms of on-campus attendance it implies 90 hours of student/faculty contact time. Fritz sought to justify this by arguing that the course was run by the Institute for Experiential Learning, and that, as the students were in Mexico for seven days, much of what they learned they would absorb from their surroundings and the experience of being submerged in a foreign culture, as well as attending the lectures and discussions. In reality, the students and organisers were living in the Hotel Fiesta Americana, a five star hotel which fell wholly within the American hotel paradigm, and many of them were choosing to eat at American chain restaurants such as TGI Friday's, O'Houlihan's and the ubiquitous MacDonald's. They were therefore largely insulated from the daily life of the Mexican people.

The programme for the course had been arranged by a commercial trade agency, and largely took the form of a trade briefings from local businessmen, US embassy staff, the American Chamber of Commerce, and the Mexican Bank for Foreign trade. The cultural aspects were provided by visits to the Mexico City Museum, and to other standard tourist sites such as the Presidential Palace, the cathedral, the Floating Gardens, the Craft Market, some of which included a standard tourist commentary by a local guide, but none of which was fully contextualised in terms of local history or tradition. Two afternoons were left blank on the timetable for sessions to be arranged after arrival in Mexico. (It was left to the present researcher to first arrange for one of his former students, David Gardner, by then Commercial Attaché at the British Embassy to fill one of the vacant slots and then to obtain NAFTA literature from the European Union Embassy for study in the other.)

The course was essentially practical and seemed to lack the theoretical grounding which might reasonably be expected of a fourth-year undergraduate programme. When challenged

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<sup>179</sup> <http://www.uu.edu/pages/uiuhist.htm>

on this point, Fritz argued that the purpose was to introduce the students to the topics and that, being self-motivated, adult students, they would go away from Mexico and do further research which would enable what they had learned to fall into place. "Wait until they turn their papers in, you will be amazed at the standard. They go away and do far more work than is necessary. Their time in Mexico is only a small part of the learning." (If the work done subsequently by the present researcher's wife, and the quality of papers which she wrote, were typical, then his contention would be correct. However observations conducted in Mexico indicated that for the majority of students this was unlikely.)

Fritz was intending to grade each student on the basis of a daily journal for the visit plus a "reaction" paper (saying what they had "expected") and an "application" paper (for what they had "got") in respect of each of the two courses, with students seeking graduate-credit submitting a additional "position" paper on each. (In the event the papers were eventually graded by members of the UIU faculty, Fritz having resigned. One participant is known to have received a "B," the present researcher's wife receiving an "A".)

In June 1996, the present researcher similarly attended (as an "auditing" student with his wife as a 'for-credit' student) a new ID 215 "Introduction to the Internet" Summer School course which Fritz had organised prior to his resignation. Twelve of the students had previously been interviewed in Mexico and were not interviewed again. The course was delivered by a History assistant professor, who acknowledged that he was largely learning as he went along. At the start he announced that he did not give "C's" and everyone would pass with an A or a B so long as they did the work. The final assessment was to consist of presentations in which students had to detail what resources of interest they had located on the Internet. There were thirty students working on 26 computers and only about half the

course description was covered, and by the end of the week various students expressed their dissatisfaction. At the end of the presentations the Director of the Course, Kersten Shepard announced that she had consulted with the Academic Dean and, as things had not gone right but the students had worked so hard, "everyone would be given an 'A'." This in itself was to cause dissent, both amongst the computer-oriented students who resented the less qualified being given an "A" and amongst the less qualified who felt that it cheapened the "A's" they had genuinely earned in subjects at which they excelled.

Although Fritz had planned this course, he had not been involved in its delivery, his contract as Executive Dean having expired in April, shortly after the Mexico IEXL course. He had then been offered the newly created post of Executive Director of Alumni affairs, where he could continue to travel, but his primary focus would be the formation of alumni groups for fund-raising. He apparently accepted the new contract, but an unidentified member of the faculty is said to have indicated, in the course of a corridor conversation, that the change was a reflection on Fritz's academic standing.<sup>180</sup> Fritz had then resigned and was immediately engaged as Dean of Extended Programs and Distance Learning at Waldorf College, an NCA accredited, Lutheran four-year college with 700 students on campus, thirty miles away from UIU.<sup>181</sup> He took the five Malaysian centers with him and shortly afterwards Waldorf College was advertising in the Malaysian press that it was opening 2+1 programs with P J Community College, the former partner of UIU, in Kuala Lumpur, Kuching, Kota Kinabalu, and Ipoh.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Kersten Shepard, Director of the UIU External Program and Institute for Experiential Learning, informal interview, UIU, June 10, 1996

<sup>181</sup> Waldorf College, Catalog, 1996-97, 82.

<sup>182</sup> Email message from correspondent in Malaysia.

This arrangement was mutually beneficial, providing an exit from Malaysia for UIU at a time when its US-based operations were expanding rapidly and it was also under scrutiny from the NCA and the Iowa State Education Department. It also served to release them from any contractual obligations to students in Malaysia and to P J Community College, so avoiding possible litigation and lessening the likelihood of adverse publicity. At the same time it gave Waldorf an already established base in Malaysia, and presumably entré to other markets in Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Hong Kong, and Singapore, which Fritz had previously explored and mapped out whilst at UIU. That Waldorf had only recently been re-accredited, and that their three-year accelerated degree program had passed NCA scrutiny, meant that they were likely to have a breathing space within which to remedy, or at least render palatable, any flaws in the overseas provision.

At the end of the Summer School, possibly as a result of what had transpired on ID 215 “Introduction to the Internet” course, the Academic Dean advised that the question of access had been re-considered and that the present researcher should not use any of the material gathered. However, as was explained in the Preface, the management at UIU had known that the intention was to conduct PhD research at both courses and had accepted substantial audit student fees and photo-copying charges. It was therefore considered reasonable to report on non-intrusive observations and material gathered from the College archives and in interviews with faculty and staff, but not to use the material gathered in the 52 interviews conducted in Iowa and Mexico. The overall effect was to considerably curtail this aspect of the research, particularly in relation to the more recent entrepreneurial and controversial activities at UIU.

## Chapter 7

### **PARSONS COLLEGE AND THE ENTREPRENEURIAL REVEREND MILLARD GEORGE ROBERTS**

#### **Introduction**

In July, 1954, President Shearer resigned as President of Parsons College and the Trustees were faced with the daunting task of finding a new president to take on the leadership of the run-down college. Their choice eventually fell on Dr. Millard George Roberts, a Presbyterian Assistant Pastor at the prestigious and wealthy Brick Church in New York City. Roberts' expertise lay, not in college administration or teaching, nor in ministering to the Presbyterian faithful, but rather in fund raising and the recruitment of fund-raisers.<sup>1</sup> At the Brick Church he had acted as financial advisor to the Men's Council: in his first year he had reorganised and inspired the Council to such an extent that the "annual budget of the church was oversubscribed for the first time in many years."<sup>2</sup>

Roberts was suggested for the presidency by Dean G. McKee, a Parsons alumnus who was also a well-known minister and head of the Biblical Seminary in New York City. Koerner quotes McKee's letter of recommendation to the search committee as describing Roberts as a "persuasive talker" who

comes near being a born promoter. He has ideas, and with them clear insight, as to ways and means for their realization. He understands publicity.... He has an excellent capacity for making contacts with people... He should have a grasp of what education is all about... As an ordained minister and a leader... in the church, he should be able to contribute much that is essential in making a church related college what it ought to be.... He would quickly become a leader in church and academic circles in the Midwest... Not everyone will agree with him as his

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<sup>1</sup> Brick Church Record, XLII (April, 1955), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Brick Church Record, XL (April, 1953), 25.

aggressiveness sometimes reaches too far too fast but, with a competent board of trustees to work with him, my judgement is that very substantial progress would be made if he were called to Parsons.<sup>3</sup>

In this the writer was implicitly recognising the tension which will exist between the Trustees and President, when trustees act as a ‘second chamber’ to moderate the tendency of an entrepreneur to “reach too far too fast.” Of course, if trustees are too cautious or too bureaucratic they can, as predicted by Schumpeter, stifle the necessary innovations.<sup>4</sup> However, the trustees at UIU, who had argued that the UIU President “...would twist Upper Iowa out of shape with his floods of students from everywhere,”<sup>5</sup> could later cite events at Parsons College as justifying their caution.

Letters from other supporters of Robert's candidacy appear to have voiced similar sentiments, Koerner quoting “one of the Brick Church Elders” as having written:

His duties have been in the administrative and financial areas, and he has performed them with outstanding success.. we have been impressed with his energy, his drive and his enthusiasm. ... In discussing his future, some of us felt that his talents were in the field of administration, organisation, fund raising and teaching, rather than in pastoral work. I believe that he would bring to your college an enthusiasm, an administrative ability and experience in organization matters and fund raising that you would find valuable....<sup>6</sup>

Although his fellow Assistant Pastor, Stanley E. Neibruegge, is praised for his contribution to the spiritual welfare of the Church,<sup>7</sup> Roberts' interests lay more with finance than theology and he is praised in connection with fund-raising. At the first Session Meeting of the Brick Church after Roberts' appointment, “Mr. Jones reported that he was very impressed with the approach of Dr. Roberts to the finances of the church, ...[and that] there might be some unusual steps suggested to improve the budget solicitations and the raising of

<sup>3</sup> G. McKee to the Parsons College Search Committee, letter, quoted Koerner, 7-8.

<sup>4</sup> Schumpeter, Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy (1961), 136.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford, 141

<sup>6</sup> Koerner, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Luanne Van Norden, “A Short history of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, 1944-1968” in A Short history of the Brick Presbyterian Church (New York, The Brick Presbyterian Church, 1968), 65.

general funds.”<sup>8</sup> Later that year Roberts was given charge of fund-raising and on the 6<sup>th</sup> October , 1952, he told the Board of Deacons that he planned to raise one third of the Brick Church’s annual budget before the budget dinner, which was to be held two days later and marked the start of the annual fund-raising campaign.<sup>9</sup> Four weeks later, the Deacons were told that he had already raised 82.6% of the annual budget, “with certain [additional] gifts expected which will put the campaign over the top.”<sup>10</sup> He had also come to the meeting armed with solicitation cards for use of the Deacons present. A note in the minutes, that “On Mr. Mathews’ suggestion, it was agreed that Sunday school children should not be solicited for budget pledges,”<sup>11</sup> perhaps indicates that the Deacons felt that Roberts was, as Dean McKee was later to express it, “reaching too far too fast.” At Parsons he was similarly to exceed everybody’s expectations and Koerner argues that he was “too successful in recruiting students and went far beyond the critical mass.”<sup>12</sup> Koerner also quotes Richard Hoerner, Chairman of the Board of Trustees which appointed Roberts, as recalling that “the gist of what people at the Brick Church seemed to be saying to the search committee was, “Roberts will be great if you can control him. If you can’t, it will be a failure.” Koerner also states that a number of the Trustees subscribed to the view, voiced by one of their number, that “I don’t think Dr. Roberts will last more than three or four years, but he is a salesman who can get us students and support.”<sup>13</sup>

Buell quotes the chairman of the Board of Trustees search committee, Walter Williams, who was also the publisher of the Fairfield Daily Ledger, as recalling that “one of the major qualifications of Roberts for the position was his ability as a promoter and a fund raiser. He

<sup>8</sup> Brick Church, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Session of the Brick Church held in the Session Room on January 9, 1952 at 5:00 o’clock in the afternoon.” (PHS, Philadelphia)

<sup>9</sup> Brick Church, “Minutes of Meeting of Board of Deacons, New York City, October 6, 1952.” (copy, Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia)

<sup>10</sup> Brick Church Record. XLI (April, 1954), 7.

<sup>11</sup> Brick Church, “Minutes of Meeting of Board of Deacons, New York City, November 5, 1952.” (copy, PHS Archives, Philadelphia)

<sup>12</sup> Koerner, 32.

had this reputation in New York and the Board felt that this trait was [an] important one for the new President.”<sup>14</sup> Koerner quotes Williams as saying that the search committee had had a difficult time finding

a really good man who would accept. Roberts came out for a visit at our invitation and told us he thought he could get a million dollars within three months from one of his friends, Thomas Watson, Sr., chairman of IBM and an elder in the Brick Church. We were very impressed. When he became president of Parsons, Roberts actually got, I think, \$250.00 from Watson.<sup>15</sup>

As this remark might indicate, Williams had become disillusioned with the new president and in 1957 he had declined to contribute any more money to the College if it “is to be at the disposal of Bob Roberts.”<sup>16</sup> However, to be fair to Roberts, it should be recognised that Watson was widely respected for his “charitable concerns and interests”<sup>17</sup> and, as a Brick Church Elder, is likely to have been well known to Roberts, who could possibly have been able to solicit a substantial donation. What Koerner fails to mention is that shortly after Williams met Roberts, and a month before Roberts assumed the Presidency, Watson had died unexpectedly.<sup>18</sup>

### **Roberts: The Formative Years**

Roberts was born at Schenevus in upstate New York on the 10th December, 1917, his parents being Almer Jay Roberts and Ethel Roberts. At the age of 17 he went as a boarder to a private co-educational college, Wyoming Seminary in Kingston, Pennsylvania: one of the teachers there is quoted as having described Roberts as “a short fat boy, full of ideas, very smart.”<sup>19</sup> From the seminary Roberts went to the University of Syracuse, graduating in 1939,

<sup>13</sup> Koerner, 9.

<sup>14</sup> Buell (interview with Walter Williams, Nov. 2, 1965),

<sup>15</sup> Koerner, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Walter E. Williams to R. N. Hoerniger, letter, November 30, 1957, (copy in Parsons College archives).

<sup>17</sup> Van Norden, 66.

<sup>18</sup> Brick Church Record, XLII (May 1955), 6.

<sup>19</sup> Koerner, 9.

and then did graduate work at Yale for two years before transferring to the University of Chicago. There he took a BD in 1942 and in 1943 was ordained to the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. He then served as a chaplain in the US Army Air Force from 1943-1946, before joining the Illinois National Guard as a reservist chaplain, ultimately reaching the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.<sup>20</sup> On returning to Chicago, he became an Assistant Pastor and completed his research for his PhD in Divinity, which was awarded by the University of Chicago in 1947.

### **Roberts the Researcher**

The nature of Roberts' interests can be inferred from his thesis,<sup>21</sup> which dealt with the Methodist Book Concern, which had distributed religious books and tracts in the American West. Koerner describes the thesis as being "suitably ponderous,"<sup>22</sup> but it is in fact a substantial and well researched tome, combining humour with erudition. In the introduction Roberts claimed that his purpose was to deal "more with the available primary sources and the cultural connections than with the purely statistical and personal facts of growth,"<sup>23</sup> but in fact he did both, providing a detailed account of the personnel, interactions and conflicts, and analysing its finances and the highly profitable incentives provided to the (largely Reverend) salesmen.

For the opening lines of his first chapter, Roberts chose a telling illustration of the gap which existed at the end of the seventeenth century between the Tory Anglicans and the Non-conformists:

When the Countess of Huntingdon, filled with the fervor of the Wesleyan Revival in England, wrote [to] her friend the Duchess of Buckingham telling of her new-found faith, the Duchess replied with the fears of all staunch Toryism. "I thank your ladyship for the information concerning the Methodist preaching," she wrote. "Their

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<sup>20</sup> Who's Who in America, editions 1956 to 1978.

<sup>21</sup> M. G. Roberts, "The Methodist Book Concern."

<sup>22</sup> Koerner, 9

<sup>23</sup> M. G. Roberts, "The Methodist Book Concern," iii.

doctrines are most repulsive, and strongly tinctured with impertinence and disrespect toward their superiors, in perpetually endeavouring to level all ranks and to do away with all distinctions, as it is monstrous to be told that you have a heart as sinful as the common wretches that crawl on the earth. This is highly offensive and insulting.”<sup>24</sup>

Roberts then neatly put the exchange in perspective: “As this illegitimate daughter of James II pointed out, there was no place in England during the first part of the eighteenth century for a God-centered, equalising religion.”<sup>25</sup>

In Chapter XI, “Methodist Publishing Becomes a Great Enterprise,”<sup>26</sup> Roberts explored territory very similar to that in which he was later to find himself as President of Parsons College. The conflicts which he described between “the Editors [of the Methodist publications], who were primarily interested in the quality of the content of the publications, and the agents, who were primarily interested in financial returns”<sup>27</sup> parallel his own disputes with the NCA and with some of the faculty at Parsons, as in suggestions that “the materials published by the college are full of contradictions and inconsistencies” and “Roberts has attempted to manipulate grades....”<sup>28</sup> Similarly, the disputes between the Methodist editors and editors of other publications, such as the Cincinnati Lancet & Journal, which objected to the Methodist publications printing patent medicine advertisements and “giving the advertisement the appearance of a news item”<sup>29</sup> paralleled Roberts’ conflicts with other college presidents who resented his claims for Parsons College, both academic and financial, his flair for publicity and his habit of poaching their staff, one of them writing “I have no sympathy with [his]... practical principleless methods.”<sup>30</sup>

<sup>25</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” I. Roberts references the quotation to William John Townsend, A New History of Methodism (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1909), I, 20.

<sup>26</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” 339-371.

<sup>27</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” 344.

<sup>28</sup> John C Moore & five other faculty members, “Conditions at Parsons College under the Administration of President Millard George Roberts,” manuscript, 1<sup>st</sup> March 1963, NCA archives.

<sup>29</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” 345.

<sup>30</sup> John D. Moseley, President of Austin College Texas. Letter to E. Fay Campbell dated December 19, 1960. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

According to Roberts, by 1899 such conflicts were arising regularly in the Book Concern and the literary regulators of the Methodist Church, the Book Committee, decided that neither the agents nor the editors, but the publishers, should determine what advertising would be accepted. A legal wrangle developed, the outcome of which was that the power of veto passed to the editors, but subject to strict rules imposed by the Committee.<sup>31</sup> In the same way the academic regulators, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and also the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, were to regularly discuss the situation at Parsons College, endeavouring to curb claims made by Roberts which they perceived as extravagant, commenting that Roberts had “too much of the Madison Avenue approach,”<sup>32</sup> and was running Parsons as “a promotional enterprise rather than an educational enterprise....”<sup>33</sup>

As a result of the restrictions imposed by the Methodist regulators, Book Concern revenue fell and “Instead of being a financial asset, the church papers became burdens as they had been in their earliest years” (much as Parsons College was at the time Roberts was appointed to the Presidency). Control had then passed to the Agents who, although answerable to the Book Committee, which soon “learned the means of presenting everything in the best possible light,”<sup>34</sup> an accusation which was later to be levelled at Parsons College under Roberts (“The college has yet to decide that statistical accuracy is a virtue”) and at Roberts personally (“The President seems willing to adopt any means necessary to catapult the college into an institution of national prominence...”<sup>35</sup>)

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<sup>31</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Methodist Book Concern,” 349.

<sup>32</sup> Paul L. Dressel, Director of Institutional Research, Michigan State University and Chairman of the NCA Examining team, to team members, confidential letter, April 23, 1963, original in NCA archives.

<sup>33</sup> Miller Upton, President, Beloit College Iowa to fellow members of the NCA Examining Team, confidential letter April, 1963 (carbon copy in NCA archives.)

<sup>34</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Methodist Book Concern,” 352

<sup>35</sup> NCA Examining Team, “Confidential Report on Parsons College,” February 1967, 35-36, (NCA archives.)

The Book Committees were then “stocked with new men, who knew little about the workings of the intricate publishing business, although they were undoubtedly intelligent and sincere...”<sup>36</sup> It is significant that on taking over as President of Parsons College, Roberts set out to replace the trustees with new men, of whom Boroff was later to write, “The [Parsons] trustees were all ‘C’ men,”<sup>37</sup> who on the whole were not educators,<sup>38</sup> and who knew little about the intricate workings of a college, of the respective rights and responsibilities of faculty and administrators, or of the subtleties of their relationship, but who even so “sought to slow him down.”<sup>39</sup>

The thesis was intended to be in Divinity and Roberts was evidently aware that it was a little thin on theology. In the conclusion he demonstrated that he was a man of the world as well as a man of the cloth, defending his examination of a “business concern within a church” on the grounds that whilst

The Church of God in its ideal state is the province of the philosopher, perhaps, but the Church of God as it faced its problems and overcame them under actual conditions is the province of all Christian thinkers everywhere, and a presentation of the situations as they existed may add to the understanding all men have of the Church of God as we actually know it in the world today.<sup>40</sup>

In this he preceded Jacob Bronowski, who argued that “the root from which all knowledge grows [is] the ability to draw conclusions from what we see to what we do not see, to move our minds through space and time, and to recognise ourselves in the past on the steps to the present.”<sup>41</sup> Roberts was presumably also seeking, as Hill and Kerber later expressed it, “to employ the past to predict the future, and to use the present to explain the past.”<sup>42</sup> He was also effectively declaring himself to be more interested in pragmatism than philosophy, and

<sup>36</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Methodist Book Concern,” 352.

<sup>37</sup> Boroff, 110.

<sup>38</sup> Parsons College Bulletin, 1964-65, 7-19.

<sup>39</sup> Koerner, 32.

<sup>40</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” 371.

<sup>41</sup> Bronowski, 56. (Quoted in Herbert and Link, 2.)

<sup>42</sup> Hill and Kerber, quoted in Cohen & Manion, 49.

more concerned with the realities of the modern Church of God than with “the Church of God in its ideal state.”

### **Business, Religion and Sound Fiscal Administration**

Roberts was inaugurated as President of Parsons College on 28<sup>th</sup> to 30<sup>th</sup> October 1955: Koerner mentions the inauguration in passing, dismissing it as “flamboyant,” (which such ceremonies often are), and, whilst noting that “A number of well-known educators and churchmen were flown to Fairfield for the ceremonies,”<sup>43</sup> he does not inquire as to whether or not, having flown in, they had anything of significance to say. In fact the occasion was marked by “Two Symposia Relating Religion and Business to the Role of the Private Independent College” which may have been inspired by the somewhat similar Brick Church “Inaugural Symposium and Review for the Stained Glass Windows Dedicated to Education,” in which Roberts had taken part two years previously.<sup>44</sup> Roberts later published the Parsons College symposia proceedings as The Inaugural Review, containing the inaugural sermon by Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk (or, effectively, Chief Executive Officer) of the Presbyterian Church USA and the eight papers given by Koerner’s “well-known educators and churchmen.”<sup>45</sup> The titles included “Sound Fiscal Administration for the Small Arts College” and “What the Church Expects from Its Liberal Arts Colleges,” and it is perhaps significant that the order Roberts employs for posterity in his sub-title, “Business and Religion,” is actually the reverse of the order in which the papers had been given at the Symposia, to a predominately Presbyterian audience.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Koerner, 8.

<sup>44</sup> Brick Church Record, XL (November, 1953), 5; Brick Presbyterian Church, A Symposium: American Education and the Transmission of Truth. November 22, 1953

<sup>45</sup> Millard George Roberts, ed., The Inaugural Review. (Fairfield Iowa: Parsons College, 1956).

<sup>46</sup> Parsons College, Visitors Program for the Inauguration of Millard George Roberts as the Fifteenth President of Parsons College. (Fairfield Iowa: Parsons College, 1955).

John Oliver Hall quotes Roberts as saying that the solution to Parsons' problems "is the management process by which better education can be provided for less money." Roberts proposed five basic techniques:

- 1) Management of the curriculum, by eliminating extraneous courses and intensively utilizing existing resources.
- 2) Twelve-month operation of facilities, thus achieving greater economy in both facilities and teachers.
- 3) Team-teaching at all levels, by providing various ranks of teachers, and giving students more teacher-contact hours at less unit cost.
- 4) Teaching students of varying levels in the same college, thus permitting each student to advance as fast and as far as his ability permits, repeating courses when necessary.
- 5) Intensive use of cheaper buildings, thus cutting costs in principal and interest.<sup>47</sup>

George Melloan, was later to summarise Roberts' imperatives as:

Be an aggressive faculty raider..., Prune the curriculum ruthlessly..., [Double the] tuition and board if you have to, Don't wait for students to come to you, recruit them, and don't be too fussy about their... grades..., If aesthetics and economy conflict in construction, opt for economy, Be a hard-nosed horsetrader in any and every procurement decision, whether... a side of beef or a new dormitory."<sup>48</sup>

In the latter connection, Jon Anastasia, who was a student first at Lea College and then at Parsons and who has "worked in faculty and organizational development since receiving [his] ... EdD in 1978," observes that Roberts saved money by engaging in

entrepreneurial rather than academic methods (for example, building the student center by showing the contractor a high bank balance at the beginning of the semester, then negotiating the builder down on the basis of end-of-semester, post expense depleted balances).<sup>49</sup>

Harold L. Buell, in support of his largely enthusiastic assessment of Roberts personal characteristics, assembled the following collection of quotations:<sup>50</sup> "a pudgy cyclonic

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<sup>47</sup>J. O. Hall, Parsons College, 5.

<sup>48</sup>George Melloan: "Black Ink Campuses: New Colleges Attempt To Live Within Incomes by Using 'Parsons Plan,'" Wall Street Journal, CLXVII, 12, January 12, 1966.1:1 & 14:2.

<sup>49</sup>Jon Anastasio to M. G. Spillane, email message, 1 September, 1999.

<sup>50</sup>Buell, *passim*

Presbyterian minister”<sup>51</sup> who is “hard-headed and pragmatic,”<sup>52</sup> with the “energy of a rocket booster, the imagination of a Barnum and the business acumen of a Henry Ford.”<sup>53</sup> Flamboyant and tireless, “Roberts has the glad-handing manner of a Chamber of Commerce president, the force of a bulldozer, and the guile when the college requires it, of a snake-oil salesman;” he is “a man as adroit with a financial statement as with a sermon” and “his energy appears boundless.”<sup>54</sup> “Friends and critics alike agree he fulfills Alfred North Whitehead’s stipulation ‘Enthusiasm is essential.’ Roberts exudes enthusiasm morning noon and night.”<sup>55</sup> To Carl D. Howard of The National Observer, Roberts was “the plump, garrulous, Parsons president... who hops across the country in Parsons seven-place airplane, spreading his ideas in 200 speeches he makes annually...”<sup>56</sup> However to Earl S. Johnson, Professor of Education at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and member of the 1963 NCA Examining Team, Roberts was “near-to-a-tyrant and ...an unprincipled operator ...favoring solvency - even profit - more than education.”<sup>57</sup> (Perhaps the point had escaped him that without solvency, furnishing education may prove difficult.)

Some of those who had actually worked alongside Roberts took a view which was more dispassionate: Robert G Collins, Professor of English & Comparative Literature, described him as “that much maligned ogre of American Higher education, Old Doc Bob.”<sup>58</sup> Raymond C. Gibson, who had been recruited by Roberts in 1966, as Provost on a one year contract, “a move designed by Parsons President Millard G. Roberts to allay criticisms of

<sup>51</sup> Time, “The Academically Average,” August 29, 1970.

<sup>52</sup> Carl D. Howard, “Campus Presidents Who Are Pioneering Changes On Campus,” The National Observer, January 31, 1966, 24.

<sup>53</sup> Parsons College, How to Succeed in Education by Really Trying (Pamphlet, Fairfield, Parsons College, 1962), I quoted Buell, 33-34.

<sup>54</sup> Boroff, p.107

<sup>55</sup> Paul H. Davis, Notes on Parsons College, November 1960. Unpublished paper written at Parsons College, November, 1960), 6, quoted Buell 34.

<sup>56</sup> World Herald Press Services, quoted in an undated newspaper cutting,, c. 1967, in NCA files.

<sup>57</sup> Earl S. Johnson to Paul L. Dressel, “Private letter,” April 28, 1963, original in NCA letter files (See note 33 above).

<sup>58</sup> Robert G Collins to “The Editor,” letter, January 10, 1967 copy in NCA letter files.

his administration,<sup>59</sup> later expressed the opinion that “The spectacular rise of Parsons College during [Roberts] presidency was the result of Roberts’ humanitarian interest in the dignity and worth of undergraduate students. But success led to selfish practices that virtually destroyed the college. The Parsons story worth perpetuating is one of innovation. ... students were truly given a second chance.”<sup>60</sup> As Professor of Education at the University of Indiana, consultant on higher education to universities in Thailand and Peru and to the State Education Departments of three US states, he was probably well qualified to judge.

### **Roberts the Entrepreneurial Publicist**

Roberts had argued that “The Church of God in its ideal state is the province of the philosopher,” a position he might similarly have taken on Academia. (In fact, Gibson, in titling his Phi Delta Kappan article, described him as “the Scholarch of Parsons,” a traditional title often associated with the Head of a School of Philosophy.) However, just as the “Church of God ...[had to face] its problems and [overcome] ...them under actual conditions...,”<sup>61</sup> so it was at Parsons College. Roberts had previously applied his pragmatic solutions to the problems which faced him as a Presbyterian pastor and he now did likewise as a college president and an educational entrepreneur, but in none of these roles was this to earn him lasting plaudits. At the Brick Church his fund raising methods had raised eyebrows and the Pastor Paul Wolfe had actively sought to find him employment elsewhere.<sup>62</sup> When he was at Parsons, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education was to claim that “Serious questions are being raised not only in the church but in non-church groups concerned with higher education ...about ...[Roberts'] personal and

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<sup>59</sup> Phi Delta Kappan, June, 1968, Editorial comment, 587.

<sup>60</sup> Gibson, 587.

<sup>61</sup> M. G. Roberts, “The Methodist Book Concern,” 371.

<sup>62</sup> E. Fay Campbell, to Dr. William A. Morrison, General Secretary of the Board of Christian Education. Inter-office memorandum, December 9, 1960. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

professional integrity...”<sup>63</sup> Amongst the “non-church groups were” the NCA, as discussed previously, and the Connecticut General Insurance Company. In giving the Board of Directors of the latter a historical summary of circumstances in which Parsons College had become indebted to the company for \$4,452,355, when the original loan had only been \$2 million, Warren D. Sharp wrote:

The NCA found that the College had not corrected its previous problems to its satisfaction, and the operating procedures and misleading public statements espoused by Dr. Roberts were intolerable. Dr. Roberts had made many political blunders in his dealings with the NCA and the press and it was impossible for anyone advising him to control his promotional activities. His rather advanced case of egomania seemed to overshadow any political considerations.<sup>64</sup>

From George Bierlin, a former Parsons student, Roberts receives a note of grudging approval, for “doc bob ... was a charismatic figure at school and most had a story that was either first hand or passed on.”<sup>65</sup> Donald Farr commented that “MGR was not a favorite person on campus, and certainly in my circle of friends he was the object of a lot of jokes and derision. My personal opinion while I was a student, was that he was very egotistical and self promoting, but I'm not sure that I have anything concrete to draw on to make such a statement today.”<sup>66</sup>

Former Provost Gibson took the view that “selfish interests overpowered the original social commitment. In the end, one could see the builder destroying his own creation rather than give up anticipated gain.” He does not justify his apparent claim that Roberts wilfully destroyed Parsons College, but he does suggest that it was in no small part due to a decision of the Board of Trustees to “publicize ..., not the heart of a unique educational idea, ...but

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<sup>63</sup> William A Morrison, General Secretary, BCE, to Richard Hoerner, Chairman of Parsons College Board of Trustees. “Personal and confidential” copy letter, January 17, 1961. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>64</sup> Warren D. Sharp to Connecticut General Board of Directors, Confidential memo, March 29, 1973 (Exhibit II, US District Court, Southern District of Iowa, In the Matter of Parsons College: Bankruptcy Case No. 0-24-73., US National Archives and Records Administration, Mid-West Region, Kansas City, Missouri).

<sup>65</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 30 August 1999

<sup>66</sup> Farr to Spillane email message, 01 September 1999

...the President as the greatest innovator ever to appear on the American scene,"<sup>67</sup> a view which Roberts was unlikely to dispute. Gibson goes on to claim that, on his advice and after Roberts' departure, the Board "for the first time in more than a decade, was turning towards the truth and reality, painful as both were to those basking in the eternal fantasy of their fallen leader."<sup>68</sup>

### **Roberts the Educating Entrepreneur.**

In 1955, when Millard George Roberts took over as President, Parsons College was at an all time low. The New York Times was to describe it as "a faltering Presbyterian liberal-arts school [with] ...a nondescript campus populated by 212 students from the surrounding farm area, ...\$1.2 million in debt and running at a deficit."<sup>69</sup> Boroff considered it to be "Sluggish, neglected, demoralised, [and an] ...academic backwater,"<sup>70</sup> whilst the College Trustees themselves conceded that it was "1,022nd. of 1,035 accredited American colleges and universities in terms of enrollment, income, academic quality, physical plant, and financial position.... one of the smallest and weakest of 19 accredited colleges in the State of Iowa,... and one of the smallest and weakest of the 45 colleges in 26 states which are affiliated with the United Presbyterian Church, USA."<sup>71</sup>

Within a very short time of his arrival, however, Roberts had made radical changes, the consequences of which were such as to cause these same commentators to substantially revise their views. Boroff, was to write that by 1961, only six years later, the picture was "fantastically different," whilst in 1964 the New York Times described Parsons College as having "2,450 students from throughout the country," "a campus three times its former

<sup>67</sup> Gibson, 590.

<sup>68</sup> Gibson, 590

<sup>69</sup> New York Times, May 18, 1964, 9:2

<sup>70</sup> Boroff, 104.

<sup>71</sup> The Fifteen Year Plan of Parsons College 1955-1970 Eighth Revision (Fairfield: Parsons College, 1962), 5.

size," and \$12 million in new plant being funded from "a surplus of income over expenditures that might be embarrassing to a tax-exempt institution with less imaginative ideas about how to invest the profit." By 1966 the Trustees were proud to announce "[an enrolment] of 4,717, ...making it the largest college in America, either public or independent, not offering graduate courses in any field,"<sup>72</sup> with an annual income of \$21 million, and a predicted enrolment "of from 10,000 to 11,000 students by 1970."<sup>73</sup> Gibson was to acknowledge that "President Roberts proved that an undergraduate liberal arts college with over 1,000 students can develop a high quality program, pay high salaries, attract top professors, and make it possible for nearly any highly motivated high school graduate to succeed."<sup>74</sup>

Roberts had achieved these improvements by means of what he called "the Parsons Plan," the general form of which, to his chagrin, became more widely known as the "Rum'l Plan," after Beardsley Rum'l, author of a 1959 monograph, which gave advice which was remarkably similar to that incorporated in the Parsons Plan.<sup>75</sup> In 1966, Roberts, responding to the statement "Apparently you took seriously Beardsley Rum'l's book...," is quoted as replying, "I worked with him for two years before he wrote his book, but it is fine with me if people think we followed his point of view."<sup>76</sup>

In fact the need for such a plan for Parsons had originally been recognised in 1951 by President Thomas E. Shearer, who had advised the Board of Trustees that

Parsons College stands now at a critical turning point. Unless the college adopts a dynamic forward-looking program under which we really move ahead, it is almost certain that we will fall behind in relation to the activities of other colleges. The college must adopt a program which will attract additional students. The heavy

<sup>72</sup> The Fifteen Year Plan of Parsons College - Tenth Revision (Fairfield: Parsons College, 1966), 22; Millard G Roberts, "Letter to the Students of Parsons College," Piera, (Fairfield: Parsons College, 1966), 1.

<sup>73</sup> The Fifteen Year Plan, 24 & 29.

<sup>74</sup> Gibson, 591.

<sup>75</sup> Beardsley Rum'l and Donald Morrison, Memo to a College Trustee (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959).

<sup>76</sup> M. G. Roberts, "Profit Making Colleges: How the Parsons Plan Operates," interview in College and University Business, 40, 4, April 1966, 71-75.

obligation to collect gift income for use as current operating expenses cannot be continued. We should have a minimum of 400 students in order that our current operations may be put on a sound basis. Parsons College cannot continue in these times as just another church-related college. We need a unique program if we expect to survive.<sup>77</sup>

However little or nothing was done to find such a "unique program" until after July 1954, when Shearer resigned. The Acting President, Ralph M. Sayre, and the Business Manager, Paul Selz, then prepared a draft of a Fifteen Year Plan for the college, which was submitted to a committee of Trustees. This was then revised and modified, the final version being adopted by the Trustees in February 1955, a month before Roberts was appointed as President.<sup>78</sup> The crucial role played by Sayre and Selz in the development of the plan was later affirmed when the Trustees voted to give them each an ex-gratia payment of \$500.<sup>79</sup>

Thus, although Roberts had a tendency to gloss over the fact,<sup>80</sup> in June 1955, when he took office, the "Parsons Plan," as such, and the goals set, were already largely in place, and his role was to put it into execution and to achieve those goals. To say that he was not the actual originator of the plan is not to diminish his role, for it is one thing to devise such a strategic plan, it is a very different matter to devise the tactics to put it into effect. This was evidently recognised by the Trustees, and there can be little doubt that the appointment of Roberts was an integral part of their plan and that a dynamic personality such as his was a sine qua non.

Koerner argues, perhaps unkindly, but correctly, that when the Trustees hired Millard Roberts, "the plump Presbyterian minister from New York, [it was] to save the institution's body, not its soul. He was thirty-seven years old, a Republican and a Mason, a proven

<sup>77</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Parsons Board of Trustees, October 26, 1951" (Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library)

<sup>78</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Parsons Board of Trustees, February 12, 1955" (Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library)

<sup>79</sup> "Minutes of the Meeting of the Parsons Board of Trustees, June 4, 1955" (Parsons College Archives, Fairfield Public Library)

<sup>80</sup> Millard G Roberts, interviews, "A Profitable College," Michigan Business Review, November, 1964, 20-27 and "A College or a Factory?" College Management, May 1966, 39-42

money-getter and a promising manager...." He became the sixteenth president of Parsons at the uninspiring salary of "\$8,700 a year, plus a house and an expense allowance of \$1,200,"<sup>81</sup> figures which were soon to increase substantially. As Roberts himself pointed out in the Institutional Profile, when he joined the college he was "inexperienced as a college administrator [and had] virtually no administrative assistants to help ...with problems of central administration [and] no differentiation between central administration and the management process at the departmental level or in the supporting services such as housing, building and grounds, student activities and food service." The College provided 90 beds and one small dining room, one full-time employee ran the business office and "it was necessary for the president to be personally involved in all of these areas."<sup>82</sup>

Six other colleges were founded on the Parsons plan: Lea College, Minnesota, was founded in 1966 at the instigation of the City of Albert Lea Chamber of Commerce, which engaged Millard George Roberts as a consultant. It is of particular interest because it was founded with the full support of the local community and press, had no burden of history, had the professor of chemistry from Parsons College as its founding president and, in seeking to ensure its continued existence, the Trustees and President employed a variety of innovative stratagems which merit examination in their own right. These latter included a weekly column written by the College President for the Albert Lea Tribune, in which he relayed information about events at the college, particularly those relating to its continued existence, and placed them in the context of what was happening generally in American higher education. Although his column was clearly written with the best interests of the college in mind, he nevertheless would appear to have displayed an honesty which did much to promote the continuing support of the Albert Lea community for the College. His action

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<sup>81</sup> Koerner, 9.

<sup>82</sup> Parsons College, "Institutional Profile," quoted in "Report of NCA Examining Team," February, 1967, 12.

was later paralleled by that of Dr. Roger Brown at Southampton Institute, who on appointment as Principal co-operated with the Southern Daily Echo, against which his predecessor had litigated, to produce an eight page 'Community Supplement' which was devoted entirely to the Institute and its activities. However the close association with Parsons meant that when Parsons was in trouble, the satellites suffered too. Lea College only survived for six years before bankruptcy, its enrolment peaking at 950 and with only 395 students reaching graduation.

### **The Parsons Plan: Some Views From the Benches**

As far as Roberts was concerned, the concept of a "second chance" college was perfectly defensible, for he contended that only admitting students who had tested out in the "upper 10%" tended

to oversimplify the many factors which make up all students, putting undue stress on only one. It also tends to eliminate many splendid students who reach their highest potential late, as well as those who require failure to become motivated to work hard. It may well move an institution to a more monastic "apart-from-society" stress on knowledge as the end of education, rather than knowledge fitted to the societal need as the end desired (emphasis in original).<sup>83</sup>

Roberts was famous for his pronouncement that Parsons admitted "one third ... from the top one-third of their high school graduating class," another third from the middle third, and the remaining one third (by implication) comprised under-performing students transferring from other institutions or from the "lowest one third of their high school graduating class."<sup>84</sup>

Mitchell, writing as a outsider conducting MA research, noted that these proportions were not maintained, and that the student body contained "slow and intelligent students, probably more than its fair share of economically advantaged students (including such well known names as Rockefeller, Roosevelt, Ford, Dupont, Hershey, etc.), but also a great many

students who were either working their way through college or were attending with the benefit of athletic scholarships.”<sup>85</sup> Mitchell commented that “It was not unusual to hear a student say ‘I have been thrown out of four universities’”<sup>86</sup> (Cf. the Life “Wizard of Flunk-Out U photograph of transferred students).

To keep the Parsons Plan on track and the College solvent, it was necessary to recruit students in quantity, so Robert’s justification served ends which were pragmatic as well as equitable. However, this is a situation found in even the ‘best’ universities, Ben David telling us that “One of the results of the competitive situation has been that there is no institution in the United States that at one time or another did not compromise about standards for admission, including Harvard and Yale, where in 1908-09, fewer than 50% of freshmen admitted had met the stipulated entry requirements.”<sup>87</sup>

In 1966, Life magazine published a scathingly satirical article under the title “The Wizard of Flunk-Out U,” depicting Roberts as a “rip roaring, bell ringing, everytime a bulls-eye” salesman who ran a country club college for rich, thick and drunken draft-dodgers.<sup>88</sup> According to Koerner, Roberts later acknowledged that he had promoted the story through a Milwaukee public relations firm, but it had badly misfired, drawing adverse attention from the NCA and the Presbyterian Church.<sup>89</sup> However, at the time Roberts appeared to discount the problem and according to George Bierlin, a Parsons student at the time, “after the life magazine article in '66 he held a meeting at the gym and basicly said that the most important

<sup>83</sup>M. G. Roberts, “Academic Standards at Parsons College: Rules for Implementing a Program of Study for Various Levels of Students,” Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa. (n. d. Copy in Parsons College archives, Fairfield Public Library, Iowa)

<sup>84</sup> Mitchell, 23.

<sup>85</sup> Mitchell, 29.

<sup>86</sup> Mitchell, 29.

<sup>87</sup> Ben-David, Trends, 37.

<sup>88</sup> Fook, 77-82.

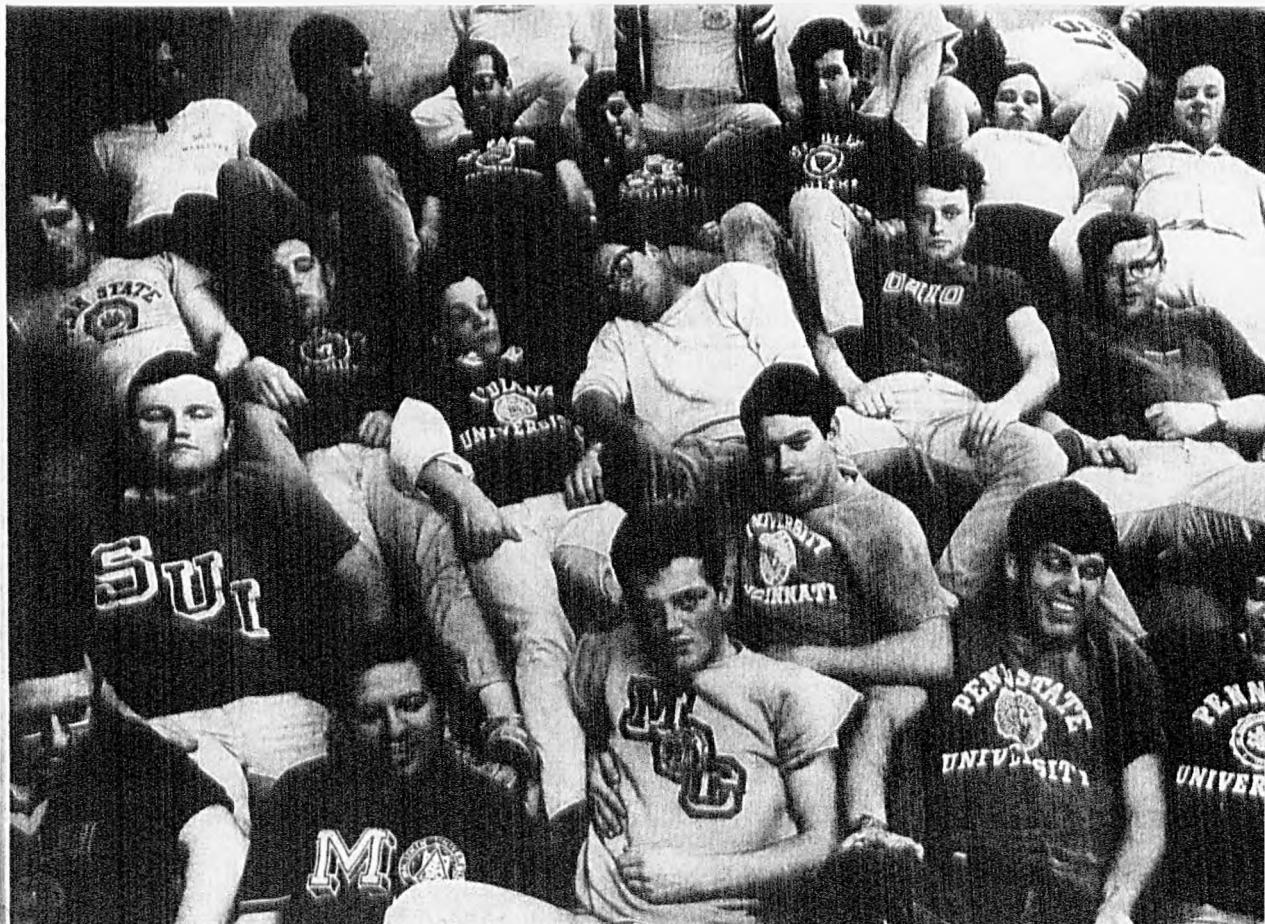
<sup>89</sup> Koerner, 166-168.



EDUCATION

## The Wizard of Flunk-Out U.

Millard G. Roberts, the president of Parsons College, happily surveys his profitable campus. Below, students wear sweat shirts from their former colleges.



thing about publicity was that the name was spelled correctly. it was not a favorable story.”<sup>90</sup>

Straus has confirmed that, as far as he was concerned, the Life story was essentially correct:

yes, we partied hearty at Parsons. I was part of the famous panty raid of 1962, and saw no need for the administration to have called the cops. It was actually pretty tame, what with the girls opening the windows for us and all. They seemed to be enjoying the attention. The beer in the frat[ernity] house soda machine was just left over from a party, and we didn't know where else to store it. Hell night that year just got a little out of hand. I was a pledge, [an applicant for admission to the fraternity] and expected some hazing, but they left us covered with green paint so far out in the boonies that the jackrabbits carried road maps. We just walked toward the nearest light, which we presumed to be a farmhouse, and ended up in the swamp. I wasn't much help, since I had red lipstick smeared all over my glasses, and could see very little. The family who finally stopped and picked us up thought we had been in a traffic accident, but we pledges rode back to Fairfield stacked one atop the other like cordwood in the back of his station wagon.

Even after the lapse of thirty five years, there remains some of the defiant self-justification which probably characterised many Parsons students of that time:

The bullet wound to "Father John" Dellert was the result of shooting targets of opportunity on the railroad tracks with a Nylon 66 [air] rifle. It was a simple ricochet, nothing more. I would assume that he limps to this day; if I ever get to Boston, I'll have to ask him.

However, it is seemingly not a part of his life about which he normally brags, for his email ended “You now have the sum total of all I remember from Parsons. Even my wife and kids have never heard these stories...”<sup>91</sup>

Donald Farr, a former student who now heads a California Business and IT Consultancy firm, discounts the Life story, “I never did believe all the things that were said on WLS (Chicago radio station) or in Life magazine, and didn't find those things in the lives of my

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<sup>90</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 30 August 1999.

<sup>91</sup> Straus to Spillane, email message, 30 Aug 1999.

friends either.”<sup>92</sup> However, his account tends to support the concept of “Flunk-Out U and he suggests that the College, which by then had 4,304 students,<sup>93</sup> was segmented:

I suspect that there were three classes of students at PC. Those that went to college to party, those that went to school to learn, and those that went to school because it was either the thing to do in their family, or because they didn't know what else to do with their lives at that point. I, unfortunately was in the latter category, and a good number of years passed me by, with me as observer rather than participant. I suspect that a larger percentage of college students may be in that group yet today...and it would not matter much where they went to college.

Thus the three possible groupings were the “party-goers,” the “studious,” and the “country club” set, Farr claiming membership of the third. Louise Mitchell’s assessment of the social and academic composition of the student body tends to confirm his description.<sup>94</sup> Farr accounts for the distinctions between the groups as follows:

my first year ... was dominated by my roommates and their friends. They were all “refugees” from Ohio State, and were forming a new fraternity, and the experience of living with them kind of turned me away from the Greek system of things. I spent my free time with a group down the hall playing hearts and going to drag races on weekends, totally missing the activities on campus.<sup>95</sup>

Dr Philip Haber, a former Parsons student who is now a consultant psychologist, considers that there was “nothing special about the parties at Parsons, as good [or] as bad as any university in the nation. The only exceptional thing was that they took place in rural Iowa where very little goes on and the Press jumped on it.” He credits the Life article with being “half true, but with a fair amount of creative writing and editorial license. It probably didn’t hurt Parsons as it would appeal to the 19 year old in Boston or New York, but it didn’t do the Grads any good.”<sup>96</sup>

Farr gives some indication of the accommodation problems associated with a rapidly expanding college in a rural community of 9,000 inhabitants where the College specialises

<sup>92</sup> Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999.

<sup>93</sup> Koerner, table 3-1, 67.

<sup>94</sup> Mitchell, 28-29.

<sup>95</sup> Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999.

<sup>96</sup> Haber to Spillane, telephone interview, September 1, 1999.

in the "intensive use of cheaper buildings, thus cutting costs in principal and interest."<sup>97</sup> He spent his first year

in the [original] ...men's dorm[itory]. The next year was spent in one of the new quads, [or small communal unit blocks] and was far more helpful to my studies. ...My final year at Parsons I lived first at the Dream Motel, then in a trailer that the Ranch Motel had put in a cornfield behind the motel, and finally with two other guys in a duplex in town. The other half of the duplex also housed three guys. Not living on campus that year, I nearly managed to lose it academically because I found it tough to get to classes when it snowed, (or when the weather turned nice). ;-).<sup>98</sup>

Farr says that after three years at Parsons he went to Portland for a summer management training job and "loved the job so much that [he] stayed there. I futzed around with college in Portland, lost a bunch of credit hours, and finally was drafted in '67, before I finished my degree. Here it is thirty years after I got out of the Army...and I'm still degreeless...but happy!"<sup>99</sup>

Straus says that he

did not want to go to college. I went because it was the thing to do. After one year of spectacularly dismal performance, I joined the Army in order to get out from under the parental thumb. Boy were my folks steamed at me for that! After the Army, I went to California and enrolled in college. This time I made the RIGHT dean's list in pre-law. (Previously, I had been on the dean's list of suspects when some prank went awry.) Ended up getting married shortly thereafter, and so ended my formal education.<sup>100</sup>

Farr implies that the barriers between "studious" and the other segments were not impervious, for "Parsons offered the opportunity to grow up...and learn if you wanted to. It also offered the opportunity to remain an anonymous nudge if you wanted to...but instead of booting you out, gave you the chance to be tutored back to academic health."<sup>101</sup> Mitchell considered that "Parsons was confronted with many problems, not the least of which was student immaturity. Repeated failure ...had in many instances bred a sense of bitter despair.... But the Parsons College professor was rewarded each time a student with a

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<sup>97</sup>J. O. Hall, Parsons College 5.

<sup>98</sup>Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999.

<sup>99</sup>Farr to Spillane, email message, 26, September 1999.

<sup>100</sup>Straus to Spillane, email message, August, 30, 1999

history of failure began to find himself and forge upwards.”<sup>102</sup> One such student may have been Philip Haber, who explains that he graduated from Parsons with a GPA of 2.0012, but then earned a Master of Science and Doctorate in Psychology with a GPA of 3.9. He suggests that many of those who came to Parsons were “very bright students who had been thrown out elsewhere for aberrant behaviour.” (He himself had been invited to leave Niagara Falls University for flying a kite from the statue of the University’s patron saint.) He supports Farr’s view, arguing that “weak students could do well. ... each class gave them 3 hours a week with the professor, and then a discussion group and the weak ones also had a small tutorial. It appealed to the parents -- the level was not dissimilar to many current state universities.”<sup>103</sup>

Farr was similarly complimentary about the quality of teaching available to those who sought it:

I thought that the professors that I had were academically superior, and comparing them to those I had later on at Portland State University and Arizona State University, could not fault them. I believe that MGR did try to find good people for faculty with a good degree of success, and that the opportunity to learn was there....<sup>104</sup>

Farr, Haber and Bierlin thus tend to support Roberts idea of a ‘second chance’ college.

Mel Straus takes a different view, commenting, “I had the good fortune to graduate from New Trier High School in Winnetka, IL. At the time, it was one of the top 5 public [i.e. municipally-operated] schools in the country. I found classes at Parsons to be reruns of high school, or even easier.”<sup>105</sup> This could of course reflect a variability in the standards of American secondary education, rather than reflecting badly on standards at Parsons, a point taken up by Roberts, himself:

<sup>101</sup> Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999

<sup>102</sup> Mitchell, 29.

<sup>103</sup> Haber to Spillane, telephone interview, September 1, 1999.

<sup>104</sup> Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999

<sup>105</sup> Straus to Spillane, email message, 30 August, 1999.

It can quickly be pointed out that levels of elementary and secondary education differ by areas of the country, by the size and quality of various schools in the same state, and by methods of evaluation used in various schools. [Whilst]tests exist which can show the general academic level of the high school senior seeking admission, but great differences in his training, motivation, and environment make it nearly impossible to give any real indication of his Potential.<sup>106</sup>

In this he is supported by Gibson, who argues that for many high school students, Parsons "meant their first," rather than their second chance.<sup>107</sup> Mitchell observed that "the Parsons student did not appear to be lacking in intelligence, ... difficulty in mastering assignments made it seem that he had failed to acquire the necessary reading skills,"<sup>108</sup> (which was what her research was about). She suggested that "poor reading ability [might] account not only for failure to achieve intellectually, but also for many personality defects, for complaints of chronic illness, and even for attempts to remain children, thus escaping responsibility -- in other words, the Parsons type of student." She also suggested that "the few instructors ... who had time to be troubled about doubts ... concluded that Parsons second chance students were merely 'dumb' or else were too lazy to study. ... the expected progress did not take place as planned, and the 'functional illiterate' remained much the same."<sup>109</sup>

Haber argues that "Millard Roberts created a system of education where you can't fail unless you want to. [He recruited] excellent professors, paid them a lot of money, but they did a good job. He put together a hell of an education system. [However,] ... it started to go down when he moved his interests to the other colleges."<sup>110</sup> In the sense that the satellite colleges were in direct competition with Parsons for both students and faculty, this tends to support Gibson's comment about "the builder destroying his own creation."

Bierlin provided an interesting perspective on the utility of the teaching staff:

the upper level courses were every bit as challenging as my 1<sup>st</sup> college. again the difference was that the profs were always available. part of the reason for this was

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<sup>106</sup> M. G. Roberts, "Academic Standards at Parsons College.

<sup>107</sup> Gibson, 587.

<sup>108</sup> Mitchell, 31.

<sup>109</sup> Mitchell, 31.

<sup>110</sup> Haber to Spillane, telephone interview, September 1, 1999.

that parsons used older less driven personnel that were not [worried] about publish or perish. they were not allowed to do such but were given 1 semester in 6 off to go on sabbatical and as there were 3 full semesters per year and [they] only were required to teach 2 they could work 5 straight and take 1 year off.

He also commented on the benefits of Roberts' scheme for team teaching:

the core courses were neither harder or more difficult. what made them seem much easier was the method of teaching them. being broken into a lecture and section format; ie the prof would provide aprox. 3 hrs/wk of lecture and this was accompanied by 2 hrs of section/small group follow up - reinforcement if you will of the week's big picture. if you applied your self in the least this method yielded good results for the tests as well as the various quizzes, etc.<sup>111</sup>

Farr's view tended to support this, "The tutoring program I suspect was good, and may have really helped those who wanted to learn."<sup>112</sup> Mitchell was not so sure, noting that "it was not uncommon for a discussion leader to have a total class-load of 200 students...[and] if, as in many cases, he served as both a discussion leader and a tutor, his duties became astronomical."<sup>113</sup>

As regards the utility to students of the non-researching academic, Bierlin commented that at

all levels the teaching staff was essentially only teaching and if they were not in there classes they were in there offices and almost always available with next to no notice to pursue the most mundane question. In other words, they were bored and wanted the contact if nothing else.

Bierlin graduated in chemistry and says he had no difficulty getting into the University of Pennsylvania, at which recruitment to the MBA program was evidently ad hominem: "When I was interviewed at penn the interviewer said they only got 2 types from parsons those they would not interview and those they most likely would accept. apparently, there was no middle ground."<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 1 September, 1999

<sup>112</sup> Farr to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999.

<sup>113</sup> Mitchell, 31.

<sup>114</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 01 September 1999.

**COMPARISON PARSONS COLLEGE WITH 234 ACCREDITED  
MIDWEST COLLEGES**

TODAY 1958-59 and 1954-55

**IN MEDIAN SALARY LEVELS**

1958-59	8th
1954-55	221 st

**LIBRARY BOOKS**

1958-59	45th
1954-55	190th

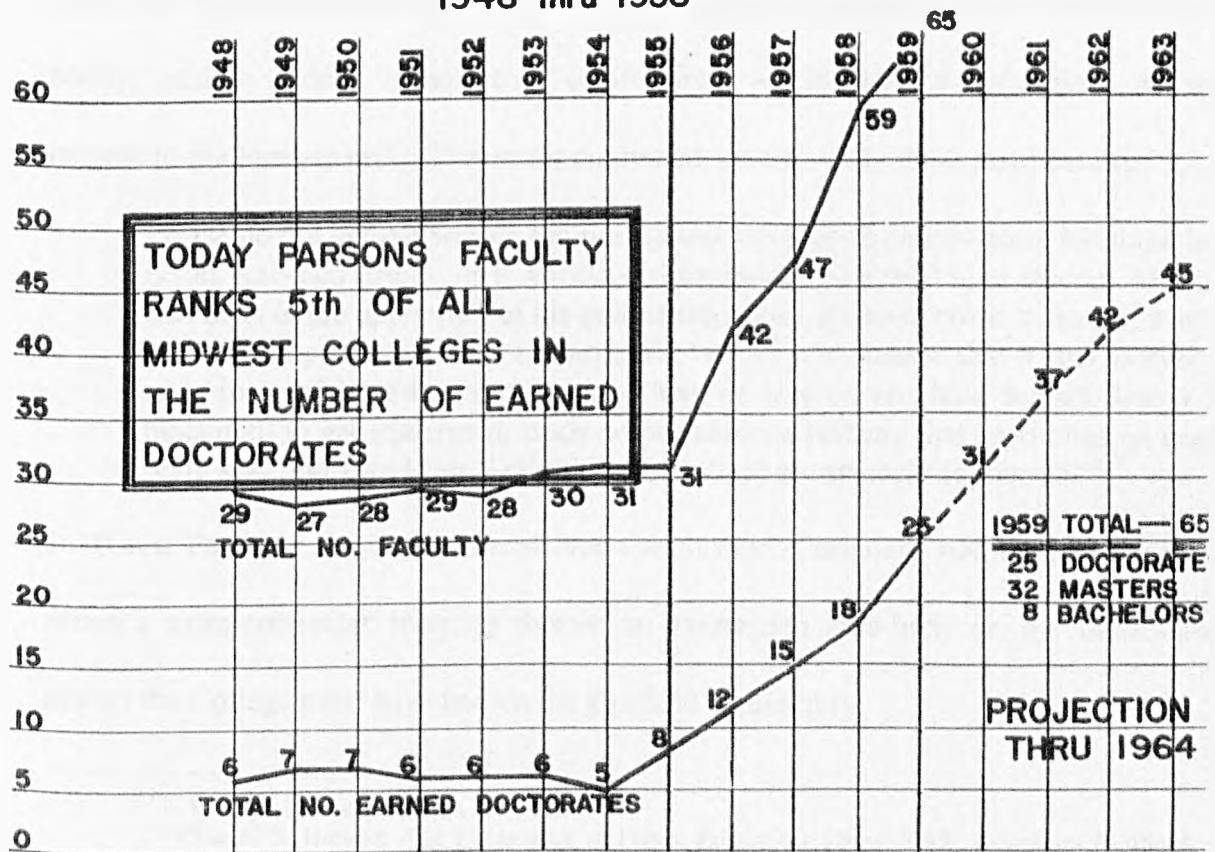
**EARNED DOCTORATES**

1958-59	67th
1954-55	215th

**LIBRARY STAFF**

1958-59	37th
1954-55	170th

**NUMBER OF EARNED DOCTORATES ON PARSONS FACULTY  
1948 thru 1958**



Roberts favoured the “admission to college of a large proportion of the high school graduates .... other than the upper 10%” but he also regarded “student income as the ‘only sure business source.’”<sup>115</sup> This was seized on by his opponents as demonstrating that he must be a fraud, a suspicion given statistical credence by a 1968 report that, in 1966-67, only 16.1 percent of funding for the public sector of American higher education came from student fees, 48.8 percent coming from government subsidies and 35.1 percent from private and institutional sources.<sup>116</sup>

The policy of retaining students who would pay fees until they passed was a source of discontent to faculty, as expressed in a letter copied to the NCA;

The board of admissions and ejections (if we have one) of this institution has all the characteristics of robbers. ... I'm referring to the unwarranted umpteenth chance given to lazy and apathetic individuals here. In the past few weeks I've met several individuals laughing about how it has taken them 4 semesters to get 20 hours credit or some such ridiculous thing. ... keeping 1.3 GPA students 4 and 5 semesters is robbing another perspective [sic] student (one that might earn a 2.3) a place in college...

(The flaw in this argument was that as the author implies, Parsons had an “open admissions policy,” and no student, “perspective” or otherwise, would be robbed of a place. All would be grist to the Parsons mill.) The writer continued, perhaps with more justification,

Please do not get me wrong, I'm not against the second chance plan, but there has to be an enforced limit... it is a little disheartening to be told by a student with a 1.8 that he is in the upper half of his graduating class... give everyone a chance, a second chance and possibly a third if warranted, but let it be known that it isn't as everyone says, impossible to be thrown out of here so long as you have money. Use a little blackmail to get students to study so professors won't say that “activities on campus lie in sex, booze and fun. Activities of the mind are sparsely supported.”<sup>117</sup>

Given Parson's Presbyterian and Non-Conformist, Christian, tradition, one aspect of Straus's extra-curricular learning throws an interesting side-light on the multi-cultural impact the College must have had on the Fairfield community:

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<sup>115</sup>J. O. Hall, Parsons College, 5.

<sup>116</sup>Charles S. Benson, The Economics of Public Education. (New York: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1968), 11.

Actually, I did get one thing out of Parsons. Since it was a Christian school, religion was a mandatory class. A few of us were Jewish, and so the school imported a rabbi from nearby Otomwa, ...to instruct us in Judaism. I really learned a lot from that rabbi.

Roberts justified his “philosophy for admissions” as being “in keeping with the work of a Christian college, founded on the principles of a faith which holds that God created all men equal, but with many levels of skills, abilities, and potential,”<sup>118</sup> and Gibson confirms “Roberts’ humanitarian interest in the dignity and worth of undergraduate students.” However the critics were not without a point, for even sub-standard students had to have the ability and potential to pay the fees. Bierlin’s experience tends to confirm Life’s headline of “Flunk-Out U,” for he says “the Parsons experience had as much to do with how I got there as being there and its aftermath.” He explains:

I was throughen out of my previous college for disciplinary reasons on a wed afternoon, on friday morning i interviewed with parsons at their nyc office and attended my first class monday afternoon. now that is service! from a college of about 1100 there were at least 10 at various times that wound up at parsons.”<sup>119</sup>

Jon Anastasia, who “arrived in the fall of 1970 as a transfer student from -- ironically -- Lea College, [a Parsons satellite college, because ] ...my parents feared Lea would go bankrupt...,” offers an interesting perspective on the reasons male students left after Parsons lost its accreditation: “The Fall 1969 enrollment, after accreditation was lost, was about 2,000 -- mostly due to the fact that a young man could not keep his 2-S deferment [from selective military service in Vietnam] if he was enrolled at an unaccredited school.” If they wanted to avoid playing a role in the history of the United States, “They all had to transfer.”<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Letter to “the Editor” signed “Concerned,” Parsons College Portfolio, March 05, 1996 (copy in the files of the NCA Chicago).

<sup>118</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Academic Standards at Parsons College.”

<sup>119</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 30 August 1999.

<sup>120</sup> Anastasio to Spillane, email message, 1 September, 1999.

From a report prepared by “A representative committee of 14 senior faculty members ... for the Personnel and Education Committee of the Parsons College Board of Trustees in March 1963,” Buell quotes the following:

Millard G Roberts was and is the mainspring of action on the Parsons College campus. A man of the kind of driving force that could envision the goals as before stated in an environment as little conducive to the realization of such goals is hardly an easy kind of personality to reckon with. To put it simply, he is a hard man to work with and for.<sup>121</sup>

Presumably these qualities were what the Trustees had been looking for in 1955 when they appointed Millard George Roberts as President, for the College was then at an all time low, “faltering ... a nondescript campus, ... 212 students from the surrounding farm area, ... \$1.2 million in debt and running at a deficit,”<sup>122</sup> “Sluggish, neglected, demoralised, [an]... academic backwater,”<sup>123</sup> and “1,022 nd. of 1,035 accredited American colleges ”<sup>124</sup>

However Roberts strengths may have blinded the Trustees to the weaknesses which others were later to perceive, for the report of the “representative committee of 14 senior faculty members” had continued:

He is intemperate when he feels an obstruction is being created that jeopardises the goals of the College as he sees them. In a situation (without precedent) he shifts policies in various areas, sometimes without notice, when he feels he sees a new method of moving toward the goal. Since for him intent and action are one and the same, he sometimes states the truth which he [is]moving toward as the truth which exists at ... the present moment. He tends to brush aside any obstacle he feels is before the realization of college goals in the most direct way possible. This has led to vigor of action on the one hand and expediency on the other.<sup>125</sup>

However, it is evident that Parsons gave many of its students an opportunity which they had been denied in high school and at other colleges, that although the College had enjoyed and suffered ten years of fame and notoriety, its innovations were in many ways acclaimed. In

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<sup>121</sup> Parsons College, “A Preliminary Report,” prepared for the Personnel and Education Committee, Board of Trustees, Parsons College, by a faculty committee, March 1963 (Quoted Buell, 35).

<sup>122</sup> New York Times, May 18, 1964, 9:2

<sup>123</sup> Boroff, 104.

<sup>124</sup> The Fifteen Year Plan of Parsons College 1955-1970 Eighth Revision (Fairfield: Parsons College, 1962), 5.

<sup>125</sup> Parsons College, “A Preliminary Report,” quoted Buell, 35.

1967, when the NCA withdrew accreditation and so wrote the epitaph for Roberts' Presidency, the NCA examiners had on balance supported the college and, although identifying many weaknesses, had reported:

Parsons College appears to be stronger administratively than it has been at any time in the recent past. Trustees, faculty and administrators all appear to be pulling together at this time to stabilise the college financially and to work assiduously to achieve her goals. ... [the college is apparently successful in] meeting its goal as a 'second chance institution,' [has] a well qualified faculty, ... Board action [has been taken] to curtail enrolment expansion, [and to achieve the] ... strengthening of team teaching.

However there had been other, unseen, factors at work which had emanated from the Presbyterian Church (USA). The NCA Executive Board were to ignore the examiner's recommendation of "conditional reaffirmation of accreditation," supposedly because of a "persistent failure on the part of the college to correct certain serious weaknesses in its operation and the [NCA] Executive Board's lack of confidence in the administrative leadership of the college" The unseen factors were to result in Roberts being dismissed from the Parsons Presidency, so ending his expressed dream of making this "faltering ... nondescript campus"<sup>126</sup> into the "Harvard of the Midwest."<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> New York Times, May 18, 1964, 9:2

<sup>127</sup> Koerner, 3.

## CHAPTER 8

### **WHY, IN VOLTAIRE'S TERMS, THE PRESBYTERIAN PRESIDENT OF PARSONS COLLEGE WAS UNLIKELY TO HAVE HAD GOD ON HIS SIDE**

#### **Dr. Roberts and the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges\***

William K. Selden, in the Prologue to his 1960 book, Accreditation,<sup>1</sup> introduces the fable of a newly appointed university president who, whilst still lacking administrative experience, is faced with a letter from “a national professional association indicating that the accreditation of ...[his] university would be in jeopardy unless certain improvements were made...” The President’s immediate reaction was one of anger, at this seemingly blatant attempt to interfere with the internal affairs of his university and his inclination is to send a blistering reply. However, recalling Voltaire’s dictum that “It is said that God is always on the side of the heaviest battalions,”<sup>2</sup> the President decided that it would be wiser first to determine on whose side the “heaviest battalions” were likely to be. His research convinced him that he should seek to co-operate with the accreditors, rather than oppose them, and he therefore set out to “actively share in the responsibility of reviewing and revising accrediting policies and

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\* Note: I am grateful to Dr. Morris T. Keeton, who read this chapter and confirmed that had Roberts chosen to cooperate with, rather than confront, the NCA, the story could have been very different. Dr. Keeton is the former Professor of Philosophy, Vice-President and Acting President of Antioch College. He served on the Executive Board of the NCA Commission on Institutions of Higher Education from 1973-1977 and was an “institutional evaluator” from 1959 to 1977, in which role he chaired the NCA examination team which visited Parsons in December, 1969, 18 months after Roberts’ departure, and then recommended re-accreditation.

<sup>1</sup> William K. Selden. Accreditation. (New York, Harper Brothers, 1960).

<sup>2</sup> Voltaire to M. le Riche, letter, February 6, 1770, quoted Selden, xv.

procedures and of fostering a spirit for improving other institutions as well as his own.<sup>3</sup> The clear implication is that in consequence both he and his university flourished. Had Dr. Roberts similarly recalled Voltaire's wisdom, he, too, might have adopted a conciliatory and co-operative stance, Parsons College might well have retained its accreditation and still be in existence, as a monument to both his Presidency and his innovations. As it was, when the Reverend Dr. Milliard G. Roberts, Presbyterian Minister and President of Parsons College, came into conflict with the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools he was unlikely, in Voltaire's terms, to have had God on his side.

### **The Variegated Systems for the Regulation of Higher Education in the United States**

Although the American educational ethic provides that higher education should be available to all, and in many cases e.g. New York<sup>4</sup>, Wisconsin<sup>5</sup> and California<sup>6</sup>, the state charter mandates that the state make such provision, the states do not have a monopoly and since the founding of the early colonial colleges, such as Harvard and Yale, there has been a burgeoning private sector. This has comprised religious foundations, philanthropically endowed, non-denominational, not-for-profit and commercial (i.e. proprietary) colleges. Until the post-1862 advent of the land-grant universities these non-state funded colleges did largely enjoy a monopoly for the provision of higher education and even thereafter they tended to predominate, existing alongside or, as in the case of New York, even under the umbrella of the state system.<sup>7</sup> As a result higher education in America has always operated

<sup>3</sup> Selden, 94.

<sup>4</sup> Frank C. Abbott, Government Policy and Higher Education: A Study of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, 1784-1949 (New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), 14.

<sup>5</sup> David B. Frankenburger, "The University of Wisconsin" in ed. J. W. Stearns, The Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin (Madison: The State Committee for Educational Exhibition, 1893), 88-93.

<sup>6</sup> William Warren Ferrier, Origin and Development of the University of California (Berkley, University of California Press, 1930), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Abbott, 23; Selden, 51-52.

in a very mixed economy, with opportunities for colleges to be founded and operated for motives which may owe as much (or more) to profit, religion or ego, than to education.

Both the individual states and the United States Congress were authorised to charter new institutions and, according to Frank G Dickey, "each, seemingly unhampered by tradition, has exercised this power, occasionally with near profligacy."<sup>8</sup> One consequence of this is that, right up to the present day, institutions have been of a very variable standard, not only in terms of entry requirements, but also in terms of the quality of the education they give and the graduates they produce. The most prestigious institutions, private, as in the "Ivy League," and public, as in the Big Ten (actually eleven) of the Mid-West, have always competed for the best students, whilst, at the other end of the college spectrum, smaller institutions, private and community, have had an open admissions policy, with students often making their choice simply on the basis of religious inclination, geographic proximity or the 'social-scene' reputation of the college.

The state-imposed academic, organisational and financial requirements imposed on the colleges varied from state to state<sup>9</sup>, with those in New York, which dated from 1787 being the most rigorous, whilst, as late as 1959, sixteen states, including Massachusetts, Nevada and Oklahoma, had none.<sup>10</sup> In New York, the legislation of 1787, which established the University of the State of New York, required that members of the State Board of Regents should "visit every College in this State once a year" and should submit an annual report to the legislature.<sup>11</sup> L. Geiger tells us that "by 1900, it was recognised that students were crossing state lines... standards and course offerings differed from state to state and there

<sup>8</sup> Frank G. Dickey and Jerry W. Miller, A Current Perspective on Accreditation (Washington DC: American Association for Higher Education, 1972), 1.

<sup>9</sup> Fred F. Harclerode and Frank L. Dickey Educational Auditing and Voluntary Institutional Accrediting. ERIC/HE Research Report No. 1 (Washington DC, American Association for Higher Education, 1975), 3.

<sup>10</sup> Theresa Birch Wilkins, "Accreditation in the States" in ed. Lloyd E. Blauch, Accreditation in Higher Education (Washington DC, US Office of Education, 1959), 33.

<sup>11</sup> Laws of the State of New York, Ch. 82, L. 1787.

was a need for more common standards.”<sup>12</sup> This obviously posed a problem for states such as New York which did impose standards, for Article IV, Section 1 of the Constitution of the United States mandates that “Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, record and judicial proceedings of every other State,” which includes state action, and even inaction, in the regulation of higher education. The Constitution of the United States<sup>13</sup> reserves to the individual states all matters which are not specifically reserved to the Federal government, which includes education and,<sup>14</sup> in consequence, the Federal government found it difficult to intervene.

### **Federal Involvement in the Monitoring of Higher Education**

In 1867, following the Morrill Act of 1862 (which made provision for the Federally endowed land-grant colleges), the US Department of Education was established, with functions which included that of monitoring educational activity in the states and collecting statistics.<sup>15</sup> The following year it was re-designated as a Bureau within the Department of the Interior and, as such, it was headed by a commissioner. From 1870 onwards the US Commissioner for Education published an Annual Report which contained detailed statistical information and an (often critical) commentary on the colleges of the Nation.<sup>16</sup>

In 1875, the year in which Parsons College was founded, Boston, Michigan and Harvard raised their entry requirements for, *inter alia*, the study of medicine and dentistry, and Commissioner Eaton used his report to castigate others, quoting President Angell of Michigan, who had called upon the other colleges to do like-wise, that the ignorant might be “shut ...out of the professions.” (Forty years earlier, Bishop Van Mildert had met similar

<sup>12</sup> L. Geiger, Voluntary accreditation: A History of the North Central Association 1945-1970 (Menasha, WI: North Central Association, 1970)

<sup>13</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the US Constitution.

<sup>14</sup> Edward H. Reisner : “Antecedents of the Federal Acts Concerning Education,” The Educational Record, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July, 1930), 197-8.

<sup>15</sup> Commissioner of Education, Report for the Year 1886-87. (Washington, United States Printing Office, 1888), 642.

sentiments when a fellow bishop had refused to accept Durham graduates because of “the evils to be apprehended from admitting a greater number of the inferior orders of the people into the learned Professions.”<sup>17)</sup>

Eaton also wrote of the responsibilities of colleges to ensure that “It should not be true of any professor ...that his methods are inferior to those of a well trained elementary teacher.”<sup>18</sup> Possibly frustrated at the limitations under which he was required to operate, Eaton was in effect calling for colleges to be self-disciplined and self-regulated.

### **Relations Between Colleges and Secondary Schools**

James E. Grinnell, an educational historian, has argued that at the close of the Nineteenth century: “Nowhere in the educational field....was there more marked discomfort than at the junction between high school and college. The need to perfect a closer articulation at that point was as urgent as any problem of the decade... as educators saw a constantly growing body of students preparing for college.”<sup>19</sup> Selden, in his survey of accreditation in that period, remarks on “the chaotic conditions of this period” and the urgent need for an “...American form of control over academic standards, as the means of assuring better education to the public and of protecting themselves against the pretentious, shoddy, even fraudulent institutions which often called themselves colleges or universities.”<sup>20</sup> In the North-eastern states, two organisations had emerged to address the problem, the New England and the Middle States Associations of Colleges and Secondary Schools, both having amongst their aims the standardisation of the syllabuses for the various college entrance examinations.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Jennings B. Sanders, “The Evolution of Accreditation” in Blauch, 11.

<sup>17</sup> Varley, 238, endnote 15.

<sup>18</sup> Sanders, “The US Office of Education” in Blauch, 16

<sup>19</sup> Grinnell, 472.

<sup>20</sup> Selden, 36.

<sup>21</sup> Selden, 30.

In March 1895, representatives of colleges and schools in the Mid-West gathered near Chicago and formed the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary schools, one of the purposes of which was to establish "closer relations between the colleges and the secondary schools of the North Central states."<sup>22</sup> The representatives came from the great universities of Chicago, Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, and also from Secondary Schools, School districts and smaller colleges such as the Michigan Military Academy, the Principal of the latter being a prime mover in the matter.<sup>23</sup> The proposal was welcomed by the colleges, universities and secondary schools, it being reported that President Harper of the University of Chicago, on being told of the proposal, sprang out of his chair, exclaiming, "Splendid, splendid, just what we need!"<sup>24</sup>

At the first Annual Meeting in 1896, President Jesse of the University of Missouri made proposals to recognise as a college any institution which had adequate entrance requirements, an ordered curriculum over four years, at least eight full time instructors, an adequate library and an adequate endowment and income.<sup>25</sup> In this he was well ahead of his time, for it was not until 1906 that any step was taken towards the accreditation of colleges, although a paper delivered at the 1901 meeting had raised the issue of the variable level of State inspection of colleges and paved the way for the NCA to do so.<sup>26</sup>

In 1905, Frederick L. Bliss, as President of the NCA, was still declaring that "Ten years have not entirely answered these questions...[on what constituted a college]" whilst at the same time congratulating the Association on "bringing something like order out of the chaos of college requirements, and cementing still further the growing union of efforts on the part of colleges and secondary schools."<sup>27</sup> At the same meeting, the NCA committee on college

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<sup>22</sup> NCA, Article II of the First Constitution, Proceedings of the Preliminary Meeting of the North Central States Association (1895), 8

<sup>23</sup> Allan O. Pfniester, "Accreditation in the North Central Region" in Blauch, 52.

<sup>24</sup> Grinnell, 1.

<sup>25</sup> Jesse, 24-34.

<sup>26</sup> Whitney, 25-26.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick L. Bliss, "President's Address," NCA Proceedings (1905), 6.

accreditation declared that it was "loath to recommend the inspection of colleges and universities"<sup>28</sup> and so Jesse's proposals were not adopted for another seven years. Grinnell comments that "the attitude of higher education men towards college accreditation was not more than lukewarm."<sup>29</sup> The colleges had in fact been more concerned with the standard of the secondary schools and with ensuring a steady supply of well-prepared freshmen, rather than in regulating themselves<sup>30</sup> and as a result, in the first ten years of its existence the NCA increasingly took on the role of examining and accrediting the secondary schools.<sup>31</sup> The 1904 meeting received a report on the meaning of a Bachelor's degree and noted that it was no longer the exclusive province of the liberal arts, for many reputable colleges were awarding it for the completion of 'non-classical' courses. However in 1906, the conference did adopt a proposal that the NCA should accredit colleges and although the name of the Commission on Accredited Schools was amended by adding "and Colleges," in fact the colleges were not taken under consideration for another five years.<sup>32</sup>

In 1910, in anticipation of its accrediting function, the NCA had changed its constitution to provide that no college or university would be eligible for membership after 1912 unless it was included on the NCA list of accredited colleges.<sup>33</sup> Accrediting was to be by vote of the whole association upon the recommendation of the commission and in accordance with the report of the inspectors. However in 1911, there had been an upsurge in applications from colleges seeking membership, the inspections had not yet begun and the Board of the NCA decided to delete the inspection requirement and that "Accrediting [should]...be by vote of the Association upon the recommendation of the Commission."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> "Requirements for a Bachelor's Degree," NCA Proceedings (1905), 34-51.

<sup>29</sup> Grinnell, 1.

<sup>30</sup> Forbes, "Federating the North Central Colleges," 11-21.

<sup>31</sup> Allan O. Pfniester, "Accreditation in the North Central Region", in Blauch, 52.

<sup>32</sup> Carman, 81-96.

<sup>33</sup> NCA Proceedings (1910), 21.

<sup>34</sup> NCA Proceedings (1912), 13.

### The Association of American Universities and 'Accreditation'

In 1900 representatives of 14 major institutions, all of which were involved in providing post-graduate study, formed the American Association of Universities (AAU), the intention of which was to provide a forum for the consideration of matters such as admission standards for such study and the equivalence of academic credit when graduate students transferred between institutions.<sup>35</sup> The particular concern of the AAU was shown in its alternative name, that of "The PhD Trust."<sup>36</sup> This was apparently taken at face value by the University of Berlin, which in 1904 announced that as doubts had arisen about the quality of American students applying for post-graduate (i.e. PhD) study and that in future they would only admit Americans who were graduates of AAU member institutions.<sup>37</sup> People holding Master's degrees from other American universities would still be admitted, but would be denied the customary advanced standing.<sup>38</sup> The AAU (or Ph.D. Trust) had, somewhat involuntarily, became a de facto accrediting body.

The AAU considered that this restriction was unfair to graduates of non-member institutions, particularly when other German (and also Dutch) universities followed suit. However it was apparently not prepared to solve the problem by admitting the other institutions to membership. In 1910, as part of the AAU annual meeting, a conference of Deans of graduate schools decided to try and resolve the issue by requesting the US Bureau of Education to prepare and publish a list, in which the American colleges would be suitably classified.<sup>39</sup> The Bureau had at that time a list of some 602 institutions of higher education and Dr. Kendric C. Babcock had recently been appointed as the first Specialist in Higher Education. In collaboration with the AAU, Babcock determined that "An institution, in order

<sup>35</sup> Sanders, "US Office of Education..." in Blauch, 16.

<sup>36</sup> G. E. Maclean, "An American Federation of Learning," North Central Association Proceedings (1906), 3-25

<sup>37</sup> Sanders, "... Evolution..." in Blauch, 11.

<sup>38</sup> Edward James, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Sanders, "US Office of Education..." in Blauch, 11 & 17.

to warrant its inclusion, must give degrees; must have definite standards of admission; must give at least two years of work of standard college grade; and must have at least twenty students in regular college status.<sup>40</sup> Babcock divided those which warranted inclusion into four hierarchical groups, the categorisation being based on the relative success and rate of progress of an institution's graduates in courses leading to graduate degrees.<sup>41</sup>

Although the Bureau had been publishing statistics and commentary in the form of the Commissioner's Annual Report for over forty years, this was its first venture into comparative research, or into research involving the assessment of relative academic standards. The work was completed by October 1911 and a draft was circulated amongst various Deans for comment. In November 1912, when the report was at the galley proof stage, the press published some of the finding, thereby producing an adverse reaction from the colleges and from some members of Congress. This reaction resulted in considerable pressure on President Taft to suppress the report, to which pressure he succumbed.<sup>42</sup>

In 1913 Taft was succeeded as US president by Woodrow Wilson: the AAU then approached Wilson and lodged an official request that the report be published, but Wilson declined to lift the ban. This was presumably not the reaction the AAU expected, for Wilson had previously been President of Princeton University and in 1907 had proclaimed:

We are on the eve of a period of reconstruction. We are on the eve of a period when we are going to set up standards. We are on the eve of a period of synthesis, when, tired of this dispersion and standardless analysis, we are going to put things together into something like a connected and thought out scheme of endeavor.<sup>43</sup>

Babcock, commenting on the suppression of his list, wrote: "Further efforts ... are likely to be more or less hampered by possible political complications and pleas of special groups of

<sup>40</sup> Commissioner of Education, Report for Year Ending June 30, 1911 (Washington DC: United States Printing Office, 1911), 642.

<sup>41</sup> Commissioner of Education, Report for 1911, 884-885, Capen, "Lists and Surveys," 35-41.

<sup>42</sup> Joseph J. Semrow et al, In Search of Quality: the Development, Status and Forecast of Standards in Post Secondary Education. (New York: Peter Lang, 1992), 11.

<sup>43</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "School and College" Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools Proceedings (1907), 73-89.

institutes.<sup>44</sup> The associations opposing classification, including the NCA, were largely concerned with college admissions, whereas the interests of the AAU members lay in admissions to graduate school: both groups were thus concerned with the outcomes of the layer below them, but neither were overly concerned with what happened to the students in between. When Babcock left the Bureau, in 1913, to become a Dean and Provost at the University of Illinois, he was promptly appointed to chair an AAU committee, which later that year published its own list, largely based on that which Babcock had prepared at the Bureau in 1911,<sup>45</sup> but now subdivided into three groups instead of four.<sup>46</sup> This list was effectively based on 'out-come assessments,' being primarily intended to show how well the colleges prepared their students for post-graduate study, rather than to assess the overall educational quality of the undergraduate experience at the institution.<sup>47</sup> It was therefore of limited use in respect of colleges which did not normally send people to graduate school.

That the opposition was not to the Bureau's long established practice of publishing the statistics and providing a commentary on the state of the colleges, but rather to the prospect of the Federal administration seeking to make comparisons, would appear to be demonstrated by the seeming lack of opposition to the subsequent publication by the Bureau, in 1918, of further tables of data and non-comparative commentary relating to colleges.<sup>48</sup> However, whereas the 1911 comparative tables had been a solo effort by the Bureau, the new tables (which were nevertheless largely based on the 1911 data) had been prepared in co-operation with the AAU and various other college and school associations: according to Dickey & Miller "...strong opposition by the associations was voiced to any

<sup>44</sup> Kendric C. Babcock, "Further Coordination of Colleges and Universities," Proceedings of the AAU (1913), 48 - 55.

<sup>45</sup> Charles H. Judd "National Problems in Education," The Educational Record, 1, 2 (April 1920), 85.

<sup>46</sup> Department of the Interior, Report of the Commissioner for Education for the Year Ended June 30, 1915, 1, 151-152.

<sup>47</sup> Samuel P. Capen, quoted by Sanders, "US Office of Education . . .," in Blauch, 18-1.

<sup>48</sup> Samuel P. Capen, Resources and Standards of Colleges of Arts & Sciences: Report of the Committee Representing the Associations of Higher Education Institutions, US Bureau of Education, Bulletin 13, 1918

classification of colleges as had been proposed in Babcock's original list.<sup>49</sup> It was therefore left to the users to interpret the statistics and comments and so draw their own conclusions and if necessary construct their own league table.<sup>50</sup> Babcock's successor, Samuel P. Capen, was later to comment that the lesson for the Bureau had been that "there are no second and third and fourth class colleges; that it was an outrage and an infamy so to designate institutions whose sons reflected honor on the state and the nation."<sup>51</sup> However, there was a growing recognition at the college level that some form of accreditation was inevitable and, indeed, desirable, a recognition which was to find an outlet through the NCA and other regional accrediting bodies.

### **The NCA and the Irresistible Pressures for the Accreditation of Colleges**

Charles H Judd (a former US Commissioner for education) was more direct in his criticism of the educational community, writing "There must be an important defect in our educational outlook if we cannot face the publication of such a list."<sup>52</sup> In fact, what appears to have prompted the reaction was not so much the prospect of the publication of the lists, as the fact that, as stated previously, it was emanating from an organ of the Federal Government at a time when the NCA and the colleges themselves were nervous and well aware of the need to put their house in order. Ten years earlier, A.S. Whitney, in a paper delivered at the 1901 meeting of the NCA had noted that several colleges were sending representatives to inspect colleges, as were some states, and that these 'inspectors' often crossed state lines. He suggested that there should be some form of educational trust or clearing house to standardise such inspections and avoid duplication.<sup>53</sup> (However, George B. Aiton, a School Superintendent, observed, somewhat dryly, that in fact there was a common

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<sup>49</sup> Dickey and Miller, 8

<sup>50</sup> Capen, Resources and Standards.

<sup>51</sup> Capen, "Lists and Surveys...," 35-41

<sup>52</sup> Judd, 85.

but erroneous view that the business of the inspector from the college was to recruit students.<sup>54</sup>)

In 1906, the NCA had considered a proposal that they should accredit colleges, but they were still not yet ready to grasp the nettle, and the proposals were remitted to the following year.<sup>55</sup> At the 1907 NCA meeting consideration had been given to a new definition of what constituted a college of higher learning: this had been formulated by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, not for educational purposes, but to determine if a professor retiring from a particular college would qualify for a Carnegie Fund retirement allowance.<sup>56</sup> However, once again the NCA remitted the matter of accrediting colleges until the following year.<sup>57</sup> In his 1908 report, US Commissioner Elmer Elsworth Brown had called attention to the need for standards, commenting that "...at bottom it is the permanent need of scholastic honesty. The standardising movement ... is necessary indeed to the soundness of our educational freedom and experimentation."<sup>58</sup>

Thus by 1910, from the actions of the US Bureau of Education and of the AAU in seeking to publicise the relative merits of the colleges and from the growing need for interstate regulation, it was apparent that some form of college accreditation was inevitable. That year, in anticipation of its accrediting function, the NCA had changed its constitution to provide that no college or university would be eligible for membership after 1912 unless it was included on the NCA list of accredited colleges.<sup>59</sup> Accrediting was to be by vote of the whole association upon the recommendation of the commission and in accordance with the report of the inspectors. However in 1911, there had been an upsurge in applications from colleges seeking membership, the inspections had not yet begun and the Board of the

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<sup>53</sup> Whitney, 25-26.

<sup>54</sup> NCA Proceedings (1901), 26.

<sup>55</sup> Carman, 81-96.

<sup>56</sup> Henry C King, Statement, NCA Proceedings (1907), 61-66.

<sup>57</sup> NCA Proceedings (1907), 61-66.

<sup>58</sup> Sanders, "US Office of Education..." In Blauch, 17.

<sup>59</sup> NCA Proceedings (1910), 21

NCA decided to delete the inspection requirement and decided that "Accrediting [should]...be by vote of the Association upon the recommendation of the Commission"<sup>60</sup> and it was on this basis that the NCA in 1913 issued its first ever list of "approved" colleges.

The amendment was to be of great and continuing significance for Parsons College, initially working in the College's favour, as in 1913 when it was admitted to the NCA without inspection (and hence given de facto accreditation by virtue of inclusion on the first list), only to be recommended for expulsion when inspected in 1917, but nevertheless managing to retain its membership on appeal, despite the inspectors' adverse report on the college's financial standing.<sup>61</sup> Conversely, in 1950, 1963 and again in 1967, the same amendment worked against the College, for it enabled the Commission to ignore the recommendations made by the visiting inspectors and to withdraw or suspend the College's membership (and hence its accreditation) by a vote taken at the Association's annual meeting.<sup>62</sup> (As a result of Parsons College being admitted just in time for inclusion in that first (1913) list, Roberts was later to make the claim that Parsons College had been a "founding member" of the NCA,<sup>63</sup> seemingly oblivious to the fact that the NCA had been in existence as an association of colleges since 1895.)

This apparent concern of the NCA after 1910 and the relative speed with which they then produced their ad hoc 'approved' list, would clearly appear to have been influenced by external events: in 1905 the National Association of State Universities had set up a National Conference Committee on Standards of Colleges and Secondary Schools,<sup>64</sup> so raising the spectre of State governments setting standards which might be impossible for the many small, more marginal NCA member colleges to meet, for their resources, both financial and

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<sup>60</sup> NCA Proceedings (1912), 13.

<sup>61</sup> NCA, Chicago, undated document in confidential files.

<sup>62</sup> NCA, Chicago, relevant reports of inspectors and examiners and minutes of meetings in confidential files.

<sup>63</sup> Successive Parsons Annual Reports, 1956-1967. (Fairfield IA, Parsons College).

<sup>64</sup> NCA Proceedings (1907).

academic, were no match for those of the state institutions. Then the 1911 action of the Federal Bureau of Education, in attempting to publish a ‘league table’ of colleges, in co-operation with the AAU, also appears to have touched a raw nerve, so prodding the colleges and their associations into action. The 1910 decision of the NCA to publish its own list, the introduction of the blanket “approved” list after it realised it would not be able to meet its deadline to produce the “accredited” list and the hasty amendment of the constitution are all indicative of a perception by the Board of the NCA of pressure for reform. In 1935, George Zook, another former US Commissioner for Education and, from 1927 to 1932, secretary of the NCA, was to look back and comment that “Fear of government in educational affairs and yet a realisation that there must be some means of educational control and guidance produced the accrediting agency.”<sup>65</sup>

### **From ‘Approved’ to ‘Accredited’: The Evolution of Regional Accreditation in the North Central States.**

Once the NCA had grasped the nettle, it soon became apparent that accreditation was not only a necessary process, but that membership of the accrediting association brought its own reward, for a variety of other institutions, private, professional and governmental would come to accept accreditation by a regional association as being the benchmark of quality in higher education. However, before this could happen it was necessary for the NCA to distinguish between the wide variety of colleges which were to be included in the membership. From the time that the first NCA list was issued, there was debate on what standards should be required of an accredited college, with C. H. Judd (secretary of the NCA) arguing in 1914 that standards needed to be strengthened and that requirements

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<sup>65</sup> George F. Zook, “Accrediting Schools and Colleges,” *The Educational Record*, 15, 1 (January 1934), 17.

should be changed and adapted to meet the diversity of institutions which were now coming under the banner of higher education.<sup>66</sup>

By 1917, for the purposes of accreditation the NCA recognised three distinct types of institution of higher education:

1. Colleges and Universities,
2. Normal Schools (which undertook the training of teachers) and
3. Junior colleges (which provided two years of general education (i.e. in liberal studies) equivalent to the first two years of a four year college course.

A questionnaire known as a 'Blank' was developed, which colleges were required to complete as part of the application for accreditation, and an NCA Board of Inspections was established, the function of which was to send inspectors to the institution to verify the accuracy of the information which had been furnished on the 'Blank.'<sup>67</sup>

Thus by the time George Millard Roberts was born on October 1917, the NCA had already gone through its testing time and were fulfilling a function which the American educational establishment, from the US Commissioner of Education through to the presidents and faculty of the individual colleges, generally accepted as being necessary and appropriate. The same year the NCA inspectors had also made their first adverse report on Parsons College and in the thirty-seven years which were to elapse from Roberts' birth to his appointment as President of Parsons College, the NCA was to continually extend leniency to the College, ignoring adverse reports and continuing its membership. Over the same period it was to further consolidate its position and to refine its methods and, in concert with the other five regional accrediting associations, would succeed in defining the academic credibility of any American college or university almost solely in terms of its continuing and unchallenged membership of the appropriate regional association..

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<sup>66</sup> Semrow et al., 12.

<sup>67</sup> Semrow et al., 13.

### **Regional Accreditation: The Move From Standardisation to Self-fulfilment**

Between 1917 and 1934 the information required from a college on the ‘blanks’ and the procedures for verification by inspection were gradually refined. In 1922 notice was given of a substantial increase in the level of endowment required for accreditation: it came into effect in 1927 and some colleges, e.g. Upper Iowa University,<sup>68</sup> were expelled and Parsons College was placed under annual review.<sup>69</sup>

However, the requirements set by the NCA were coming increasingly under attack, the suggestion being that they did not necessarily advance standards, were imposing a straight-jacket on higher education, and were also causing hardships to colleges which, whilst adequately meeting the requirements of their constituency, did not meet the NCA criteria. In 1928 Floyd Reeves and John Dale Russell of the University of Kentucky reported on a study which they had undertaken for the NCA Committee on Cost of Instruction, a study which was intended to address such criticism. They had made an extensive statistical review of the factors, both financial and institutional, which might “guarantee ... a satisfactory college.” One of their first conclusions had been that the NCA did not possess any reliable criteria upon which to make comparisons. According to Morris T. Keeton, one of the institutions they visited that led them to have misgivings about then-used North Central standards was Antioch College. Apparently they found it to be a college very productive of learning, but in violation of a number of the key NCA standards.” Keeton added that “The story has been preserved in the lore of Antioch and was also still discussed in NCA circles in 1959 when I was undergoing training to be an evaluator.”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Crawford, 106.

<sup>69</sup> Confidential document in files of NCA, Chicago, n.d.

<sup>70</sup> Conversation with Morris T. Keeton at Princeton, 22 June, 1998 and subsequent exchange of emails. Dr. Keeton was Professor of Philosophy, Vice-President and Acting President of Antioch College, served on the Executive Board of the NCA Commission on Institutions of Higher Education from 1973-1977 and was an “institutional evaluator” from 1959 to 1977.

Reeves and Russell therefore based their analysis on their visits to some 29 colleges, which they then ranked according to their personal perceptions of relative excellence and concluded that the “only factors which show any considerable relationship with the rating on the basis of inspection are weighted expenditure per student and average salary of instructors.” They suggested that it was necessary for the NCA to find “new bases upon which standards may be founded” and new ways of “evaluating the quality of the work and of measuring the outcome of the instruction offered by the colleges.”<sup>71</sup> Subsequent events were to make this need even more urgent, for on 24th October, 1929, just over a year after Reeves and Russell had published their findings, the stock market crashed, significantly affecting the financial status both of the colleges and their students and so rendering the NCA financial indicators of institutional quality largely obsolete.

A research sub-committee of the NCA, chaired by Melvin E. Haggerty had been specially convened to consider the need for the revision of standards identified and in 1931 it reviewed three such methods:

1. Defining minimal criteria universally applied to institutions seeking recognition;
2. Devising separate standards for institutional categories; and
3. Acknowledging the fact that institutions could not be dealt with wholly as types and attempting to devise a method by which each institution could be accredited in terms of its own clearly stated aims and purposes.

Haggerty categorised the first as being the method currently in use, with “all the limitations that have been experienced,” the second as one which had recently been adopted by default as permitting “the enlargement and enrichment of descriptive standards,” and the third as following from the second (and providing a factor which was vital to the American way of life), that of “individuality.” However, Melvin tempered his enthusiasm for the third by noting that it would require many institutions to define their aims and purposes more

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<sup>71</sup> Floyd W. Reeves and J. Dale Russell, “Standards for Accrediting Colleges,” North Central Association Quarterly, Vol. 3 (September 1928).

closely, for, he observed, whilst “most institutions... make some pretence at defining their aims, but all too frequently... in terms too general to suggest any unique purpose for the institution... and essentially remote from the curricula and the activities of the college.”<sup>72</sup>

In the same year, George F. Zook, Secretary of the NCA and another former US Commissioner for Education, argued in the NCA Annual Report that the accrediting associations were too concerned with accreditation and should devote more effort to research and the development of analytical methods of assessment of quality and less to the imposition of rigid standards.<sup>73</sup> The following year, Samuel P. Capen, President of the University of Buffalo and a former US Commissioner for Education, took the attack to the 1932 NCA annual meeting, arguing in a hard hitting speech (later published in the NCA Quarterly) that “The standardising movement ...has warped our very way of thinking...” and that accreditation should be abandoned, for it was unconcerned with intellectual achievement.<sup>74</sup>

In 1934, the NCA responded to such criticism by adopting the Manual of Accrediting, which defined the procedures to be adopted for the assessment of institutional quality.<sup>75</sup> However, the main measures of quality still tended to be based on statistics, which were designed to compare member institutions. The tables to be prepared by the colleges furnished data on finances, libraries, changes in enrolment, diplomas and degrees awarded, and on faculty employed. The data was then used to prepare charts with the scores of the various colleges organised in percentiles, colleges which fell below the tenth percentile being asked to furnish additional information on which the accreditors could base their decision. From 1934 onwards, the system for the assessment of colleges continued to

<sup>72</sup> M.E. Haggerty, “Part II, The Report of the Research Staff,” North Central Association Quarterly, 6 (September 1931), 206.

<sup>73</sup> George F. Zook, Secretary’s Annual Report, North Central Quarterly, 5 (July 1931).

<sup>74</sup> Samuel P. Capen, “The Principles Which should Govern Standards and Accrediting Practices,” North Central Association Quarterly, 6 (March 1932), 337-343.

<sup>75</sup> North Central Association, Manual of Accrediting (Chicago: NCA, 1934).

develop, and the classification of colleges by type was revised, as were the methods used to measure institutional quality.<sup>76</sup>

### **The Significance of the Enhanced Status of the NCA for Roberts and Parsons College**

World War II resulted in a moratorium on accrediting, but the post-war expansion of higher education provided a stimulus which helped move the NCA forward towards implementing the measures it had been long considering. These included the acceptance of “the importance of qualitative data as well as quantitative, the notion of refined judgment, the need to view the institution as a whole, and the evaluation of the institution in light of its purposes.”<sup>77</sup> It was not until 1957, with the preparation of the first draft of the NCA Guide for the Evaluation of Institutions of Higher Education,<sup>78</sup> published as a formal document in 1959,<sup>79</sup> that the policy of largely qualitative, rather than quantitative, assessment was in place. Semrow et al. comment on the manner in which the change of emphasis was underscored, initially by the adoption of the concept of “evaluation” rather than “inspection” and then by the substitution of the term “Guide” for the term “Manual,” which had previously been used.<sup>80</sup> However, the provision of Federal funds for war veterans necessitated the assessment of the quality of the colleges of higher education and the principle of voluntary accreditation and the status of the NCA and other accrediting bodies were given Federal validation in 1952, when the United States Congress enacted the Korean War GI Bill.<sup>81</sup> This directed the US Commissioner for Education “to publish a list of nationally recognised accrediting agencies which he determines to be reliable authority as

<sup>76</sup> See Semrow et al., 234 -237.

<sup>77</sup> Semrow et al., 238.

<sup>78</sup> Norman Burns, “Accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary schools” in ed. Roy J. Deffari, Self evaluation and Accreditation in Higher Education (Washington DC: Catholic University Press, 1959), 254.

<sup>79</sup> North Central Association, Guide for the evaluation of Institutions of Higher Education (Chicago: NCA, 1959)

<sup>80</sup> Semrow et al., 184.

<sup>81</sup> US Congress, Korean War GI Bill of 1952, Public Law No. S2-550, 5 253, 66 Stat. 663, 675 (1952)

the quality of training offered by an educational institution."<sup>82</sup> The NCA were so listed and, as a result, took on "more of a quasi-public role... [and] became indirectly agents of the federal government."<sup>83</sup>

'Accreditation' by the NCA (or any regional accrediting association) had become "a process that, at its heart, consists of guided self-evaluation and self-improvement and serves as a center-piece to the little understood, informal, but elaborate 'system' of self-regulation in post secondary education."<sup>84</sup> It was intended, in essence, to provide a quality rating for those institutions of higher education which wished to participate, with successful participation resulting in an accredited status. This status confers enormous benefits for all sectors of an accredited institution, ranging from eligibility for State and Federal funding programs, both for the institution and its students, to the possibility of a relatively seamless transfer of a student's academic credits to other accredited institutions and the acceptability of its degrees for admission to accredited graduate schools.

Thus when Roberts was appointed as president of Parsons College in 1955, the NCA had already established its position as guardian of standards for higher education in the North central states and had also received Federal recognition. In contrast, Roberts' experience of higher education had been only as a consumer and not as a purveyor and, unlike Seldon's "newly appointed university president" (quoted earlier) "who, whilst still lacking administrative experience," did some research and decided "to actively share in the responsibility of reviewing and revising accrediting policies and procedures,"<sup>85</sup> Roberts immediately undertook major changes in the means of recruitment, financing and costing at

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<sup>82</sup> Semrow et al., 311.

<sup>83</sup> Semrow et al., 94.

<sup>84</sup> Kenneth E. Young et al, Understanding Accreditation, (San Francisco, Jossey Blass, 1983), x

<sup>85</sup> Selden, 94.

the College, changes which were essentially designed to move Parsons up the collegiate league tables, and which did just that.<sup>86</sup>

This success should have pleased both the North Central Association and the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, which was also concerned with the viability of the College,<sup>87</sup> but his “practical principleless methods” (as they were described by J. D. Mosley, President of Austin College Texas, in a private letter to the Secretary of the Board of Christian Education),<sup>88</sup> although producing results which appeared statistically hard to fault, ran contrary to the newly adopted accreditation philosophy of the North Central Association, which, as stated earlier, was now looking as much, if not more, for ‘quality’ as ‘quantity.’<sup>89</sup>

Pericles is said to have been downcast before the first Peloponnesian War because “great sums of public money had passed through his hands and he knew not how to make up his accounts.” Alcibiades is said to have advised him to contrive “to give no account at all,”<sup>90</sup> advice which could have served Roberts well. Had he placed more emphasis on such success as Parsons College enjoyed in fulfilling its stated aims and purposes (such as that of being a “second-chance college”<sup>91</sup>) and less on boosting and apparently falsifying the College statistics, he might well have enjoyed more success in his subsequent battles with the NCA accreditors.

<sup>86</sup> Parsons College, “Fifteen Year Plan,” Ninth Revision, 1964.

<sup>87</sup> “Advisory Committee on Colleges, Report to the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education,” H-24, November 1954 (PHS Archives).

<sup>88</sup> J. D. Mosley to Dr. E. Fay Campbell, “Personal and unofficial letter,” December 19, 1960 (original in PHS archives).

<sup>89</sup> NCA, Guide for the Evaluation of Institutions of Higher Education

<sup>90</sup> Thucydides, History of the Peloponnesian War, trans William Smith, 1 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1831), 194.

<sup>91</sup> Successive Parsons College Yearbooks, 1955-1968

### **The Role of the Presbyterian Church.**

Although it was his very public battle with the NCA which was eventually to prove fatal to Roberts' ambitions, from the outset of his presidency he had been involved in a separate battle, waged against him (largely in private) by the Board of Christian Education (BCE) of the Presbyterian Church (USA). The BCE failed in its own attempts to unseat him, but it appears that it was information supplied by a "Presbyterian source" to Don Mackenzie, an Associate Secretary of the NCA which aroused the concerns of the NCA.<sup>92</sup> This "source," had suggested that "President Roberts was probably falsifying the financial records of Parsons College." Although the NCA inspectors did not find any evidence to substantiate the allegation, their investigations did provide cause for doubt and prompted a series of inspections by the NCA, which ultimately led to the withdrawal of accreditation from the College, the consequent dismissal of Roberts by the Trustees and the eventual demise of the Parsons College. This chain of events, involving as it does the Presbyterian Church, is not reflected in the previous literature on Parsons College because the Presbyterian records and the NCA files (now made available to the present researcher) have previously been regarded as confidential to the respective organisation. It has thus not previously been apparent that Roberts' battle with the Presbyterian church (USA) had begun even before he set foot on the Parsons Campus, and that his presidency was blighted, if not doomed, from the start.

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<sup>92</sup> J. H. Nelson, Dean of the University of Kansas to Robert F. Sullivan, NCA Associate Secretary, letter, January 30, 1961 (NCA Files, Chicago)

## CHAPTER 9

### **THE UNSEEN HAND OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA) IN THE DEMISE OF PARSONS COLLEGE**

#### **Once Again, “Education cannot Escape History.”**

In the late 1940s, the concerns both of the Presbyterian Church (USA) and the NCA over Parsons College had related largely to its financial viability,<sup>1</sup> which in 1948 resulted in the NCA withdrawing the College's accreditation. Accreditation was restored in June of 1950 and thereafter the NCA took little direct interest in the College until as late as 1959, and then only as a result of information received “from a Presbyterian source.”<sup>2</sup> The College was under the sponsorship of the Board of Christian Education of the (Northern) Presbyterian Church (USA), one of the major Presbyterian churches in North America, based in Philadelphia and, notwithstanding the restoration of the College's accreditation, the Church had continued to have concerns, the validity of which were confirmed by the surveys which it commissioned in 1950 and early in 1951.<sup>3</sup> In 1950, C. L. Winters, Jr. had recommended that consideration be given to a merger with Iowa Wesleyan College<sup>4</sup> writing that he had discussed the situation “...quite frankly” with President Shearer, who was “well

<sup>1</sup> G. W. Rosenlof, NCA Secretary, to President Tom E. Shearer, May 17, 1950. Letter Carbon. NCA Archives, Chicago; and C. L. Winters, Jr., “Survey Report: Parsons College Fairfield Iowa, Jan. 21, 1951.” BCA General Secretary files, PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>2</sup> J. H. Nelson, NCA Inspector, to Robert F. Sullivan, NCA Assistant Secretary, Letter, January 30, 1961. NCA Archives, Chicago.

<sup>3</sup> Winters, Harold H. Viehman, “Survey Report on Expressions of Religious Life Parsons College, Fairfield Iowa, April 9-10, 1951”. BCA General Secretary files, PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> Winters, 29.

aware of the desirability of such a merger and approves further exploration of the idea.” He also commented that “Some years back local attempts at a merger were tried and abandoned. No efforts were made at the national level, however” and, having summarised the arguments for and against, concluded that “a merger of the two institutions will have to come eventually.” Winters had also noted that there was only limited data available on the “Christian Influence of the College”<sup>5</sup> and so, three months later, the Reverend Dr. Harold H. Viehman of the Board of Christian Education was despatched from Philadelphia to survey the “Expressions of Religious life” at the College. Viehman’s report was largely critical, categorising the voluntary religious program as “struggling, weak and sporadic,” and noting that “A credit reduction is the fixed penalty for more than two chapel absences.” Citing the local Presbyterian pastor as his source, he reported “local enthusiasm for college” and that the local (Protestant) churches “seem to have a good relation with the college and support it.”<sup>6</sup>

In a “Confidential Statement” appended to his main report he indicted the religious teaching as “mediocre” with the Chaplain having seemingly “stifled what little natural interest...exists amongst the students.” He also observed that “Dr. Winter’s conclusions concerning the need for a merger in order that this college may be adequate seem fully justified to me.”<sup>7</sup> Both reports paid tribute to President Shearer, Winters describing his leadership of the College as “able,”<sup>8</sup> whilst Viehman categorised it as “vigorous” and as “providing the major strength of the college.”<sup>9</sup> It is thus evident that both surveyors had great confidence in the President, although somewhat less in his staff, their academic

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<sup>5</sup> Winters, 33-36.

<sup>6</sup> Viehman, 1, 8, 6, 8.

<sup>7</sup> Viehman, 11, 35.

<sup>8</sup> Winters, 35.

<sup>9</sup> Viehman, 9.

attitudes, and in the financial stability of the College. However, the consensus was that there was no requirement for precipitous action on the part of the Church,<sup>10</sup> and none was taken.

Possibly as a result of the confidence thus expressed in the President, little more consideration was given to Parson's College by the national church until November 1954, when, Shearer having resigned, the matter was discussed by the members of the Advisory Committee on Colleges of the Presbyterian Church (USA), a sub-section of the Board of Christian Education. The records show that in November 1954 the Secretary was directed to write to the Iowa Synod's Special Committee on Colleges, to acknowledge that it was the function of that committee to study "the whole picture in Iowa" and that "the judgement of that committee will be affected by the overall picture in the Synod...," but to inform them that, as the future of the College was under consideration, it would "seem important ... that Parsons does not secure a President until the Synod's committee has reached convictions on the relationship of the Church to existing colleges."<sup>11</sup> A copy was sent to the Chairman of the Board of Trustees at Parsons, but, possibly to pre-empt the possibility of the college being amalgamated with Iowa Wesleyan, the Parsons College trustees still proceeded with their search for a new president.

The Board of Christian Education operated a Personnel Service Bureau in Philadelphia, the function of which was to vet and approve those seeking a post or office with a Presbyterian institution. Although Dr. Paul Wolfe, Pastor of the Brick Church, had previously asked E. Fay Campbell, Secretary of the General Division for Higher Education, to "recommend [Roberts] for certain positions," it appears that Roberts had not concerned himself with registering with the bureau. In consequence the Bureau had not been given the opportunity to make any inquiries as to his suitability for appointment. On hearing that the Parsons Trustees were considering Roberts for president, Campbell arranged to hold a

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<sup>10</sup> Winters, 35-36; Viehman, 9.

"conference" with Roberts. Following this, Campbell determined that he could not "in good conscience," recommend Roberts, even although he was an ordained minister of the Presbyterian church. He did not state his reasons.

When it became apparent that the Parson's trustees were intent upon making an appointment, the Personnel Service Bureau of the Board of Christian Education supplied them with a list of seven approved candidates, all of whom were registered with the Bureau, Roberts not being included.<sup>12</sup> The Bureau staff also furnished personnel records on the candidates and went to a great deal of trouble over a period of months, as was acknowledged by Ralph M. Sayre, the acting President of Parsons, when informing the Bureau of Roberts' eventual appointment.<sup>13</sup>

The appointment of Roberts caused increased concern in the BCE,<sup>14</sup> but was welcomed at the local, i.e. Iowa Synod and presbytery, level. In 1956 and in 1957, as a result of favourable reports received from the Iowa Synod Board of Visitors, the BCE reluctantly paid the annual appropriation from central funds to the College, but each time resolved to monitor the college closely.<sup>15</sup> President Shearer had built good local relationships and Roberts was able to build on this and to consolidate that support by the use of personal charm, guile and the patronage available to a college president. Koerner claims that, at first, "Things began well enough [for Roberts]," and he argues that it was not until 1958 that the Iowa Board of Visitors and the BCE "began having doubts," although he does acknowledge that "some individuals began having doubts even earlier...."<sup>16</sup> It is, however, apparent that

<sup>11</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, "Report of the Advisory Committee on Colleges, November 1954, II-24. PHS Archives, Philadelphia..

<sup>12</sup> E. Fay Campbell, to Dr William A. Morrison, General Secretary of the Board of Christian Education. Inter-office memorandum, December 9, 1960. PHS Archives, Philadelphia

<sup>13</sup> Ralph M. Sayre to Frederick Leuhring, Director of the Personnel Services Bureau, Board of Christian Education, Presbyterian Church USA. Letter dated April 15, 1955. PHS Archives , Philadelphia.

<sup>14</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, Report. Nov., 1954, II-24.

<sup>15</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, "Recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Colleges," November 1957. Minutes of the Board of Christian Education Meeting of April 25, 1957, Code C, 1-2. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>16</sup> Koerner, 155-156.

he greatly underestimated the concern felt at national level. It is also certain that the appointment of any president (and of Roberts in particular), was made against the express wishes of E. Fay Campbell, General Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education. It is also clear that one or more individuals within the Church sought allies elsewhere, bringing the College under the close scrutiny of the NCA, resulting in the eventual loss of its accreditation,<sup>17</sup> the dismissal of Roberts from the Presidency and the eventual bankruptcy of the College.

### **President Roberts' Relationship with the Presbyterian Church**

Roberts had made many useful connections whilst at the Brick Church in New York and had powerful friends elsewhere in the Church: thus when he was inaugurated as President of Parsons College, those who made the trek to rural Iowa included Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, then the Stated Clerk (i.e. the chief permanent officer) of the Northern Presbyterian Church,<sup>18</sup> and President of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, who gave the inaugural sermon. The speakers at the symposium which followed included Dr. Edward L R Elson, Pastor of the National Presbyterian Church in Washington DC, Dr. George W Reinneison, Treasurer of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, USA (which had opposed the appointment of any president and of Roberts in particular), Dr. Ralph Cooper Hutchinson, President of Lafayette College and several prominent businessmen, including the President of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana.<sup>19</sup>

Power within the Presbyterian Church (USA) was diffused between the Philadelphia centre, the synods and the local presbyteries, and it was to the Iowa Synod that Parsons

<sup>17</sup> Dr. J. H. Nelson, Dean at the University of Kansas and leader of the 1959 NCA inspection team, to Robert F. Sullivan at the NCA. Letter, January 30, 1961. He explains the reason for the 1959 inspection of the college was that "Don Mackenzie had received word from a Presbyterian source. . ." (See later). NCA Archives, Chicago.

<sup>18</sup> Rycroft, 154. (Koerner, 10, in giving a brief account of the 1955 inauguration, records Dr. Eugene Carson Blake as the "General Secretary of the World Council of Churches," a position he did not in fact assume until 1966.)

College was primarily accountable. President Shearer, Roberts' predecessor, had been well esteemed by the BCE in Philadelphia, having "sold himself and his program to the church in a remarkable manner...." He had also made a point of cultivating members of the Synod of Iowa,<sup>20</sup> and the local presbytery, Winters reporting that "The local churches strongly approve and generously support the college."<sup>21</sup> Harold H. Viehman, Secretary of the BCA attributed the enthusiasm of the members of the local Presbyterian church for the College to "...personal cultivation by [President Shearer]."<sup>22</sup>

Roberts inherited a substantial fund of goodwill, but his relationship with the BCE remained cool. His success in obtaining support, both in New York through the influential connections he made whilst he was at the Brick Church and also locally within Iowa,<sup>23</sup> appears to have shielded him from the disquiet which he engendered within the church at the national level. In 1957 he wrote, "I have tried...To make friends on the Synod...to that end we gave President Fisher a degree at Buena Vista [College]...."<sup>24</sup> Moreover, Curtiss R. Douglas, who was minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Fairfield and a member of the Board of Trustees of Parsons College, was also chairman of the Iowa Synod's Special Committee on Colleges, to which had been addressed the recommendation from the National Committee that Parsons should not yet secure a president. He was also a member of the Board of Christian Education and of the church's Standing Committee on Education.

Although in 1956 the [BCE] Counselling Committee on Higher Education sanctioned the payment of \$13,911.00 to Parsons "in accordance with customary procedures, [and] as

<sup>19</sup> Parsons College, Visitors Program for the Inauguration of Dr. Millard George Roberts

<sup>20</sup> Curtis R. Douglass, a member of the Parsons College Board of Trustees. Statement to North Central Association, n.d. but c. June 1950, NCA archives, Chicago, 4.

<sup>21</sup> Winters, 28

<sup>22</sup> Harold H. Viehman, Report to the Board of Christian Education April 1950, attributed the enthusiasm of the members of the local Presbyterian church for the college is to "...personal cultivation by the president.." PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>23</sup> Parsons College, Visitors Program for the Inauguration of Dr. Millard George Roberts

<sup>24</sup> M. G. Roberts, Letter to Richard Hoerner, Chairman of the Parsons Board of Trustees, July 4, 1957. Carbon copy. Trustees file, Parsons College Archive, Fairfield Iowa.

recommended by the Board of Visitors of the Synod of Iowa," the members of the Committee were clearly unhappy with the situation, for they added a rider that it should be

...clearly understood that there shall be no further appropriations made by the Board of Christian Education to Parsons College pending the receipt by the Board at its November 1957 meeting of a comprehensive report from the said Board of visitors and the [Board of Christian Education]Advisory Committee on Colleges, dealing with:

- a. Academic soundness and Christian penetration of the educational program.
- b. Economic stability and administrative and financial policies.
- c. Need for a college in the area.

A year later the Iowa Board of Visitors duly reported that "The academic program is being steadily improved...the Board of Visitors are working in close and cordial cooperation with the authorities of the College in assuring a sound educational program in the future," that "The Board of Visitors are unanimous in the belief that there is no formula by which Christian penetration can be tested or measured," that "The financial status of Parsons College is much improved...," and that "Parsons College is an increasingly important asset to the Church and the community it serves, and that it is now filling a definite need which will expand in the years to come." As a result the Committee cautiously recommended that payment again be made, but that the college still be kept under close scrutiny with payment in 1958 to depend on the recommendation from the Board of Visitors.<sup>25</sup>

In 1959, four years into Roberts' presidency, R. N. Hoerner, chairman of the Parsons trustees, was to write to Roberts offering his opinion that "It is very evident that Fay [Campbell] has a little grudge out against Parsons somehow or other."<sup>26</sup> However, given the good relationship which the College had enjoyed with the BCE during the presidency of Dr.

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<sup>25</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, "Recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Colleges," November 1957. Minutes of the Board of Christian Education meeting of April 25, 1957, Code C, 1-2. PHIS Archives, Philadelphia.

Shearer, it appears likely that Hoerner was being tactful and that any "little grudge" was actually against Roberts rather than the college.

Roberts continued to cultivate the Iowa Presbyterians, particularly members of the Synod of Iowa. Amongst these was Curtiss R. Douglas, minister of the First Presbyterian Church in Fairfield and a member of the Board of Trustees of Parsons College, who had presumably played a role in Roberts appointment, despite also being chairman of the Synod of Iowa Special Committee on Colleges, and, at national level, a member of both the Board of Christian Education and of the Church's Standing Committee on Education. Thus he was party to the BCA National Committee recommendation that Parsons should not yet secure a president, to the Iowa Synod Committee to which it had been addressed and to the Parsons Board of Trustees which had made the appointment.

Roberts also recruited three other members of the Iowa Synod to be trustees of the college, amongst whom was Keith McWilliams, an Iowa attorney and Parsons alumnus, who served as both a Synod of Iowa trustee and a Parsons College trustee, whilst concurrently acting as Legal Counsel for the College.<sup>27</sup> In this way Roberts effectively neutralised the Synod's Board of Visitors, which was charged with inspecting the Presbyterian colleges, and so provided himself with a shield against the criticism which was to emanate from Presbyterian headquarters in Philadelphia. In consequence, discussion of Parsons College at the meetings of the Board of Christian Education and its committees often centred on how best to work round the Roberts-Iowa Synod axis and by September 1960, the BCE Iowa Field Officer, Rev. Paul Shurtleff, was making recommendations on the "best strategy" to side-step the Iowa Synod Board of Visitors.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> R. N. Hoerner to Dr. M. G. Roberts. Letter, February 26, 1959. Trustees correspondence file, Parsons College Archives.

<sup>27</sup> Millard G. Roberts to Harold H. Viehman, Secretary of the BCA. Letter, April 16, 1964. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Shurtleff to E Fay Campbell. Inter-Office Memo, September 26, 1960 (BCE Secretary's files, PHS Archives, Philadelphia).

Thus in 1960, at a meeting of a special sub-committee of the BCE Advisory Committee on Parsons College, E. Fay Campbell, Secretary of the BCE said, "In this particular case you have to go round the president and talk with Mr. Hoerner [chairman of the Parsons board of trustees]...." The meeting decided that a copy of an adverse report on the College should go to the BCE immediately, that Hoerner should be handed a copy (minus the committee recommendations) at a meeting with the BCE Special Committee, but that the Iowa Synod's Board of Visitors should not be given a copy until later.<sup>29</sup>

In 1961, John D. Moseley, President of Austin College Texas, made a survey visit to Parsons and wrote to the Secretary of the General Division for Higher Education of the BCA saying that he had "...no sympathy with [Roberts]... practical principleless methods."<sup>30</sup> In turn, William A Morrison, General Secretary, Board of Christian Education wrote to Hoerner, Chairman of the Parsons Trustees informing him that "Serious questions are being raised not only in the church but in non-church groups concerned with higher education ...about ...[Roberts'] personal and professional integrity..."<sup>31</sup>

Early in 1963, six Parsons professors prepared a 42 page report in which they detailed their dissatisfactions with affairs at the College, and with President Roberts in particular and on March 1, 1963 they delivered a copy to Dewey B. Stuit, Secretary to the BOV. Stuit immediately notified Harold Viehman, Secretary of the BCA, his letter including the information that the BOV would be meeting in April and that "it would seem likely that we shall want to take some action on Parsons at that meeting,"<sup>32</sup> but no action was forthcoming. By then Roberts' ability to hold the Iowa Board of Visitors at bay appears to have been fading, for at a meeting in April 1963 the Board of Visitors formally protested "the fact that

<sup>29</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, "Minutes of Special Meeting on Parsons College, Hotel Warwick, Monday November 14, 1960." PHS Archives, Philadelphia, 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> John D. Moseley, President of Austin College Texas. Letter to E. Fay Campbell dated December 19, 1960. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>31</sup> William A Morrison, General Secretary, BCE, to Richard Hoerner, Chairman of Parsons College Board of Trustees. "Personal and confidential" copy letter. January 17, 1961. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

certain members of the Synod Board of Trustees had been retained by the administration of Parsons College regarding matters in conflict...” between the Board of Visitors and the College.<sup>33</sup>

The eventual downfall of Roberts as President of Parsons College is generally attributed to the withdrawal of accreditation by the NCA.<sup>34</sup> According to Koerner, when Roberts took over as President, the Synod of Iowa Board of Visitors was worried more by the financial problems of the College than about Roberts as an administrator.<sup>35</sup> Koerner also argues that when the College “separated” from the Presbyterian church in October 1963, “Parsons took the initiative in making this historic break, and not the church as seems to be widely believed.”<sup>36</sup> However, Roberts does not appear to have taken that view, for John Oliver Hall (cited by Koerner on other matters, but not on this) quotes from a 1964 newspaper interview, in the course of which Roberts had reportedly said “The school is making so much money (\$2,200,000 income over outgo (sic) this year) that it has been able to break its financial affiliation with the Presbyterian Church..”<sup>37</sup> It should be noted that Roberts referred to a break in the “financial,” rather than in the “spiritual” or other affiliation.

In 1960, John D. Moseley, President of Austin College Texas had complained that he had “no sympathy with [Roberts] … practical principleless methods”<sup>38</sup> and two months later William A Morrison, General Secretary, BCE, wrote to Richard Hoerner, Chairman of Parsons College Board of Trustees saying "Serious questions are being raised not only in the church but in non-church groups concerned with higher education ...about ...[Roberts'] personal and professional integrity' and “...the major problem in connection with Parsons

<sup>32</sup> Dewey N. Stuit to Harold Viehman, BCA Philadelphia. Letter, March 1, 1963. PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>33</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, “Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Visitors, McNeal hotel, Des Moines, Iowa, April 8-9, 1963, PHS Archives, 1.

<sup>34</sup> Koerner, 212-13.

<sup>35</sup> Koerner, 155.

<sup>36</sup> Koerner, 162.

<sup>37</sup> John Oliver Hall, 20, quoting The Pittsburgh Press, April 10, 1964.

College is the matter of the integrity of the President.”<sup>39</sup> The BCE had ample cause to take a stronger line with the College, yet they took no direct action, relying on the NCA to deal with the matter.<sup>40</sup>

Despite there apparently being ample cause for a major investigation, it was to be another seven years before Roberts was removed from the Presidency, and then not as a result of any direct action by the sponsoring church. Given the reputation of the Presbyterians for probity, this is surprising, but the answer may well lie in the fact that events at Parsons were being played out against a tumultuous background, which previous accounts of events at Parsons College do not appear to have taken into consideration. Roberts’ success in playing off the BCE against the Iowa synod had possibly been facilitated by the concern of the Presbyterian Church USA to keep their differences within the church.

### Schisms and Shifts in the Shadow of the American Civil War

Although Koerner refers to the Board of Christian Education as being a “national arm of the Presbyterian Church,”<sup>41</sup> in fact there were three major and several minor “Presbyterian” churches in the United States. The three major churches were the (Northern) “Presbyterian Church in the USA” (to which Roberts belonged), the (Southern) “Presbyterian Church in the US” and the “United Presbyterian Church of North America.” In order to understand the sensibilities of the Board of Christian Education in its handling of Parsons College, and particularly in its relationship with the Synod of Iowa and the Presbytery of Fairfield, it is essential to appreciate the turbulent histories and inter-relationship of the various Presbyterian Churches in North America.

<sup>38</sup> John D. Moseley, President of Austin College, Texas, to E. Fay Campbell. Letter, December 19, 1960. following a survey visit to the college. PHS Archives, Philadelphia

<sup>39</sup> William A. Morrison to Richard N Hoerner. “Personal & confidential” letter, January 17, 1961. Copy in PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>40</sup> J. H. Nelson, Dean at the University of Kansas and leader of the 1959 NCA inspection team, to Robert F. Sullivan at the NCA. Letter, January 30, 1961. NCA Archives, Chicago.

The successful transfer of the principles of Presbyterianism from Scotland and Ireland to the unsettled American colonies had called for a great deal of local compromise,<sup>42</sup> which in turn had resulted in friction.<sup>43</sup> From 1741 to 1801, schisms were followed by coalescences amongst the various factions,<sup>44</sup> the result not only of doctrinal and procedural disputes, but also over the power structure within the churches. According to some Presbyterians, a ‘critical mass’ could only be achieved on the frontier through co-operation with the Congregationalists, the two denominations finding themselves in close contact in upstate New York, with much common ground. The main difference between them was that whereas authority lay at the periphery in the Congregational Church (which had a loose structure more suited to frontier conditions), in the Presbyterian Church it lay with the Synod.<sup>45</sup> The matter was complicated by the polarising effect of the American War of Independence,<sup>46</sup> which in turn was followed by a wave of revivalism and a firm proposal that the Presbyterians should merge with the Congregationalists.<sup>47</sup>

Those against a merger had a majority in the General Assembly and in 1837 had voted to expel the dissidents, who comprised 45% of the Church, and the two groups then became known as the “Old School” and the “New School.”<sup>48</sup> The division also hinged on the question of slavery, the Old School condemning slavery itself, whilst the New School tended to attack the abuses associated with it.<sup>49</sup> Thus in 1855, when Louis B. Parsons made his Last Will and Testament, the Presbyterian Church in the United States was divided in two, the ‘New School’ or reformed church (comprising presbyteries which favoured co-operation, if not union, with the Congregational Church) and the ‘Old school’ or

<sup>41</sup> Koerner, 155.

<sup>42</sup> Rycroft, 31.

<sup>43</sup> Rycroft, 58.

<sup>44</sup> Lake, 36 - 37.

<sup>45</sup> Lake, 16 & 36.

<sup>46</sup> Lake, 49-50.

<sup>47</sup> Lake, 55-57.

<sup>48</sup> Lake, 63-65.

<sup>49</sup> Rycroft, 63.

conservative group which was against such co-operation and held that ministers had to be educated at Harvard, Yale or a Scottish university rather than at one of the local seminaries and colleges which were springing up in the frontier towns.<sup>50</sup> That Parsons, in seeking to found a new college in the West rather than supporting an ‘old’ university in the East, should favour the New School was thus totally logical. In his testament he therefore provided that “...while I would not desire said Institution to be strictly sectarian in its character, yet its best interests require it should be under the control of some religious denomination, and I therefore direct that it shall be under the supervision of Trustees, Presbytery or Synod, ....of that branch of the Presbyterian Church distinguished as the New School....”<sup>51</sup> Parsons also added that he trusted that the time “will speedily come... when a reunion of the two branches of the...Church shall be honorably accomplished.” In fact in 1857, a year after he died, the New School itself split, having became polarised on the question of slavery,<sup>52</sup> and the executors of the will then deferred a decision until the situation had clarified. Similar tensions existed in the Old School Church and these came to a head after the start of the American Civil War of 1861-65 and in 1861 it too divided.<sup>53</sup> Thus, whereas, broadly speaking, there had previously been an East-West, conservative/liberal, split, there was now also a North-South, anti-slavery/slavery, split, resulting in four major branches of the Presbyterian Church. In 1862, a year into the war, the Northern faction of the Old School mooted re-unification to the Northern faction of the New School, although this did not come to fruition until 1869. Meanwhile in the Confederate south, the two factions had united in 1864 to form “The Presbyterian Church in the United States,” thus partly fulfilling Parsons’ wish.<sup>54</sup> However, as Iowa was a Union state, this was presumably of limited utility to the Parsons executors and the distribution of the assets was

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<sup>50</sup> Lake, 24-25.

<sup>51</sup> Knight, 16-17.

<sup>52</sup> Lake, 70.

<sup>53</sup> Lake, 74.

again postponed.<sup>55</sup> In 1869 negotiations began for reunification of the northern branches of the Old School and the New School and in 1870 this was accomplished.<sup>56</sup> The Parsons Executors then moved forward and selected Fairfield as the site for the new college.

Overtures by the Northern to the Southern church were rebuffed in 1894, and further joint discussions failed in the 1930s.<sup>57</sup> In 1937, matters were further complicated by a doctrinal dispute which resulted in the schism of another group from the Northern church, to form the Bible Group Synod.<sup>58</sup> From 1937 to 1949 there were merger negotiations conducted between various combinations of the three major Presbyterian churches, The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (the Northern Church), The Presbyterian Church in the United States (the Southern Church) and the United Presbyterian Church, and other Protestant denominations, none of which came to fruition, although some came very close.<sup>59</sup> In one case, it was the Mid-West section of the Reformed Presbyterian church (which included its Iowa presbyteries) which voted the proposal down, although its other (Eastern) section supported it.<sup>60</sup> In 1949 the Northern Church and the Southern Church started to develop a plan for unification,<sup>61</sup> and in 1950 they jointly approached the much smaller United Presbyterian Church of North America with “an invitation to unite with . . . [them] in . . . [their] program of acquaintance and cooperation and in the plan of union which [they] are jointly developing.”<sup>62</sup> Negotiations were completed in 1954, but when the plan was put to the vote in 1955, the presbyteries of Southern church (which had initially been one of the prime movers) demonstrated their independence, no fewer than 43 of the 96 voting against union, and the three-fourths majority not being achieved, the plan failed.

<sup>54</sup> Lake, 72.

<sup>55</sup> Fulton, 23.

<sup>56</sup> Rycroft, 140.

<sup>57</sup> Lake, 83-84, 96

<sup>58</sup> Lake, 102.

<sup>59</sup> Rycroft, 147-149.

<sup>60</sup> Rycroft, 145.

<sup>61</sup> Rycroft, 151.

A report prepared by the Northern church attributed the negative vote by the Southern church presbyteries, in part to “the atmosphere of strong feelings about the Supreme Court’s decision on desegregation in schools” and, in part, to “a persistent misleading attack on the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America [the Northern church] … as ‘Northern,’ ‘unorthodox,’ ‘centralized in administration,’ ‘too large,’ [and] ‘unspiritual…’.”<sup>63</sup> It appears that a major concern of the individual presbyteries of the Southern Church was that the independence that they enjoyed might be curtailed in any unified church, and that the Northern Church might well be looking forward to unification as a means of re-establishing dominance over the South. If, as seems likely, the report prepared by the Northern Church was correct and the vote in the South had been influenced by the Supreme Court decision, then the negative vote could be seen as a reluctance by the presbyteries in the Confederate South to accept that the Civil War was over.

Even so, the door was not closed, for the following year the 1955 General assembly of the Northern Church heard the Southern Church fraternal delegate extend fraternal regards and ask the Northern Church to “be patient with [its] … sister denomination in the South.”<sup>64</sup> At their own General assembly, in June 1955, the Southern Church resolved that:

The rejection of the plan of union by the vote of the presbyteries of our Church is not to be interpreted as a lack of confidence in their churches, or as a lack of desire for closer Christian fellowship; but is due to the conviction of a constitutional majority of our presbyteries that the interest of Christ can best be served by the continued existence of the Presbyterian Church, United States, as an independent body.<sup>65</sup>

It was at this time, and against this background, with the Southern Church concerned that in any union the independence of their presbyteries might be curtailed by the North, that the Parsons Trustees found it necessary to recruit a new President for their college, situated in

<sup>62</sup> United Presbyterian Church NA, Minutes of the General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church of North America, 1950, Vol. XXII, No. 3, 796.

<sup>63</sup> Rycroft, 152-153.

<sup>64</sup> Lake, 123.

<sup>65</sup> Lake, 124.

the Mid-West, where the rival Reformed Presbyterian Church had recently voted against union.<sup>66</sup>

In fact the broader fears of the Southern Church were not without foundation. In 1950, the survey by C. L. Winters, Jr., for the BCE in Philadelphia, had posited the possibility that Parsons College be merged with nearby Iowa Wesleyan College, which, under a previous unification, was now within the Northern Church fold.<sup>67</sup> Then, when President Shearer resigned, the BCE Secretary in Philadelphia wrote to the Synod of Iowa, with a copy to the Chairman of the Parsons Trustees, saying that as the future of the College was under consideration it would “seem important …that Parsons does not secure a President until the synod’s committee has reached convictions on the relationship of the Church to the existing colleges.”<sup>68</sup> Demonstrating their independence, the College Trustees then proceeded to engage Roberts, who was unlikely to submit to the Synod of Iowa, or to accept directions from the Board of Christian Education in Philadelphia. Roberts was also a man who might have been more at home in the Southern Church, both in terms of his need for independence and his social opinions.

In 1963, eight years after his appointment, “A representative committee of 14 senior faculty members” prepared an assessment of Roberts for the Personnel and Education Committee of the Parsons College Board of Trustees. This, in part, read:

“Millard G. Roberts was and is the mainspring of action on the Parsons College campus. A man of the kind of driving force that could envision [such major goals] … in an environment as little conducive to the realization of such goals is hardly an easy kind of personality to reckon with. To put it simply, he is a hard man to work with and for. He is intemperate when he feels an obstruction is being created that jeopardises the goals of the College as he sees them. … He tends to brush aside any obstacle he feels is before the realization of college goals in the most direct way possible. This has led to vigor of action on the one hand and expediency on the other.”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Rycroft, 145.

<sup>67</sup> Winters, 36.

<sup>68</sup> Presbyterian Church USA, “Report of the Advisory Committee on Colleges, November 1954,” H-24, PHS Archives, Philadelphia.

<sup>69</sup> Parsons College, “A Preliminary Report,” quoted by Buell, 35.

In 1964, Roberts published a 71 page monograph, A Plan for the Negro Colleges (which was the terminology of the time). In his introduction he argued that "The Negro must advance culturally with his white neighbors or he can be formed into a bloc which can be manipulated by communist theory on the left and fascist theory on the right" and that because "Negroes have less money than any other group... The plan must find a way of providing better education for less money for the Negro, or it will fail."<sup>70</sup> He then listed the states "with large Negro populations" and argued (without references, although he has ample elsewhere) that:

Historians have often pointed out that these Southern States, along with others, have long held political positions which are dictated by the fear of the Negro vote, rather than by democratic self-interest. The greatest single fear is "integration of the races," which has not been allowed in the South, and is not looked on favorably by Americans in most sections of the country. But total separation of education at all levels has hurt Southern business for nearly a century, for it has created an unusual "class structure" and has left government in the hands of pressure groups at the state level.<sup>71</sup>

He then advocated separate college education for "Negroes," writing:

One can quickly ask, why not establish integrated colleges for both whites and Negroes in the Northern States? All of us must realize that the Negro problem will constantly give us a political hotfoot (sic) in major Northern States and on a national level as well, and that theories about integrated colleges in the North are paper tigers. ... Serving as potent political power groups in the largest cities of our most populous states, the Negro "blocs" are essential to the control of power in those states. With the "big city" vote often balancing the "upstate" or "downstate" vote, the Negro "blocs" often mean the difference between victory or defeat for a political party. In return for their votes, the Negroes are increasingly asking for things they want, and they sometimes get them. They ask for (1) integration in schools, so their children will hold better jobs in the future; (2) integration in jobs, so they can hold better jobs now. The laws passed in these major states demonstrate their power. In order to get these ends, Negro 'blocs' are often willing to support and place in power special interest groups, and the danger of such power centers grows constantly in these states.

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<sup>70</sup> M. G. Roberts, Negro Colleges, 1.

<sup>71</sup> M. G. Roberts, Negro Colleges, 4.

With such roadblocks in clear evidence, it is obvious that the Northern Negroes will support integrated education only, and that they will seek to thwart rising Negro colleges in the North.<sup>72</sup>

For these reasons, he advocated the promotion of "Negro colleges" in the South.

The two major barriers to the Southern Church joining the Northern Church were said to have been "the atmosphere of strong feelings about the Supreme Court's decision on desegregation in schools" and a conception that the Northern Church was 'centralized in administration' and liable to erode the individual independence of the Southern presbyteries.<sup>73</sup> Thus, in their quest for union with the South, it behoved the Northern Church officers in Philadelphia to avoid any overt indication that they were seeking to circumvent the Iowa Synod or to undermine Roberts, whose views exemplified those which found favour in the South. Any such indication would have tended to reinforce the suspicions of the southern Presbyterians, which may well explain why the BCA were so circumspect in their dealings with Roberts, and why the church left such action to the NCA. When weighed against the major matter of the reunion of the Presbyterian churches in North America, Parsons College and its turbulent priest would have been of little account.

In consequence, when the Reverend Dr. Milliard G. Roberts, Presbyterian Minister and President of Parsons College, came into conflict with the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education of the North Central Association of Colleges and Schools he was unlikely, in Voltaire's terms, to have had either God or the Presbyterian Church (USA) on his side.

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<sup>72</sup> M. G. Roberts, Negro Colleges, 5-6.

<sup>73</sup> Rycroft, 152-153.

## Chapter 10

### **ENTREPRENEURIAL FOLLY OR JUSTIFIABLE ARROGANCE? Southampton Institute, 1988-1998**

#### **Introduction**

At Parsons College, the events under consideration took place in the 1960s and those at UIU from the 1970s onwards, in both cases within the relatively free market which had gradually developed in the United States. From 1988 onwards, British government policy in the United Kingdom was geared to creating a similar market, with the intention being to substantially increase the supply of higher education within existing resources, so lowering unit costs. The number of institutions permitted to supply degree programmes and diplomas was substantially increased, with franchising and accrediting schemes enabling even minor colleges to participate in the provision of higher education, a trend which seems likely to continue.

At the beginning of 1988, Southampton Institute of Higher Education (SIHE) was under the control of Hampshire Education Authority, which prohibited it from providing full-time courses which might compete with its Hampshire stable-mate, Portsmouth Polytechnic. Given its freedom by incorporation in 1988, SIHE recruited an entrepreneurial principal and proceeded to expand until ten years later it had become (to use its own description) "the largest college of higher education in the United Kingdom, larger than two thirds of all UK

universities."<sup>1</sup> It is also the largest institution in the UK not have the power to grant its own degrees, for which purpose it has to rely on its franchise agreement with Nottingham Trent University (NTU). Whilst this does not disadvantage SIHE or its graduates (or rather its students who graduate from NTU) to the extent that non-accreditation does in the United States, it does mean that it has to satisfy several masters: the NTU as franchiser, the HEQC (or rather, now, the QAA) as the "accrediting agency," the HEFCE, as paymaster in respect of funded places, and the National Audit Office as the Government auditor. However as SIHE is a self-governing corporation, these external controls operate at a distance and were initially far less onerous than those which were imposed by Hampshire County Council.

In 1988, SIHE became a higher education corporation, with 4,000 students and was free to offer full-time courses of an approved standard. David Leyland was appointed Principal and the college then achieved substantial growth in terms of degree programs, real estate and enrolment: within 5 years the latter had increased to 12,500,<sup>2</sup> and by 1997, when Leyland retired, it was over 15,000.<sup>3</sup> The parallels with Parsons College extend into areas which included the processes of governance and accreditation, adversarial relations with college staff, the press, the public, and other institutions; and the adoption of the philosophy and methods of the entrepreneur, who is concerned to sell a product rather than serve a client, whether student or sponsor. As with the statistics prepared at Parsons College, the figures sometimes appear to reflect the point to be made, rather than vice versa. Thus, in the SIHE catalogue for 1995, the 1989 figure was "5,000" and the 1995 figure is "nearly 13,000." The (possibly more reliable) internal document dated July 1996, "Management Information Performance Indicators 1994-1995," Section 5B gives 4,637 for 1991, 10,258

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<sup>1</sup> SIHE (1995), "Degrees of Excellence, a corporate brochure outlining the work, scope and vision of the largest college of higher education in the United Kingdom," inside cover.

<sup>2</sup> SIHE (1995), 3.

<sup>3</sup> Southampton Institute Board of Governor's Press Statement dated 20 June, 1997 (20.6.97 DS/le/97lyn05/ds-state.dgl).

for 1993 and 12,589 for 1994. In contrast the SIHE Catalogue for 1993 gives a more conservative figure for 1993 of 10,053.

One significant area in which the institutions differed was that of initial stability: when Roberts took over at Parsons College he found that he had a firm and well established, if small and unknown, degree-granting college as a base from which to expand. He also, initially at least, enjoyed the goodwill of the local press, having the Editor as both a Governor and a benefactor of the College. In contrast, Leyland was to operated under a new and (to some extent) untested mode of governance in an institution which was geographically fragmented and had only recently seen the involuntary resignations of both its Principal and the Chairman of its Board of Governors, and then under circumstances which had drawn intense (and adverse) press scrutiny.

Just as Parsons had been censured and eventually lost the right to award degrees as an accredited college, so Southampton Institute failed in its essential goal of achieving degree-granting status and was censured by the HEQC. Both Parsons and the Institute had sought to keep their critics at bay by recruiting a senior academic from amongst the accreditors, but in each case the person appointed was subordinate to the President or Principal and proved unable to curb the excesses of their superior. At both colleges, when matters came to a head, the President/Principal resigned involuntarily, with Southampton Institute again recruiting an accreditor, securing the services of Dr. Roger Brown, former head of the HEQC, as Principal with a remit to consolidate and to achieve degree-granting status for the Institution. At Parsons the job had been given to a succession of insiders, and the College had eventually succumbed to bankruptcy.

## Background

Southampton Institute had been established in 1984 through the merging of Southampton College of Art, a Victorian foundation, with Southampton College of Technology, which from 1972 had offered a Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) BSc degree in mathematics. It had, for a time, expanded its degree work on a modest scale, although this later diminished as the college entered a “slow period of evolution in the 1980s....”<sup>4</sup> The Institute operated under the aegis of Hampshire County Council, which, as the Local Education Authority, also had control of fourteen other colleges and the polytechnic at Portsmouth. In order to reduce competition for the polytechnic, Hampshire regulated the courses offered by the other colleges and largely limited the Institute to the provision of part-time higher level professional courses. Although the Institute had applied to run mandatory award bearing courses, these had to be approved by the Department of Education and Science (DES), which in turn relied on advice from Regional Committees. These committees included representatives from local institutions, which might be expected to have a vested interest in limiting new competition for their own courses.<sup>5</sup>

In 1985, the Further Education Act authorised colleges “to sell goods and services which arise as by-products of their educational activities,” and from thereon the Institute found that Hampshire County Council was withdrawing “topping-up funding.”<sup>6</sup> In 1986 the Institute recognised that it could “increase its income from full-cost courses and other consultancy work” and joined a local consortium “to market short courses and other forms of training for industrial and commercial organisations” It also recognised that “In a competitive world, Institutes like Southampton need to advertise themselves in the student market...”<sup>7</sup> and the following year it was able to announce an increase in student numbers.<sup>8</sup> In the same report it

<sup>4</sup> SIHE (1993) Privy Council: Application for Taught Degree Granting Powers, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> I am obliged to Professor Reg Ruel for his comments n this procedure.

<sup>6</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1985-86, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>8</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1986-87, p. 2.

was also able to announce “a continuing improvement in the student/staff ratio,” the “improvement” being in overhead-cost rather than educational-benefit, as it involved increasing student numbers whilst decreasing the teaching staff.

In 1986, the College of Nautical Studies at Warsash in Hampshire was annexed to, rather than merged with, the Institute, as the ‘College of Maritime Studies,’<sup>9</sup> a move which was to have disproportionate repercussions for the enlarged organisation. The conjunction was a classic example of Pritchard’s “federation,” power being distributed between the central authority and the associated unit, which surrendered its “individual sovereignty whilst retaining limited powers of self-government.”<sup>10</sup> The Maritime College was isolated from the main campus of the Institute, its staff-members were technical rather than academic and it had a world-wide reputation, earned in the sixty years over which it had trained the international maritime community, factors which made a merger difficult to implement.<sup>11</sup> After annexation, it continued under the control of its own Director and a Board of Maritime Studies, which was a sub-committee composed of SIHE governors. Even so, the change had provoked resentment and J. Noble, a Warsash-oriented Institute governor, argued in an open letter to local MP’s and councillors that the College was “Britain’s premier maritime training establishment,” that it was not “primarily an educational or academic establishment” and should not have been “... forced to become part of the Southampton Institute of Higher Education..., [a] multi-discipline amalgam (sic) of colleges....”<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> Prior to the change, the college had been called the ‘College of Nautical Studies’ and subsequent official documents use both titles: here “Maritime Studies” will be used consistently.

<sup>10</sup> Rosalind M. O. Pritchard, “Mergers and Linkages in British Higher Education,” *Higher Education Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2, Spring 1993, pp. 79-102.

<sup>11</sup> G. A. Walter, “Culture Collisions in Mergers and Acquisitions,” in P. J. Frost, L. F. Moore, M. R. Louis, C.C. Lundberg, and J. Martin, Eds., *Organisational Culture* (Beverley Hills, CA: Sage, 1985), pp. 301-314.

<sup>12</sup> J. Noble, Governor in a letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> January, 1988 to Councillor P. Merridale, copied to local MP’s

His view was rejected by the Governors of the Institute, who reaffirmed a resolution, originally passed in 1986, that "There should be a single Institution with a single budget, single aims and objectives and a single corporate identity."<sup>13</sup> They also endorsed the view, expressed by Mr. J Rendle, Chairman of the Board of Maritime Studies, that "It would be unfortunate to call into question the decision to amalgamate into an Institute...." At the same meeting, the Chairman of the Governors confirmed that the Institute (presumably despite its commitment to a "single corporate identity") "had no intention to change the name "College of Maritime Studies which had achieved world-wide recognition."<sup>14</sup> The extent of the overseas connections enjoyed by the Maritime College is indicated by the "World Marketing Trip," (sic) undertaken by the resigning Maritime Director whilst the Institute was still under the control of Hampshire County Council, which took him to the World Bank in Washington DC, the Asian Development Bank in the Philippines and to the Batam Island Training Project in Singapore.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, the 'non-academic' staff of the Maritime College, who were largely drawn from the Merchant Navy, were discontented because their conditions of service were perceived, seemingly with some justification, to be inferior to those enjoyed by staff with corresponding responsibilities at the main campus,<sup>16</sup> particularly as between 1986 and 1988 they had not received a grading review. During this time the focus of the central administration had been two, Institute-wide, 'slimming down' exercises in which the teaching staff establishment was reduced by 20%.<sup>17</sup> Although the Institute's Annual Report for 1987/88 was to categorise the academic year as having been "one of consolidation," "retrenchment" would have been a better word, for the Report also announced that plans had been finalised "to move much of the central administration,

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<sup>13</sup> Minutes of the SIHE Board of Maritime Studies (Governor's Sub-committee) held 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1988.

<sup>14</sup> Albeit as the "College of Nautical Studies."

<sup>15</sup> SIHE Minutes of the Board of Maritime Studies held on 10<sup>th</sup> March 1988, para. 92, "Report of the World Marketing Trip..."

<sup>16</sup> Confidential memorandum dated 3 March, 1987 from J. D. Moxon, Administrative Officer, Warsash to J. Longden, Principal SIHE.

including student enrolment and registration, to the Faculties,”<sup>18</sup> (including the Maritime Faculty) which was, in reality, a step away from “consolidation.”

In fact the large degree of independence the College of Maritime Studies enjoyed within the Institute, and which the Institute similarly enjoyed in relation to Hampshire County Council, was to have major consequences. Amongst the County Council assets used by the College was a sailing training ship, the STV Halcyon. In March, 1988, the Board of Maritime Studies decided that, as there were no funds available to maintain the vessel, it should be sold “as soon as possible at the price indicated (not to be recorded in these minutes) or the nearest offer....”<sup>19</sup> Three weeks later, Joseph Longden, as Principal of the Institute, approved a private sale at £30,000. However, Hampshire County Standing Orders required that any sale over £25,000 be made by public tender and the County Chief Executive declined to proceed. The purchaser obtained a Court order for specific performance and the sale then went through. A separate and unsolicited, albeit conditional, offer of £50,000 for the vessel had also been received and the County Chief Executive ordered an investigation by the County Secretary.<sup>20</sup> Shortly after the investigation had been completed, but before the report had been presented to the County Council or published, the local newspaper, the Southern Evening Echo was able to quote from it verbatim, under the headline “Probe Exposes Blunder.”<sup>21</sup> This ‘leak’ was to mark a pattern which was to recur over the next decade.

H. A. Collinson, Chairman of the Institute’s Board of Governors and a member of the Board of Maritime Studies (which had initiated the sale) advanced an ingenious, if ingenuous, proposal, that the County should accept £25,000 for the vessel, plus a donation

<sup>17</sup> Report for the CNA Officers’ Visit, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1988

<sup>18</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1987/88, p 1.

<sup>19</sup> SIHE Board of Maritime Studies, Governors’ Sub-Committee, Minutes for 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1988, Para. 91 (b).

<sup>20</sup> Report of the County Secretary to the Hampshire Further Education Subcommittee, 21<sup>st</sup> June, 1988, STSEC 6/c/Ro35/6/88, para 6.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Board of Governors of SIHE, 22<sup>nd</sup> September, 1988, para. 135.

of £5,000, thereby circumventing the Standing Orders and deceiving the Local Government auditors. Collinson contended that this was “not … illegal,” but his proposal was summarily dismissed by the County Chief Executive as being “grossly irregular.”<sup>18</sup>

On 22<sup>nd</sup>. September, 1988, a Special (and closed) Meeting of the Board of Governors convened to “receive the report of the County Chief Executive on the disposal of the STV Halcyon,” Collinson declined to relinquish the chair, although he openly acknowledged that the report contained “specific reference to action which I took as Chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee,” and he argued that if his suggestion had been adopted “the result would have been unchanged and the County would have recovered the full £30,000 in two parts of £25,000 and a donation of £5,000.” On finding that other members of the Board were siding with the County Chief Executive, he announced that, although he would not relinquish the chair for the meeting, at its conclusion he would resign as a governor.<sup>19</sup> It was then resolved (*inter alia*) that, as it appeared to the Governors that “Mr. Longden [as Principal] had failed to comply with Standing Orders, the governors empower the County Education Officer to implement disciplinary procedures,…[but] in the event of disciplinary action being undertaken against Mr. Longden, this should fall short of dismissal.”<sup>20</sup> Unspecified disciplinary action was taken against Longden,<sup>21</sup> and, in October, an extra-ordinary meeting of the SIHE Academic Council was called to “consider the crisis of confidence in the Institute due to:

- recent adverse external publicity;
- the collapse of staff morale;
- lack of consultation and preparation for entry to PCFC [Polytechnic and College Funding Council]”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Report for the CNAA Officers’ Visit, 17<sup>th</sup> November 1988.

<sup>18</sup> Minutes, para. 133.

<sup>19</sup> Minutes, para. 133.

<sup>20</sup> Minutes, para. 134.

<sup>21</sup> Minutes of Hampshire County Council Proceedings, 15<sup>th</sup>. December, 1988, Item 5, para. 5.

<sup>22</sup> Minutes of an Extraordinary meeting of the SIHE Academic Council, held 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1988, p. 1.

Longden, reporting on "recent relevant issues," announced that "he had decided to retire [as Principal] ... as from 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1989, to enable a new team of Principal, Chairman of Governors and Governing Body to take the Institute into PCFC...."<sup>23</sup> Southampton Institute of Higher Education was to be incorporated with effect from 1<sup>st</sup> April 1989 and on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1989, the Institute was designated (by statutory instrument) as a Higher Education Corporation under Section 121 of the 1988 Act,<sup>24</sup> "as an independent higher education corporation with ambitions to be the premier provider of high quality higher education of a vocational nature in the central South of England"<sup>24</sup> What was now needed was a Chairman of Governors who had political skills and acumen and who, being widely respected, could act as an 'honest broker': Collinson's dogged advocacy of his proposal to circumvent Standing Orders and deceive the Local Government Auditors, his failure to sense the attitude of his fellow Governors and his refusal to relinquish the chair at a meeting which ended with his resignation, tend to indicate that he was lacking in such skills.

The inaugural meeting of the Board of Governors of the new entity took place in December 1988. The newly-elected chairman of the Board of Governors, Dr. S. G. Crooks, announced that he had "taken advice" from the Chief Executive of the Polytechnics and College Funding Council (PCFC) "as the Institute was the first of the new Higher Education Corporations to advertise for a new Principal and [they] therefore had to be careful not to set undesirable precedents." He did, however, acknowledge that "The Institute would be looking for a new type of Principal, with broad management experience as well as academic qualifications."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Education Reform act 1988 (Commencement No. 4) Order 1988 SI 1988/2271

<sup>24</sup> SIHE (1994), Southampton Institute: Five Years On, a comparative statement issued by Professor David G. Leyland, Institute Director.

<sup>25</sup> SIHE Minutes of the Board of Governors Meeting, 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1988, para. 148 .2 (ii), reiterating comments recorded in Verbatim notes of Formation Committee, 22<sup>nd</sup> November, 1988, p. 1.

Mr. Reg Ruel (now Professor), who was later to become Deputy Principal of the Institute and to frequently cross swords with Longden's successor, David Leyland,<sup>26</sup> then initiated a discussion of what might be done to harness the "energies of the Institute ... to good effect." Although Leyland had yet to be appointed, and indeed the post had yet to be advertised, Ruel's comments paralleled Leyland's expressed contention that in such circumstances an approach should be adopted which would enable the "considerable intellectual power that exists in polytechnics to be brought to bear on the solution of the institution's problems."<sup>27</sup>

Ruel also advocated more openness at SIHE and, at his suggestion, "It was agreed that Councillor Lloyd (whose interest in the Institute had become evident, who had proposed that Collinson leave the chair at the Special Meeting of Governors and who had also declined to be bound by confidentiality with regard to the closed proceedings) be invited to visit the Institute and meet the Deans. Ruel, clearly recognising the dangers of an adverse press, also proposed, first, that a top level approach be made to the Editor of the Southern Evening Echo, with a view to replacing "the current unfavourable publicity with press exposure of the Institute's positive aspects and achievements," and, second, to set up a "Public Relations and Marketing Group, consisting of those staff already identified as Marketeers in each Faculty, ... to enhance the Institute's public image and internal self-esteem."<sup>28</sup> Ruel's motions were both adopted, as was his subsequent proposal that "Management at all levels will adopt an open, consultative and participatory style in place of the evidently unsuccessful and outmoded practices of Confrontation Management."<sup>29</sup> Judging from the summary of his remarks in the minutes of the meeting, Ruel had evidently come well prepared and attached considerable importance to getting his three motions passed and on

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<sup>26</sup> Interview with Professor R. F. Ruel at SIHE, 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1998.

<sup>27</sup> Leyland, "Commercialism," 23-33; idem, "Corporate Strategy," 22-32.

<sup>28</sup> Minutes of an Extra-ordinary meeting of the Academic Council, 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1988, para. 2.4.

<sup>29</sup> Minutes of an Extra-ordinary meeting of the Academic Council, 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1988, para. 4.3.

the record, possibly because he was about to apply for the post of Principal, which Longden was about to vacate.

At the subsequent meeting of the Academic Board on 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1988, Mr. Longden reported that, after consultation with the County Press officer, it had been decided to delay the invitation to Councillor Lloyd and the approach to the Editor of the Southampton Evening Echo. Mr Ruel then proposed and had a motion passed which required that such action be taken "before the end of the session."<sup>30</sup> The voting, 25 for, none against, with 7 abstentions, tends to indicate that once again his instinct for the feeling of the meeting was correct. Given subsequent events, this could indicate considerable prescience on his part and certainly justifies the stance he was to take subsequently in regard to the management and development of the Institute.

However, Ruel's motions regarding "... the current unfavourable [press] publicity...," "the need "to enhance the Institute's public image and internal self-esteem," and to have "... an open, consultative and participatory style [of management] in place of the evidently unsuccessful and outmoded practices of Confrontation Management," although adopted by the Governors, were still only motions. The Institution was about to be incorporated as an independent entity and Longden was a 'lame duck' Principal, recently under investigation by Hampshire County Education Authority, and serving out his notice of resignation. He was also clearly identified, not only with the policies which had recently been rejected and the events which had led to his own resignation, but also with the resignation of the supposedly independent Chairman of the SIHE Board of Governors. Moreover, although he had received a mandate from the Governors to consolidate the various components into a "single corporate identity,"<sup>31</sup> he had not done so. In the limited time available to him, he was unlikely to have either the will or the moral leadership to be able to adopt the "strongly

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<sup>30</sup> Minutes of the Academic Council, 24<sup>th</sup> November, 1988, para. 190.2 (v).

directive (some would even say brutal!)” style of leadership which Pritchard considers necessary to implement a successful merger.<sup>32</sup>

When Roberts became President of Parsons, he had inherited a college which, although virtually moribund, was at least secure in its status as a small, liberal arts, degree granting institution, which was united internally and well regarded in its locality. He thus had a stable, if insubstantial, platform upon which to build. Southampton Institute was fragmented and needed at least a brief period of stability and consolidation. In defining the qualities needed by the new Principal, the new chairman, Dr. Crookes, would appear to have given insufficient regard to the fact that, if the “ambitions to be the premier provider of high quality higher education of a vocational nature in the central South of England” were to be fulfilled, the immediate priority would be to stabilise the Institution. It would fall to the new Principal to do this and so provide a firm foundation on which to build. It is questionable if Longden, had he not resigned and even given time, could, in fact, have provided the leadership needed to unify the College, for he was concerned to devolve, rather than retrench or consolidate, as in his proposal “to move much of the central administration, including student enrolment and registration, to the Faculties.”<sup>33</sup> His attitude to the College of Maritime Studies did little to unify the enlarged institution or to calm the fears of the staff at Warsash.

In March 1987 the Warsash Administration Officer, Mr. J. D. Moxon had written to Mr. H. A. Collinson, then Chairman of the Board of Governors and a member of the Board of Maritime Studies, referring to the “deep concern felt by both the Administrative and Technical Staff on the Warsash site.” He also complained about the treatment he claimed to have received at an interview he had been “granted” with the Principal. Whether his claims are factual or not, he was in charge of administration at the College and that he even made

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<sup>31</sup> Minutes of the SIHE Board of Maritime Studies (Governor’s Sub-committee) held 10<sup>th</sup> March, 1988.

them did not bode well for the prospects of the Institute being unified whilst Longden was Principal.

Of his interview with Longden, Moxon wrote:

Whilst I was waiting in the outer office, Mr. Longden asked his Secretary to arrange a meeting with another person in five minutes time, as quote, ‘he wanted only five minutes with Mr. Moxon.’ During my five minute interview the Principal was more concerned in telling me everything he had done for the Institute whilst not apparently wishing to know my views. He did tell me that “there were too many people in the Institute with too big ‘gobs’.<sup>34</sup>

Interestingly, if Longden did make the quoted remark, it was prescient, for, a year later, it was the unauthorised disclosures to the press by Captain Kennedy of the Maritime College which were to bring the Halcyon affair to light and result in the resignation of both Longden and Collinson, the Chairman of the Board of Governors.<sup>35</sup> Ten years later, Longden’s successor as Principal, David Leyland, was similarly to resign after unauthorised disclosures to the Southern Evening Echo had played a significant part in making his position untenable.

In November 1988, just prior to incorporation, a working party of Governors, which had been set up at the end of 1986, made its report: it noted, inter alia, that the constituent parts of the Institute still lacked a common ethos and recommended that “there should be a determined effort to market the institute as a single corporate entity....”<sup>36</sup> However, the exercise was presumably only intended to be cosmetic, for the report was equivocal: whilst it stated that “all parts of the Institute should be perceived as part of the corporate whole,” this was to be “solely for internal purposes and that externally it [the Maritime College] should remain the College of Maritime Studies and present to its customers and the

<sup>32</sup> Pritchard, p. 85.

<sup>33</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1987/88, p 1.

<sup>34</sup> Letter dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1987 from J. D. Moxon, to Mr. H. A. Collinson, Chairman of the Governor of SIHE and member of the Governor’s subcommittee for the College of Maritime Studies.

<sup>35</sup> Minutes of Hampshire County Council Proceedings, 15<sup>th</sup> December, 1988, Item 16c.

<sup>36</sup> SIHE Board of Governors, November, 1988, Final Report of Working Party set up under Board minute 65b (iii) of 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1986, p. 6.

maritime and allied industries the same appearance as before.<sup>37</sup> The report also flew in the face of the recommendations, made nine months previously by the Board of Governors and reported to the Hampshire County Council Further Education Sub-Committee in February 1988, that all references to the College of Maritime Studies be removed from the Articles of Government of the Institute, so destroying the official identity of the College and annexing its assets and staff into the mainstream of the Institute. The new Articles of Government, adopted by the Governors in December, 1988, as a preliminary to incorporation, do not in fact make any mention of the College of Maritime Studies.

Longden was to retire on 31<sup>st</sup> March, 1989, the last day under the Institute would be under LEA control. He had made the announcement in October, 1988, and as the College was to be incorporated on 1<sup>st</sup> April, the appointment of his successor was a matter of some urgency. On 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1989, at the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Governors of the new higher education corporation,, it was unanimously agreed that Mr. D. G. Leyland be appointed as Principal from 10<sup>th</sup> April. All documents, relating both to the recruitment procedure and to the decision to appoint him, now appear to be missing from the records of the Institute, but Leyland was then Deputy Director of Strategy at Teesside Polytechnic. He had previously held posts as Dean of the Faculty of the Built Environment at Birmingham Polytechnic, as a city planner in Sydney, Australia and as a policy advisor to the State Premier of New South Wales.<sup>38</sup> Perhaps even more significantly, although he was an architect by training, for his MBA degree Leyland had written a dissertation on the marketing of higher education,<sup>39</sup> an interesting parallel to Roberts' PhD thesis on marketing in a religious enterprise. He was also the author of papers on "corporate strategy" and management in higher education, although (as will be discussed shortly) on appointment as Principal he did practice what he had preached. However, his appointment acknowledged

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<sup>37</sup> SIHE Board of Governors, November, 1988, Final Report of Working Party set up under Board minute 65b (iii) of 11<sup>th</sup> December, 1986, p. 7.

that the Institute was now operating "In a competitive world,"<sup>40</sup> followed on its participation in the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education (NAB) study on "Marketing, Entrepreneurship and Income Generation," and with the conclusion that a major internal factor determining the degree of "entrepreneurial activity" in an institution seemed to be the "commitment and drive supplied by the Principal to such activities...."<sup>41</sup>

Leyland is quoted as having told a newspaper reporter at the time of his appointment that "There is a considerable amount of potential for further development based on the kind of things already going on here."<sup>42</sup> The "kind of things" he had in mind presumably included the "half century" of tradition in training Merchant Navy officers at the Maritime College at Warsash,<sup>43</sup> the stated commitment to "exploit" "all opportunities to secure funding,"<sup>44</sup> the existing BSc courses, which had been approved by the CNAA in 1987,<sup>45</sup> and the joint BA course with Winchester School of Art College which had similarly been approved in 1988.<sup>46</sup> The Institute had also just been released from the straight-jacket of LEA control and was free to compete on a global basis. It thus appears likely that, as had been the case with Parsons College, the search committee and the governors of the institution were seeking an entrepreneurial principal and that Leyland was appointed because he appeared to meet these requirements. However, Ruel's reservations had still to be resolved and what was needed in those early stages was arguably more a consolidator than an entrepreneur, for Leyland had inherited an institution which had been incorporated for only nine days (and under untested legislation at that), and which, although basically strong, was internally fragmented. The Institute had only recently been investigated, both by the Local Education Authority and by

<sup>38</sup> Karen Thornton "Background Biog. on Leyland," Southampton Daily Echo internal file (undated).

<sup>39</sup> Thornton " Background Biog. on Leyland."

<sup>40</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1985-86, p. 2

<sup>41</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1985/86, 1.

<sup>42</sup> Thornton, "Background Biog. on Leyland."

<sup>43</sup> SIHE (1995) Degrees of Excellence, p. 25.

<sup>44</sup> Report for CNAA Officer's Visit to SIHE, 17<sup>th</sup> November, 1988, p. 7.

<sup>45</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1986-87, 1.

<sup>46</sup> SIHE Annual Report, 1987-88, 1.

the press, over the Halcyon affair, one outcome being the resignation of both the Chairman of the Board of Governors and the Institute Principal. When Longden dismissed the double resignation with the jocular comment that "We are rather unique that it was clumsy of us to lose a Chairman and disastrous to lose a Principal,"<sup>47</sup> he was possibly over-emphasising his own particular importance. Nevertheless, the basic fact was that the three fundamental links which might have provided continuity at a time of major change (the Articles of Government under Hampshire County Council, the Chairman of the Governors, and the Principal) had all been broken.

### **The Leyland Regime: Governors Will Govern, Managers Will Manage and Minutes Will Mean Whatever the Principal May Decide**

David Leyland was selected in time to attend the Inaugural Meeting of the Board of Governors on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1989 and was appointed as Principal from 10<sup>th</sup> April. David Brown, Head of Marketing at the Institute under both Longden and Leyland, when asked why David Leyland had been appointed, replied "David Leyland had proved himself to be dynamic in polytechnics not dissimilar to SIHE. He was seen as a 'mover and shaker.' His predecessor had kept the place steady but slow. Suddenly, in 1989, there was incorporation and the amalgamation of three colleges. He was the man for his time."<sup>48</sup>

At the same meeting at which the Governors appointed Leyland, and in his presence, they also agreed that two "Governor Advisors" should be nominated for each of the four Faculties, "the objective being to make the experience of appropriately qualified lay Governors available to the Faculties and Departments of the Institute."<sup>49</sup> According to Ruel, Leyland later expressed the view that "the Governors' sub-committees for the four faculties were potentially divisive and likely to give rise to factions" and they were soon

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<sup>47</sup> Although it is omitted from para 145.8 of the formal minutes of the Board of Governor's Meeting of 8<sup>th</sup> December, 1988, it is included in the "verbatim" record of the meeting held in the SIHE confidential files. Cf. Oscar Wilde, "To lose one ... may be regarded as a misfortune; to lose both looks like carelessness." The Importance of Being Earnest, Act 1 (1895).

<sup>48</sup> Interview at SIHE, 1st December, 1998.

discontinued. Again according to Ruel, “one effect of this was to distance Governors from events in the Institute.”<sup>50</sup> This was confirmed by David Brown, who commented that “The Governors were not largely involved in the business, they should have been. I only saw a governor maybe every three years.”<sup>51</sup>

Leyland was formally appointed on 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1989 and took over as Principal on 10<sup>th</sup> April, his immediate task being to resolve what had been described in October as “the crisis of confidence in the Institute.” This situation had coincided with the resignation of his predecessor and had resulted from “...adverse external publicity; the collapse of staff morale; and the lack of consultation and preparation for entry to PCFC,”<sup>52</sup> i.e. incorporation. Given the acknowledged “collapse of staff morale” and its possible impact on the students, one might have expected Leyland to adopt a “softly, softly” approach. Two years previously, Leyland had written, “for Corporate planning to be effective, an open approach must be adopted which will involve the whole institution.” Within six weeks of his arrival, Leyland had formulated his plan for the total reorganisation of the Institute and on 23<sup>rd</sup> May he presented it to a meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, composed largely of governors, of which he was an ex-officio member.

According to the full minutes of that meeting, he started by stating that his plan was “geared to facilitate growth of the Institute by;

1. Provision of long courses
2. Developing new areas of work which are less structured and more entrepreneurial.”<sup>53</sup>

He envisaged “creating a corporate style to avoid the present compartmentalisation of departments,” introducing “greater flexibility” and “a greater measure of control over

<sup>49</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the SIHE Board of Governors, 20<sup>th</sup> February, 1989, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Professor R. F. Ruel at SIHE, 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1998.

<sup>51</sup> Interview at SIHE, 1st December, 1998.

<sup>52</sup> Minutes of an Extraordinary meeting of the SIHE Academic Council, held 12<sup>th</sup> October, 1988, p. 1.

<sup>53</sup> [Full] Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1989, para. 25. (SIHE Confidential files).

Divisions," and making savings of £70,000 a year on "salaries for Heads of Department and above." He also proposed to introduce a modular course structure and to conduct "market research ... to determine the most viable courses...." He said that he intended to "approach the restructure by a 'cascade' approach, placing Deans in position first, then Heads of Departments, and then defining and arranging the Divisions and Centres." He acknowledged that he was aware that the "present problems of boundaries between Departments would obviously not disappear, and the new Dean of Academic Operations would spend much of his time solving these boundary problems." Leyland told the Committee that he had had "extensive discussions with members of the institute, some were supportive and some were asking for a different approach." He added that there had been "two general staff meetings on each campus which had been fairly positive." (In 1987, he had written that the planning process must benefit "institutional performance and the dignity of staff. This means all staff, not only teachers, but researchers, administrators, technicians and all who work at the institution.")

The other members of the sub-committee appear to have listened in silence to the proposals. In the course of a brief discussion on the subject of overheads, Dr. Crooks commented that "it was most important for overheads to be allocated, otherwise people cease to believe that overheads exist," and put down a marker by adding that he "would like to have a discussion on this issue before it is finally resolved." Mr. Stanley had then commented "overheads can become so great that courses are not viable," and Dr. Crooks had replied that "a decision could be made to make a loss in certain circumstances, but that this must not happen arbitrarily, but by design." Mr. Stanley said that he found the proposals "somewhat confusing," as might members of staff. Mr. Leyland is recorded as having responded that he "agreed that the detail of the structure was not entirely clear, but ... that the intention was to sort out the broad outline first and then sort out the details afterwards.

Market research would be carried out to determine the most viable courses so that teaching staff were not paid to produce courses for which there was no demand.”

Dr. Crooks, as Chairman, is recorded as having “thanked Mr. Leyland for taking the trouble to outline his proposals to the Committee for information and comment,” adding (perhaps to reassure the Committee and also himself that it would be within Mr. Leyland’s authority to make such major changes), that “From the Articles of Government there was no questioning the fact that the Principal was responsible for running the Institute and the Committee appreciated the information that had been given.”<sup>54</sup>

After the meeting a full set of minutes was first prepared and then a separate, abbreviated and sanitised, ‘official’ version was prepared for incorporation in the Minute Book and circulation to the other Governors. The full record of Leyland’s presentation, found in the confidential files of SIHE, ran to four pages, but in the ‘official’ version the comments made by Dr Crook and Mr. Stanley were suppressed, and the four pages were reduced to a two-line statement that: “Mr. D. G. Leyland outlined his proposals for the re-organisation of the Institute which, after discussion, were fully supported by the committee members.”<sup>55</sup> Contrary to this, in 1987, Leyland, citing Wagner,<sup>56</sup> had written, “The weight of evidence suggests that an ‘open planning approach within institutions is more likely to succeed.’”

Although the practice of micro-managing minutes is not unknown in many organisations, and indeed had existed at the Institute under Longdon,<sup>57</sup> under Leyland they were to be carried to extremes, with the minutes of inconvenient meetings sometimes being completely suppressed, a practice which eventually became common knowledge within the

<sup>54</sup> Full Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1989, para. 25 (SIHE Confidential files).

<sup>55</sup> Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1989, para. 25. (SIHE Committee Minute Book).

<sup>56</sup> L. Wagner, Agenda for Institutional Change in Higher Education. Research in Higher Education Monograph, 1982. [Leyland’s citation].

<sup>57</sup> See footnote 46 (above).

Institute. In 1997, the HEFCE Auditors interviewed Institute Governors, who variously said that they believed that the information given to them from the Institute "was 'misleading'" or had been "'massaged' by management," and that "significant papers are 'sometimes buried'."<sup>58</sup> Professor Claire Donovan, Head of Cultural Studies, explained that under Leyland, "Transparency was not the name of the game. The perception was that Governors' minutes were not public property."<sup>59</sup>

The validity of this latter complaint tends to be confirmed by the withholding of the Minutes for the crucial meeting of the Board of Governors, held on 11th December, 1996, to consider an adverse report on Leyland's style of management, prepared by Professor Geoffrey Hall, retired Director of Brighton Polytechnic. Previously, such Minutes had been circulated to Senior Staff after the meeting, but this time it did not happen and Professor Ruel was left with the belief that the Minutes had "never even been prepared."<sup>60</sup> The Dunghill, a satirical (and very much underground) publication was circulating at the Institute and in February it printed what purported to be the missing Minutes:<sup>61</sup>

Professor Chris Hutchinson, Director of Corporate Development, was awaiting voluntary redundancy after being suspended earlier in the year; Professor Ruel's scepticism had become evident; Dr. Smith, the 70 year old and long retired CEO of Esso Petroleum in the UK, was Chairman of the Governors; and Leyland, now titled 'Director,' had only recently referred to dissidents on the staff as the "vipers in the nest."<sup>62</sup>

In fact the Minutes had been prepared and were approved by Dr. Smith, as Chairman of the Governors on 6th January 1997. However, they were not put in the Minute Book,

<sup>58</sup> HEFCEAS Report on Southampton Institute, 1997, Part II, "Evaluation of Internal Control arrangements - governance and Management Issues," para. 17.

<sup>59</sup> Interview SIHE 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1998

<sup>60</sup> Memorandum to the author from Professor Reg Ruel dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1998, following an interview at SIHE on 30<sup>th</sup>. November, 1998

<sup>61</sup> The Dunghill, Issue 5, 3 February, 1997, p. 2.

<sup>62</sup> Memorandum to the author from Professor Reg Ruel dated 4<sup>th</sup> December 1998, following an interview at SIHE on 30<sup>th</sup>. November, 1998.

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*Those missing governors minutes  
in full.*

1. Apologies for absence

Chris Hutchinson (disappeared)

Reg Ruel (nailed up in a cupboard)

Dr Smith (present, but you know what we mean)

2. Minutes of the last meeting.

These were read and agreed to be nothing like what actually went on.

3. The Chairman of governors opened the meeting. (We think he did, but it may just have been a coughing fit).

4. The Director reported on his paper 'why Professor Hall is a senile old git, and why my mighty empire will last a thousand years'.

5. One or two vipers objected and were summarily dealt with.

6. All proposals were then passed nem con.

7. The meeting closed amidst clouds of dry ice and extracts from Wagners 'Ride of the Valkyries'.

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The "missing minutes" as printed in the Dunghill Issue 5 (3 February, 1997), 2.

possibly because Leyland was seeking to amend them. Bonita's notes are silent on the point in contention, but appears that Dr. Smith did not accede to Leyland's request.

When the Minutes were sent out to the Governors, they were Document 3 of 26 documents, the other 25 relating to such weighty matters as:

- 97/BG/12 (Confidential) "Report back on the Implementation of the Hall Report" (32 pages);
- 97/BG/19 Southampton Solent Campus in Athens [Closing of, with loss of £350,000];
- 97/BG/20 Franchise and Other Off-Campus Provision;"
- 97/BG/21 Southampton Institute and UK Universities (Comparison of Performance Indicators) (22 pages);
- 97/BG/22 Outcomes of the Research Assessment Exercise" (26 pages);
- 97/BG/23 HEQC Teaching Quality Assessment Report (Sociology) (12 pages);
- 97/BG/24 Early Notification of [HEFCE Teaching Quality] Assessment of Cinematics...,
- 97/BG/25 (Confidential) "Institute Director's Response to the Staff Communications Review" (9 pages);
- 97/BG/26 (Confidential) "Report of the Higher Education Consultancy Group" (45 pages);

a total of nearly 200 pages. When compared with "Bonita's verbatim notes," the minutes appear very selective, and in parts considerably expanded, yet they were approved at the next meeting without protest and with only minor amendments.

Following the Hall report, six joint working groups of Governors and Senior Managers were convened, David Leyland taking no part in the exercise. The function of each group was to analyse and consider the specific recommendations in the report and to furnish a written response. Group 1 was charged with considering the first and most fundamental recommendation, that "The Board of Governors should examine their relationship with the Institute Director...," a relationship which six months later was to be severed by David Leyland's involuntary resignation. The leader of this Group was Brian Bennett, Director of Resources, who had worked closely with Leyland. In the confidential files at SIHE is a copy of a typewritten draft of the response from Group 1, across the top of which is written "To DAVID LEYLAND. Any changes required? [signed] Brian Bennett 4/3/97," possibly demonstrating the extent to which Leyland was able to exert his influence. It appears that no

changes were in fact made, but shortly afterwards, in his pre-retirement report to the Remuneration Committee, Leyland was to appraise Bennett's performance as "Exceptional," the only Director to receive such a marking. In contrast, a year before, Professor Chris Hutchinson, Director of Corporate Development, in relation to a Report to the Governors 96/BG/36 on the continuing viability of the Athens Campus, had written to David Leyland, "Thank you for your comments on my earlier draft. I have revised the paper in a number of areas but was unwilling to agree to all your suggested amendments. I take full responsibility for the paper given to the Secretary to the Board of Governors"<sup>63</sup> He was later suspended on an unrelated matter and took voluntary redundancy.

### **Politburocracy and the Management of Higher Education**

Both in style and substance, Leyland's methods of management were to be very different from those of his predecessor, Longden, who had involved the Governors in the affairs of the faculty and had delegated the making of decisions (or, rather, had left them devolved) to the functional units from which the Institute had been created. In contrast, Leyland was a corporatist, requiring everything to be controlled from the centre, even to the depiction, non-depiction or fictionalisation of events and the decisions made at the Institute, as recorded in the official records which together provided the corporate history. Professor Ruel observed that "Before 1989, the Institute was organised as a faculty structure...David Leyland, faced with the need to organise a new corporation ..., was required by the [PCFC] ...to draw up strategic plans, [and he] set about creating a corporate structure. Similarly Brian Bennett, who had joined the Institute just before incorporation as "Resources and Financial Services Manager," commented that "Things started to change from the moment [Leyland] ...arrived. From 'Day One' we became management driven as opposed to the more devolved system [under Joseph Longen].

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<sup>63</sup> Chris Hutchinson to David Leyland, memorandum, 5 June 1996.

Professor Claire Donovan was more direct, commenting that under Longden, “the faculties had been a law unto themselves.”<sup>64</sup> She also noted that the “Institute had originated from several colleges and in order to get new thinking throughout the Institute, it was necessary to make changes,” Bennett explained that, with Leyland in charge, “We [the Management] drove the Faculties, they did not drive us. [We became a] ...centrally controlled organisation”<sup>65</sup> Claire Donovan explained that this was because “David Leyland was ambitious and his thinking was to centralise everything,” whilst Leyland himself acknowledged that he had adopted a “more ‘managerialist’ approach than is adopted in the management of some other higher education institutions....”<sup>66</sup> At his first Finance and Employment Committee meeting, Leyland had announced that he intended to “approach the restructure by a ‘cascade’ approach, placing Deans in position first, then Heads of Departments, and then defining and arranging the Divisions and Centres.”<sup>67</sup>

This corresponds very closely to the structure which Andrew Ryder claimed to have identified in the ‘new’ British universities, where “decision making and administration are top down, based on an authoritarian principle.”<sup>68</sup> Leyland had also acknowledged that he was aware that the “present problems of boundaries between Departments would obviously not disappear, and the new Dean of Academic Operations would spend much of his time solving these boundary problems,”<sup>69</sup> thus echoing Ryder’s contention that “Authoritarian management also means that ...managers spend a great deal of time settling disputes ...within and between departments and faculties...”<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Interview at SIHE, 7th December, 1998.

<sup>65</sup> Interview at SIHE, 1st December, 1998.

<sup>66</sup> “Institute Director’s response to the Staff Communications Review,” Paper 97/BG/25, Governor’s Meeting, 21 January, 1997, Agenda Item 7 vii.

<sup>67</sup> Full and unpublished Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1989, para. 25. (SIHE Confidential files).

<sup>68</sup> Ryder, 58-59.

<sup>69</sup> Full and unpublished Minutes of a Meeting of the Finance and Employment Committee, 23<sup>rd</sup> May, 1989, para. 25. (SIHE Confidential files).

<sup>70</sup> Ryder, 59.

However, five years later it appeared that Leyland had not been entirely successful, for a consultant was engaged to provide “a training programme, etc., … both to encourage Heads to think corporately and to then cascade this mode of thinking down to other staff.” Professor Chris Hutchinson wrote to the consultant: “The Institute sees Heads as part of the Senior Management Team, where corporate responsibility is the primary activity and divisional loyalties come second. There is evidence both at Southampton and elsewhere, that Heads see themselves as champions of their division, irrespective of corporate needs.”<sup>71</sup>

According to Professor Ruel, “Leyland had a low boredom threshold, he was an architect by training and had a structural frame of mind. He was always restructuring… typically hard-driving, [full of] restless energy - good in expansion, but not in consolidation.”<sup>72</sup> This view was confirmed by Professor Alan Hibbert, who spoke of Leyland’s “surplus, restless energy.”<sup>73</sup> Avlonitis claimed that, “He was very authoritarian, concerned with size, not tradition. For example he sold the land at Warsash, where the maritime college had been. This was a big mistake. He kept 100 square meters so he could say they still had a presence there, but it is not enough. The Warsash campus was an asset because many of the Greek naval people trained there. It had happy memories for many Greeks. That has now all gone.”<sup>74</sup> To Captain Politis, “Leyland was a remarkable man. Competent at his job … he was arrogant in style. He looked arrogant but he knew what he was doing.” He added, “I can be arrogant. If I believe in something, I nail my belief to the mast. He was arrogant for value.”<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Letter dated 5 July, 1994, from Professor Chris Hutchinson to Mr. David Rosebery, Prelude Consulting (SIHE files).

<sup>72</sup> Interview, at SIHE, 30<sup>th</sup> November, 1998.

<sup>73</sup> Interview, at SIHE, 1<sup>st</sup>. December, 1998.

<sup>74</sup> Spiros Avlonitis, interview by Spillane, CMA, Athens, 3 August, 1998.

<sup>75</sup> Captain Anastasios Politis, interview by M G Spillane at AGP Shipping, Athens, 4 August, 1998.

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## Chapter 11

### **THE ATHENIAN EDUCATIONAL AGORA:<sup>1</sup> AN ENTREPRENEUR'S DREAM AND AN ACCREDITORS NIGHTMARE?**

From the early 1980s onwards, many UK institutions had formed partnerships with overseas institutions for the exchange of staff and students, particularly under the ERASMUS programme in Europe. Such programmes enable institutions to attract additional students by offering the inducement of a 'year abroad' and also by bringing an 'exotic' element of diversity to the home campus. Other new programs involved the supply of British expertise in higher education to foreign governments, particularly in the former 'Iron Curtain' countries,<sup>1</sup> thus promoting the idea that such education and educational expertise were exportable commodities. By 1985, the economist Professor Robin Morris was able to observe, "We are of course now a net importer of manufactured goods and a net exporter of higher education."<sup>2</sup> The international role of higher education in promoting the British economy was later confirmed and endorsed by the Government, their instructions to the Dearing Committee of Enquiry into Higher Education directing the committee to assume that "higher education is an important educational export in its own right."<sup>3</sup> Of Sir Ron Dearing himself it had been written that "It is clear that he sees the university as a business" and that his initial thoughts (before embarking on his investigation) were that the "university

<sup>1</sup> Market-place.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. , by 1992, the University of Humberside had sixty-four such European partnerships: David Foster & Roger King, "The University of Humberside," in Teather, 126 -127

<sup>3</sup> Inaugural Lecture, "The Exceptional Productivity of British Higher Education," Birkbeck College, University of London, 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1985.

<sup>4</sup> Dearing, 4.

of the 21<sup>st</sup> century ..would have a ‘sharper commercial edge’.<sup>4</sup> Recent Legislation had made sweeping changes in the structure and governance of British higher education, so opening the doors to entrepreneurial activity, and to a more utilitarian philosophy of higher education by creating a competitive market.<sup>5</sup> British institutions started to explore the possibility of unilateral overseas expansion, in place of exchanges with a foreign peer institution, which were largely zero-sum transactions.

The purpose of such an overseas venture is threefold:

- (1) to secure direct income through the export of courses, education and diplomas;
- (2) to recruit students who, after a year or two of study at the overseas location, will complete their studies at the parent campus in Britain;
- (3) to ensure that students who intend to study in England have an adequate command of English and are prepared for the culture shock of studying in a foreign language whilst living in a foreign environment.

Such expansion could be effected either directly, by offering classroom based-courses at the foreign branch campus, or indirectly, either by franchising a foreign institution to offer the British degree courses or by accrediting courses designed and delivered by the overseas partner, in each case in return for substantial fees. Successful completion of the course can guarantee admission to a degree course at the parent campus in Britain or can lead directly to the award of a British degree. The degree diplomas issued on completion of both the directly delivered and the franchised courses are indistinguishable from those presented to students who graduate at the main campus. The diploma awarded for an accredited degree course will, however, specify the foreign institution which had ‘ownership’ of the accredited course. There is nothing new in such recruitment methods, “Princeton ... found it difficult to compete for students with Harvard [and] ... James McCosh [President from 1868 to 1888]

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<sup>4</sup> Pat Brady & Geraldine Thorpe, “Marketplace muddle,” THES, March 22, 1996, 16.

<sup>5</sup> The Further and Higher Education Act, 1992.

encouraged donors to establish ‘feeder’ preparatory schools for Princeton and asked alumni in the Midwest to search out promising students in their area and send them to Princeton.<sup>6</sup>

## **Scouting the Global Market**

The ideal venue for such an overseas venture is a country in which:

1. higher education is a valued commodity;
2. the local provision is insufficient to meet the demand, i.e. it is a seller’s market;
3. there is a large sector of the community which is willing and able to pay substantial fees, either from a surplus economy or by financial sacrifice made elsewhere;
4. the target populace is concentrated, has access to good internal transport and is prepared to travel to classes;
5. the systems of communication with the United Kingdom, both by air and electronically, are well developed;
6. the pre-1992 system of British higher education is known and respected and has preferably benefited previous generations;
7. the local system of control over higher education is either weak, or does not encompass foreign or non-state higher education, or accepts British higher education at its traditional face value.
8. English is the second language, thus providing a ready supply of local academics, support staff and students with whom the traditionally mono-lingual British academics and educational entrepreneurs can seek to communicate.

Given these factors and requirements, British HEIs scouted the global market and identified Greece as being particularly suited to their entrepreneurial activities, with obvious advantages: it is only three hours from the UK by air, the populace has a great respect for education, many Greeks have studied in England or the United States, and English is generally the second language. The population is largely concentrated in the cities, particularly Athens and Thessaloniki and, as ties within the extended family are strong, the pooling of family funds will permit the younger generation to attend college, often whilst

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<sup>6</sup> Ben-David, *Trends*, 37 (quoting Wertenbaker, 1946, 314).

living at home.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps most importantly, the Greek constitution reserves the provision of higher education in Greece to the State, but as the state universities can only admit one third of those eligible, the demand far exceeds the official supply.<sup>8</sup>

In other countries, such circumstances might have led to an enlargement of the state provision, but under the Greek Constitution the state universities have a specific role to fill, that of guarding the Hellenic tradition, which was re-affirmed in the 1975 constitution and so militates against mass expansion.<sup>9</sup> The reasons for this relatively recent reaffirmation lie in Abraham Lincoln's aphorism that "Education cannot escape history,"<sup>10</sup> to which might be usefully added, "nor can it avoid economics and politics."

### **Greek Education, Hopefully "[Not] Open to the Sweeping Force of Irresistible Socio-Economic Tides."<sup>11</sup>**

During the four hundred years in which the mediaeval concept of a university was flowing Westward across Europe and on to the colonial colleges of New England, Greece, lying to the East, had been part of the Ottoman Empire, the boundaries of which tended to insulate the Greeks from the new Western ideas and ideals of higher education. As is often the case with homogenous groups,<sup>12</sup> subjugation and the influence of religion, in this case that of the Greek Orthodox Church, also helped preserve and strengthen the Greek language and tradition.<sup>13</sup> Grant has told us that the "[ancient] ... Greeks called all non-Greeks

<sup>7</sup> Spiros Avlonitis, Director of the Centre for Management and Administration, Athens (represents Universities of London and Glamorgan), interview, by Spillane in Athens, 3 August, 1997.

<sup>8</sup> See Costas N. Kanelopoulos, "Recent Developments in Greek Education," International Journal of Educational Development, Vol. 16, 1996, 65-77, 69; George Psacharopoulos, "Education in Greece Today: Contributions to the Perennial Debate," Journal of Modern Greek Studies, Vol. 13, 1995, 169-177, 170; Karmas et al., 261.

<sup>9</sup> OECD Report on Greek Education. OECD, Review of Greek Educational Policies, Examiners' Preliminary Conclusions (mimeographed), Athens, 1996, 3.

<sup>10</sup> From Abraham Lincoln's Second Annual Message to Congress, used by Kerr as his title, his source acknowledged at xvi.

<sup>11</sup> D. Mattheou, "The Changing Shape of Educational Politics" in Kazamias & Spillane, 196.

<sup>12</sup> Nigel Grant, "Some Problems of Identity and Education: A Comparative Examination of Multicultural Education," in Kazamias and Spillane, 47.

<sup>13</sup> Carlton J. H. Hayes, A Political and Social History of Modern Europe (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 47.

'βάρβαροι' (barbaroi or barbarians) on the assumption that "people who could not speak Greek were only repeating nonsense syllables like 'bar-bar,' ...the world was divided into 'Ελλήνες' [Hellenes] and 'βάρβαροι' and that was the essential point: only Greeks could really speak properly."<sup>14</sup>

In 1832, following the Greek War of Independence, the southern half of modern Greece became a republic, but in 1833, as a result of external pressure, adopted a Bavarian prince as King Otto I. That he was from a Germanic state was to prove highly significant for the Greek educational system, for he brought with him the pattern, adopted in the German states, of "a central authority [or] education ministry...charged with the oversight of education, art, the theatre and the opera - the state thus assuming a direct responsibility for the upholding of the cultural level," of a university as a "jewel in the imperial crown" and the use of the designation 'university' being protected by the law of the land.<sup>15</sup>

In 1836, the same year that the University of London received its charter, King Otto founded the first Greek university, at Athens, giving it the mission of preserving the Greek language and tradition and of promoting the Hellenic national identity.<sup>16</sup> Persianis says that "By cultivating ancient Greek culture and ideals and reinstating the ancient Greek language ...Greece wanted to transcend its geographical constraints and the legacy of ancient Greece, in particular its language, provided the possibility for Greece to become something much more than just 'another Balkan country.'<sup>17</sup> As in Germany, the university was to be an instrument of government and so could not be afforded the "scholarly privileges" and academic freedom,<sup>18</sup> which had been the mediaeval inheritance of universities elsewhere. It

<sup>14</sup> Grant, in Kazamias and Spillane, 47.

<sup>15</sup> Flexner, 316, 340-341.

<sup>16</sup> Psacharopoulos, 169.

<sup>17</sup> Panayiotis Persianis, "'Compensatory Legitimation', in Greek Educational Policy: An Explanation for the Abortive Educational Reforms in Greece in Comparison With Those in France," Comparative Education, March, 1998, quoting I. Theodorakopoulos, "The Importance of Ancient Greek," Kathemerini, 8 February, 1976, 8.

<sup>18</sup> See Kilbre.

was, as Ortega y Gasset has expressed it, to be "a functional organ of the nation," depending more on the culture it was intended to promote than on "...the pedagogical atmosphere created artificially within it."<sup>19</sup> The "pedagogical atmosphere"<sup>20</sup> was, and still is, kept under close government control to ensure that it continues to fulfil its mission.<sup>21</sup>

From 1836 to 1925, all university-level education was concentrated in Athens, close to the seat of government, and the University of Athens enjoyed a monopoly in non-vocational higher education. The only other tertiary institutions founded in this period were also in Athens and were specialist in nature. The National Technological University was founded in 1836, but not given 'university' status until 1914,<sup>22</sup> with the use of the adjective "National" clearly indicating its remit. The two new 'schools' were opened in 1920, which specialised in Economics and Business, and in Agriculture.<sup>23</sup> In 1913 the population and geographical area of Greece doubled, for the Balkan wars of 1912 to 1913 resulted in Turkey being expelled from the north. The Great War of 1914-1918 followed almost immediately, Greece acquiring western Thrace at its conclusion. Greece had thus been enlarged twice in five years and there was a new imperative to strengthen the national identity and to preserve the classical Greek culture and heritage. Athens, in the south, was remote (politically, culturally and administratively) from the new territory and so, in 1920, a new university, the first outside Athens, was founded in the extreme north.<sup>24</sup>

Distance, and possibly the fact that the territory in which it was situated had only recently been freed from Turkish rule, tended to give the new University of Thessaloniki a relative degree of freedom, and it became "the homestead of the new spirit in Greek

<sup>19</sup> Ortega y Gasset, 38; Sates, 250.

<sup>20</sup> Panayiotis Persianis, "Cultural Resistance to the Structuring of the European Space," in Kazamias and Spillane, 100-102.

<sup>22</sup> Saitis, 249.

<sup>23</sup> Greek Ministry of Education, quoted in Karmas, et al., 261 - 269.

<sup>24</sup> C. A. Karmas, T. Lianos and A. G. Kalamatianou "Greek Universities: An Overview," European Journal of Education, 23, 3 (1988), 261 - 269.

culture,”<sup>25</sup> particularly in such matters as the promotion of the use of the popular, spoken language known as dimotiki, rather than katharévousa. The latter is a more academic language, ‘purged’ of all non-Hellenic vocabulary and grammar acquired over the centuries and therefore very close to the Ancient Greek language,<sup>26</sup> and was espoused by the University of Athens. Even so, the degree of independence enjoyed by the new university was limited and, according to Reiger, “innovations were difficult to put through, especially as all changes had to be approved by the Ministry of Education [in Athens]”<sup>27</sup> In the 1930’s, three more specialist schools opened, also in Athens, and in 1958 another in Thessaloniki. From 1964 onwards, the pace quickened with the creation of eight provincial universities, only one of which had a specialised function.<sup>28</sup> Although there are now seventeen state institutions of higher education in Greece, the Athens-Thessaloniki duopoly still largely continues, with institutions in Athens having nearly 50% of the state university students in Greece and those in Thessaloniki having 30%.<sup>29</sup>

From 1967 to 1974, Greece was ruled by a military junta and the restoration of democracy led to the adoption of the new constitution of 1975, Article 16 of which prohibits private universities. Thus, although the law permits primary and secondary education to be provided by a mixture of state and private schools, the degree awarding institutions remain a state monopoly, and under the close control of the Ministry of Education.<sup>30</sup> this, according to Saitis:

...keeps an eye on the activities of the institutions of university learning and controls all their executive functions, [intervening] ...in the day to day running of the universities [so that even the employment] ...of a gardener or office cleaner [necessitates] ... ministerial approval. ... The structure of Greek higher education is

<sup>25</sup> Wolfgang Reiger, “Greece: Students wait For Reform,” European Education, Fall, 1985, 19-27, 22.

<sup>26</sup> A. Demaras, “The movement for reform: a historical perspective,” Comparative Education Review, Vol. 22, 1978, 11-20, 14.

<sup>27</sup> Reiger, 22-23.

<sup>28</sup> Saitis, 249

<sup>29</sup> Kanelopoulos, 71.

<sup>30</sup> Kanelopoulos, 69.

therefore strongly influenced by the political and administrative system in which it is embedded and especially by an entrenched concept of centralised authority.<sup>31</sup>

Admission to Greek state universities is at present gained through success in examinations conducted by the Ministry of Education and known as the “Pan-Hellenic.” Although the figures cited by researchers differ, there appears to be a consensus that of the 70,000 students who complete secondary education each year, 60,000 sit the Pan-Hellenic, together with a further 65,000 returnees who have delayed applying or who have been unsuccessful in previous years. Of the 125,000 candidates, approximately 22,000 gain admission to the state universities and a further 20,000 to the state technological education institutes (TEI).<sup>32</sup> In consequence, each year there are approximately 83,000 candidates who do not secure a place and for whom there are four options:

- 1) abandon their intention to enter higher education, lower their aspirations and enter one of the training centres, either public or private, known as Institutes of Vocational Training (IEK).
- 2) postpone entry and to attempt the Pan-Hellenic at a later date;
- 3) travel to a university abroad;
- 4) enrol in one of the many ‘Centres of Free Studies’ which have been established in Athens and Thessaloniki, usually in association with a foreign university.

The first option clearly will not satisfy a desire for higher education, the lower level IEK's being unlikely to provide an acceptable substitute for those determined to enter either a TEI or a university: Kanellopoulos, in seeking to identify the extent to which Greek (state) education had “not yet reached the desired level of development so as to satisfactorily meet all the needs of the labour market,” found that even the higher level TEI's (which are part of the state higher education system) “...face difficulties in keeping their students, as many

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<sup>31</sup>Christos A. Saitis, “The Relationship between the State and the University,” *European Journal of Education*, 23, 3 (1988), 249-261, at 257. (Andreas Kazamias, on reading this chapter, suggested that whilst this might, to some extent, be true, Saitis has over-simplified the case.)

<sup>32</sup>Figures approximated from Kanellopoulos, 69; Psacharopoulos, 170; Karmas et al., 261.

students depart when they manage to enter university institutes.<sup>33</sup> The second option involves a delay of at least a year, whilst the third involves considerable expense. In consequence, the fourth option, that of entering a “Centre for Free Studies,” becomes increasingly attractive, even although DIKATSA, the Greek state organisation responsible for academic recognition, will not recognise the degrees awarded at such centres, even if the foreign university awarding the degree is itself recognised.<sup>34</sup>

There is an apparent anomaly in that DIKATSA will recognise a foreign degree awarded for the identical course of study undertaken wholly outside Greece, even if not on the parent campus of the foreign institution. Thus if the Greek student, travels to (say) the University of Derby’s sub-campus in Spain and follows the same course of study with the same textbooks and the same professors as would have been followed in the Derby’s sub-campus in Greece, then under DIKATSA rules, the University of Derby degree awarded after study in Spain will receive recognition, although the identical degree awarded after study in Greece will not.<sup>35</sup> It would thus appear that the effect, if not the intention, of the DIKATSA policies is more to defend the state monopoly in the provision of higher education within Greece, than to ensure that only degrees grounded in the Greek culture are recognised.

However, despite this seeming conflict, and the fact that they are operating in breach of the Greek constitution, the Centres appear to be meeting a social and economic need and are openly advertised on illuminated billboards in the railway stations, on television and in the press, where they are also discussed and critiqued.<sup>36</sup> They are registered with the Ministry of Commerce as providers of services, yet their existence is barely acknowledged by the Greek Ministry of Education, by whom they are neither controlled nor inspected. Kanellopoulos

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<sup>33</sup> Kanellopoulos, 77, Note 27.

<sup>34</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.1.

<sup>35</sup> Dionisios Loukakis, Director of Studies, Mediterranean College Athens, operating a degree franchise from the University of Derby, interviewed by Spillane at Mediterranean College, 6 August, 1998.

mentions the Centres only briefly and in passing, and then under the broad heading of "Studies Abroad," noting that "Secondary school graduates who fail to enter tertiary education institutes in Greece and desire to continue their studies either go abroad, or are enrolled in non-formal educational programmes offered by private training centres, known in Greece as centres of free studies."<sup>37</sup> (Emphasis added).

Kanellopoulos and Psacharopoulos, in their 1995 survey of "Private Education Expenditure [in Greece]," refer to "private tutoring" as "parapaedeia (or parallel education) . . . , [the] essence of this term being that such activities are outside the formal educational system, [that is] . . . complementary to it, not regulated by the state nor reported or taxed," and they make only a passing and oblique reference to the Centres as being "Other private education services, [which] because of their nature, might evade taxes as well."<sup>38</sup> Although not clandestine, the centres nevertheless lead a 'shadowy' existence, existing outside the state system, privately and unofficially providing a service which the Greek State has reserved for itself, but for which the demand far exceeds the official supply. They have in consequence been characterised by Kazamias and Starida as "para-state" entities.<sup>39</sup>

### **Questions of Legality, Quality and Utility**

American colleges have operated in Athens since the early 1980s, taking advantage of the fact that the Greek constitutional prohibition on private institutions of higher education is seldom enforced, that under the provisions of the American Constitution education is a matter reserved to the states, and that the Department of each state only has jurisdiction

<sup>36</sup> e.g. Kate Donnelly, "Navigating the Higher Education Maze." *Hellenic Times*, August 19, 1996, 16.

<sup>37</sup> Kanellopoulos, 71.

<sup>38</sup> Costas Kanellopoulos and George Psacharopoulos, *Private Education Expenditure in a 'Free Country': The Case of Greece*. (Athens: Centre of Planning and Research, 1995), 19.

<sup>39</sup> Andreas M. Kazamias and Assimina Starida, "Professionalisation or Vocationalisation in Greek Higher Education," *European Journal of Education*, Vol. 27, Nos. 1/2, 1992, 101-108.

within that State. In consequence, higher education offered by an American college on non-state territory, whether foreign or Federal (such as military reservations and bases) is not regulated either by State or Federal agencies. In consequence, the colleges operating in Greece are not regulated by either the Greek or the American governmental agencies.

The Further and Higher Education Act, 1992, encouraged British HEIs to become even more entrepreneurial and Greece was soon perceived as a target. At SIHE, Leyland classed the overseas operations as extensions of the main campus and did not inform the HEQC of their existence. In consequence, an HEQC audit team was “surprised to learn during the course of an audit visit that the scale of [overseas] activity was far more extensive than it had anticipated,” and even when SIHE provided “an up-to-date list, … the team nevertheless encountered some ambiguities and … care was needed to disentangle the status of outreach activities from partnership arrangements.”<sup>40</sup>

The entities offering the foreign degree courses in Greece register with the Greek Ministry of Commerce as ‘service organisations,’ using semi-neutral titles such as ‘Centre of Free Studies,’ ‘School (or Laboratory) of Liberal Studies,’ ‘Foundation,’ ‘Education Service’ and ‘Business School,’ to evade the Greek constitutional restriction on the use of the words ‘college’ and ‘university,’<sup>41</sup> and then operate as businesses, for profit and outside the ambit of the Greek ministry of education. Such centres have sprung up in Athens and Thessaloniki, either in the city centre or, depending upon their target market, in the more wealthy suburbs. In some cases, foreign universities have opened their own branches, or even sub-campuses, through which they will also act as agents for other foreign universities, e.g. Athens Campus Wales, operated by the University of Swansea and also housing the

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<sup>40</sup> HEQC, Quality Audit Report, Southampton Institute (Birmingham: Higher Education Quality Council, 1996), 35, paras. 99-100.

<sup>41</sup> Greek Education Act, 9/9-10-1935.

University of Bournemouth, the latter providing vocational degree courses, Higher National Diploma and other sub-degree courses.<sup>42</sup>

In 1996 there were 76 such Centres operating in Athens, between them representing 89 foreign universities from countries as diverse as England, Scotland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, France, Wales, Germany, the United States and the former Soviet Republics of Russia and Chechenya. As the Centres often ‘buy in’ different degree programmes from different universities, there are actually over 132 Centre-University combinations: New York College at Athens, for example, is a branch campus of the State University of New York at Pfalz (SUNY-Pfalz) and represents not only its parent university, but also Pittsburgh State University and SUNY Empire State College. However, for its business degrees, SUNY Empire State College is represented by a school called SBS (Studies of Business Science).<sup>43</sup>

In 1996, the Hillside Foundation in Athens represented the UK Universities of Lancaster, Kingston, and Oxford Brookes, together with the Bulgarian University of Varna, but a year later, according to an advertisement in the Greek language press, it had added the English Universities of “Central Lancashire, Kent, and [London] South Bank” to its partners.<sup>44</sup> However, the picture is far from clear or static and in 1998 the Foundation-Βαλσάμου (Balsamou), with three locations in Athens, was similarly advertising, also in Greek, that it represented twelve British universities: Lancaster (which had been with Hillside in 1996), [London] City, Sunderland, Middlesex, North London, Manchester Metropolitan, Greenwich, Liverpool, Salford, Staffordshire, Portsmouth and Huddersfield.<sup>45</sup> In the same year, the British Council estimated that “no fewer than 30 British first degrees

<sup>42</sup> Athens Campus Wales promotional brochures (in English).

<sup>43</sup> “Private Universities in Greece: The Complete Base Data, 1996” (manuscript, National Technological University of Athens, unpublished).

<sup>44</sup> To Βημα, 24 August, 1997, 53.

<sup>45</sup> Ναθημερινή, 19 July, 1998, 21.

can be taken in their entirety in Greece while others are offered on a split basis,<sup>46</sup> i.e. study in Greece followed by study abroad at the parent campus.

Modern Athens is thus acting as a magnet for foreign-sponsored institutions and numerous foreign universities and colleges, often state operated and acting with the consent and tacit approval of their national governments, circumvent the higher education provisions of the Greek constitution and provide degree studies which often seem more concerned with hard cash than high culture. In consequence, these foreign institutions, regardless of the location of their home campus (i.e. in USA, UK, etc.) or of their status (e.g. private or state-sanctioned, such as SUNY-Pfalz, Pittsburgh State, University of Wales or SIHE), and the Greek surrogates through or with whom they function, now all exhibit the five characteristics of American higher education previously identified by Martin Trow in 1987 as "not being shared by most European countries."<sup>47</sup>

Adapting them to the changed context, they are effectively:

1. The high measure of autonomy attached to individual [non-Greek-state] institutions, and their ability to go into the market without seeking approval elsewhere, e.g. from a ministry or regional board.
2. The broad assumption ...that education [however defined and even if grounded in an alien culture] is a good thing and that everyone [foreigners included] should get as much of it as they can be persuaded to enroll [i.e. pay] for.
3. The fact that [the market is far from saturated and] there is no upper limit to the number of students who can be enrolled...
4. [The students pay fees] ...on a per capita basis and [the colleges thus] ...have a continuing incentive to enroll as many students as possible.
5. [Such continuing education is supported entirely by student fees, and being] self-supporting ... it does not have to justify expansion [without which it loses its rationale and justification].

The Americanisation of the unofficial, non-state, sector of higher education in Greece has thus become largely complete and, although individual institutions may seek to develop

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<sup>46</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.1.

niche courses based on prior institutional expertise, e.g. SIHE's courses in marine engineering and ship-handling, which are international in character, the mainstream provision tends to be for high-demand courses such as 'Business Administration' and 'Information Technology,' where there is a guaranteed market and productivity and profit can be maximised through economies of scale. Inevitably such courses are grounded in the educational and commercial culture of the providing country, this generally being a requirement of the home authorities if course credit earned in Greece is to be accepted for graduation or for transfer to the main campus of the providing institution.

In these circumstances, the fears of the Hellenic officials may not be without foundation: in Greece (and other under-served markets such as Malaysia, Singapore, and the Middle east) the insufficiency of state-provided higher education means that there is an internal vacuum, with the result that local consumers are voluntarily accepting the "official language, social institutions and the structure of the [foreign] ...system." Grant cites the French colonial schools in the Comoro Islands and Madagascar, where, under French rule, children (who were presumably anything but blonde) read about, "Nos aieux, les Gaulois, qui étaient des grand hommes, musculaires et hauts, aux cheveux longs et blonds." ("Our ancestors the Gauls, who were big men, muscular and tall, with long blond hair").<sup>48</sup> Grant notes that "pupils had to compete keenly at various stages for the opportunity just to continue in school, examinations were bound to have an additional importance and to dominate every aspect of teaching and learning to a much greater extent than in the metropolitan models."<sup>49</sup> However, in Athens, and elsewhere, the case is reversed: as they compete to hold on to their students and so maintain their share of the foreign market, the staff of the foreign centres have a vested interest in minimising the impact of examinations,

<sup>47</sup> Trow, "Continuing Education," in Abrahamson et al.

<sup>48</sup> Grant, in Kazamias and Spillane, 47.

<sup>49</sup> Grant, in Kazamias and Spillane, citing A. Farine, "Society and Education: The Content of Education in the French African School," Comparative Education 5, 1 (February 1969), 51-66.

set at the distant main campus and in a tongue alien to their clients. This gives rise to concerns by accreditors that the education experience does not equate to that obtaining in the “metropolitan model” for which identical degrees are awarded.<sup>50</sup>

With overseas courses in general there is a danger of double standards, as, for example, was the case at Swansea Institute of Higher Education, which the HEQC found to have “allowed its overseas collaborative provision to develop separately from the quality assurance procedures and practices obtaining in programmes delivered in the UK.”<sup>51</sup> In such circumstances apocryphal tales of Greek invigilators “muttering in Greek” to the examinees, despite the protests of the mono-lingual examiner sent out to supervise the proceedings, of papers disappearing overnight from a Centre, and of the same error being replicated in numerous examination scripts, gain credence.<sup>52</sup>

### **The Bursting of the Ionian Sea Bubble?**

In 1996, the British Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC), having previously cautioned against the risks which are run by British institutions which enter into collaborative arrangements with “dubious overseas partner institutions,”<sup>53</sup> went even further and circulated a detailed critique of the activities of UK universities operating in Greece. The paper had been prepared for the British Council, an adjunct of the British Diplomatic Service, by David Elliott, “Head Education Promotion Group” (sic), based in Manchester, England. It appears to have been written in haste, with minimal punctuation and in terms which represent an uncharacteristic departure from the (traditionally) anodyne and understated language employed by British civil servants in documents to be circulated,

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<sup>50</sup> HEQC, Southampton Institute (May, 1996), 40, 110.

<sup>51</sup> HEQC, Swansea Institute of Higher Education: Quality Audit Report, (Birmingham: Higher Education Quality Council, October, 1996), 36.

<sup>52</sup> Heard in Athens for quotation but not attribution.

<sup>53</sup> David Elliott, para. 3.1.

particularly those which might enter the public domain.<sup>54</sup> Thus the HEQC specifically states that quality audit reports should be “temperate in tone” in order to encourage institutions to “continue to be self-critical, and not to provoke defensiveness and inwardness.”<sup>55</sup>

Elliott’s primary concern was that such provision had “mushroomed” and that the rapid expansion could “put at risk [the UK] reputation for high quality HE.”<sup>56</sup> He advised that:

There is a growing perception in Greece that a British degree qualification can be easily, too easily, obtained without [the student] leaving the country[,] especially where courses, and assessments are conducted in Greek. It is freely stated by influential Greeks that some British qualifications obtained in this way are little better than those purchased through degree mills. It is alleged that some private colleges[,] given their inadequate facilities and staffing resources[,] cannot provide anything approaching the student experience which is generally understood to have preceded the award of a British degree. ... Rumours of examination malpractice are particularly common.

Elliott held out the frightful prospect of the UK becoming “as little regarded as Italy by Greeks who are looking for a rigorous education experience.”<sup>57</sup> Elliott also reported that Greek students were being enrolled on UK-based courses, with inadequate qualifications or on completion of a foundation course of doubtful or non-existent pedagogical value. It is of interest that the concern he expressed was as much, if not more, for the “devaluation” of the British qualifications, with its implications for marketing, as for the degrading of the British educational experience. Dimitris Zondiros, confirmed that this was a problem, “the quality does not correspond to that in the UK institution - mainly because they cannot hire qualified people to teach the courses. So people teach outside their own disciplines.”<sup>58</sup>

Elliott expressed concern at the “positive blitz of press advertisements” which followed the publication of the Pan-Hellenic examination results, offering “guaranteed” admission to

<sup>54</sup> This view is based on the researchers experience, gained over 23 years in the Civil Service, for the latter 14 of which he frequently saw sensitive papers from the Diplomatic Service and other government departments. Such language, were it to be used, would tend to be confined to a personal note from one individual to another, or to a memorandum “attached, but not annexed,” to a file, and therefore detachable without causing problems with Registry. Of course, this may have since changed.

<sup>55</sup> HEQC, *Notes for the Guidance of Auditors*. (Birmingham: HEQC, 1993), 9.

<sup>56</sup> David Elliott, para. 3.1

<sup>57</sup> David Elliott, 4.1

British degree courses against payment of “£2,000 - £3,000 [\\$3,000-\$5,000] to a commercial agent or to a college “claiming [an] association with a UK university.”<sup>59</sup> His inquiries had apparently also led him to the conclusion that “Some [Greeks] believe that the extension of HE opportunities through more flexible access has been exploited by Greek businessmen[,] in alliance with socially ambitious parents and naive or short-sighted British academics[,] at the expense of the ‘currency’ of our [British] qualifications.”<sup>60</sup>

The British Council, although approving, and even promoting, the activities of the British-sponsored centres,<sup>61</sup> also recognised that living on the frontiers of illegitimacy could pose temptations for the British higher education institutions, particularly if they chose to perceive their problems as being the result of foreign intransigence, and such an attitude is in fact reflected in Elliott’s paper. Although he specifically acknowledges both that “EU regulations governing mutual recognition of qualifications do not extend to diplomas for academic [,]as opposed to professional purposes[,] so DIKATSA would be within its rights [to refuse to recognise British degrees],”<sup>62</sup> he is seemingly oblivious to the fact that the Greeks are perfectly within their rights to regulate higher education in their own country.

Clearly implying that wrongdoing had been forced upon British institutions by the intransigence of the Greeks, Elliott avers, somewhat petulantly, that “Because of the refusal of the Greek authorities to recognise any UK degree which has been taken, even in small part, in a private local college [,] some British HEIs have been pressurised into wording franchised degree certificates in a deliberately ambiguous way so that students can mislead DIKATSA....” He thus explicitly acknowledged that the officials at some British institutions had conspired with their students in order to evade the provisions of the Greek

<sup>58</sup> Dimitris Zondiros, interview by Spillane, Athens, 6 August, 1998, lecturer in Marketing at the Technological Education Institute of Athens, interview by Spillane, Athens, 6 August, 1998.

<sup>59</sup> David Elliott, 3.2

<sup>60</sup> David Elliott, 4.1

<sup>61</sup> E.g. posters in British Council Office, Athens.

<sup>62</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.3

constitution. In fact, such practices are widespread and also well known, and many centres offering British degrees would cease to exist unless they could market the degrees in such a way as to overcome the obstacles presented by the Greek constitution: one Director of Studies commented that at his Centre in Athens they had avoided making agreements for validated degrees because the diploma would show that it had been awarded for study in Athens, which meant that “for the Greek government, you do not have a degree,” whereas the diploma for a degree awarded under a franchise made no mention of Athens and could be ‘passed off’ as valid.<sup>63</sup> He added that if the foreign institution could designate the Athens centre as part of their main campus, a certificate could be given that the degree had been awarded for on-campus study. (Although UIU did not operate in Athens, the principle applies elsewhere and almost certainly provided the rationale for President McKay’s declaration that “the term ‘Extended University’ replaces the [term] off-campus ... It describes more accurately the programs and curricula that are offered to students around the world. It describes and defines the University as existing far beyond the boundaries of the residential campus.”<sup>64</sup>) Dimitris Zondiros, a lecturer in Marketing at the Technological Education Institute of Athens, observed that the Athens centres want to offer “a franchised rather than a validated degree, so that the awarding institution appears on the list [of approved UK institutions] issued by the British Council.”<sup>65</sup>

Elliott reported that: “The head of DIKATSA has indicated that any evidence of this practice [of wording degree and other certificates in a deliberately ambiguous way] which comes to his attention will cause him to withhold recognition from the degrees of the offending HEI [,]however and wherever they were obtained”<sup>66</sup> Elliott gives no indication of concern that the British institutions involved in such practices were breaking Greek law and,

<sup>63</sup> Interview in Athens with Apostolos Vranas, Athens Campus Wales, 10<sup>th</sup> August, 1998.

<sup>64</sup> Upper Iowa University Alumni Association, “Extended Thinking,” 14.

<sup>65</sup> Zondiros, interview by Spillane, Athens, 6 August, 1998.

<sup>66</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.3.

from his subsequent comment, that "...DIKATSA would be within its rights to do this," it appears that he was solely concerned with the practical consequences of such offences, rather than the legal or moral implications. The risks for any institution (or, more specifically, for its students and graduates) are considerable and could even result in non-recognition of totally legitimate degrees awarded after three years 'on campus' study in Britain. That DIKATSA has not already taken such action is possibly the result of the uncertainty and ongoing political debate on the future of Greek tertiary education.

Most of the Centres provide instrumental courses, in subjects such as graphic design, computer and business studies, accountancy and engineering, leading to qualifications which, although not recognised by the government, are said to be accepted and even prized, by some private sector employers.<sup>67</sup> In the case of law, psychology and other professional degrees, students can also take the professional examinations, success in which will give them a status which, under EU law, must be recognised in Greece. It has also been suggested that companies recruiting for an Athens office prefer job applicants who have been taught in English (including those who studied at a School of Liberal Studies and whose degree is not recognised) to those who graduated from a Greek state university and have been taught in Greek, Colgate-Palmolive being cited as one such company.<sup>68</sup> On the other hand, the degrees offered in Athens by the University of Middlesex, through AKTO Art & Design, are taught entirely in Greek, the technical skills acquired by the students presumably compensating for any inability to read their Middlesex diplomas. (When the present researcher visited AKTO, in August 1998, he found a very busy office, with half a dozen staff, but the receptionist, to whom he introduced himself, had only limited English and told him that "Mr. Aggelopoulou speaks English, but he isn't in until Thursday.")

<sup>67</sup> Harry Anthony Patrinos, "Higher Education and Economic Inequality in Greece," Comparative Education Review, Vol. 36, No. 3 (August, 1993) 298-308, 299.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Angelos Pantouvakis, Director General, ΕΑΚΕΠΑ Productivity Centre, Athens, 6<sup>th</sup> August, 1998.

The courses thus tend to be vocational, having the ‘productive employee,’ rather than the ‘informed citizen,’ as their outcome. In this they give some justification to the Greek State in its determination to recognise only that sector of higher education which remains under its control and can be said to be truly “Hellenic.” It also appears that any concern for quality, whether from the institutions or the British government, is more likely to arise from a fear of ‘killing the goose that lays the golden eggs,’ than from academic rectitude. Hence, the major anxiety voiced by David Elliott at the UK head office of the British Council in 1996 (and presumably endorsed by the HEQC, which transmitted the report to the universities) was based on economic issues, rather than on issues of probity:

The greatest risk is that the reputation of the UK's education system will be gravely undermined leading, in due course, to a devaluation of its qualifications in the eyes of the Greeks who are so anxious to obtain them at the moment. In short that the bubble will burst...<sup>69</sup> (emphasis added).

The report was prepared in Britain, a country where elitism is not unknown, by a senior civil servant, who in 1966 had obtained his own degree, in History, at University College, London, and who now adopts a somewhat condescending tone towards Greeks who have similar aspirations:

Allowing for some attachment to elitist thinking by those Greeks who obtained British degrees when they had a certain scarcity value [,] it nevertheless causes understandable irritation if apparently identical qualifications can be obtained [,] without similar effort to theirs [,] by some of today's generation.

His use of the phrase “when they had a certain scarcity value,” clearly implies that British degrees no longer have a scarcity value, whilst the phrase “apparently identical qualifications” could imply that he doubts the equivalence and worth of the qualifications currently being awarded.

Elliott, who also holds a Post-Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), gained after study at the Institute of Education in London, also appears to have been of the opinion that

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<sup>69</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.1.

the courses provided by the British institutions were of limited utility and that it was only because of "...the alleged shortcomings of the [Greek] state universities, which have a reputation for excessive formalism, rote learning and a restricted curriculum, that the products of these private colleges are able to compete for employment in the Private sector, apparently with some success."<sup>70</sup> His use of the word "products" could indicate that he is thinking of the Greek students either with contempt, in purely in economic terms, or both, whilst his use of the qualifier "apparently" indicates a lack of research into post-graduation employment. That he is apparently surprised at any success in gaining employment, could indicate that he has a doubt as to the utility of the courses furnished by British HEI's and promoted by the British Council in Athens.

As they are outside the State System, the foreign degree programmes are not inspected, accredited nor recognised by the Greek Ministry of Education and so do not feature in the official statistics. In theory they are offered within the system of accreditation which applies to the institution in their home country. However, problems of distance, extra-territoriality and cultural difference will often serve to attenuate the level of control which can be imposed and, once national boundaries have been crossed, institutional responsibility would sometimes seem to be lax or, in some cases, even abandoned. Thus the UK Higher Education Quality Council (HEQC),<sup>71</sup> found that although the quality control systems at one such institution operating in Greece were "complex," they seemed not to be

so assiduously applied where the Institute wishes to act quickly and to a particular end. ... particularly ... in relation to overseas collaborative provision. ... the Institute's practice in overseas activity does not always work within the spirit of what was initially intended and what might be accepted as entirely safe and good practice. ... difficulties ... seem likely to be ... further compounded by differences in language, culture and educational tradition, and by geographical distance.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> David Elliott, Para. 2.2.

<sup>71</sup> Superseded in 1992 by the UK Quality Assurance Agency (QAA)

<sup>72</sup> HEQC, Southampton Institute: Audit Report, (1996), 40.

Adrian Odell, Assistant Director of the British Council in Athens commented that the British academics who came to Athens

...tended to be naive. They didn't investigate their local partners and tended to believe what they were told. ...The Pan-Hellenic examination's rote style of learning does not throw up the people who will do best in creative atmosphere. ...The colleges did not realise the cultural differences. However the British institutions have done a lot of learning and the HEQC scrutiny has focused [the minds] of both the British and the Greeks.<sup>73</sup>

Such problems are not exclusive to the UK overseas programmes: although the regulations which apply to degree-granting institutions operating within New York State are extremely rigorous, requiring not only the registration and inspection of all off-campus centres but also state approval of the curriculum to be followed on each individual degree course,<sup>74</sup> there is a specific exemption for "units of New York institutions located outside the state."<sup>75</sup> In consequence, Dr. Barbara Flynn, Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education, when asked about New York colleges with branches in Greece, replied, "In this state we don't even know who is doing what overseas." She also acknowledged that "There is a perception amongst some [New York] colleges that if it is going overseas, it [i.e. the quality] doesn't matter."<sup>76</sup>

When the Dearing Committee reported in 1997, amongst its findings was the conclusion that although the more recent international audits by the HEQC had presented "a reassuring picture," there was still a "variability ...in quality assurance policies, ...over-delegation to ...franchisees; difficulties in managing quality assurance in the context of different languages, cultures and higher education systems; and an occasional willingness to accept a

<sup>73</sup> Odell, interview by Spillane, Athens, 12 August, 1998.

<sup>74</sup> New York State Education Department, Excerpts from the Regulations of the Commissioner of Education (November 3, 1995), Part 52 (Registration of Curricula)

<sup>75</sup> NY State Ed. Excerpts, Part 54, Section 2 (Exceptions), Subsection (a).

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Dr. Barbara Flynn, Deputy Commissioner for Higher Education, 19 July 1996, State Education Building, Albany, New York.

learning environment which would not be considered suitable in the UK.”<sup>77</sup> The report also noted that:

At the financial level, overseas students are a welcome source of income to institutions, as well as to the national balance of payments. ...the award of degrees with recognised value represents a competitive advantage. Conversely, [the] loss of international recognition of UK degrees would be a competitive disadvantage to higher education as a whole.<sup>78</sup>

The committee thus echoed Henry III’s commendation of the “no small profit” and “honour” that overseas students brought to his kingdom,<sup>79</sup> and underlined David Elliott’s more recent concern “that the reputation of the UK’s education system will be gravely undermined leading ... to a devaluation of its qualifications, [and]... the bubble will burst...” (by implication, because no-one would be prepared to pay for them).

### **Imports, Exports and Conflicting National Interests**

Given the questionable status of the foreign degrees awarded after study in Greece, if their family can afford the expense, many of those who fail to gain entry to a state university will go abroad to study at the main campus of a foreign university. This, as Karmas et al. noted in 1988, represents a very great drain on the country’s resources:

In 1981, for example, the country lost 5.5 million drachmas in foreign exchange spent on educating 41,000 Greeks abroad, as against a total expenditure of 8.416 million drachmas for 88,000 students educated in Greece. An equivalent expenditure at home would have created employment for approximately 10,000 people at an average annual income of 550,000 drachmas.<sup>80</sup>

In 1995, Costas Kanellopoulos and George Psacharopoulos referred to higher education being “imported,” which could be taken as a reference to the foreign universities operating in Greece, but they immediately qualify it by adding: “About 10 percent of Greeks holding

<sup>77</sup> Dearing, 159.

<sup>78</sup> Dearing, 156.

<sup>79</sup> Mansbridge, 10, fn. 1. Clarke Kerr cites higher education as having been a “successful export service for ‘Athens within the Roman Empire,’ *Education Cannot Escape History*, 96.

<sup>80</sup> Karmas et al., 269, fn. 13.

higher education degrees come from abroad; this approaches 30 percent for doctors and engineers.” However, they then continue, perhaps more pertinently:

The state monopoly of providing higher education has prevented other potential actors from responding to the prevailing excess demand. Article 16 of the Constitution could be abolished so that more educational resources are likely to remain in Greece. This will release state resources that could otherwise be used for fellowships to poor households.<sup>81</sup>

As even considering such a possibility involves treading on politically sensitive ground, the adoption of the non-prescriptive “could” was prudent. In 1988, Karmas et al. had argued that,

given the great demand for university education, [and] the inability of the Greek universities to accommodate this demand, ... it seems inevitable that there will be increasing pressure for the establishment of private universities of equal status with the Greek public universities. It is worth noting that today this issue is hardly an academic matter; it is rather an issue involving politics on the part of Greek students at home and economic interests on the part of unionised professionals holding degrees from Greek Universities.<sup>82</sup>

Ten years later, the Centres for Free (or Liberal) Studies had become an established part of the educational provision available in Greece and in 1998 Mattheou argued, similarly (but rather more directly) that:

Most of these institutions, although not accredited by the Greek state, do grant degrees as proxies of the foreign universities to which they are affiliated. Sooner, rather than later, their graduates will form a new pressure group to claim the occupational rights of its members, which could lead to the formation of an opposing pressure group, consisting of graduates of the state-accredited universities. Obviously the presence of these opposing groups is likely to alter the balance of education politics on a number of heated issues in Greek education, such as the privatisation of higher education, or the provision of university status to other non-university institutions of tertiary education.<sup>83</sup>

In the intervening period, the debate over their social desirability, educational validity and constitutional status had continued. In June 1990, Vassilis Kontoyannopoulos, Education Minister in the newly elected (and conservative) government had commented:

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<sup>81</sup> Kanellopoulos and Psacharopoulos, 25

<sup>82</sup> Karmas et al., 268.

<sup>83</sup> Mattheou, in Kazamias and Spillane, 193-194

“While private universities should not be regarded as a panacea for all educational problems in this country we believe they can create healthy competition among higher education institutions.”<sup>84</sup> The proposed “healthy competition” required the introduction of tuition fees at the state institutions and, after a “prolonged and bloody confrontation”<sup>85</sup> with left-wing students, the proposals were withdrawn. A year later, the Times Higher Educational Supplement reported that his successor, George Souflis, had told the Greek parliament that “The constitution does not allow the establishment of private universities and the government is not considering the subject.” The Times report continued by saying that he had shortly afterwards conceded that his legal advisors considered that certain non-profit organisations such as churches, trade unions and local authorities had the right to establish universities,<sup>86</sup> a view confirmed (six years later) by the Greek Supreme Court.<sup>87</sup>

In April 1992, a report by the Greek National Centre for Social Studies claimed that “The creation of private universities is unlikely to provide more and better educational opportunities for everyone, but on the contrary it will exacerbate existing inequalities and widen the chasm between the social classes.”<sup>88</sup> In January 1993, students and faculty at the state universities opposed a government plan to allow the Commercial Bank of Greece and the Association of Greek Industrialists to provide university level courses.<sup>89</sup> In July 1995, an OECD report recommended that state “educational institutions should adopt a more entrepreneurial attitude,” that private universities should be set up, and that the state universities should charge fees.<sup>90</sup>

The same year George Psacharopoulos summarised the opposing views:

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<sup>84</sup> Helena Smith, “Greek right plans private colleges,” Times Higher Educational Supplement (THES), 1<sup>st</sup> June, 1990, 9.

<sup>85</sup> Makkie Marseilles, “Greek axing of free study sparks protests,” THES, 7<sup>th</sup> December, 1990, 9.

<sup>86</sup> Idem, “Greek holidays may usher in private schools,” THES, 7<sup>th</sup> June, 1991, 9.

<sup>87</sup> Idem, “Private door opens in Greece,” THES, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1998, 8.

<sup>88</sup> Idem, “Survey reveals inequality,” THES, 10<sup>th</sup> April, 1992, 11. Note: The THES, erroneously cites the “National Centre for Social Studies” as having published the report.

<sup>89</sup> Idem, “Private college spectre stalks Greek academia,” THES, 23<sup>rd</sup> January, 1993, 9.

<sup>90</sup> Idem, “Greece taps private sector,” THES, 28<sup>th</sup> July, 1995, 10.

The interventionists [left wing socialists], who certainly represent the majority view, hope to fix the educational system by means of great amounts of legislation regulating, among other things, the number of hours each subject is to be taught at the university level. They ... advocate approval of university syllabi by the Ministry of Education. ... The liberals [right wing conservatives], which represent the minority view, focus on abolishing legislation and instituting incentives designed to improve the educational system's quality. They argue, for example, that abolition of Article 16 of the Constitution, which prohibits private universities, is likely to make public and private universities compete to attract students, leading to the closure of universities (public or private) that do not offer what students and their families want, and certainly to the reduction of the number of Greek students studying abroad and an increase in the capacity of the domestic university system.<sup>91</sup>

However, in June 1997 (according to a report in the THES), the Socialist Party (PASOK), previously opposed to changing the constitution, concluded that they "could no longer view "higher education as the exclusive prerogative of the state universities."<sup>92</sup> In June 1998, the Greek Supreme Court affirmed that private universities are illegal in Greece, but in July it also ruled that private universities could be operated by non-profit making organisations such as churches, local authorities, professional organisations, trade unions and other quasi-state or private bodies.<sup>93</sup> The provision of higher education is thus highly politicised in Greece, there is a lack of unanimity amongst politicians, even within the same party and the precise legal requirements of the Greek constitution are still in the process of being resolved. In consequence, the foreign universities (through their surrogates, the 'Centres of Free Studies'), which are clearly serving an economic and social need, have continued to operate openly with little fear of government interference.

### **The Wooden Horse of Athens**

It is apparent that the Dearing Committee implicitly accepted that "higher education as a whole" is now operating in a competitive market and that, in future, economic factors will play a substantial role in generating concerns over quality. The role of academic honesty

<sup>91</sup> Psacharopoulos, 169

<sup>92</sup> Makkie Marseilles, "Greeks give amber light to private unis," THES, 6<sup>th</sup> June, 1997, 10.

<sup>93</sup> Idem, "Private door opens in Greece," THES, 31<sup>st</sup> July, 1998, 8.

had been diminished, as has institutional autonomy, thus tending to support Mouzelis's contention that an "economic, neo-liberal, crypto-fundamentalism [has] led to the managerial logic of market efficiency infiltrating, and partially eroding, the autonomy of many institutional spheres, including that of education."<sup>94</sup> Wilemans has gone even further, categorising such new educational policies as representing a "new dominant ideology"[which] could be called 'Economism,' [the analysis of which] reveals a serious confrontation with the core characteristics of the current Western culture."<sup>95</sup>

A key problem for Greece is that the ideology of the Economocracy,<sup>96</sup> is in direct opposition to the Hellenic tradition of liberal arts education for citizenship. Although Mattheou has expressed the hope that Greek education should remain "an area of dialectical synthesis, rather than a place open to the sweeping force of irresistible socio-economic tides,"<sup>97</sup> one is tempted to make comparisons with the wooden horse at Troy: there are many American-style (and hence non-Hellenic) 'educational horses' already within the gates of Athens and the longer they remain unattended, the longer it will take when the time comes to 'clean the stables.'

A satisfactory synthesis will probably require the foreign institutions to think less of finance and more of finesse, of academic quality rather than competitive advantage, and of the Hellenic as much as the Economic, although it is the latter which provides the rationale for them to operate in Greece. On the Greek side it will soon prove necessary to determine what role, if any, the foreign institutions should be permitted to play in Greek higher education and, if there is such a role (which may be inevitable), should constraints be applied and, if so, what and how. Perhaps Mattheou's synthesis could be achieved by co-operation between the state institutions and the private sector, with the state institutions

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<sup>94</sup> Mouzelis, in Kazamias & Spillane, 21.

<sup>95</sup> Willy Wilemans, "Educational Policies in the European Common Market: Facts, Trends, and Critical Interpretation," in Kazamias & Spillane, 137.

<sup>96</sup> Spillane, "State-Market-Civil Society," 13-18.

safeguarding standards and the Hellenic tradition, leaving the “sweeping force of irresistible socio-economic tides” to remove foreign institutions which suffer the loss of their market. One such Athens venture, that of Southampton Institute, has already been swept away, in advance of any reform and by tides which were not Greek.

### **A British Horse in Athens: Not So Much ‘Trojan’ as ‘Rocking.’**

In 1993, David Leyland, Director of Southampton Institute, led a party of SIHE staff to Athens in order to investigate the market and then made an agreement for SIHE courses be offered in Athens by CMA, the Centre for Management and Administration.<sup>98</sup> This is owned and operated by Spiros Avlonitis, an entrepreneurial businessman, who holds an Aston MBA and whose main commercial activity is the installation of fibre-optic telecommunication networks in Eastern Europe.<sup>99</sup> CMA is his ‘sideline,’ but he was already offering courses under a direct franchise from the University of Glamorgan and was preparing students for the University of London external degrees.

The link with Southampton Institute was intended to be mutually beneficial, as Avlonitis needed a maritime degree course “to fill a gap in the CMA portfolio.”<sup>100</sup> However the arrangement with SIHE was for a sub-franchise, as SIHE was itself operating under a franchise from Nottingham Trent University (NTU).<sup>101</sup> In correspondence with Avlonitis, Leyland referred to the arrangement as a franchise, and advised that SIHE would conduct a “full validation visit,” in February 1994, by when he hoped “to have done sufficient development work to make the visit little more than a formality.” That he intended this to be the case is perhaps indicated by his further proposal that the “PR launch” be arranged for

<sup>97</sup> Mattheou, in Kazamias & Spillane, 196

<sup>98</sup> David Leyland to Spiros Avlonitis, letter, 26 November, 1993 (SIHE correspondence files).

<sup>99</sup> Spiros Avlonitis, interviewed by Spillane at CMA, Athens, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1998.

<sup>100</sup> Avlonitis interviewed by Spillane at CMA, Athens, 3<sup>rd</sup> August, 1998.

the day after the validation visit,<sup>102</sup> with all the advance publicity that would entail. (Similar anomalies were noted by the HEQC audit team in respect of the SIHE Bombay venture, where SIHE had told the D Y Patil Institute of the need to “invest in a learning environment appropriate for an MBA,”<sup>103</sup> whatever that might mean and however it might differ from any other environment for higher learning.)

In April 1994, Professor Jeremy Cooper, head of the SIHE Law Division, agreed with Spiros Avlonitis that fees for law courses held in Athens should be paid to ST&R Ltd., an SIHE owned private development company, thus keeping them outside the college records.<sup>104</sup> In May a cash payment of £1,000 was carried from Greece in a “brown envelope,” “with good intentions” but with “no documentation” and “in complete disregard of financial Regulations....”<sup>105</sup> Brian J. Bennett, Director of Resources, ostensibly banned the practice but two months later the Institute received a further payment of £12,690.00. A letter acknowledging receipt of the funds was sent to Avlonitis by the same Brian J. Bennett, with no remonstrance.<sup>106</sup>

Courses at CMA started in Summer of 1994, but after only year, in June 1995, SIHE decided to “withdraw from the agreement with CMA due to quality problems”<sup>107</sup> and open its own Greek ‘campus.’ For this purpose SIHE rented a narrow, six storey, office building in a leafy side-street off Omonia Square, in the centre of Athens. Zondiros considers that the property was “very high and narrow” and too small. He agreed that transport to Omonia was

<sup>101</sup> A practice which Dearing called “serial franchising” and which the Committee considered “must cease at once.” Dearing, 159, para. 10.77. This contrasts with other undesirable practices, which Dearing merely recommended be phased out.

<sup>102</sup> David Leyland to Spiros Avlonitis, letter, 26 November, 1993 (SIHE correspondence files).

<sup>103</sup> HEQC, Southampton Institute: Audit Report, (1996), 35, para. 100.

<sup>104</sup> Spiros Avlonitis to Professor Jeremy Cooper, Head of Law Division, letter, 5 April, 1994; consequent Cooper to Alan Bates STAR Ltd, and to Registry, memoranda dated 7 July, 1994. (SIHE confidential files).

<sup>105</sup> Brian J. Bennett, Director of Resources, to David G. Leyland, memorandum, 1 December, 1994 (SIHE Confidential files)

<sup>106</sup> Spiros Avlonitis to SIHE, franchising fee advice note, 2 February, 1995; Brian J. Bennett, Director of Resources to Avlonitis, dated 13 February 1995 acknowledging receipt of £7,940 in cash and £4,750 in cheques, brought by hand from Athens

<sup>107</sup> Minutes of the Meeting of the SIHE Board of Governors, 14 June 1995, Paper 95/BG/35, para. 4ii

very good, but added, "Prostitution and drugs were not such a big problem in 1994, but Omonia has always had its dark side. It is not a suitable educational environment."<sup>108</sup> Thus, whilst Omonia Square and its surroundings are pleasant in daytime, after dark they tend to justify the Guardian headline "The story so far from the red lights of Athens."<sup>109</sup> The HEFC later "found evidence of haste in setting up the Athens campus" which led to problems in "premises, staffing and student recruitment," these culminating in the closure of the campus in October, 1996.

Various questions arise over the lack of longevity for the venture, questions which will apply in general terms when any HEI seeks to expand abroad:

- (1) Was there a market for the Southampton Institute courses, either maritime or business?
- (2) Was CMA the right partner?
- (3) Was it a mistake for SIHE to go 'independent' and open its own campus?
- (4) Did it matter that SIHE did not have degree awarding powers, but operated under a franchise from Nottingham Trent University?
- (5) Did cultural differences between the UK and Greece have any significance and how were they addressed?
- (6) Which was pre-eminent in the venture: the academic or the economic?

These matters were addressed by interviewing key individuals in Athens, using a prepared list of questions.

According to Avlonitis, there was a ready market for the maritime courses, because of "the long tradition of their maritime school association with Greece. Many Greek shipping people have trained with them" and in consequence he had no difficulty in finding 49 students for the first year of the course. This was confirmed by Captain Anastasios G. Politis, a shipping line owner who had himself trained at the School of Nautical Studies,

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<sup>108</sup> Zondros, interview by Spillane, Athens, 6 August, 1998

Warsash, now part of SIHE. He explained that were only two merchant marine academies in Athens and that “Greeks have been going to Southampton for years, we were bringing [Southampton] to Greece.” Captain Politis said he had helped recruit the opening class at CMA, and quoted a figure of 59, as opposed to Avlonitis’s figure of 49. When the agreement with CMA was rescinded, Politis had backed the opening of the new campus and had donated £20,000 to fund the library. He said that “[when SIHE withdrew] I wanted to take over the Athens campus as it stood. I failed because of bureaucracy - they said I needed a new accreditation from NTU. There was nothing wrong with the business and no problem with quality. There are many colleges around Athens operating on this basis.”<sup>110</sup>

However, according to Angelos Pantouvakis, Director-General of the Greek Productivity Centre, a semi-government vocational training organisation, SIHE had insufficient backing, both financially and locally, to succeed, particularly in the long term. He commented “The British City University from London now offers these courses. They have a lot of money from shipping - they have a consortium of about five shipping companies sponsoring them.”<sup>111</sup>

It thus appears that there was a market for such courses, that SIHE had the reputation to build on, and that with good management and sufficient backing they might have been a success. Politis did not regard the inability of SIHE to award degrees to be a drawback, at least in respect of maritime students, who traditionally had been awarded certificates of qualification (or ‘tickets’) issued by the British or Greek maritime authorities. The maritime courses thus appear to have been the strongest part of the SIHE Athens venture, as was acknowledged by decision to “put more emphasis in the Maritime sector” in Athens.<sup>112</sup> The picture as regards the business courses is somewhat different: Avlonitis claims that as SIHE

<sup>109</sup> *Guardian*, 22<sup>nd</sup> October, 1996.

<sup>110</sup> Captain Politis, interviewed by Spillane 4 August, 1998, in his office at AGP Shipping, Piraeus docks

<sup>111</sup> Angelos Pantouvakis, interviewed by Spillane, 6 August, 1998, at the Greek Productivity Centre, Athens.

had no prior reputation in this area, they “needed to allow three to four years to get established in Athens,” which was why they only recruited eight MBA students the first year.

Politis considered Omonia Square “an ideal place, [with] cheap transport for the students once the metro was completed, right in the centre of Athens, near the green and yellow bus station. Rent was right and there was room for expansion.” Pantouvakis also believed that Omonia Square was a good location to attract the “low income students with not very high expectations,” but he considered that as SIHE did not have university-status, they had very little chance, for “the Greeks judge a college by its location - [it’s] one of the big signs. If Cambridge came to Greece the name would carry weight [and then] the place does not matter, in Omonia Square, “a not-good university would be destroyed. ... There is room for the reputable British universities, but not for lesser colleges.... The competition is high - I cannot see why a Greek student would go to the Southampton Institute [Athens campus] when they have the University of Dublin, or the University of Wales, or the Americans, Kentucky, SUNY [State University of New York] and so on [all in Athens].” (This would not of course have applied to SIHE’s niche courses in Maritime Studies, which were of particular interest to Politis.) Chris Hutchinson, SIHE Director, Corporate Development, specifically acknowledged that, “There is severe competition in the undergraduate Business area and to a lesser extent in the Maritime and MBA areas. Our competitors are well established [but] ..do not have Southampton’s reputation in the Maritime area. ... they invest heavily in marketing through TV, radio and newspapers to the detriment of investment in staffing and adequate support facilities. Given our commitment to academic quality we will not compete in terms of advertising spend but would rely on

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<sup>112</sup> Chris Hutchinson, Director Corporate Development, 12 June, 1996, Report to SIHE Governors, Paper 96/BG/36, para 32.

building up an image of professionalism and quality...”<sup>113</sup> Thus SIHE was adopting a strategy which would be appropriate to Harvard or Cambridge, but not to a minor college, unknown outside the maritime field. At Parsons, Roberts had adopted the opposite view, actively seeking publicity and arguing that the most important thing was that the name was spelled correctly.<sup>114</sup>

Dionisios Loukakis, Director of Mediterranean College, which is housed in a restored classical building actually in Omonia Square considered that their superior premises balanced the equation and that once the Athens underground transit system was complete (in 2001), the Square would improve. However,” he added. “I would prefer to send my son to a college in a northern suburb.” Mediterranean College represents the Universities of Derby and Northumbria under franchise agreements and Loukakis commented that it is “a very small market. If it were not for the [Greek] Constitution, Cambridge would come here and we would all lose our students.”<sup>115</sup> (Interestingly Oxford was not mentioned in any of the interviews.) Pantouvakis commented that a small institution did better to offer a franchise, “which produced less profit but [required] much less outlay.” Apostolos M. Vranas, a lecturer in English at the University of Wales (Swansea)’s branch (known as Athens Campus Wales or ACW) stated that there is a market, but not for the degrees offered by SIHE. He argued that it is necessary to offer degrees which stand a chance of one day being validated by DIKATSA, which would never happen to degrees earned through SIHE, as they are validated by a third party, Nottingham Trent University.<sup>116</sup> Dimitris Zondiros, a lecturer in Marketing at the Technological Education Institute of Athens similarly argued that unless the degree is granted directly by the institution “it will be of limited value in Greece, even if done on campus in England.” There was thus a consensus that unless SIHE

<sup>113</sup> Hutchinson, Report to SIHE Governors, 12 June, 1996, Paper 96/BG/36, para 45

<sup>114</sup> Bierlin to Spillane, email message, 30 August 1999

<sup>115</sup> Dionisios Loukakis, interview by Spillane 6 August, 1998 at Mediterranean College, Athens.

<sup>116</sup> Apostolos M. Vranas, interview by Spillane, 10 August, 1998, at (ACW) Athens Campus Wales.

had university status and could award its own degrees, it would serve a very limited market in Greece.

Adrian Odell, Assistant Director of the British Council in Athens, commented that “Some institutions were pretty naive, they didn’t investigate their local partners and tended to believe what they were told.” When asked if he considered there was a cultural barrier between the people at the Greek ‘Centres’ and the people from the British institutions, Odell confirmed that the “[UK] colleges did not realise that there were cultural differences,” but added “However the British institutions have done a lot of learning and HEQC scrutiny has focused the minds of both the British and Greek authorities.”<sup>117</sup>

Vranas did not accept the term “cultural barrier, saying that there is just a “cultural difference.”<sup>118</sup> Loukakis dismissed the idea, commenting (significantly) that “We are just doing the business here, the only barrier is the Constitution and that could change.” Politis made the same point, “No we are all business people - Greeks have been going to Southampton for years,” and, perhaps fulfilling Mattheou’s worst fear, he added, “We have a European culture.” Interestingly, Avlonitis, who, of all those interviewed, was perhaps the most overtly entrepreneurial in his approach, considered that there was a large cultural barrier, arguing (perhaps self-servingly) that SIHE “failed to realise that you can only work through an intermediary, one who can bridge the two cultures.” He considered that the failure to recognise this was “their big mistake” and claimed that

the Greeks are very family oriented. They [the SIHE staff] would just listen to the student, the way they would in England. Here the students come for interview with their parents. It is usually the mother who does the talking. Then suddenly the grandfather will ask, 'Are you going to take care of my grandson?' They see they can trust me. You see very often it is the grandfather who will be paying and he wants to know that his money is not going to be wasted. Southampton did not see it this way.

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<sup>117</sup> Adrian Odell, interview at the British Council, Athens, 12 August, 1998.

<sup>118</sup> Vranas, interview by Spillane 10 August 1998, Athens Campus Wales.

Odell confirmed that families take a leading role in the selection of a college for a student, but claimed “We are now hearing a lot of good things from both parents and children.

... The parents and students now talk positively [about the British institutions in Athens]”<sup>119</sup>

Zondiros confirmed that the market for UK institutions existed because “Parents are willing to pay and make sacrifices for their children ... so that they get a degree from the UK.”<sup>120</sup>

A major cultural difference apparently manifests itself with regard to plagiarism and cheating: Vranas spoke of a difference with regard to plagiarism, suggesting that a Greek student “will make a collage of unreferenced quotes lifted from books. For those of us who wish to do things properly, this is a problem.”<sup>121</sup> He said he did not know of any examination fraud, although he had heard “rumours.” Odell acknowledged that such fraud had been a major problem, but beyond commenting that “the British institutions tended to be too trusting over examination proceedings. Exams need to be firmly in the hands of the British,” he declined to be specific.<sup>122</sup> However, a tendency for student/teacher alliances to form when dealing with anonymous examiners is not unknown, even within the British academic culture: J. Topping, Principal of Brunel College, has commented that after they had started to set their own degree examinations at Brunel, “we were no longer tempted to combine with the students to defeat the external examiners of the University of London; we had other difficult problems associated with internal examinations on hand.”<sup>123</sup>

In 1993, the University of Glamorgan had had serious concerns about the administration of their Glamorgan degree courses in Athens, which CMA offered under a franchise. For the 1993-94 academic year they seconded Dr. Russell Smart to work at CMA, both to teach and to supervise. Within his first semester Dr. Smart was faced with a major problem. The

<sup>119</sup> Odell, interviewed by Spillane at the British Council, Athens, 12<sup>th</sup> August, 1998.

<sup>120</sup> Zondiros, interview by Spillane, Athens, 6 August, 1998.

<sup>121</sup> Vranas, interviewed by Spillane, 10 August 1998, Athens Campus Wales.

<sup>122</sup> Odell, interview by Spillane at the British Council, Athens, 12 August, 1998.

<sup>123</sup> J. C. Topping, “Forward” to Marie Jahoda, The Education of Technologists, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. x..

scripts from a second year business examination, somewhat ironically on "Risk and Uncertainty." had been marked in Athens by Greek personnel and then sent to Glamorgan for moderation. It then transpired that the examiners at Glamorgan had inadvertently made a factual error in the marking scheme sent to Athens and the same error was replicated in the examination scripts, which had been marked by Avlonitis, who, not having reported it, presumably had not noticed the error. Although Glamorgan mounted an investigation at CMA, they were apparently unable to identify a culprit, although Avlonitis was quoted by another member of staff as saying that "Glamorgan would not find out" about the cheating.<sup>124</sup>

Vranas, whilst not prepared to be specific, suggested that at "Many of the centres ...there are accusations of cliques, of ad hominem, nepotistic marking."<sup>125</sup> Such a problem would appear to have arisen at CMA, where Avlonitis "apparently [reserved] the right to alter marks allocated by CMA staff without reference to marking schemes or the Glamorgan staff."<sup>126</sup> Glamorgan also had other concerns with CMA over personal and academic integrity, involving staff-student personal relationships and suggestions that at least one female student had assisted in the marking of scripts for the Glamorgan examinations she had also sat.

Smart apparently identified the students who had broken into the office to obtain the "Risk and Uncertainty" paper, but having advised the Head of the Business School at Glamorgan was unable to get backing to pursue the matter. Dr Smart stated that on his return he had submitted a long and detailed record and was assured by the Vice-Chancellor that franchising was a matter of concern, that he had recently appointed a panel of enquiry into all franchise activities and that this information would be considered as part of that

<sup>124</sup> Chris Hutchinson, Confidential report, 14 September, 1994 in the confidential files of Southampton Institute

<sup>125</sup> Vranas, interview by Spillane, 10 August 1998, Athens Campus Wales.

<sup>126</sup> Chris Hutchinson, Confidential report, 14 September, 1994 in the confidential files of Southampton Institute

process. Possibly because he was too pro-active, Smart was not seconded to CMA for a second year: Glamorgan instead using the English husband of a lecturer employed by Avlonitis to undertake a quality assurance role in respect of Glamorgan's franchise activities in Athens, Thessaloniki and Istanbul.<sup>127</sup>

(At the time Avlonitis was interviewed, this information had not been received. However, in order to vindicate his position, Avlonitis offered to produce his files on the SIHE-CMA collaboration and the aftermath. However, it then transpired that they had been "put away" by his secretary, who was on holiday, and the photocopies he promised to send by post never materialised, despite telephoned reminders.)

### **Could SIHE Have Succeeded in Athens?**

It appears that, based on the reputation of the Maritime College at Warsash and the fact that the destination for maritime students was generally not a degree but a Merchant Marine "ticket" from a British government department, there could have been a niche market for SIHE's maritime courses. However, the international competition for mainstream business courses, particularly the MBA, made it highly unlikely that SIHE would break into the Athens market, other than through an adjustment in academic standards. This, Avlonitis seemingly set out to achieve for those students who sought a diploma rather than what Elliott calls an "education experience." Thus, in the unregulated Athens market, CMA could have been the right partner for business purposes, for Avlonitis recognised what was needed to promote and support a faltering programme and he was prepared to take the steps necessary to reach the stated goal. He described the SIHE staff as "education people who had no experience of doing business and they saw only the money to be made."<sup>128</sup> However, in academic matters he was out of step with the standards espoused by British academia,

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<sup>127</sup> Chris Hutchinson, Confidential report, 14 September, 1994 in the confidential files of Southampton Institute.

promoted by the HEQC and supported by the British Council, albeit on economic grounds.<sup>129</sup>

Was it a mistake for SIHE to go ‘independent’ and open their own campus? Perhaps predictably, Avlonitis claims it was: “First because they did not have enough students - they did not have the volume. Two, because they needed to allow three to four years to get established in Athens. Three, their break-even was 170 students and they only got 2 in maritime and 8 in the MBA.” As regards the way the SIHE approach differed from that of Glamorgan, Avlonitis considered that they

failed to realise that you can only work through an intermediary, one who can bridge the two cultures. Glamorgan listen to us, we tell them what they can do and what they can't. We have worked together since 1989. Southampton came here and saw how successful we are and thought they could do it themselves. We had 49 students and they tried to take them but only got two, the two that were no good. We took care of the others, they went to Plymouth and elsewhere to complete their courses.

When asked if the SIHE staff were professional, Avlonitis replied

No! No way! ... they saw only the money to be made and they did not build up model - they did not look at the other factors, culture, market, standards, facilities, needs of Greek students, and legal aspects, all very important. In Greece you cannot just set up a university, it is against the constitution. You have to be very careful. That is why I am called the ‘Centre for Management and Administration,’ not ‘college’ or something like that. They thought they could put up a sign saying ‘university’ and that would be all right, but it is not. It is not legal, under the Greek Constitution.

In fact CMA has signs outside saying “University of Glamorgan” and “London University External Degree Programme,” as does Mediterranean College for the Universities of Derby and Northumbria., but Avlonitis claimed that this did not cause a problem, “No. The signs say they are working in co-operation with me.” (In fact the signs just stated the name of the British University, with no further qualification.) “CMA does everything in Greece, they are not operating here, and that is where Southampton went wrong. They needed an

<sup>128</sup> Avlonitis, 3 August, 1997.

<sup>129</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.2.

intermediary to take care of such problems.” He also considered that calling the new campus Southampton Solent was a mistake, because “We all called it the SS campus.”<sup>130</sup>

Asked if he was saying that the failure of the SIHE Athens campus had damaged the reputation of the Institute in Greece, Avlonitis replied,

No doubt about it; that and other things. Now Greeks look to Plymouth and other schools, not to Southampton [for Maritime courses]. David Leyland. He was ... concerned with size, not tradition. For example he sold the land at Warsash, where the maritime college had been. This was a big mistake. He kept 100 square meters so he could say they still had a presence there, but it is not enough. The Warsash campus was an asset because many of the Greek naval people trained there. It had happy memories for many Greeks. That has now all gone.

That the provision of SIHE courses in Athens was intended to be essentially commercial is indicated in the letter confirming the arrangements. Leyland offered Avlonitis a choice of four courses and told him to “choose the three that you think most attractive to the market and that you could teach best.” That the market came first and the quality of teaching second, is noteworthy, but even more significant is Leyland’s implicit recognition (and seeming acceptance) that Avlonitis would be doing his “best,” rather achieving a standard to be set by SIHE.

Three years later the Dearing Committee indicated that whilst they were ostensibly concerned with the academic, the economic was never far behind. Having commented that “as far as we are aware, the UK is the only country that conducts audits of its international collaborative provision,” they promptly fashioned a marketing tool from the virtue of necessity by adding, “More must be of this as a positive point of view for UK higher education internationally.”<sup>130</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Dearing, 160, para. 10.78.

## Chapter 12

### Conclusion

Links between entrepreneurialism and higher education have a long history, although their existence has not always been acknowledged. The arrival of students in a town can provide social, economic and cultural benefits to the locality, and colleges have often been located or even founded for reasons which were more entrepreneurial than educational or religious. Thus Durham was founded to protect the Anglican endowment, Upper Iowa University to boost the new town of Fayette, whilst Parsons and (a hundred years later) the Open University were eagerly sought after by towns concerned to boost the local economy. This is to some degree inevitable, for higher education, particularly in the Liberal Arts, tends to be the product of a surplus economy, which is generated by the entrepreneurs. Precisely what constitutes a 'surplus economy' depends on the societal priorities and pressures which exist at the time and so the provision of higher education tends to be closely bound to the economic and social circumstances of its locality.<sup>1</sup> Bryce's Devon farmer was probably well nourished physically, but in his sector of society, the 'ologies' which might have nourished him mentally were regarded as being of little or no value. Many of the male students who enrolled at Parsons and other colleges in the 1960s might well have thought no differently from the farmer, but the cost, personal and financial, of staying in college was more than justified by the alternative, which could well have been death or disfigurement in Vietnam.

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<sup>1</sup> J. W. Hall, 9.

Given the privations which the early American settlers suffered, they would have been well justified in adopting the stance of the Devon farmer, but they were members of a largely cohesive and Christian society, and had endured much in order to practise their religion in peace. The alternative was an illiterate clergy, incapable of interpreting the Bible and so not able to improve the settlers' chances of happiness in the next world. The settlers were therefore prepared to make sacrifices and to promote colleges within their marginal economy. Later, the temporal and economic benefits of a college were recognised, resulting in a plethora of small colleges in the United States. Many of these have now lost their church affiliation, and hence natural constituency, and are now having to survive on fees rather than donations, requiring marketing and recruitment, a role for the entrepreneur rather than the Pastor or educator.

In the United States, the provision of higher education was financed from tracts of land, acquired at minimal cost to the Federal Government and donated to promote existing colleges or to found new ones, for re-sale or rent, the proceeds providing endowment for the colleges. Morrill, in seeking to further the cause of "useful knowledge." had to tread carefully between such religious aspirations and the larger needs of the American economy and by seeking "to give [labor] ... a profounder meaning than that of mere drudgery, be it of the hand or the head,"<sup>2</sup> he sought to transcend the limited vision exemplified by both the Devon farmer and the founders of rural seminaries.

A major theme in the research has been the extent to which prior events can influence and even determine the trajectory taken by a college, often contrary to expectations. At Upper Iowa past caution and the elimination of debt strengthened the College when it came to expand, as might be expected. In relation to Parsons College, the histories of the NCA and of the Presbyterian Church (USA) came together and adversely affected the future of the college. Had the Presbyterian mergers been effected sooner, the Church might have

taken earlier and more decisive action and Roberts might have ceased to be President before the College had over-expanded. Equally, NCA history being what it was, had Roberts rested his case on his success in constructing a second-chance college, he might have enjoyed more support from within the accrediting club, the members of which would have shared his concerns. Had the NCA remained in favour of the quantitative parameters, Roberts might similarly have enjoyed more success, for when it came to numbers he had a success story to tell, at least initially.

At SIHE, had Leyland studied the recent history of the Institute and then followed his own advice and come in as a consolidator, deferring innovation until he had the disparate parts of the Institute welded together,<sup>3</sup> he might have had more lasting success. In entering the Athenian market, a sense of the Hellenic tradition might have served him well, if only to recognise that whilst there may not be cultural barriers, there are certainly cultural differences, and that these have to be accommodated, rather than shouldered aside.

Initially each of the three institutions, Parsons, UIU and SIHE, had a limited social milieu, southern Iowa for Parsons, Upper Iowa for UIU, and Hampshire and the world-wide maritime fraternity for SIHE. However, once they started to expand they tended to become detached from their locality and so local pride and support lessened. Parsons College under Roberts was the epitome of the entrepreneurial institution and would have fully met the Tory goal (as defined by Peter Scott) of being one of the institutions which was “most successful in the market-place, as measured by their ability to attract more students,”<sup>4</sup> competing for students on the basis of innovation (as in the three tier intensive teaching system), academic reputation (as a second chance school with a good graduation rate), facilitating access into graduate school, vocational utility of the degrees awarded (although this might have required a shift away from the concept of the American liberal arts college),

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<sup>2</sup> Morrill, State Aid to Land-Grant Colleges.

<sup>3</sup> Leyland, “Commercialism,” 23-33; “Corporate Strategy,” 22-32.

and ease of entry (which at Parsons was then a sine qua non). In fact, had Roberts been operating thirty years later and in the UK, he would have been hailed by both the ‘New Right,’ the utilitarian dogmas of which required a vocational emphasis and greater productivity in education to reduce unit cost,<sup>5</sup> and the ‘New Left,’ (or perhaps centre), which seeks equitable provision of higher education and pays lip-service to the dismantling of elites. The Parsons Plan should please both, for it will counteract the tendency of the elitist colleges to move towards a “more monastic, apart-from-society stress on knowledge as the end of education, rather than [on] knowledge fitted to the societal need....”<sup>6</sup>

Roberts’ weakness was almost certainly that he innovated on too many fronts at the same time, and although the strategy he adopted to some degree made this inevitable, he compounded the risks by saying that all other college presidents were wrong and that the “only sure business source of income for a small college is student income. This should be seen as an over-all source, with tuition and fees, room and board, student union and bookstore as parts of the whole.”<sup>7</sup> He built dormitories which he then had to fill, and so made a virtue out of necessity by recruiting below-par students and by offering a repository for unruly students who at home would have made their parents’ lives a misery, but who could express themselves in rural Iowa with the minimum parental impact.

Roberts thus recruited from several different constituencies, the bright who were too bright to fit comfortably in the anodyne colleges of ‘middle’ America but flourished in the unconventional atmosphere of Parsons, those who drifted to college because it was the thing to do, the “rich thick kids,” who partied as part of their “educational experience,” gaining the patina of a college education and even the possibility of a degree, and those who flourished under Roberts’ scheme for team-teaching, with the information being reinforced

<sup>4</sup> Scott, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Graham, 140-141 in Gokulsing and Da Costa.

<sup>6</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Academic Standards at Parsons College.”

<sup>7</sup> M. G. Roberts, “Must Your College Always Lose Money Each year?”

at every level. Although he was criticised for feeding facts to Parsons students without adequate time or concern for assimilation, without that knowledge they might have had little to assimilate in the years to come. Parsons could thus have succeeded as a second-chance college, re-manufacturing rejects from other institutions, or even as a first chance college for those who had ability but had previously ‘slipped through the cracks’ in the secondary school system, a similar role to a remit given, at about the same time, to the Open University in Britain.

Roberts’ theories about team-teaching, with high quality professors spread thinly, but supplemented and reinforced by seminars conducted by preceptors and tutorials by tutors made sense, the high cost of such intensive teaching being spread over many students. His idea of minimum cost facilities in year-round use seemingly could not fail, but only so long as he had students to fill them. Offering a limited range of courses, also made sense, particularly as core courses took up the first two years, when attrition was likely to be greatest. Where he failed was in not appreciating that if his theories were correct, virtually every other college president had it wrong, as did every denomination having control over a college. His method of purveying his ideas for cost-effective higher education and his attitude to fund-raising, both at the Brick Church and at Parsons, lacked the veneers of subtlety and humility which would make them palatable to a peer-group audience. Like Leyland, Roberts was, as Politis expressed it, “arrogant in style,”<sup>8</sup> but with those from whom he needed something he could have “the force of a bulldozer, and the guile ... of a snake-oil salesman.”<sup>9</sup> Given the targets he set and did largely achieve, it is not surprising that in the medium term Parsons went heavily into debt. Even the intensively-costed off-campus

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<sup>8</sup> Captain Anastasios Politis, interview by M G Spillane at AGP Shipping, Athens, 4 August, 1998.  
<sup>9</sup> Boroff, 107

programmes provided by the Open University went heavily over budget, and, as Walter Perry admitted, “The OU would not have opened had the true cost been known”<sup>10</sup>

Until 1987, British Universities had received funding from the UGC in the form of block grants awarded on a five year basis to supplement fee income and to cover expansion, overheads and running costs. These grants were analogous to the income which might be derived from an endowment fund, but their level was governed by UGC-perceived need and worthiness and was largely insulated from the vagaries of both government policy and the market, both stock- and real estate, upon which endowment funds often rely. From 1987 onwards, the whole basis of this was revised, the Department of Education and Science moving to a system of contract between the Government funders and the HEIs, who then became deliverers of educational services. The Government also set up the Universities Funding Council (as opposed to the old Universities Grants Committee), the new Council structure being more open to the “guidance” which in future the Government intended to give in strategic matters of “size and broad balance of the university system” and “particular policy developments” as and when (in the government’s view) it became “necessary.”<sup>11</sup>

Subsequent legislation enabled the Government to “vigorously exercise ... its central power in setting up the ‘education market’ and harnessed multiple market-structuring agencies in this endeavour,”<sup>12</sup> including, it would appear, the British Council. This resulted in a major export drive for British higher education, one result of which was that no less than 46 British institutions, including SIHE, opened shop in Athens, creating a highly competitive market. SIHE did not have university status and did not offer degrees of its own making, but those of its franchisor, NTU, a brand totally unknown to the Greek market.

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<sup>10</sup> Walter Perry *Open University*, p. 20

<sup>11</sup> DES, “Changes in Structure and National Planning for Higher Education: Universities Funding Council (London: DES, 1987b), para 22.

<sup>12</sup> Pritchard, 254

Whilst under the wing of Spiros Avlonitis at CMA, SIHE received guidance which, if dubious, was at least street-wise. As soon as SIHE decided to part with him, it lost that guidance. The choice of premises in a reputed “red light area,” clearly indicated a lack of the ‘street smarts’ needed to survive in a highly competitive market dominated by prestigious degrees from the State University of New York and the Universities of Wales and London.

As Parsons College discovered when it lost its accreditation in 1968, it is apparent that, to the consumer, the quality of the education provided is of limited concern, what matters is that the credits and degree awarded be valid currency. When Parsons was deprived of the stamp of approval, and despite the fact that the quality of the education provided remained unchanged, Parsons credits and degrees rapidly became de-valued and the students who were qualified to go elsewhere did so. Moreover, the credibility of the six satellite colleges suffered by association and in due course, as Elliot had feared could happen to the British institutions in Athens, “the bubble burst,” and the satellite colleges lost their market and closed.

Leyland had a similar philosophy to Roberts and in both cases their research had related to entrepreneurialism in a supposedly non-profit venture. They both operated in an atmosphere of tension, generated not only by their personalities but also by their constant quest for change without time for consolidation, heightened by what Rockhill, had described as “a fundamental tension …between the entrepreneurial orientation …and the purist [orientation] of the ideals of academe.”<sup>13</sup> Parsons had enjoyed spectacular success in the market place, particularly “as measured by [the] …ability to attract more students,” a standard which, thirty years later, has been set for British institutions of higher education.<sup>14</sup> Its history also paralleled that of UIU, which had adopted a lower profile, had set out to

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<sup>13</sup> Rockhill, 239.

<sup>14</sup> Scott, 14.

reduce its indebtedness before expanding, had adopted a policy of taking the (rented) campus to the students, rather than bringing the students to the campus, and so had been able to survive whilst recruiting far fewer students than Parsons. Even so, from 1992 onwards the rate of change in the UIU off-campus programs accelerated, promoting further dissent and tensions within the college, as the academic staff, whose concerns tended to be for quality, consolidation and the tradition of liberal education, feuded with the business development staff, who were more concerned with quantity, market share and the development of educational courses as a tradable commodity.<sup>15</sup>

In the UK, Dearing's anticipation of the need for life-long learning, and determination to "give priority to those institutions which can demonstrate a commitment to widening participation,"<sup>16</sup> has resulted in some institutions giving an old twist to a new theme by the creation of remote, off-campus, sites, where the work which the universities may feel has been forced upon them will be performed. Birmingham's "educational precinct," Durham's new centre at Stockton-on-Tees and Southampton University's 'off-shore model,' each has the in-built potential for the creation of an extra-mural ghetto, turning the clock back a century or more to the time when Firth College, seeking to become the University of Sheffield,<sup>17</sup> sponsored a separate Technical School at which subjects perceived as academically sordid might be taught.<sup>18</sup> Given the current broadening of the definition of academic respectability, it may now be the adult students who are perceived as not "academically respectable" (or academically sordid) and who are therefore being banished. At UIU and other American off-campus centers, the campus learning is being taken out to the adult students, who are welcomed, if sometimes only on economic grounds. Unlike the situation at Birmingham, the "links between such courses and traditional undergraduate

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<sup>15</sup> Informal interviews with David Fritz, UIU Executive Dean, 13<sup>th</sup> February, 1996 Fayette, Iowa and in Mexico City, 2<sup>nd</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> March, 1996 and with Tony Tjaden, UIU faculty, 14<sup>th</sup> June, 1996, Fayette Iowa.

<sup>16</sup> Dearing, "Recommendation 2," 107, para. 107

<sup>17</sup> A. W. Chapman, quoted Argyles, 48.

teaching" have almost always been clear and "people" have been able to "earn and accumulate credit for study on ...the full range of courses offered by the school"<sup>19</sup> At UIU, grades of "A" were given away to avert trouble and students who enrolled were guaranteed a passing grade in return for paying the fees, a good entrepreneurial practice which should facilitate future business. It may of course be a fear of the importation of such practices which is fuelling 'separate development' for adults in these British universities.

SIHE, in expanding into Athens, followed the precept of UIU, renting premises and recruiting local faculty and not setting out to create a separate "precinct." However, instead of choosing a city with which it enjoyed a common culture and where it had a virtual monopoly (as was the case with UIU in the depths of the Mojave desert), it chose Athens, with a different language and where it was in competition with 76 other institutions, many of them (e.g. SUNY and the University of London) being of international renown and the great majority being authorised to award their own degrees.

At CMA, Avlonitis criticised the SIHE staff as "education people who had no experience of doing business and they saw only the money to be made."<sup>20</sup> It seems that Avlonitis saw the academics as wanting the fees but not being prepared to close their eyes to the entrepreneurial steps which he deemed necessary if an 'income-stream,' rather than a temporary 'bonanza' was to be achieved. This presents academics, administrators and accreditors with a problem: the UK government is concerned to increase the entrepreneurial provision of higher education, so reducing unit cost to government. In the face of competition, both foreign and domestic, this may require a lowering of standards in order to obtain the enrolment needed to achieve that aim.

In the United States colleges find their own level in the market and that level is public knowledge, thus enabling the consumer to balance the fees charged by the college against

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<sup>18</sup> Argyles, 48.

<sup>19</sup> (Adapting University of Birmingham, GM, "Credit for All," 2.)

value of the ‘educational experience’ provided and the utility of the qualification to be achieved. Roberts found that there was a demand for ‘second-chance colleges’ and he was able to recruit students whilst substantially raising fees. In the UK it appears that, despite the indications given by the multitude of league tables and evidence, the fiction is being maintained that all British universities offer the same or comparable “educational experience,” award a generic “British degree,” have comparable rates of admission through ‘clearance,’ and that nothing has changed in UK higher education in the past forty years. Thus Elliott writes of the UK’s “reputation for high quality HE,”<sup>21</sup> of “a British degree qualification” and of the “student experience which is generally understood to have preceded the award of a British degree,”<sup>22</sup> as if there is no variation across the spectrum of UK higher education. Yet Dearing acknowledged that “there is a significant body of opinion in higher education which holds that, with some exceptions, little precise comparability of standards [between institutions] exists.”<sup>23</sup>

As the Carnegie Council observed in 1980, “For [the market] process to work well, there need to be not only well informed consumers but also fair competition amongst institutions based on the quality of their services”<sup>24</sup> The motto of the American clothing store, Sym’s, states that “An educated consumer is our best customer,” but, in the case of UK HEIs, the reverse may be true and an uneducated consumer may well remain uneducated. However, whilst Dearing’s “precise comparability of standards” may not have been achieved amongst American institutions, the system has been operating long enough for the reputations of the individual colleges to be known to their clients and to that extent the market mechanism functions.

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<sup>20</sup> Spillane, interview with Avlonitis, Athens, 3 August, 1997.

<sup>21</sup> David Elliott, para. 3.1

<sup>22</sup> David Elliott, 4.1

<sup>23</sup> Dearing, 154, para. 10.57.

<sup>24</sup> Carnegie Council, 124.

A major problem is that in Athens, as in other education ‘markets,’ the number of applicants to the major institutions far exceeds supply, thus providing a ready stream of applicants to the lesser institutions, which may thus have little or no incentive to upgrade the educational experience they provide. Ben-David has argued that “the only way for an institution to maintain standards of excellence is to have a large number of applicants in excess of the available places.”<sup>25</sup> but whilst this may ensure excellence amongst the cohort admitted it also implies a large group of unplaced candidates who are willing to enter any institution, regardless of standard, which offers them a place. It is from this pool that the non-state centres in Greece draw their clients, who, as understated by Dearing, show “an occasional willingness to accept a learning environment which would not be considered suitable in the UK.”<sup>26</sup> Dearing also noted that “the award of degrees with recognised value represents a competitive advantage. Conversely, [the] loss of international recognition of UK degrees would be a competitive disadvantage to higher education as a whole.”<sup>27</sup> That is still the case and if the British qualifications do become devalued, the bubble will undoubtedly burst.<sup>28</sup>

Until that time, however, the fish, whether sold at home or exported, can be sliced, diced or even minced, bringing “no small profit,” but not always honour, to the purveyors and the Kingdom.

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<sup>25</sup> Ben-David, *Trends*, 37.

<sup>26</sup> Dearing, 159.

<sup>27</sup> Dearing, 156.

<sup>28</sup> David Elliott, para. 4.1.

## Chapter 13

### **SOME POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In the course of this project a great deal of material has been acquired which has still to be explored and many side-questions have been identified which have yet to be addressed.

In Athens, the Greek government appears to be caught between the burden (although they may not see it as such) of the Hellenic tradition, the demands of the modernisers and the fear of being swept up in Mattheou's "socio-economic tides." Meanwhile the market in higher education continues, not as missionary ventures intended to 'improve' the lot of the Athenians, but seemingly rather as a means of extracting fees by supplying something so much in demand that their clients have, in the past, been willing to buy a sub-standard product. "One must ask" (as Smith did), "whether the university can, in the long run, preserve its freedom to carry on ...in the face of ...shameless huckstering. Who pays the piper calls the tune. There is no reason to believe that the university is immune to that law."<sup>1</sup>

Discounting the fiction that 'all British degrees are equal,' if the "educational experience" furnished on the overseas campuses becomes accepted as a new 'norm' at the lower end of British higher education, by a process of reverse osmosis it could well then become the norm on the home campuses of cash-trapped UK colleges and universities, particularly at the lower end of the spectrum, thus providing a major challenge to the bench-

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<sup>1</sup> Page Smith, Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America (New York: Viking Penguin, 1990), 12-

marking activities of the QAA. On the other hand, that even the arguably less prestigious British universities, such as Middlesex, can carve out a presumably profitable niche, indicates that they serve a significant clientele. It would be of more than passing interest to identify the doors that have opened for the Greek clients on completion of a degree, which officially and in theory, has no validity within Greece. Is such provision promoting mobility of labour, with Greeks departing on graduation for destinations where their degrees will not be questioned by government? Is it a matter of excess credentialism, where the degree is more important than the associated knowledge and skill, in filling a job for which such skills and knowledge are not required? For that matter, who is in the market for a diploma from the extension centres of the University of Chechenya or Varna? Is the University of Bucharest merely recruiting students for its burgeoning medical school, or do its students graduate in Greece? Such information does not feature in the official Greek statistics, for officially these things are not happening. In Cyprus and Hong Kong, such 'private' university centres have also opened, but with government approval. How do these overt operations compare with the officially-ignored operations in Greece and what implications has official recognition had for standards and the "educational experience"? Such questions will hopefully be addressed by a project currently under discussion between Professor Andreas Kazamias and the present researcher, Kazamias having until recently been a member of the Commission on Higher Education in Cyprus.

In the United States, UIU is not alone in targeting isolated military bases and whilst UIU has sought a monopoly, on other bases there is said to be a shopping mall situation, where as many as five different universities and colleges occupy adjacent classrooms in the US Military Education and Training Facility. This could provide the student with a true market choice in a closed environment where the strengths and weaknesses of each institution, and even of each teacher, are likely to be known and disseminated amongst the potential

students. This could be a situation well worth exploring: do the purveyors survive by agreeing not to exceed a minimum acceptable standard, by segmentation by subject so as not to compete, or is it a true market, with winners and losers?

At Parsons, SIHE and Lea College, Minnesota, the press played various roles which warrant investigation. At Parsons, the editor/owner of the local newspaper was one of the Trustees who appointed Roberts, yet within two years he had withdrawn his support and was one of Roberts' fiercest critics. At Parsons and SIHE, individual journalists set out to expose what they suspected was wrong-doing, cultivating dissidents, and hence dissent, apparently seeking to create 'news,' which they could then report. At Lea College, the President cultivated the Editor of the Albert Lea Tribune and contributed a weekly column to the paper. In this, he commented on current educational affairs, explained to the reader what was going on at the college, and put it in a wider educational context. By "buying in" to local journalism, he received a largely sympathetic press. His columns, which were well and insightfully written, are worthy of further research in their own right.

At Parsons, the conflict between the Presbyterian Board of Christian Education and the Synod of Iowa remains to be explored. This could have implications for many other situations where cultivation of an intermediate sponsor provides protection from a central authority, or where over-arching events or the broader sweep of history can limit the options open to regulators. This appears to be the case in Greece where Hellenic considerations hamper the control of the non-Hellenic centres providing higher education, or indeed at Parsons where the schisms and fears of central control precluded direct action against a local college.

Given that institutions of higher education now compete on a global scale, it might be appropriate to revisit Benjamin Barber's thesis that

higher education has come to mean education for hire: the university is increasingly for sale to those corporations and state agencies that want to buy its research facilities and, for appropriate funding, acquire the legitimacy of its professorate. ... [with ] autonomous pedagogical standards ... displaced by market pressures from both immediate consumers (students) and long-term consumers (the private and public [employment] sectors).<sup>2</sup>

Colleges and universities then become little more than pawns of the tastes and values of society at large, with Martin Trow's "five features" of American higher education possibly becoming a dominant paradigm, rather than the absent features, in European higher education.

Continuing education, or rather 'life long learning' is an area in which British elitism may be in danger of defeating American democracy, although pragmatism and government sponsored entrepreneurialism may enable the latter to ultimately prevail. Dearing's carrot of giving "priority to those institutions which can demonstrate a commitment to widening participation,"<sup>3</sup> is already having an effect in some institutions and it could be fruitful to explore the true motivation behind the creation of remote, off-campus, sites for continuing education, not at the heart of the campus and not necessarily where they are needed. When the veil is pierced and the rhetoric reduced, what will be revealed? If adult students are being perceived as not "academically respectable," and therefore only worthy of a "part-time degree," what could (and should) be done to remedy this situation?

Finally, and not arising directly from this research, is the possibility of adapting the complex mathematical model devised by Bös et al. for London Transport, to an institution of higher education which receives both earned (fees or fares) and non-earned (grant or subsidy) income.<sup>4</sup> Such a model could assist in making decisions in the face of competing

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<sup>2</sup> Benjamin R Barber, An Aristocracy of Everyone: The Politics of Education and the Future of America (New York: Ballantine Books, 1992), 197

<sup>3</sup> Dearing, "Recommendation 2," 107, para. 107

<sup>4</sup> "Bureaucratic Public Enterprises" in D. D. Bös, A. Bergson and J. R. Meyer, Entrepreneurship (Wien/New York: Springer-Verlag, 1984).

claims from government, faculty, quality auditors and assessors, employers and, of course, the consumer-students.

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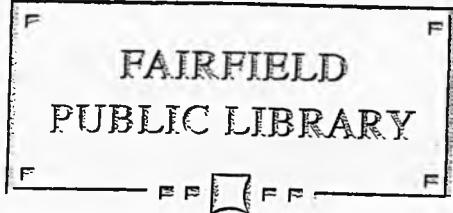
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## **APPENDIX**



February 20, 1997

Martin Spillane has been doing research on Parsons College at this library. We are the repository for Parsons Trustee records, official bulletins, newspapers, yearbooks and other miscellaneous material. The University of Iowa is the legal care-taker of the official transcripts.

As holder of the bulk of Parsons material we have no objection to Spillane having access to other Parsons records.

A handwritten signature in cursive ink, appearing to read "James Rubis".

James Rubis, Director

**Steven Crow, 02:43 PM 6/13/97 , Parsons College research**

Date: 13 Jun 97 14:43:23 -0500  
From: Steven Crow <crow@mail.ncacihe.org>  
Subject: Parsons College research  
To: "posaw@ice.csv.warwick.ac.uk" <posaw@ice.csv.warwick.ac.uk>  
CC: "spillane@facstaff.wisc.edu" <spillane@facstaff.wisc.edu>  
Reply-To: Steven Crow <crow@mail.ncacihe.org>

Martin Spillane certainly can have access to our files for Parsons College. I will await word from him about the time he would like to come to the offices. I have not reviewed the file(s) recently, so I don't know the amount available in paper and the amount that will have to be read using microform. I understand that this is for post-graduate PhD research.

Steven Crow, Acting Executive Director



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North Central Association  
of Colleges and Schools

Commission on Institutions  
of Higher Education

30 North LaSalle Street, Suite 2400  
Chicago, Illinois 60602-2504

312/263-0456; 800/621-7440

FAX: 312/263-7462; Internet: Info@ncacihe.org

June 23, 1997

Received from Martin Spillane

\$45.00 for copying expenses

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L. Nakuter



THE BRICK  
PRESBYTERIAN  
CHURCH

PARK AVENUE  
AT NINETY-FIRST STREET  
  
HERBERT B. ANDERSON  
PASTOR

July 16, 1997

Presbyterian Historical Society  
425 Lombard Street  
New York, NY 19147

To Whom It May Concern:

This letter will authorize Mr. Martin G. Spillane, a Ph.D. candidate from England visiting at the University of Wisconsin (Madison), to have access to the Session records of The Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York, which are stored at the Presbyterian Historical Society.

Mr. Spillane is conducting research on the Reverend Millard G. Roberts, a former Assistant Pastor at the Brick Church during the early 50's.

Should there be any questions, please contact my assistant, Kathleen L. Kaasch at (212) 289-4400.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Herbert B. Anderson  
Senior Pastor

HBA:kk



PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (USA)

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR  
NATIONAL MINISTRIES DIVISION

October 10, 1997

Ms. Margery Sly  
Manager of Archives  
Department of History  
425 Lombard Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19147

Dear Ms. Sly:

The Office of the Director, National Ministries Division, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has received from Mr. Martin G. Spillane a written request to gain access to records at the Department of History during his visit to Philadelphia Sunday, October 12 to Wednesday, October 15, 1997.

Specifically, his research is concerned with Parsons College (Iowa) and the educational philosophy of the late Reverend Dr. Millard George Roberts who served as Assistant Pastor at the Brick Church in New York.

Please accept this correspondence as permission for Mr. Spillane to gain access to the following session records of the:

- Brick Church for 1952 to 1955
- Archives of the Board of Christian Education
- Advisory Committee on Colleges
- General Division for Higher Education
- Iowa Synod Board of Visitors for the period 1950 to 1965

Questions? Please let me hear. I can be reached at 502-569-5830.

Sincerely,

Pamela Anita Worthy  
Office of the Director  
**NATIONAL MINISTRIES DIVISION**

CC: Mr. Martin Spillane

100 Witherspoon Street • Louisville, KY • 40202-1396 • (502) 569-5830