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W. H. COWLEY: A LIFE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The University of Oklahoma   PH.D.   1983

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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

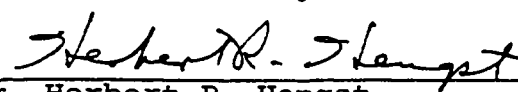W. H. COWLEY: A LIFE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

BRENDA SUE CALDWELL

NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

1983

W. H. COWLEY: A LIFE IN HIGHER EDUCATION
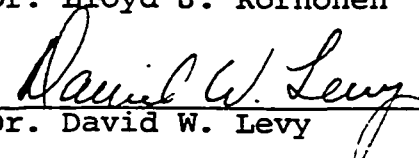
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Dedicated

to

Mrs. Jean Cowley,

the woman who gave her love

so Hal could dream

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

W. H. COWLEY: A LIFE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BY: BRENDA SUE CALDWELL

MAJOR PROFESSOR: PAUL F. SHARP, PH.D.

W. H. Cowley (1899-1978) devoted his life to higher
education. As a student editor at Dartmouth he launched him-
self on a theme of educational reform that culminated in The
Dartmouth Report. While earning a Ph.D. in psychology at
the University of Chicago, he was responsible for that insti-
tution's first office of student personnel services. While
head of the student personnel research unit at Ohio State
University, his research strengthened the belief that the
primary aim of education is the student's intellectual,
social, and physical development. As assistant editor of
the Journal of Higher Education from 1930-1938, his editorials
acted as a national forum for developments and issues in
higher education. As President of Hamilton College, he
envisioned the institution as the embodiment of holism.
Though his vision was only partially effected, it was incorpo-
rated in the 1945 Harvard report, General Education in a Free
Society. While a professor at Stanford, he became one of the
field's foremost scholars of the twentieth century and was
called to the first endowed chair for the study of higher
education, the David Jacks professorship of Higher Education.

Yet Cowley never completed a synthesis of his own thought. This research provides a biographical sketch of his controversial life, an analysis of his scholarly contributions, and a synthesis of his thought.

His collection of personal papers offers a method of providing an overview of his contributions. The major foci of his work lies in student personnel administration, the history of higher education, and college and university government. He was a pioneer in student personnel and the 1937 Student Personnel Point of View gave expression to Cowley's holism and laid the philosophical base for the field. As a noted historian in higher education, he sought to synthesize the wealth of historical forces which had produced and sustained the college and university. His study of college and university government reflected the organizational patterns in existence when the American college and university matured in the early twentieth century.

To remedy the fragmented view of higher education, Cowley set out single-handedly to organize the field systematically and make it a discipline. He proposed a taxonomy by which to study the college and university and social institutions in general. It focused on the constant attributes of institutions, namely structure and functions. He failed to establish a discipline and his refusal to publish severely limited his impact on the field. His collection is his legacy to the study of higher education.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

W. H. COWLEY: A LIFE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

Institutions of higher education have a long and illustrious history, but the disciplined study of higher education is yet a young field. The young field of higher education is viewed in light of its scholarship and instruction. Notable scholars of higher education have often had a specific focus in their scholarship: I. H. Marrou on ancient higher education, Hastings Rashdall on the medieval institution, Frederick Rudolph on the colonial college and curricular history, and John S. Brubacher on the American college and university.

While these scholars were interested in furthering the study of higher education, others were particularly interested in teaching higher education as a subject. The first course in the subject was taught by G. Stanley Hall, the President of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1893. He continued to teach a course in higher education through 1897 and again in 1903, 1904, and 1912. In addition to the formal courses, Hall also conducted a seminar in this subject in his home every Monday night. After his

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retirement, Hall was followed by Edmund C. Sanford, who took over Hall's courses and taught the subject from 1909-1921.

President Charles W. Eliot taught a similar informal course at Harvard. One of the first students to take Eliot's course was William T. Foster, who later became the first president of Reed College. Foster later taught a course in educational administration which included aspects of higher education in the summer of 1910 at Teachers College, Columbia University.[1] Another early course was given by Charles H. Thurber at the University of Chicago in the summer of 1896. Later, Edward F. Buchner initiated a course in higher education in 1915 at Johns Hopkins University and continued teaching this course until 1929. Samuel P. Capen also taught higher educational administration at Ohio State University in the summer of 1925 and a similar course in the summers of 1926 and 1927 at the University of Chicago. Capen received the suggestion of G. Stanley Hall that higher education had the potential to evolve into a department of scholarship within the general field of education, the first known reference to higher education as a disciplined field of study. Though these professors taught the subject, none had yet been accorded the title of professor of higher education.

The first program of courses in higher education began in 1923 at Teachers College, Columbia University. Later the

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[1]The other instructor of this course was the United States commissioner of education, E. E. Brown, who was later to become chancellor of New York University.

University of Michigan and the University of California at
Berkeley became major centers of study for the field, in addi-
tion to Teachers College. Other courses were offered through
the ensuing years and American colleges and universities added
professors of higher education to their faculties to teach
these courses in the late 1920's, but it was not until 1954
that an endowed chair in higher education was created at
Stanford University.

The field was unorganized and fragmented at mid-
twentieth century and it was to this problem that William
Harold Cowley (1899-1978) devoted his life's work. Cowley,
the first recipient of the David Jacks professorship of
higher education at Stanford University, dedicated himself to
the goal of advancing higher education as a disciplined field
of study. Cowley spent a scholarly career ambitiously attempt-
ing to establish a framework for the discipline of higher
education. He hoped that all existing knowledge of higher
education could be applied and that all future knowledge
could undergo conceptualization within this framework.
Whether Cowley achieved his goal is open for debate for a
number of reasons.

First, the difficulty of achieving such a goal must be
addressed. Historically, the establishment of a discipline
is the slow accumulation of many scholarly efforts which
crystalize to form a common body of knowledge rather than
the Herculean effort of a single scholar. Exploratory
efforts are piecemeal and frequently occur simultaneously on

numerous fronts (historical, philosophical, experimental,
sociological). These efforts often reflect the needs of
society at the time of their inception. Establishing a dis-
cipline is largely a growth process, rather than a concep-
tualization created all at once. Dramatic breakthroughs
in knowledge do occur, but they are rare. A disciplined
field of study is characterized by its diversity, yet it has
achieved a commonality of core ideas accepted by those who
have pledged their allegiance to it. Thus, a discipline
achieves a state of order, particularly evidenced in instruc-
tion, but this order is continually challenged by the neces-
sity of change. Growth and maturation cannot be achieved in
a static state.

Contrary to this characterization of a discipline as a
growth process, Cowley attempted to initiate a dramatic
breakthrough and short-circuit the process by offering a
framework for all future practitioners and theorists. He
maintained that this framework was dynamic and open to con-
tinuous change and revision. For this reason, Cowley's manu-
scripts underwent frequent revision and he refused to publish
them because he was constantly unsatisfied by them.

A second reason to question Cowley's goal is related
to his refusal to publish. Any addition to an existing body
of knowledge requires critical appraisal by professional
peers, yet he seldom submitted his work to critical appraisal.
Thus, the majority of his manuscripts remained dormant and

unknown to students in the field. Also, Cowley's personal
life helps us to understand why he never completed a synthe-
sis of his own thought during his lifetime. Even a partial
treatment of Cowley's thought and its subsequent influence
on the study of higher education is lacking. To date, no
study has been made of Cowley, his scholarly contributions,
or the significance of his contributions to the disciplined
study of higher education.

This research addresses the fundamental question: What
are the contributions of William Harold Cowley to the disci-
plined study of higher education? The purposes of this
research are to provide an overview of Cowley's life and con-
tributions and a synthesis of his thought. Cowley's thought in
this research includes those ideas, views, and beliefs which
comprise his total intellectual system. A biographical sketch
describes Cowley's personal life and its influence on his
scholarship and presents an overview of his contributions as
a background for a synthesis of his thought. This synthesis
entails an analysis of his contributions, measures his
thought in light of the existing literature in the field, and
arrives at some conclusions as to their value to the growth
of the discipline.

This research is biographical and historical in nature
and bears directly upon the purposes stated above. While
many of Cowley's manuscripts remain unpublished, his collec-
tion of personal papers offers a useful method of gaining

an overview of his contributions. This collection comprises
books, published journal articles, pamphlets, yearbooks,
proceedings, unpublished manuscripts, news reports and taped
interviews, addresses and administrative reports, personal
and professional correspondence, and professional notes. In
his collection, Cowley translated his interests and concerns
into subdivisions and topics and these are quantified. This
quantification is limited to his product collection, which
includes only those items which Cowley considered significant
to the understanding of his thought. The quantification pro-
vides a perspective of the broad range of Cowley's interests
and concerns and acts as the basis for limiting this research
to those topics which were the major foci of his work.

The quantification serves as a method for selection of
topics such as student life or the college and university
presidency. Analysis includes development of his thought
and the nature and content of his contributions in each
selected topic. This methodology attempts to answer the
following questions:

Which scholars influenced his thought?

What personal or environmental factors influenced
his thought?

What set of beliefs or ideas undergird his position?

What does he see as the core knowledge for the
discipline?

What evidence of internal consistency does he offer
from topic to topic?

Is his thought consistent with the thought of other

scholars in the field?

In what areas of the discipline of higher education

did he pioneer?

Later in his life, Cowley's thought ranged outside the
boundaries of higher education. These broadening ideas
enriched his thought in higher education. Therefore, an
examination of his thought is incomplete without the inclu-
sion of these ideas. Thus, an overview of these ideas pro-
vides a broad perspective of Cowley's total thought. Dis-
cussion includes the development, nature and content of
these ideas and their relationship to the field of higher
education.

CHAPTER I

FINDING HIMSELF

Introduction

Academic man is both creator and creature of the
mythology that fills the annals of higher education. Public
imagery often portrays the nineteenth-century academic as an
absent-minded professor whose equilibrium is disturbed over
the slightest intrusion from any source.[1] His unorganized
life is replete with contradictions; he is loved and
respected for his tolerance toward differences, but feared
as a tyrannical master in command of a discipline. As a
teacher, he is a kindly eccentric arriving to class with
unkempt hair adorning a stooped frame clothed in rumpled,
baggy clothes. Students remember him for his propensity to
forget; he can expound at length over the atrocities of the
world and yet cannot remember his last meal or his path
home. Intellectually his thoughts are ahead of the times,

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[1]Frederick Rudolph in The American College and Univer-
sity (New York: Vintage Books, 1962), pp. 394-416, devotes
an entire chapter to academic man. W. H. Cowley and Glenn
A. Reed have collected stories of the academic and present a
selection of these tales in "Academics are Human," Change 9
(August 1977): 33-38.

yet his very day to day existence is firmly rooted in old fashioned values. Outside the academic community he is socially awkward; yes, even painfully odd.

He is more peculiar today in the company of his twentieth-century counterpart, the independent entrepreneur. Reminiscent of an era gone by, he is a rare relic generating even more curiosity about his character. He is indeed a character and romanticized in alumnae's nostalgic memories of old alma mater.

William Harold Cowley fits this characterization only in part and the chapters which follow explore his life in an attempt to delineate fact from fiction.

The Immigrants

Cowley was the product of a great transformation in American life in the late nineteenth century which owed much of its impetus to the Industrial Revolution. Americans, no longer torn by the ravages of the Civil War, proudly viewed their nation's unprecedented growth and prosperity in industry and agriculture. The economy was expanding, the standard of living was improving, and the rise of material wealth appeared to be the answer to every man's dream. The United States, rapidly becoming a world power, captured the imagination of many Europeans who felt stymied in their own countries. Fleeing one's homeland was a familiar journey for many because ". . . in the century after the close of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 there was a mass exodus from Europe."

About 50 million people looked elsewhere for a new life, and
of these 35 million sailed to the United States.[1] Until
roughly 1890, the great majority of newcomers came from
northern and western Europe.[2]

Two of these newcomers were the English immigrants,
William Frederick Cowley and Elizabeth Maddock. They had
migrated separately from the area of Lancashire: Elizabeth
originally from Manchester and William from Preston. William
did not come directly to the United States, but had gone to
Montreal, Canada, to work with an uncle on the Grand Trunk
Railroad. He followed the nationwide railroad expansion
south to the United States where he met and married Elizabeth,
the union resulting in three children.

William Harold was born in Petersburg, Virginia, on
May 28, 1899. He was the middle child and had two sisters,
the eldest named Mildred and the youngest Hazel. Cowley
also had a half sister, whom he never met, the product of a
previous marriage and divorce of his father.

Following the characteristic pattern of the new arri-
vals and concentrating in areas where employment was plenti-
ful, the Cowley family moved to Manhattan after the turn of
the century. Four out of five immigrants settled in the

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[1]Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans: The Democratic
Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. 247.

[2]Bernard Bailyn et al., The Great Republic: A History
of the American People, 2 vols. (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath
& Co., 1977), 2:950).

industrial cities of the Northeast and the Midwest; at the
turn of the century, 75 percent of the population of these
cities were immigrants or their children.[1] Urbanization was
closing on the vast lands of the frontier; at century's end
the urban population surpassed the rural.

These immigrants, credited with transforming a group
of states into a nation, were largely refugees ". . . who
had left for a reason and were in search of a purpose."
Their vision was blurred by a seemingly impenetrable sense
of departure: "Groups which came from Europe in the nine-
teenth century were held together into the twentieth by
their family memories, and even by nostalgia for the places
they had fled."[2] When Cowley was six years old, his father's
nostalgia and homesickness prompted the entire family to move
back to Preston, England, where they lived unhappily with
relatives for six months. The family returned to New York
City and Cowley's father became the general foreman at the
Brooklyn Union Gas Company. His father's occupational status
as foreman was better than that of most immigrants who ". . .
started at the bottom of the occupational ladder doing the
nation's dirty work--construction, mining, smelting, factory
work, and domestic service."[3]

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[1]Bailyn et al., The Great Republic, 2:950.

[2]Boorstin, The Americans, p. 249.

[3]Bailyn et al., The Great Republic, 2:950.

Most immigrants usually arranged themselves in tight
ethnic communities around their work, finding security in
enclosed segregation. The Cowleys lived in a small two bed-
room apartment next to the gas works, but their desire for
advancement was often stronger than the need for security and
resulted in frequent moves in the first two decades of the
twentieth century.

Life in these communities was a struggle, with leisure
for cultural and educational pursuits virtually nonexistent.
"Packed into slums, exploited . . . harassed . . . fighting
. . . millions of the new immigrants at first lived marginal
lives close to the edges of defeat."[1] As a foreman's family,
the Cowleys were more fortunate, but faced genuine economic
hardship when Cowley was twelve. After moving to a better
neighborhood and bringing his maternal grandfather to live
with them, Cowley's father was fired for supporting the
employees in a potential strike. For two years the family
faced economic hardship. Spurred by his mother's ingenuity,
the entire family did piece work at home, inserting foreign
stamps into small envelopes as bonuses for a new product on
the market, cigarettes. Piecework was common among immigrants,
most collecting only pennies an hour over a 16 hour day. How-
ever, the piecework was temporary because the gas works
rehired his father to work in another plant.

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[1]Bailyn et al., The Great Republic, 2:950.

Life with a street gang was commonplace for children,
whose aggressive games mirrored the compact and homogeneous
subcultures ". . . fractured into blocks of ethnic and reli-
gious experience, each neighborhood boasting its own churches
and patron saints, feast days and civic associations."[1] At
an early age Cowley's father bought him a pair of boxing
gloves and taught him to fight. He learned quickly and
easily handled anyone on the street, including the gang
leaders. He was now on an even par with his authoritarian
father, whose position as general foreman enabled him to
dominate his workers. This newfound skill instilled a sense
of superiority and aggressiveness that continued long after
he graduated from the street gang.

Other factors assured the persistence of Cowley's arro-
gant and pugnacious behavior as a mode for survival. His
parents, striving to climb the socio-economic ladder, iso-
lated themselves from their own neighborhood sub-culture.
His father's status as foreman, the family's rare social con-
tacts, and the children's regular church attendance in a
wealthier neighborhood tended to set them apart with no
assurance of acceptance by the affluent.

The Ladder to Success

Cowley's haughty, combative behavior was further
reflected in his early educational experience. He was

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[1]Bailyn et al., The Great Republic, 2:950.

dismissed from grade school twice, once after he openly criticized an arithmetic teacher's ability to teach. This fault finding would surface later in adolescence when he was dismissed again for similar remarks about a Latin teacher. The dismissals usually stemmed from his sharp, bitter criticisms of teachers, but he was also dismissed on occasion for mischievous behavior. Much to the chagrin of his parents and teachers, he refused to be bound to their expectations:

> The heavy emphasis on conformity and obedience in
> early twentieth century secondary education reflected
> the desires of parents who were eager to ensure that
> their teenage children did not deviate from the
> course that would steer them successfully between
> the Scylla and Charybdis of boy labor and the dead-
> end job.[1]

Cowley's pugnacious and arrogant behavior, though effective in the street, proved to be both a motivating force and a liability in the years to come.

Despite Cowley's lack of diplomacy, he welcomed learning and excelled academically. However, his first formal educational experience was an exception. Being tall for his age, he was sent to the first grade at the age of four. Physically more advanced than his learning level, he had to repeat the grade. History was his favorite subject and he enjoyed adventure stories, particularly those dealing with the American Revolution. From the age of twelve, he filled

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[1]Joseph F. Kett, Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America--1790 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), p. 189.

his days satisfying the thirst for reading at the nearby

Carnegie Public Library. He grew so absorbed in the new

world of books that he became sedentary and a recluse.

Despite a brief interest in handball, this trait would con-

tinue later in his lifetime and excluded all sports, hobbies,

or exercise for its own sake. Eager to succeed despite his

modest background, he read books by Horatio Alger and cast

himself in the appropriate mold.[1]

Cowley subscribed to the virtues of Alger's characters;

his dream was to rise from obscurity to worldly success.[2]

Since he was influenced by Alger's fictional characters, the

content of Alger's literature offers a clue to Cowley's fan-

tasy of success:

> . . . the heroes were depicted in white, the villains
> in black; the heroes inevitably came out on top after
> many desperate tussles. The heroes were poor, obscure
> boys to whom fate had been unkind, but who, through
> their willingness to risk, to be bold, to adventure,
> above all through their steadfast loyalty to the
> pious and moral virtues, triumphed in the end. The
> triumph was always one of worldly success. The city--
> to which Alger heroes frequently came from the village

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[1]Cowley confirmed Alger's influence: "But when I was a
boy, my heroes were created for me by Horatio Alger, the
most important educator of the nineteenth century in this
country." "Students' Roles in Evolution of Higher Education,"
Lecture at Michigan State University, July 7, 1967, 2nd ses-
sion, p. 22. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:67-10A
Stanford University Archives.

[2]W. H. Cowley, "The Reminiscences of William Harold
Cowley," (Columbia University: Oral History Research Office,
1963), pp. 25-53, and "Personal Analyses, 1924-26," W. H. Cow-
ley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:26-4, Stanford University
Archives.

or countrywise--was depicted as a vast stage of opportunity, the equivalent of the old frontier.[1]

It is doubtful Cowley was aware that Alger's stories ". . . undoubtedly represented in part a compensation for his own sense of inadequacy and personal frustration."[2] Over the course of his entire life, Cowley's career appears remarkably similar to Alger's personal life. During the nineteenth century, Alger wrote prolifically on the successful self-made man, but he always wanted ". . . to write a great book, the nature and subject of which varied with the years, though he died still dreaming of it."[3] Despite the popularity of his literature and the outpouring of nearly 130 books, Alger felt himself a failure because his unhappy personal life remained tragically in shambles.[4] Nevertheless, Cowley was certain the formula for success would work for him.

Cowley's parents, who had received only a scanty, formal education, also offered encouragement for success; they even moved to a more peaceful neighborhood so their son could receive a better quality of education after he completed

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[1]Merle Curti , The Growth of American Thought, 2nd. ed. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 648.

[2]Ibid., p. 647.

[3]Stanley Kunitz and Howard Haycraft, eds., American Authors 1600-1900: A Biographical Dictionary of American Literature (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1955), p. 24.

[4]Ibid., p. 25.

the sixth grade. His mother's encouragement was motivated
by the high ambition of her son entering the professional
ranks through education. His father's educational philosophy,
however, was rooted in a more immediate and practical reward:
a rudimentary education was necessary to work in a trade to
help support the family.

Cowley was to be the answer for the future of both his
parents, however different their motives. It was just this
spirit of optimism that swept the country in the late
nineteenth century and reached its zenith in 1914. Progres-
sivism, as the spirit was called, brought about a metamorpho-
sis in American society and effected a revolution in American
education. While the Industrial Revolution had ignited the
flames of progress, the Progressive spirit prescribed more
progress to cure the ills of democracy.[1] "The period between
the Civil War and the First World War was the era for the
development of the modern American school system . . . ,"[2]
which included an eight year elementary school and a four
year high school. Growth of the public high school was
phenomenal:

> Between 1878 and 1898 the number of high schools
> increased from somewhat less than eight hundred to
> fifty-five hundred, and in the next fifteen years

[1]Lawrence A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School
(New York: Vintage Books, 1964), pp. viii-x.

[2]John D. Pulliam, History of Education in America,
2nd. ed. (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co., 1976),
p. 79.

it more than doubled. Between 1890 and 1918 a new
high school was opened for every calendar day in
every year.[1]

Mass education as an expression of a democratized society,

matured as a twentieth-century institution.[2]

The differences in the philosophies of Cowley's parents

typify the splitting factions of a high school curriculum;

both college preparatory and vocational training were offered,

but usually the emphasis was on preparation for higher edu-

cation in spite of the fact that only a fraction would ever

attend. Prolonged education had previously meant the cul-

tural enrichment of the aristocracy; after the Civil War it

was equated with social mobility and provided entrance to

the emerging professions.[3]

Hard Times

While Cowley's mother looked to the prospect of eco-

nomic and social mobility, his father insisted upon the

nineteenth century loyalty to family where ". . . teenage

children were economic assets and were expected to compensate

by their earnings for the fact that they had been economic

liabilities when young."[4] His father won the debate

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[1]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 601.

[2]Boorstin, The Americans, p. 220.

[3]Burton J. Bledstein, The Culture of Professionalism:
The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in
America (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1976), pp. 106
and 121.

[4]Kett, Rites of Passage, p. 169.

temporarily and Cowley enrolled in a manual training high
school, quitting in 1914 after attending one semester. The
school was to provide a three year broad and liberal curric-
ulum where mechanical principles were emphasized rather than
preparation for a specific task.[1] But his education would
have to wait. The family's economic hardship dictated he go
to work.

Cowley's situation was not uncommon:

> . . . at a time when increasing numbers of middle-
> class parents were sacrificing the labor of their
> children in favor of prolonged education, most
> working-class parents and children remained caught
> up in the sort of productive-contractual relation-
> ship that had once characterized family life in all
> social classes.[2]

Despite reform efforts to establish age limits on employment,
the development of commercial and industrial opportunities
of the period made it possible for Cowley to achieve adult
economic status at an early age.[3] The National City Bank
offered Cowley his first full-time position as a runner, but
his first employment came at the age of thirteen with a sum-
mer job as a photographer's delivery boy. Other full-time
employment during his teens included office boy and later a
clerk for the U. S. Steel Corporation, assistant boy secre-
tary for the YMCA, manager of a Community Boys Club, and

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[1]Cremin, The Transformation of the School, p. 27.

[2]Kett, Rites of Passage, p. 170.

[3]Ibid., p. 144; and Bailyn et al, The Great Republic,
pp. 916-917.

correspondent in the circulation department of the Inter-

national Magazine Company. To earn his expenses while

attending school, he had a number of odd jobs: handyman and

night watchman at Northfield Seminary (near Mt. Hermon, Massa-

chusetts); a pick and shovel laborer, toilet paper packer, and

paper machinist at a paper mill in Hinsdale, New Hampshire;

and houseboy and bookkeeper at Clark School, New Hampshire.

His wish for education was realized in 1918 when he

enrolled at Mt. Hermon in Northville, an evangelical manual

labor school. This educational experience was short lived

and in 1919 he went home and back to work. Persistent and

determined, he again saved his earnings and enrolled that

same year at Clark School in Hanover, New Hampshire, to fin-

ish preparatory work for college.

Yielding to his father's philosophy and contributing

to the family's welfare suggests that Cowley's employment

would strengthen the relationship with his father. But quite

the contrary occurred; during this period the relationship

became increasingly stressful and tense.[1] The turbulence was

perhaps unavoidable; after all, Cowley was now an adolescent,

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[1] Kett, in _Rites of Passage_, p. 170, states that begin-
ning in the late nineteenth century "lower-class households,
once free in the sense that children left home at early ages,
experienced new tensions as the period of home residence
extended further into the teen years." The most productive
child labor years had been between the ages of 12-18 and was
now replaced with the high school, prolonging the years of
dependency on the family.

a recently introduced psychological term denoting a specific concept of behavior.[1] Cowley's father, born in 1860, grew up with the nineteenth-century notion that ". . . internalization of moral restraints and the formation of character were more likely to succeed in planned, engineered environments than in casual ones."[2] But by the early twentieth-century this concept of Christian nurture whereby the family, and their associated church, regulated every step of the child's development became a symbol of the past.[3] In its stead sprang social agencies for youth which inculcated such norms of behavior as conformity, hostility to intellectualism, and passivity.[4] His father's adolescence featured drill, discipline, and skill while Cowley's emphasized instinct, intuition and freedom. More than a few years divided them; the father was rooted in the nineteenth century while the son was trying to find his place in the next.

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[1]The term adolescence in one form or another had been around long before 1900, but it was G. Stanley Hall who invented the adolescent in 1904 in a two-volume treatise, Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education. Adolescence was a concept of behavior imposed on youth; the invention of the adolescent was an empirical assessment of the behavior of young people.

[2]Kett, Rites of Passage, p. 112.

[3]Ibid., p. 116.

[4]Kett, Rites of Passage, p. 243. Kett points out that adolescence in the nineteenth century was characteristically anti-institutional; in the twentieth century it signified the institutional segregation of youth, p. 142.

Even the use of Cowley's given name illustrates the opposition with his father. Throughout his school experience Cowley was referred to as "Harold," primarily because his father's name was William. However, he disliked it as intensely as his first name, feeling that it seemed effeminate. He adopted the abbreviation "W. H." in his teens and purposely referred to himself as "Hal" when he reached college. As a professor in later years, he preferred only the title of "Mr."

This opposition between father and son created a wide chasm in their relationship which continued throughout their lives, but Cowley became more like his father as his career progressed. He described his father as ". . . very, very strict . . . and . . . a stickler for order," but admitted ". . . I got from him a sense of order that I think has been tremendously influential in my whole career."[1] This sense was present early in his childhood, where for lack of toys he played with his mother's button box and organized the buttons into armies. This may have been an early example of Cowley's lifelong habit of collecting materials, one of the cornerstones of his taxonomy.

The nature of the relationship between father and son had a direct bearing on Cowley's future relationships. Late in his life he claimed to have had few friends throughout

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[1]"Reminiscences," pp. 2-3.

his career and all were much older than he.[1] Contrary to

Cowley's claim, those who became personally acquainted with

him described him as possessing a sparkling, delightful, and

humorous personality.[2]

Cowley attributed his personality and physical features

to his mother who ". . . was half-Irish, and she had Irish

wit and good humor and earthiness."[3] She had hoped to escape

poverty when she came to the United States at the age of

twelve, only to settle in a flat in Harlem and eke out a hand

to mouth existence by working in a nearby women's dress fac-

tory called Nieman's. After many years of sweat and toil,

she had not yet escaped poverty. Her son was her greatest

and last hope to achieve economic and social mobility.

Road to the Good Life

Nothing would have pleased Cowley's mother more than

to have her son become a minister. In an effort to achieve

social mobility in the twentieth century, ". . . the socially

ambitious tended to attach themselves to the Episcopal church

. . . ."[4] Though she only attended church occasionally,

Cowley's mother saw to it that the children attended regularly

in a wealthier neighborhood across some elevated railroad

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[1]"Reminiscences," p. 764.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[4]Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind (New Haven:
Yale University Press, 1978), p. 415.

tracks. Cowley's religious zeal was affected by the onset

of adolescence when he attended Seventh Day Adventists'

revival meetings every night and spent his waking hours chal-

lenging the preacher's statements.[1] He believed that one

must have adequate information effectively to challenge a

statement; in turn, he cut up the Bible and designated fol-

ders for the cut portions. In time he rejected the Adven-

tists' ideology in favor of becoming an Episcopalian mini-

ster, only to lose his faith during his young adulthood in

the 1920's. In the spring of 1925, he wrote in his diary:

> So far as anyone has been able to discover, life
> is meaningless. No one has ever been able to put his
> finger upon a universal meaning of existence. One
> is compelled by all the evidence to agnosticism.
> One is forced to admit that if a universal meaning
> exists, no one has discovered it.[2]

Much to the dismay of his family, he remained an agnostic for

the rest of his life. His experience with the Seventh Day

Adventists was not in vain, however, because the revival

meetings ignited his first spark of intellectual interest,

while cutting up the Bible was the embryo of his later work-

book system. ____

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[1]Kett in _Rites of Passage_, p. 62, states that ". . .
the correlation of adolescence with religious conversion was
an important part of the exploration of adolescent psycho-
dynamics by such American psychologists as G. Stanley Hall
and Edwin D. Starbuck at the turn of the twentieth century."
He concludes (p. 206): "Religious conversion was, thus, not
only a normal outgrowth of adolescent experience but a 'cure'
of sorts for storm and stress."

[2]Basic Assumptions, Spring 1925, p. 1, in "Personal
Analyses, 1924-1926." W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series
I-B:26-4, Stanford University Archives.

Though there were many pockets and enclaves of devotees, religion had lost its predominance in the third decade of the twentieth century:

> Americans had less interest in a hereafter than
> in salvation on earth. Material comfort became
> not a means to an end but the final end of life
> itself. People continued to go to church, but
> church rituals were accepted less with reverence
> than with politeness. The functions of the
> church were gradually replaced by institutions
> committed to the ideal of service, to 'organized
> altruism.'[1]

Actually, the lines that had once distinguished the institutions of business and religion fused to create the secularization of religion and the religiosity of business.

> Dazzled by the prosperity of the time and by
> the endless stream of new gadgets, the American
> people raised business in the 1920's into a
> national religion and paid respectful homage to
> the businessman as the prophet of heaven on earth.
> As government looked only to the single interest of
> business, so society gave to the businessman social
> preeminence. There was no social class in America
> to challenge the business class. To call a
> scientist or a preacher or a professor or a doctor
> a good businessman was to pay him the most ful-
> some of compliments, for the chief index of a
> man's worth was his income. 'Brains,' declared
> Coolidge, 'are wealth and wealth is the chief
> end of man.'[2]

Cowley did not wish to be extremely wealthy, but he did desire what he termed "financial equilibrium." "Financial equilibrium" was a frequent theme in his diary between 1924-

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[1]William E. Leuchtenburg, The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 188.

[2]Ibid., pp. 187-188.

1927, wherein he also discussed his education and career plans, philosophy and religion, and social and intellectual endeavors. On every list of "permanent objectives" in life, "financial equilibrium" ranked high among adventure (physical and intellectual), mastery of knowledge, sufficient leisure, and satisfying social and emotional relationships. Its importance was of paramount significance to Cowley; "financial equilibrium" was listed together with "sexual equilibrium" as one objective, but "financial equilibrium," in every instance, preceded "sexual equilibrium." With an air of optimism, he described his emerging lifestyle and maturity in his diary in 1926: "There are two problems I'd like to have rather well solved by the time I'm thirty; money and sex."[1]

Money held significance, but the disappointment to his mother he expressed upon his decision to attend graduate school in 1925 may be a reflection to his own dissatisfaction:

> Since my birth, more than likely she has been looking
> forward to the time when I should be a rather pro-
> nounced financial success so that she would be
> relieved of the labor and drudgery which has all her
> days afflicted her; and thus to see her dreams delayed
> and perhaps permanently killed has been no small
> sacrifice for her. She looks about and sees . . .
> my old playmates and she wonders if it's ever going
> to happen that I'll take care of her and provide
> for her as she has always hoped and dreamed.[2]

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[1]"Personal Analyses, 1924-1926." W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:26-4, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Ibid.

Cowley's perception of money as the measure of a man persisted throughout his life, evident by the habitual comparisons of himself to the successes of others. As his hair turned silver and his body became frail, Cowley often judged himself as a failure. Without "financial equilibrium" there could be no success.

College Life

Cowley was scarcely a teenager in 1914, and like many Americans, was indifferent about the growing conflict in Europe. The spirit of Progressivism was changing to nervous concern as the United States slowly drifted to war. In early April 1917, war was declared. Achieving his "permanent objectives" seemed in doubt when Cowley received a military draft notice, but the Armistice was declared and he was spared any military service. Like many Americans anxious to enjoy the pleasures of peace and prosperity, he set about to achieve his objectives and was admitted to Dartmouth in 1920 at the age of 21.

Dartmouth, established in 1769 by a Congregational minister, Eleazer Wheelock, who pushed through the New Hampshire wilderness to bring Christianity to the Indians, has traditionally emphasized a liberal arts curriculum. But the college's proud and illustrious history as one of America's colonial colleges failed to impress Cowley. Majoring in English, he did considerable work in history and philosophy. During his entire undergraduate study, he felt he had only

two or three influential professors, one of whom continually challenged his writing style and technique. Years later, he passed this legacy of writing criticism on to his students.

Cowley judged the intellectual life of the college as low and instruction as poor, and made extracurricular activities his major interest. His social life centered around his fraternity, Alpha Delta Phi, and part-time employment, first as a waiter at the Commons and later at the Ma Smalley Club, an elite eating club near the campus. Scholarships paid for tuition, and salesmanship--purchasing and retailing used furniture to students, marketing the three ringed canvas notebook on campus, and selling magazine subscriptions and special train trips--supplemented his earnings.

Aware that he had writing talents, Cowley pursued journalism. During his sophomore year, he became editor of the Green Book, a freshman yearbook, and spent one summer attending journalism classes at the University of Wisconsin and another gaining newspaper experience writing for The Boston Transcript. As a senior, he became the editor of The Daily Dartmouth, operated as a private student-run corporation and the oldest college newspaper in America.[1] This position, more than his academic work, would serve as the most influential experience during his undergraduate career.

Cowley's major contributions to the newspaper were his editorials, written with the aid of his collection of

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[1]The newspaper began publication in 1838.

newspaper clippings and quotations. Collecting anecdotes,

stories, and phrases had helped Cowley overcome his social

inferiority; at first he referred to them as his "personal

notes," but these later developed into his "professional

notes" or "P. N. system." Since the intellectual life of

the college failed to stimulate him, educational reform was

the general theme of his editorials.

After presenting the President of Dartmouth, Dr. Ernest

Martin Hopkins, with a plan for revising the undergraduate

program, Cowley was appointed Chairman of the Senior Commit-

tee to conduct ". . . a complete survey, review and examina-

tion of its educational processes, in the hope that a way

may be found to make these more influential and more effec-

tive."[1] The Committee's results, entitled The Report on

Undergraduate Education, was written primarily by Cowley and

focused on the educational problems and policies of Dartmouth.

The major thrust of the report lay in strengthening the col-

lege's liberal arts curriculum.[2] Receiving recognition within

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[1]Ernest M. Hopkins to members of the Dartmouth College
Senior Committee, 14 February 1924, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC
196, Series I-B:24-1, Stanford University Archives.

[2]The report was planned to be in two parts, the first
part focusing on the academic program and the second focusing
on the extracurriculum, primarily athletic. Only Part One
was published in 1924, but Part Two recommended abolishing
football from Dartmouth. Part Two, if published, would
likely have been unpopular because sports was the new fron-
tier in the 1920's. Big-time professional football began in
1920, followed by the unprecedented growth of college foot-
ball, as discussed by Roderick Nash, The Nervous Generation:
American Thought, 1917-1930 (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.,
1970), pp. 128-129.

and outside academic circles, the report was first editori-
alized in The Nation and The New Republic, and later used as
the basis for reorganizing Rollins College, in Winter Park,
Florida.[1]

Many of Cowley's editorials and articles were reprinted
in Massachusetts and New York newspapers, but none attracted
such publicity as the editorial welcoming William Jennings
Bryan to the campus in 1923. He challenged the evangelical
reformist, three-time Presidential candidate, and Secretary
of State under President Woodrow Wilson, with the task
". . . to present the scientific facts against evolution
which the title of address assumes he has at his finger tips."[2]
Bryan's address, "Science Versus Evolution," fell on deaf
ears as Cowley captured the public's attention by professing
the issue had been settled for over half a century. The
issue was indeed moot; the reconciliation of Christian thought
and the doctrine of evolution gained acceptance in popular
thought in the late nineteenth century.[3]

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[1]"What the Undergraduate Wants," The New Republic 39
(30 July 1924): 258-260; and "As Students See It," The Nation
119 (13 August 1924): 156-157.

[2]"The Fundamental Facts," The Daily Dartmouth, 8 Decem-
ber 1923. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:23-7,
Stanford University Archives.

[3]Bryan failed to heed Cowley's criticism and continued
to revive the case against the scientific theory of evolution.
Two years later, Bryan pleaded against the teaching of evolu-
tion at the John T. Scopes trial in Tennessee.

Cowley felt he was not popular with his college class-
mates, but was voted as "the man who had done the most for
college, for Dartmouth" and "the man most likely to succeed."
Graduating with an A. B. in 1924, Cowley's presence was
remembered by the class Annalist at the fiftieth reunion of
his class in 1974:

> If we were to look at a single individual in our
> class who was most representative of what was
> occurring, I would think that we would have to
> select Hal Cowley.[1]

Perhaps such a statement was prompted by alumnus nos-
talgic sentimentality, but Cowley was not representative of
the hedonism and revelry commonly associated with the twen-
ties. His cry for reform, an echo of the recent past, was
unwelcome:

> By 1920 the nerves of the country had been
> rubbed raw by bitterness over the war, the debate
> on the League, the Red Scare, and the postwar infla-
> tion. . . . The country yearned for release from
> the attacks of the reformers and the demands they
> made for altruism and self-sacrifice.[2]

The era of protest and reform was smothered by a period of
conservatism favorable to big business interests and clothed
in a new economy of mass consumption, efficiency, and pros-
perity.[3]

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[1]Quoted in Edgar B. Graves, "William Harold Cowley: A
Memoir," Hamilton Alumni Review 43 (December 1978): 16-17.

[2]Leuchtenburg, The Perils of Prosperity, p. 84.

[3]Leuchtenburg, p. 96, and Nash, The Nervous Generation,
pp. 2-4.

> Nor did higher education fail to respond to the
> new orientation. Like education at the lower levels,
> it felt the impact of business in the administration
> of its affairs no less than it did in the increasing
> emphasis put on the more vocational or so-called
> practical subjects. As on the lower levels, higher
> education responded to the demand of the middle
> class for whatever promised to promote the comfort,
> economic success, and social prestige.[1]

Cowley symbolized Dartmouth's founding motto--Clamantis in
Deserto--the voice of one crying in the wilderness.[2]

The Graduate

A man tempered by the times, Cowley joined the ranks

of the business world and went to work for Western Electric

in New York City, the manufacturing division of the American

Telephone and Telegraph Company.[3] It was no accident that

he was employed by the company; one of the newest technolog-

ical innovations next to the automobile was the telephone.

"By the early twentieth century the telephone had become an

everyday convenience, and Bell's company, overtaking U. S.

Steel, had grown to be the largest corporation in the United

States."[4] In the 1920's productivity had shot up at an

astonishing rate due in part to the application of Frederick

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[1]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 701.

[2]Wheelock had originally chosen the motto to name the college but the governor overruled and the college was named for its sponsor and benefactor, The Second Earl of Dartmouth.

[3]In January 1925, Western Electric was renamed the Bell Telephone Laboratories.

[4]Boorstin, The Americans, p. 391.

W. Taylor's principles of scientific management. Cowley's
responsibility was to "humanize" the impersonal environment
within a technical company whose very business was to
increase and enhance communications.

His desire for "financial equilibrium" and an executive
track position prompted him to leave the company in 1925 to
be an assistant to the President of the Hamilton National
Bank in New York City. Disillusioned about the administra-
tion of the bank, he quit after three weeks.

Unsuccessful in his attempts to become a disciple of an
executive, the experience with the telephone company offered
Cowley an entrance to a budding profession, industrial psy-
chology. Psychology was formally introduced to the United
States when Sigmund Freud gave a series of lectures at Clark
University in 1909 and was further popularized by the Army's
massive program of psychological testing used for classifi-
cation and assignment in World War I.[1] By the mid-twenties
it became a national mania, and Americans applied statistics
to every facet of life.[2] Professions in psychiatry, clinical
psychology, testing, statistics, and counseling and guidance
seemed to burst forth in full bloom.

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[1]Specifically, these tests were the Alpha, Beta, and
Army General Classification Tests (AGCT).

[2]Boorstin, The Americans, pp. 220-225.

Cowley acquired a graduate fellowship to study psychology at the University of Chicago, an institution world renowned for its leadership in American education. Advanced study and research, a major responsibility of the institution from its inception in 1892, was set forth by its first president, William Rainey Harper, and supported by generous donors, including the American Baptist Education Society, Marshall Field, and most notably John D. Rockefeller.

During Cowley's youth, the university had matured as an institution of advanced research and graduate study. Before the Civil War graduate education was virtually non-existent in the United States[1] and students were forced abroad to pursue graduate study.[2] Even five years after the founding of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, the first institution solely for graduate instruction, graduate enrollment in the entire nation totalled 198. Graduate enrollment in American institutions continued to increase slowly, but

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[1]Richard Hofstadter, in The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States ed. with C. DeWitt Hardy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 62, states that formal graduate work without degree began at Yale in 1847.

[2]Walter P. Metzger, Academic Freedom in the Age of the University (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 94, states: "It was not until a German degree offered advantages to career chances at home--which is to say, it was not until the American college had already grown more secular, specialized, and intellectually ambitious--that the great exodus of American scholars began." Metzger reports that more than nine thousand Americans studied at German universities in the nineteenth century, p. 93. It was this German influence--stress on research, academic freedom, and service to state--that encouraged the founding of the first American graduate institution.

surged during the 1920's.[1] In such an environment, Cowley was certainly in the midst of the elite, though graduate education was becoming increasingly popular.

Cowley's research resulted in a psychological study of leadership which focused on the distinction between leaders and headmen.[2] Using leaders and followers from three population groups--criminals, military personnel, and university students--statistical data derived the difference in leadership attributes:

> A leader, then, is a person who is going somewhere,
> who has a motive, who has a program. A headman is
> an individual who has attained to the head of a group
> but who has no outstanding individual motive or
> program and who is, therefore, not a leader.[3]

He conducted a study at the urging of his doctoral chairman, L. L. Thurstone, a leader in psychology and author of The Nature of Intelligence. In 1930, he acquired the Ph.D. in psychology and was one of only 2,299 graduate students in American institutions to earn a doctorate that year.[4]

Unlike the stormy days at Dartmouth, Cowley's demeanor at Chicago was congenial. Perhaps he had met his challenge

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[1] American Universities and Colleges, 7th ed. (American Council on Education, Washington, D. C., 1956), p. 52, states that by 1890 graduate enrollment was 2,382 and in 1910 it was 9,370. By 1920, the enrollment had risen to just over 15,612 and by 1930 it had soared to 47,255.

[2] "A Study of the Traits of Face-to-Face Leaders," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1930).

[3] W. H. Cowley, "Three Distinctions in the Study of Leaders," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 23 (July/Sept 1928):146.

[4] American Universities and Colleges, p. 66.

with the rigors of graduate work or as an evening instructor
at the YMCA College in downtown Chicago,[1] but most impor-
tantly, the desire for the Ph.D. precluded all other causes
and issues.

He had passed through the institution almost unnoticed
until the president of the university, Max Mason, asked him
to develop a vocational counseling service for the university.
The office, the first in student personnel at the institution,
was to be called the Board of Vocational Guidance and Place-
ment and assisted students at the University in seeking
employment.

It was not until late in his graduate work that Cowley's
life revealed a direction. His entry into student personnel
work was the cornerstone from which he developed his thought
and philosophy, as well as his academic career. Until 1930
he was controlled by circumstances and events; the opportuni-
ties that crossed his path were matters of chance. It was a
time to experiment, to explore, to question the world around
him and to grapple with his identity. He was not yet a cap-
tain in command of his ship, but only a bold sailor who
longed for the sea. Adrift at sea, his thoughts and actions
would ride the crest of this or that wave with the changing
of tides. He knew his destination, but had drawn no chart
by which to navigate.

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[1]The YMCA College was later incorporated as Thomas
Jefferson College. In 1945, the name was changed to Roose-
velt College and in 1954 the private liberal arts college
was renamed Roosevelt University.

CHAPTER II

THE ADMINISTRATOR

New Beginnings

Cowley's career was launched just as education was

responding to developments in society--the rising tide of

humanitarianism, industrialization, specialization, urbani-

zation--by shifting the emphasis of subject-matter to a

student-centered curriculum, developing testing tools, study-

ing individual differences, and accepting responsibility for

inculcating social skills.[1] It was just this climate that

paved the way for the thirties to become Cowley's most pro-

ductive publishing years as he gained a national reputation

in student personnel work.

Upon graduation, Cowley became the head of the student

personnel research unit at Ohio State University. He was

under the direction of W. W. Charters, a professor of educa-

tion at the University of Chicago who had left that institu-

tion to head the Bureau of Educational Research at Ohio State.

Primarily an administrator conducting research with no teach-

ing responsibilities, Cowley received faculty status in the

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[1]Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-
Personnel Work (Columbia University: Teachers College, 1957),
pp. 15-16.

psychology department and was promoted to full professor in 1935.

Student personnel work was in its infancy in the twenties,[1] though its underlying ideas and functions were inherent in the educational process of early institutions of higher learning.[2] The term had been adapted from military terminology and first used by Clarence S. Yoakum in 1919.[3] It was not until 1926 that the status of personnel work in education was investigated on the national scene[4] and 1929

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[1] Before 1920, personnel work was a movement; its development as an organized field evolved in the twentieth century. Esther Lloyd-Jones, "The Beginnings of Our Profession," in Trends in Student Personnel Work, ed. E. G. Williamson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949), p. 262, Ruth Barry and Beverly Wolf, "The Genesis of Guidance-Personnel Work," Teachers College Record LVIII (April 1957), pp. 386-387; and Norman L. Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Education: Its Evolution as an Organized Movement" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1964), pp. 6-18.

[2] Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Education: Its Evolution as an Organized Movement," p. 6; and Eugenie Andruss Leonard, Origins of Personnel Services in American Higher Education (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956), p. 16.

[3] "Plan for a Personnel Bureau in Educational Institutions," School and Society, IX (May 10, 1919): 556-559.

[4] The study was first proposed in 1924 when representatives of fourteen institutions gathered to discuss methods and practices of personnel work in higher education. L. B. Hopkins, Director of Personnel at Northwestern University, authored the report which briefly surveyed programs at the fourteen participating institutions. Sponsored by the American Council on Education, the report, "Personnel Procedures in Education," was published in The Educational Record Supplement, October 1926, pp. 3-96.

that a specific program was described.[1]

In addition to investigating any aspect of student personnel work, the position entailed two additional respon-sibilities. First, Cowley was a member of the Council of Junior Deans and investigated some basic research questions on their behalf. The Council, established in 1928 to provide program advisement to students, consisted of deans appointed in each of five colleges which accepted freshmen--agricultural, business administration, education, engineering, and liberal arts.

His second responsibility was to edit The Journal of Higher Education. Although the first literary journal was published at Johns Hopkins University in 1878, the production of these "textbooks of scholars" mushroomed in the twentieth century.[2] Institutions and departments sought recognition by publishing their own journals. Established in 1930, The Journal was sponsored by Ohio State and achieved national prominence though higher education as a field of study would not emerge until almost two decades later.[3] The earliest

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[1]Lloyd-Jones described the program at Northwestern University in her Ph.D. dissertation and published as Student Personnel Work at Northwestern University (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1929).

[2]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), pp. 189-190. Rudolph, in The American College and University, p. 405, notes that the growth of journals were spurred by an interest in research and coincided with the multiplication of learned societies.

[3]Paul L. Dressel and Lewis B. Mayhew, Higher Education as a Field of Study (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974), p. ix, report that higher education as a field of study emerged in the late forties.

studies of higher education were primarily institutional histories, but the early twentieth century witnessed the further examination of institutional practices and the evolution of institutional research.[1] Although The Journal followed this pattern, Cowley's frequent editorial comments and book reviews reflected a growing interest in educational issues and theoretical concepts.

Many professionals found themselves without jobs during the Great Depression,[2] but Cowley's duties increased. He organized a yearly education conference sponsored by the College of Education and was responsible for retrenchment efforts initiated at that institution.

The Great Depression and its devastating eff ts had struck a severe blow to higher education:

> . . . the implication of the depression for cultural life became starkly apparent. Sixteen small colleges closed. Hundreds of others reduced salaries as student enrollment decreased. Foundations were compelled to cut by nearly three-fourths their annual grants for scientific research.[3]

In an effort to counter Ohio State's enrollment loss, Cowley was assigned yet another responsibility. He became the administrator for the university's National Youth Administration program, an offshoot to the Federal Emergency Relief Administration established in 1933 ". . . to help the states

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[1]Dressel and Mayhew, Higher Education, pp. 7-8.

[2]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 718.

[3]Ibid., p. 719.

by providing 'work-relief' activity."[1] At the beginning of

the Great Depression, the government denied the extent of

economic collapse and was slow to respond to the expressed

needs of the people.[2] Even this aid to students was not

implemented until 1934 after the depression had exerted

its most sustained, brutal impact. The program brought

relief to the low enrollment problem and aimed to keep stu-

dents off the lethargic labor market. During the eight years

of the NYA, 2,134,000 youths received assistance, of which

620,000 were college students.[3] Of this number, Ohio State

assisted some 1300 of its students annually.[4]

Literature in the field suggests that the Great

Depression had little immediate effect upon college

personnel work.[5] It must be remembered, however,

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[1]David D. Henry, _Challenges Past, Challenges Present_
(San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975), p. 24.

[2]Leuchtenburg, _Perils of Prosperity_, pp. 252-255, and
Curti, _The Growth of American Thought_, p. 717.

[3]War Manpower Commission, _Final Report of the National
Youth Administration, Fiscal Years 1936-1943_ (Washington, D.C.:
U.S. Government Printing Office, 1944), p. 82.

[4]W. H. Cowley, "A Study of N.Y.A. Projects at the Ohio
State University," (Washington, D.C.: The National Youth
Administration, 1937), p. 2.

[5]Mary Evelyn Dewey, "An Investigation of Holism in
Student Personnel Work, With Special Emphasis in the Depres-
sion Years 1931-1932" (Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse Univer-
sity, 1967). Dewey questioned whether the concept of holism,
the stated professional goal of student personnel workers,
was practiced during a period of peak stress. By surveying
professional literature, one of which was _The Journal of
Higher Education_, the author concluded that student personnel

that programs providing housing and financial aid re-
emphasized the need for personnel work rather than limiting
or curtailing activities.[1] The work of the NYA had
far-reaching effects for higher education:

> The significance of the federal student aid pro-
> grams in the Depression turned out to be long range.
> It set the precedent for the postwar educational
> benefits for veterans . . . and for the student aid
> programs of the sixties and seventies.[2]

Cowley, an ambitious administrator, eagerly accepted
any opportunity for professional advancement, including com-
mittee work. At Ohio State, he served on almost a score of
administrative and policy-making committees every year. On
the national scene, he participated as a member of the Amer-
ican Council on Education's Committee on Measurement and
Guidance in 1937 whose report, "The Student Personnel Point
of View," provided the philosophical base for student per-
sonnel work.[3] The field was striving toward professionaliza-
tion at this time and Cowley was instrumental in the first
attempts toward achieving a unified organization of national

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workers did not deal with or respond to expressed student
problems in a consistent manner during a time of crisis,
pp. 178-179.

[1]Barry and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance - Personnel
Work, p. 23.

[2]Henry, Challenges Past, Challenges Present, p. 26.

[3]A Report on a Conference on the Philosophy and Devel-
opment of Student Personnel Work in College and University,
American Council on Education Studies, ser. I, 3 (Washington,
D.C.: June 1937).

personnel associations. He stressed the need for profes-

sionalization of the field[1] and sought to achieve coordina-

tion and cooperation between representative national person-

nel organizations, most of which presently comprise the

American Personnel and Guidance Association.[2]

Battle Lines

During the thirties, a mood of uncertainty was preva-

lent throughout the country.

> Hence the uncertainty experienced by the mass of plain
> people caught in the depression inclined them to
> listen to new leaders. And intellectuals and
> reformers, though beset in many instances by uncer-
> tainty, endeavored to provide formulas for recovery
> and reconstruction. The thirties not only were
> thus characterized by the great achievements of
> natural scientists and the challenging implications
> of scientific speculation, but they were primarily
> a decade of rich and varied social thought, ques-
> tioning, and searching. All these inquiries and pro-
> posals were part of a search for security amid
> dislocation of old values.[3]

In higher education this search for security resulted

in frequent debates on the general aims of a liberal educa-

tion. One author recalled:

> What are liberal arts colleges supposed to do for
> their students? Are they expected only to train the
> intellect, or are they also to help form character?
> Should they look upon their students as essentially
> social beings and try to foster social qualities,

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[1] "The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work,"
National Association of Women Deans and Counselors Journal 3
(June 1940): 161.

[2] Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Edu-
cation: Its Evolution as an Organized Movement," pp. 132-163.

[3] Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 730.

or should they consider them merely as individuals? In a word, what are the ends of liberal education?[1]

Abraham Flexner, a noted critic of professional education, answered that the university has no other responsibility toward students than to prepare them intellectually.[2] Only the German universities measured up to Flexner's ideal of higher education.[3] His viewpoint provoked the ire of higher educational scholars, especially that of Cowley who was just beginning his study of English and American higher education. He reacted by writing a critical appraisal of Flexner's philosophy. The publication of this reaction marked the beginning of his study of two philosophies of education, "the scholarly ideal" and "the broad symmetrical education of the individual."[4]

Another critic to gain national prominence with his ideas on the ends of a college education was Robert M. Hutchins, a self-confident, zealous Yale Law School dean who became President of the University of Chicago at the precocious age of thirty. He believed that ". . . American life had vastly overemphasized material values, individual

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[1]Bonaventure Schwinn, "Hutchins, Cowley, and Pope Pius XI," Catholic World 154 (October 1941): 22.

[2]Flexner, Universities: American, English, German (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), 8, 28, 67 and 68.

[3]Ibid., pp. 265, 277, and 347.

[4]W. H. Cowley, "The University and the Individual," Journal of Higher Education 2 (October 1931): 392.

self-interest, and a soft form of democratic humanitarianism,"[1] and launched himself on a one-man crusade to shake the ivy from the sacred walls of institutions of higher learning. As a critic of vocationalism, he suggested that

> . . . the heart of any course of study designed for the whole people will be . . . the same at any time, in any place, under any political, social, or economic conditions. . . . If education is rightly understood, it will be understood as the cultivation of the intellect.[2]

He proposed a restructuring of the institution; the college was to be composed of the last two years of high school and first two years of college and transmit the accumulated wisdom of the human race through the study of great books, followed by a three-year university open to selected college graduates to relate fundamental problems to the specialized study in metaphysics, the social sciences, and the natural sciences.[3] A frequently sought speaker and a successful fund raiser,[4] he made few friends. And he certainly became no friend of Cowley's.

Cowley vehemently opposed Hutchins' ideas and told an audience that "Hutchins' theory came from Germany, but were

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[1]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, pp. 733-734.

[2]Robert M. Hutchins, The Higher Learning in America (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1936), p. 43.

[3]Ibid., pp. 77-85 and 105-110.

[4]Hutchins raised $52,000,000 in nine years of the Depression, an amount exceeded only by Harvard and Yale, and received approximately 1,000 speaking invitations a year. Milton S. Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago," Harper's Magazine, Part One of Two Parts, March 1939, pp. 345 and 354.

considered so bad there that even the Nazis kicked them out."[1] Instead of intellectualism, Cowley proposed the concept of holoism, or education for the development of the whole man.[2] He voiced his opposition to Hutchins in every paper and speech he presented, though always insisting he was attacking issues and not personalities.[3] Cowley made it his platform to confirm the popular fear that Hutchins was indeed the most dangerous man in American education, if not in all society.[4] Ready for a fight, Hutchins attempted to maim Cowley by referring to him as only a "Yogi."[5] Prior to this assault, they had met each other only once when Hutchins began his presidency at the University of Chicago as Cowley had completed his graduate work at the same institution. The meeting was indeed cold and brief.[6] From that moment in 1929, they wasted no time in using the opposition to further their own cause. Though adversaries, Cowley recalled later

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[1]Robert M. Hutchins, "Hutchins Answers Hutchins," Saturday Evening Post, September 24, 1938, p. 23.

[2]"Hutchins vs. Cowley," Scribner's 105 (January 1939): 66-67, where Cowley introduced the term, he used the spelling holoism. A survey of scientific literature indicates that only Cowley used this spelling. The more popular usage was the term holism. After the term's acceptance into the field, Cowley too, adopted this spelling.

[3]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 764.

[4]Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago," Part I, p. 345.

[5]Cowley, "Reminiscences," pp. 409 and 496.

[6]Interview with W. H. Cowley, R. F. Bacchetti, Palo Alto, California, 10 September 1977. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B, Stanford University Archives.

in his life that Hutchins had been the one individual most influential in his thinking.[1]

As Hutchins and Cowley exchanged barbs, the two caught the attention of a small private liberal arts college in New York State. In 1938 Hamilton College was casting round for a successor to their retiring president, Dr. Frederick C. Ferry. One of the serious contenders for the position was Hutchins who proposed to form a group of colleges which would conform to his educational ideas. With Hamilton as the base institution, the Hutchins League of Colleges would include among others, St. Johns and Kenyon.

Another candidate was James Lewis Morrill, Vice-President of Ohio State University. He was offered the presidency of Hamilton and declined the invitation on the advice of Cowley, who had no knowledge that he would be considered for the position only a month later.[2]

The battle lines could not have been more clearly drawn, but it was Cowley who won the unanimous approval of the Hamilton Board of Trustees. The selection committee had drawn up five criteria for its search and Cowley matched these so closely that one might suspect they were written

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," pp. 409-410.

[2]Before becoming Vice-President in 1932, Morrill had been a junior dean in the College of Education where he worked closely with Cowley. After declining the Hamilton presidency, Morrill remained at Ohio State until 1942, at which time he accepted the presidency of the University of Wyoming. In 1945, he accepted the presidency of the University of Minnesota, retiring in 1960.

to fit his candidacy:

1) . . . a good straightforward fellow whom we
could understand and live with, . . . We don't
want somebody who will strike postures and act
a part. We want somebody who will be simple
and direct and real.
2) Then we want a man who knows something about
education and the theory of education.
3) . . . we want someone of good administrative
capacity.
4) The problem of the college in its entirety is
not a simple one and we want a man who can
square up to the problem and master not some
but all of its elements and produce a real
solution and put it into execution and carry
it through.
5) . . . a man who liked boys and was interested
in them, them and their minds and their problems
and their futures. . . .[1]

An elaborate inauguration ceremony described as an

occassion of ". . . pomp and circumstance unusual to the

Hill . . ."[2] followed Cowley's election. Cowley defended his

action to change the otherwise simple, humble opening: "I

believe in ceremonies to start and end events and periods of

life. This is the social cement that you need."[3] But the

ostentatious display was more than merely social cement; it

was a proclamation of triumph over Hutchins. Cowley had won

the battle for the "Hill" and this was his victory celebration.

He used his inaugural address to outline carefully the

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[1]"Transcript of a Statement for the Special Committee
on the Presidency to the Trustees of Hamilton College,"
June 10, 1938, pp. 8-10. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series
I-B:38-7, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Walter Pilkington, Hamilton College 1912/1962
(Clinton, New York: Hamilton College, 1962), p. 255.

[3]Cowley, "Reminiscenses," p. 489.

drama of the conflict with Hutchins and stated his position:

> I align myself with the traditional British-American
> philosophy of education that the purpose of the
> college is the training of the whole student, not
> of his mind alone. I take this stand because it is
> my deep conviction that in education and in living
> intelligence is not enough.[1]

He later proposed six basic skills needed by the educated

man and sought to apply these to Hamilton's academic program:

an ability to speak, read and write one's language, a knowl-

edge of the scientific method, proficiency in one foreign

language, and an ability to live and work with other people.[2]

Cowley planned ". . . for Hamilton to become a distin-

guished educational institution, to get a reputation as the

best small college in the country."[3] The college was to

embody Cowley's concept of holism just as the University of

Chicago was to be cast in the Hutchins' "intellectual" mold.

Though historians have frequently reported the ill fate of

Hutchins' proposals,[4] the fate of Cowley's educational

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[1]"The Inauguration of William Harold Cowley as the Eleventh President of Hamilton College," Saturday, October 29, 1938, Hamilton College Bulletin 22 (1) (November 1938): 26.

[2]W. H. Cowley, "The Educated-Man Concept in the Twentieth Century," School and Society 52 (19 October 1940): 346.

[3]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 540.

[4]Mayer, "Hutchins of Chicago," Part I, pp. 346-348; and Michael R. Harris, Five Counterrevolutionists in Higher Education (Corvallis, Oregon: Oregon State University Press, 1970), pp. 155-159. These authors conclude that University of Chicago as a "Hutchins" institution was an illusion. The Chicago Plan, which eliminated compulsory class attendance, reduced residence requirements, and to some extent

schemes have received scant publication.

The Disappointment

With its strong emphasis in the liberal arts, Hamilton
College seemed to be the perfect place for Cowley to play
out his dreams. Built on a natural plateau overlooking the
Oriskany and Mohawk Valley just outside the rural, sleepy
village of Clinton, the 350-acre wooded campus was the third
college to be founded in New York State and the thirtieth
in the nation. It was founded in 1793 by the Reverend Samuel
Kirkland, a missionary to the Oneida nation of the Iroquois,
to educate white and Indian youths of both sexes. First
chartered as the Hamilton Oneida Academy, the institution
was rechartered as Hamilton College in 1812 to enable young
men to earn the baccalaureate degree.[1] Named after Alexander
Hamilton, the first Secretary of Treasury and a member of the
Board of Trustees of the academy, the college offered a tra-
ditional curriculum emphasizing philosophy, history, classi-
cal languages, and mathematics, with an additional emphasis
in oratory begun in the late nineteenth century. Subse-
quently, the college became ". . . well and deservedly noted

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substituted general examinations and general courses for the
credit system, was not Hutchins' idea at all, but that he
did succeed in putting it into effect. The great-books plan
was not adopted at Chicago, but accepted at St. Johns College
at Annapolis, Maryland, and his proposal of restructuring the
college and university did not become the national pattern.

[1]Established in 1968, nearby Kirkland College became
Hamilton's coordinate liberal-arts college for women.

for the excellence of its graduates in public speaking."[1]
As a splendid orator, Cowley was now the chief spokesman for
the college whose tradition paralleled his philosophy.

Like most academic presidents before him, Cowley
entered his position as a novice to academic administration.
"Clearly this was not a profession for which one could be
trained . . . it was an art, and was learned by doing."[2]
Modeled on English precedents, the office was uniquely Amer-
ican.[3] Beginning with Henry Dunster of Harvard, the first
presidents were clergymen who taught courses in ethics and
moral philosophy, held service in chapel, and maintained
effective relations with denominational leaders, parents,
and students. Usually the success of the president insured
the financial solvency of the institution:

> In many ways, the early college president was the
> college. Its identity became a reflection of his
> character, leadership, and personal success. One
> image we still retain . . . is that of the college
> as the 'lengthened shadow' of its president.[4]

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[1]Hamilton College Catalogue (Clinton, New York, 1978),
p. 7.

[2]George P. Schmidt, The Liberal Arts College (Westport,
Conn: Greenwood Press, 1957), p. 105. Harold W. Stoke, The
American College President (New York: Harper and Brothers,
1958), pp. 11-14; and Joseph Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the
Board (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1980),
p. x, report that, though there is no formal training for the
position, some summer educational leadership institutes have
been held in recent years, the first begun in 1955 at
Harvard.

[3]Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the Board, p. 5.

[4]Ibid.

Bold and undaunted, Cowley opposed the traditional

stance of the faculty and the Board of Trustees. In his

first report to the Board of Trustees, he stated:

> We are struggling with dozens of picayunish
> considerations, all of which stem from the compromises
> that have been made during the past seventy-five years
> in our educational philosophy. I'd like to kick all
> this out the window. . . .[1]

Cowley was brash and abrasive, but the governing board

expected their eleventh president to perform a role vastly

different in substance and style to that of his predecessor

who retired after a long and quiet tenure. Common among

governing boards in selecting presidents was ". . . a need

to redress some imbalance caused by the previous president."[2]

New presidents were generally popular at the onset and

Cowley seized upon the moment to initiate some dramatic

changes at Hamilton.

Financially he was a boon to the college, raising

tuition, clearing deficits, and turning dormant real-estate

holdings into income-earning securities. He revitalized the

alumni by establishing an Alumni Council, increasing alumni

representation on the Board of Trustees, increasing the

annual Alumni Fund, and establishing a publicity bureau. In

addition to upgrading faculty salaries, he expanded the size

of the faculty, especially in the areas of education,

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[1] W. H. Cowley to Norman F. McLean, March 10, 1939, Hamilton College Manuscript Collection.

[2] Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the Board, pp. 42-43.

psychology, and art, and established the position of Dean of Students. He took a special interest in the renovation of campus facilities and the construction of new buildings, which included modernization of plumbing in the dormitories, remodelling of dormitories to include a furnished lounge, restoration of the chapel, providing faculty offices for the first time in Hamilton's history, building of faculty houses, and securing a meeting place for non-fraternity students.

Cowley issued statements of his holistic educational philosophy and recruited prominent outside speakers for campus lectures. His holistic philosophy prompted a liberalization of admission requirements, a lessening of curricular requirements in the freshman year, broadening of the upper-class curriculum, and changes in the granting of bachelor's degrees. A testing program was inaugurated and a phonetics laboratory was established. Mandatory chapel attendance was discontinued and freshman orientation was revived after a long hiatus. Cowley also valued evaluation; he initiated student evaluations of college life and policies, established institutional self-studies, and invited visiting teams of experts and specialists to campus to study various departments on campus.

Though several curricular changes were made, it was this area where Cowley felt the most constraint. He had come to Hamilton to continue his scholarship and to shape the institution in the image of his philosophy, yet he felt

trapped in administrative details with little time for any thought about education. His frustration, a frequent complaint among academic presidents in the twentieth century, must be understood in the light of the increased secularization of higher education in the late nineteenth century, when the clergyman college president was replaced by a generation of university builders, the master minds of wealthy businessmen who gave their names and fortunes to the creation of institutions. With this change, the very nature of the position has been gradually altered:

> The college president as the Man of Learning has
> been giving way to the Man of Management . . . in
> recent years the factor of educational distinction
> has declined while factors of personality, management
> skills, and successful experience in business and
> administration has increased in importance. This
> fact reflects the gradual transformation of the col-
> lege president from an intellectual leader into a
> manager, skilled in administration, a broker in
> personal and public relations.[1]

Though the president's power is restricted in the academic arena, his greatest influence lies in ". . . setting budget priorities, controlling some areas of personnel selection, long-range planning, physical plant, and program development."[2] Only when the president is seen as effective by the various constituencies within and outside the institution does his influence increase. As this influence grows in his public relationships, the president can effectively

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[1]Stoke, The American College President, p. 3 and 15.

[2]Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the Board, p. 49.

exert his leadership in matters of educational philosophy both within and outside his institution.[1]

Generally college and university presidents were college faculty members first, coming up through department ranks to deanships, then provost and vice-president, trading off their scholarly role for increased administrative duties. Cowley, however, was one of those valiant presidents who refused to accept banishment from the academic arena. The success of the scholar president is rare indeed:

> One cannot help admiring these attempts . . . of able and brilliant men who were, perhaps, as much in rebellion against the intellectual confinement of college presidents as they were concerned for the improvement of education for students. Such were the efforts of Hutchins at Chicago to revise almost an entire system of educational thought and organization; of Conant of Harvard in teaching science; and more distantly, Glenn Frank's sponsorship at Wisconsin of the Experimental College for the development of liberal education. In the academic arena their handicaps have been many, the odds against them overwhelming.[2]

Initiating changes in Hamilton's program with the support and cooperation of the trustees, faculty, and students, Cowley enjoyed a honeymoon in the first three years of his presidency. Despite time constraints, he continued his scholarship and became a leading spokesman in higher education. But honeymoons, more often than not, say little about the future relationship. Cowley's marriage to Hamilton became a

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[1]Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the Board, pp. 48-49; and Stoke, The American College President, p. 94.

[2]Stoke, The American College President, p. 126.

disappointing experience for the remaining three years of

his tenure. He failed to reshape Hamilton, partly because

he did not understand the inherent conflict between the "Man

of Management" and the "Man of Learning."

Some clue to Cowley's failure is offered by the Hamil-

ton College historian:

> His speedy pressure academic changes, coupled with a
> certain impatience with those who disagreed with his
> program, combined to alienate what he termed 'the ole
> guard' of the faculty, a powerful and vocal minority
> with a pipeline to the Board of Trustees, of whom he
> said, 'we have the usual collection of stuffed shirts
> and pendants, but they're not in the majority by any
> means.'[1]

Cowley attempted to reshape a traditional institution par-

ticularly in the academic arena, but the faculty saw every

expression of change as a criticism of past procedures and a

threat to their position. One faculty member remarked that

Cowley had

> . . . dragged the College kicking and screaming into
> the twentieth century. . . . In three years he had
> changed every facet of Hamilton's existence quickly
> and drastically. The opponents to reform were
> dazzled and breathless, unable to prevent the
> College's head-long embrace with the future.[2]

The Invitation

Educators were so impressed with Cowley's achievements

that in February 1941 the Board of Regents of the University

of Minnesota considered him to succeed their retiring

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[1]Pilkington, Hamilton College, p. 256.

[2]Bill Helmer, "War on Hamilton's Homefront," The
Spectator (January 1978), pp. 10-11.

president, Guy Stanton Ford.[1] When the board voted unani-

mously to invite Cowley to become president, news reports

initially indicated he was delighted to accept.[2] According

to Cowley, however, he requested ". . . ten days to enable

him to confer with the Hamilton College trustees."[3]

Cowley's reluctance and hesitancy stemmed from the

prospect of radical change that awaited him in his new role.

At Hamilton, Cowley instilled his own brand of personalized

education by memorizing the names of all 448 students and

occasionally playing table tennis with them. Such would not

be the case at the University of Minnesota, whose enrollment

of 15,167 full-time students and 988 faculty made it the

second largest university in America.[4]

Cowley was invited to take charge of an institution

which was first chartered as a preparatory school in 1851,

seven years before the Territory of Minnesota became a state.

Beset with financial difficulties in its early years, its

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[1]Besides the offers from Hamilton College and the
University of Minnesota, Cowley was considered for the
presidency of Babson Institute, Boston, Massachusetts in
1934; Kenyon College, Gambier, Ohio in 1934; St. Lawrence
University in Canton, New York in 1935; Hobart College in
Geneva, New York in 1935; University of Maine in 1935; Uni-
versity of New Hampshire in 1936; New York University in
1941. Pilkington, Hamilton College, p. 263.

[2]"Minnesota Picks Cowley," Time (31) February 24, 1941,
p. 60.

[3]"Minnesota Seeks Dr. Cowley as Head," New York Times,
12 February 1941, p. 19, col. 4.

[4]The first was University of California with 25,989
students and 2,156 faculty.

first president, William Watts Folwell, gave his inaugural

address to eighteen students and nine faculty members in

1869. Dedicated to teaching, research, and public service,

it soon became one of the nation's renowned public compre-

hensive universities.

Excitement and heightened publicity for a university

of such a formidable size and reputation as Minnesota were

certain to be generated by the prospect of a new president.

Such an institution was unaccustomed to be kept waiting, yet

Cowley left the Regents empty-handed. After the waiting

period, he declined the offer in a one sentence statement:

> The high honor which the Board of Regents has
> paid me in inviting me to become president of the
> University of Minnesota has deeply moved me, but
> after endless hours of reflection, I have come to
> the conclusion that I must remain at Hamilton and
> carry through to completion the involved projects
> which I have begun here.[1]

Abashed, the Board hastily elected Dr. Walter C. Coffey,

dean of the Department of Agriculture, to become acting

president of the university.[2] Statewide newspapers quickly

dropped the story and disclosed no details about the incident,

but Minnesota's embarrassment glared through the pages of

Time magazine's story headline, "Cowley Jilts Minnesota."[3]

Why Cowley declined the offer is disclosed by a

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[1]"Cowley Declines Bid to Head Minnesota," New York Times, 21 February 1941, col. 2, p. 15.

[2]Coffey was later succeeded by James L. Morrill.

[3]March 3, 1941, p. 40.

Hamilton faculty member close to him:

> First, during the interviews, the Regents had not
> once sought to discover, as had the Hamilton trustees,
> his educational philosophy; and in this he was deeply
> concerned. It appeared to him that his principal
> function, as president, would be personnel management
> at the university and especially the linkage with the
> State Legislature. Secondly, he developed a suspi-
> cion that one of his principal sponsors sought to be
> kingmaker for his own advantage and may well have
> prematurely leaked the news of Cowley's appointment
> in an attempt to forestall his refusal. He sensed
> that he would have a bitter power-struggle on his
> hands. Thirdly, he sincerely felt that in good con-
> science he could not abandon Hamilton until he had
> resolved some problems which currently needed
> attention.[1]

These reasons are discussed in detail by Cowley when
later transcribing his "Reminiscences," wherein he stated
his fear of becoming solely an administrator, the nature of
the power struggles, and his "moral responsibility" to
Hamilton.

A deepened awareness of the conflict between administra-
tion and scholarship was the paramount reason for Cowley's
declining the Minnesota offer. Almost six years earlier
before accepting the Hamilton presidency, he had expressed
his dissatisfaction with administrative work, yet he hoped
administration would offer an opportunity for scholarship.
In a letter to a friend about his administrative position at
Ohio State and speculation of an executive post, he stated:

> Frankly I don't want to be a president. I'd rather
> have a teaching job which would give me leisure to
> write, but that seems to be out of the question.

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[1] Edgar B. Graves, "William Harold Cowley: A Memoir."

> Here I am nothing but an administrative handy-man,
> and try as I may I can't avoid being loaded with one
> administrative job after another. I seem, alas, to
> have what it takes for that sort of work; and I dis-
> like it intensely. In my present set-up I shall
> never achieve any writing of importance, and thus I
> am on the alert for something better. When a definite
> offer comes (in the academic world--not business), I
> shall have to make a decision. On the other hand I
> can use the offer to readjust my situation here or
> I can take the job hoping that I can after a few
> years of plugging make a fairly leisurely life for
> myself.[1]

Cowley had delayed any decision at that time, but now he was

quick to conclude: "In any complex situation there are a

dozen reasons that bear upon it. But the main reason is that

my ambition was to be a scholar."[2]

The Minnesota invitation stirred controversy, but it

also offered Cowley the leverage he needed to push through

changes at Hamilton.[3] Expressing their pleasure over their

president's decision to remain, the board affirmed Cowley's

holistic educational philosophy and authorized

> . . . an increase from seven to eleven in the
> social science staff, development of the Fine Arts
> Department, expansion of dormitory facilities,
> appointment of an administrative aide to the presi-
> dent and creation of a new trustees' committee of
> endowment. . . .[4]

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[1]Letter to Louise (Hawkes) Padelford, October 31, 1935,
W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:35-41C, Stanford
University Archives.

[2]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 632.

[3]Ibid., p. 631.

[4]"'Educational Creed' Adopted at Hamilton," New York
Times, 21 April 1941, p. 17, col. 5.

his research and scholarship.

Soon after Cowley made the decision to remain at Hamil-
ton and some changes were initiated, the faculty became his
formidable enemy. It was not until years later that he sug-
gested that perhaps he should have resigned immediately upon
declining the Minnesota offer or at least announced his deci-
sion to leave Hamilton at some future date.[1]

A presidential announcement of a pending resignation
would ordinarily engender conflict and confusion within an
institution and affect the personality and policies of its
chief executives. In Cowley's case, however, the dissension
and criticism had already occurred and he would soon lose
the confidence of the trustees, faculty, and students. His
mistake was not in declining the Minnesota offer, but in his
strategy to remain at Hamilton.

War at Home and Abroad

As faculty resistance grew during the first three years
of Cowley's tenure, clouds of war were becoming increasingly
ominous abroad. The German war machine and Japanese threat
marked a period of mounting concern for the national defense
of the United States. At all levels in American society the
dominating force of internationalism followed by a ". . .
resurgence of militant nationalism"[2] prompted a reconsideration

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 634.

[2]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, pp. 752-753.

by educators of the role of colleges and universities in an
international emergency. In June 1940, the American Council
of Education published a statement entitled Education and
National Defense, which sought a balance between the neces-
sary mobilization of military and civilian personnel for a
national emergency and the ". . . conservation of educational
values, resources and personnel . . ."[1] Both government and
educational associations formed committees to construct a
plan for utilization of the colleges and universities, but
inertia and ambivalence characterized the efforts of both
parties and no comprehensive plan resulted.[2]

The bombing of Pearl Harbor on the dawn of December 7,
1941, and the subsequent plunge of the United States into
World War II brought a renewed urgency to the problem. A
month later, about 1,000 educators from every part of the
country met in Baltimore to formulate ". . . programs which
would minimize the disruption of academic life while trans-
forming the colleges and universities into integral parts of

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[1] Committee on Education and National Defense (Washing-
ton, D.C.), p. 11.

[2] Detailed accounts are found in J. H. Miller and
Dorothy V. N. Brooks, The Role of Higher Education in War and
After (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), William H. Tuttle,
Jr., "Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Lean
Years, 1940-42, Teachers College Record 71 (December 1969):
297-312, and "Higher Education and the Federal Government:
The Triumph, 1942-1945," Teachers College Record 71 (February
1970): 485-499; and George F. Zook, "How the Colleges Went
to War," American Academy of Political and Social Science,
Annals 231 (January 1944): 1-7.

the American war machine."[1] What resulted were piecemeal

efforts, but no concrete plan. To counter the absence of

centralized planning and direction that had plagued these

efforts, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the War

Manpower Commission (WMC) in April 1942. The WMC instructed

the Office of Education to appoint a committee of educators

to formulate this plan.

Cowley chaired this committee, whose members were

Francis F. Bradshaw of the University of North Carolina,

W. T. Middlebrook of the University of Minnesota, and James

L. Morrill of the University of Wyoming. When the Cowley

committee submitted its report in summer 1942, it recommended

the creation of a College Enlisted Reserve Corps. Signifi-

cant in this recommendation was the suggestion that the

government subsidize the education of both young men and

women. Though the government resisted any efforts in this

direction, the recommendation suggested a growing liaison

between the government and the educational community which

years later took the form of student aid programs.

Due to the demands of the war effort, Cowley became a

transient visitor to the Hamilton campus. His absence only

fueled the flames of disapproval voiced by the faculty who

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[1]Tuttle, "Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Lean Years, 1940-42," p. 307. This conference of educators, the largest of its kind ever assembled in the United States, was sponsored by the ACE's National Committee on Education and Defense and the Wartime Commission of the U.S. Office of Education.

felt he was abandoning problems on campus.

Cowley's committee work, however, was essential to the survival of Hamilton and the small, private, liberal arts colleges in general, which were experiencing drastic reductions in enrollment due to the war effort.[1] The total enrollment outlook for higher education looked dismal:

> Resident college enrollments totalled nearly one and a half million in 1939-40. They dropped 6 percent in 1941-42, and civilian enrollments plummeted another 37.5 percent by 1943-44--the most sharp decline in the twentieth century. Even when students in on-campus training programs were added to the totals, the figure for 1943-44 remained more than 22 percent below the 1939-40 peak.[2]

Cowley's efforts on this committee and others to follow led to the inauguration of a unified and comprehensive collegiate training program in December 1942, the Army Specialized Training Program (ASTP) and the Navy's College Training Program (V-12). By the fall semester of 1943, 341 institutions had service contracts.[3] Trainees in the ASTP and the

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[1] Utilization of the colleges and universities is the focus of "Education for War," Fortune XXVI (December 1942): pp. 133-137, 175-176, 178, 181-182. The struggle of the small colleges is briefly described by Benjamin Fine, "Small Colleges Pictured in Peril," New York Times, 18 October 1941, p. 21.

[2] Henry, Challenges Past, Challenges Present, p. 41. The drastic drop in enrollment often meant departments with few or no students, early admission and an accelerated calendar of courses, lowering standards and lessening requirements, modifying curriculum to a wartime context, work-study programs, cooperative study arrangements, and vocational education, p. 43.

[3] In the summer of 1943, 488 institutions had been selected for possible sites for training, but not all of

V-12 program raised enrollment to about 208,000 nation-wide.[1]

Before Cowley secured several training programs--pilot training, pre-meteorological, language, and pre-medical--Hamilton's student enrollment had dipped to just 35, only a skeleton of its former size of over 400. When the program nearly doubled the normal enrollment, Cowley was criticized for turning the sleepy campus into an Army camp.[2] The troops left campuses as quickly as they had come and like Hamilton, many institutions were threatened by insolvency in the last year of the war. "Army and Navy contracts in 1944-1945 were only 37 percent of the amount a year earlier, and male enrollment dropped precipitously to less than 30 percent of the pre-war levels."[3]

Continued faculty dissent sparked a fire of campus-wide unrest which was dampened temporarily when Cowley received notable national attention. He was a member of a three man delegation who visited with President Roosevelt in a White House meeting to discuss the utilization of colleges and

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these institutions actually received contracts. Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," p. 6.

[1]Tuttle, "Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Triumph, 1942-1945," p. 495; and Zook, "How the Colleges Went to War," American Academy of Political and Social Science Annals (January 1944): 4.

[2]Helmer, "War on Hamilton's Homefront," p. 11.

[3]Tuttle, "Higher Education and the Federal Government: The Triumph, 1942-1945," p. 496.

universities in post-war problems.[1] This concern was cur-

rently receiving support in government circles, resulting in

numerous pieces of legislation in 1944 and 1945 affecting the

colleges and universities, namely federal aid to education,

peacetime military training, amendments to the G.I. Bill,

proposals for a National Science Foundation, and statutory

deferments for pre-professional students.[2]

The Way Out

It was not until the fall of 1943 that Cowley actually

wrote his resignation, but he decided against submitting it

because ". . . after further thought I decided that I could

not honorably leave Hamilton in the midst of the war period."[3]

The following spring, however, he finally requested a leave

of absence and left the "Hill" before May 1, 1944, never to

return as president.[4] Not until three and a half years

after his initial decision to resign did he submit his formal

resignation in October 1944, stating that only the urgency to

complete a book on the future of American higher education

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[1]The other members who took part in this meeting on
February 25, 1944 were Francis J. Brown and James B. Conant.

[2]Tuttle, "Higher Education and the Federal Government:
The Triumph, 1942-1945," p. 498. A more detailed account of
the postwar transition is discussed by Henry, Challenges Past,
Challenges Present, pp. 46-54.

[3]"W. H. Cowley to Become a Professor of Education at
Stanford University," School and Society 60 (November 25,
1944): 341.

[4]Thomas B. Rudd, controller, became acting president
until Robert W. McEwen assumed the presidency.

and the ending of the war-training programs prompted him to

leave before a new president was selected.[1]

A Hamilton College historian made a critical assessment

of Cowley's tenure:

> Cowley resigned . . . leaving behind him a community
> so riven that only time and such charity as operates
> on a college campus would bind it together. Despite
> the merits of his proposals and his yeoman's service
> in promoting alumni interest in the College, he had
> moved forward too fast, too comprehensively, and
> with too little regard for tradition.[2]

But another author cautioned against such extremes in judg-

ment:

> So the achievement of the first three years are not
> quite as remarkable and praiseworthy as they might
> first seem. In the same fashion, the last three
> years showed Cowley at his best as an emergency
> administrator and successful lobbyist. He was
> neither as saintly nor as demonic as his partisans
> and detractors would have us believe, despite the
> claims that he was either saving or ruining the
> college. . . . Perhaps Cowley's greatest legacy,
> however, is that he broke down the initial resis-
> tance to change and made the job of reform much
> easier for his successors.[3]

Cowley believed change was effected by employing, what

he termed, the blast or the persuasive method in communicat-

ing ideas. Vigorously criticizing the educational status quo

in his student editorials, he found the blast method effec-

tive at Dartmouth. Abandoning this method temporarily at

Ohio State, he used persuasion to further his ideas. In a

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[1]"W. H. Cowley to Become a Professor of Education at Stanford University."

[2]Pilkington, _Hamilton College_, p. 270.

[3]Helmer, "War on Hamilton's Homefront," p. 11.

letter several years after the Hamilton controversy, he

candidly discussed the ill-fate of the blast method used

during his presidency:

> . . . in 1941 I took the blast method out of moth
> balls and began to apply it again. I decided that
> I could put little Hamilton on the map by being a
> crusading president and by going after the big
> boys. I called it the David and Goliath technique,
> and I chose it consciously. . . .
>
> I began the David role . . . I reasoned that I
> could easily attack the big universities because I
> had turned down the presidency of the University
> of Minnesota, and so no one could accuse me of
> sour grapes.
>
> It seemed like a good idea, that David and Goliath
> formula; but it kicked back--and badly. Neither
> my faculty nor my board liked it. They viewed the
> big universities with respect if not adulation
> and they didn't enjoy seeing their president blast
> Harvard, Yale, etc.[1]

With the passage of time each succeeding generation

makes its own assessment of the past. In a recent Hamilton

College bulletin, a narrative of its history failed to men-

tion Cowley, but identified both his predecessors and succes-

sors and their achievements.[2] The strapping wonder boy who

became president is now neither revered or criticized, but

forgotten in history, a fate reserved for most.

The controversy which embroiled Cowley during the last

half of his tenure left him bitter and resentful, a feeling

that he never completely reconciled. Years later when

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[1]W. H. Cowley to Porter Sargent, 7 September 1947,
W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:47-12, Stanford
University Archives.

[2]Hamilton College Catalogue 1978-1979, p. 7.

transcribing his "Reminiscences," he remembered the epigram

he coined to describe his sentiments about the Hamilton

situation: "Never kick a man till he's down."[1]

Cowley's tenure lasted six years, yet the average in

recent decades is about four years.[2] The temporary nature of

the presidential role requires the individual to make an

extraordinary adjustment:

> After the college president leaves his position,
> whether he retires, resigns, or is fired, life can
> be something of anti-climax. No position less
> exacting can fully engage him. He is ill at ease
> as a teacher again, yet he is so conditioned to
> campus life that he feels himself a stranger else-
> where. He is a general who, after the excitements
> of campaigns, finds peace dull, an explorer who
> has visited lands his associates have only read
> about.[3]

All out-going presidents confront these consequences of

the position, but Cowley experienced less than most. Weary

from battle, he yearned for peace. Cowley was out of the

spotlight of controversy, but his future was hardly anti-

climatic.

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 687.

[2]Joseph Kauffman, At the Pleasure of the Board, p. 16, states that the length of service to be five years. Michael D. Cohen and James G. March, in Leadership and Ambiguity (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974), p. 156, report research which found that the mean number of years that sitting presidents had been in office was 7.7 in 1939. Stoke, in The American College President, p. 17, reminds us that ". . . if it were not for the exceptional records of such stalwarts as Butler at Columbia (forty-four years), Hopkins at Dartmouth (twenty-nine years), and Sproul at California (twenty-eight years), the average would be much less."

[3]Stoke, The American College President, p. 33.

Though his tenure was turbulent, as a president Cowley made a contribution to higher education that extended far beyond the bounds of his own campus. During his committee work with the war effort, he became closely associated with James B. Conant, President of Harvard. When the end of the war was in sight, the committee's concern shifted to the potential of colleges and universities in a post-war era of internationalism. This concern echoed the prevailing mood:

> For many years those preoccupied with the humanities had confessed their concern for the status and prospects of the liberal arts. But the war, break-ing down--at least for the time--traditional modes of thought and action, transformed this concern into a bubbling ferment. In countless institutions post-war planning committees pondered the objec-tives and procedures of liberal education. National committees . . . prepared and issued soul-searching statements, and dozens of educational leaders wrote books on liberal education. Perhaps at no time in the history of the Republic had edu-cation in its broadest aspects evoked such searching consideration.[1]

Cowley, too, suggested to Conant that Harvard appoint a committee to investigate the future of liberal education. What resulted in 1945 was the issuance of one of the most celebrated documents in twentieth-century higher educa-tion, General Education in a Free Society. The report crys-tallized the prevalent mode of thought:

> There is little in it that was new; in fact several institutions had long been doing what Harvard now recommended. But the prestige of the oldest and wealthiest institution of learning in the land gave the report a special importance. Like many

[1]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, pp. 759-760.

educational documents, this one represented a compromise between the traditional departmentalization and specialization and the values of general liberal training. Nevertheless, the report broke with the German tradition of higher education imported in the eighteen-eighties, carried further President Lowell's reaction against the free elective system, and argued for the value of a common core of knowledge of which no educated man, no responsible man, should be ignorant. This included not only the great humanistic tradition of the past; it also embraced the newer fields of knowledge. Moreover, the common core of knowledge was to be treasured not merely for personal values it carried. It was to be fully geared to the needs of a changing society. Finally, the report emphasized not only the importance of training the gifted but the necessity of educating the masses for good citizenship and for life.[1]

In Cowley's view, the appeal of the document resulted in the shift of the nation's educational leadership from University of Chicago to Harvard.[2] Consequently, the spokesman for higher education became Conant, not Hutchins. Displaying a frequent pettiness and vindictiveness in his behavior, Cowley reveled in the satisfaction of wounding his longtime foe.

This document, however, carried with it a personal disappointment for Cowley. He had secretly desired that Conant appoint him to the committee on liberal education and offer him a scholarly post at Harvard. For Cowley, this appointment would have been a release from Hamilton. But the appointment was never even suggested by Conant, and the only acknowledgement of his gratitude came in the form of an inscription dated

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[1]Curti, The Growth of American Thought, p. 761.

[2]"The Harvard Report--A Review," Harvard Educational Review 16 (January 1946): 56-71; and "Reminiscences," p. 648.

July 5, 1945, inside a copy of the report sent to Cowley:

"To William H. Cowley, with grateful thanks for your $60,000

idea,"[1] the cost of the project. Though Cowley did not par-

ticipate in the committee's effort, he authored the idea

which eventually changed the face of higher education. He

has never received any public recognition for what is per-

haps one of his greatest contributions to higher education.

For fifteen years Cowley was, in his terms, merely a

"housekeeper."[2] He was an administrator, a role he intensely

disliked. At Ohio State he had enthusiastically embraced the

role of the "Man of Management," demonstrating his abilities in

organization and administration, perfecting his skills in

writing, and gaining popularity within and outside the insti-

tution. But he was personally dissatisfied and yearned to

be the "Man of Learning." He accepted the Hamilton presi-

dency believing he would be able to continue his scholarship,

wield power and influence in academe, and enjoy a stable

financial future. As a young adult, he had watched in awe as

business executives became rich and powerful overnight.

Administration, he thought, offered the shortest route to

success. Instead, it sped him to a point even farther from

his destination of scholarship.

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[1] "Reminiscences," p. 648, and W. H. Cowley to Porter Sargent, 7 September 1947.

[2] Ibid., p. 314.

CHAPTER III

THE SCHOLAR

The Professor

Administration only postponed Cowley's dream of being

a scholar, a dream which was revealed as early as 1935 in a

letter to President Ernest M. Hopkins of Dartmouth:

> If I were choosing an ideal arrangement for myself
> I'd become a professor of higher education and
> settle down to a life of fundamental scholarship
> as distinct from the disjointed research so
> generally practiced.[1]

Like many former presidents who return to teaching,[2]

Cowley joined the faculty of the College of Education at

Stanford University, a privately-supported, coeducational

institution created during the philanthropic movement of late

nineteenth century. Founded by Senator Leland Stanford and

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[1]Letter dated 4 April 1935. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC
196, Series I-B:35-38, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Only recently has it been found that former presidents
are more likely to move to a nonacademic job than to teach or
settle into retirement. In a study of more than 1,200 public
and private institutions, Robert F. Carbone found that only
17 percent of ex-presidents go back to the classroom, about
16 percent left one presidency to head another institution,
13 percent took other jobs in academic administration, and
27 percent took nonacademic positions. "Many Ex-Presidents
of Colleges Found to Prefer Jobs Outside Academe," The Chron-
icle of Higher Education, September 9, 1980, p. 6.

his wife, Jean, in memory of their late son, the institution

opened its doors in 1891 under its first president, David

Starr Jordan. Jordan was instructed to appoint only

the best faculty, avoiding ". . . ornamental or idle

professors."[1] The original faculty of fifteen met that cri-

teria and established the standard for each subsequent appoint-

ment. Cowley joined this elite cadre as professor of higher

education and succeeded Alvin C. Eurich, who held this posi-

tion for only a short period from 1938 to 1940.[2]

Cowley reentered academe just as higher education was

experiencing its most rapid growth in history. Public Law

346, June 1944, commonly referred to as the G. I. Bill which

provided education and training for veterans, and Public Law

16, March 1943, which expanded the vocational rehabilitation

program for disabled veterans, brought the serviceman back to

campus in unprecedented numbers.[3]

In contrast to the austerity of the Great Depression

and government indifference toward educational efforts at the

beginning of the war, higher education was enjoying high

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[1]Peter C. Allen, Stanford From the Beginning, 6th ed.
(Stanford University Publication Service, 1978), p. 61.

[2]Eurich left the Stanford faculty to accept a position
in Washington to participate in the war effort and later
returned to become executive vice-president. Eurich, as pro-
fessor of higher education, had succeeded Walter Eels, a
pioneer in the junior college movement.

[3]From 1946-1956, 2,232,000 veterans had attended col-
leges under the G. I. Bill. K. W. Olson, The G. I. Bill,
the Veterans, and the Colleges (Lexington, Ky.: University of
Kentucky Press, 1974), p. 43.

public esteem and was recognized as important in national affairs.[1] This popularity was short-lived as the Cold War effected a mood of uncertainty throughout the nation and exploded in a set of attitudes, assumptions, and judgments commonly referred to as McCarthyism. Academic freedom was threatened as colleges and universities became objects of investigation.

Before the end of the fifties, this concern faded to a preoccupation with projected rising enrollments. Higher education began exhibiting the growing pains of expansionism, particularly in a scramble for additional resources. Interest in science generated by Sputnik in 1957 was also a major factor in the rapid increase of federal assistance to higher education, which eventually led to an unprecedented federal involvement with the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965. Federal involvement was not limited to funding, however, as campuses, once peaceful centers of inquiry, erupted into hotbeds of protest and reform. By the late sixties hardly an institution had gone unscathed from the dissent and anti-establishment protest. The subsequent erosion of public confidence inevitably led to a loss of public support, thus precipitating the need for retrenchment in higher education in the seventies.

This was the setting in which Cowley worked, but protest and reform were only a background for his scholarship.

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[1]Henry, Challenges Past, Challenges Present, p. 69.

While many Stanford faculty colleagues devoted considerable time to consultation, professional associations, committees, and writing textbooks, Cowley shunned these activities. Contradicting his many contributions achieved through committee work at Ohio State and Hamilton, he stated that he did not consider himself to be a "committee-man" and was skeptical of the value of committees.[1] Consistent with this pattern, he disdained joining professional organizations and attended national conferences and conventions only to deliver an occasional address.[2] He retained membership in only one professional organization, the American Psychological Association, but remained inactive throughout his career.

What a paradox for one who had so prized the Ph.D., the union card of scholarship, to reject the union membership! Cowley's behavior was most unusual because affiliation with one's professional organization was perceived to be of primary importance in professionalization.

> Aside from the importance of these professional associations and learned societies for the advancement of knowledge in their respective fields, they are also useful to individual academics for advancing themselves. By reading papers, serving on important committees or commissions, getting elected to offices, having articles published in their journals, having their books reviewed and brought to the attention of specialists elsewhere, and by various other modes of participation, individual academics gain recognition as professionals.[3]

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 247.

[2]Ibid., p. 246.

[3]Logan Wilson, American Academics: Then and Now (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 157-158.

Cowley's war-torn administration at Hamilton contrib-
uted to his rejection of committee work and affiliation with
professional organizations. The bitterness and resentment
he felt from the controversy at Hamilton suggests that he
chose to work at a safe distance rather than become actively
involved. His rejection of professional organizations and
committee-work became a pattern for the future; nevertheless,
he continued to yearn for the respect and admiration of his
peers.

A major portion of Cowley's time was concentrated ". . .
on teaching, the supervision of the research of graduate stu-
dents, my own research, and writing."[1] Considerable time
was spent in frequent conferences with students in his home.
In a letter to the Dean of the Stanford University School of
Education, Cowley described his expenditure of time:

> . . . I teach eight hours a week during each of three
> quarters a year, but I estimate that for every hour
> in a class I spend five in preparation and, in
> addition, three in reading critically the writing
> done by my students. Many of the hours of prepara-
> tion are spent during my quarter off.[2]

He placed great demands upon himself, allowing nothing to
interfere with being carefully prepared for each class meet-
ing. For each class session he wrote discussion outlines

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[1] W. H. Cowley to I. J. Quillen, 1 January 1955, p. 4.
W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:55-1, Stanford
University Archives.

[2] Ibid.

ranging from four to twenty typed pages.[1] On top of this,
each course underwent substantial revision each time he
taught it.

If Cowley placed great demands upon himself, he ex-
pected the same from his students. He welcomed student oral
and written evaluations of the course material and each stu-
dent was expected to write an average of 9,000 words of com-
ment during a course of ten weeks duration.[2] In addition to
the comments, course requirements included critical reviews
of digests of books and research papers. A student would
write as many as 20,000 words in each of his courses.

Research and Writing

Writing was of critical importance to Cowley and he
read each student's writing for correct grammar, content,
clarity, and style. He elaborated on this point in a letter:

> Writing is thinking on paper. The expression is
> the thought. As a teacher I'm interested in the
> thinking done by my students, and thus it follows
> that I must give careful attention to their writ-
> ing. Believing this, I read every paper critically--
> and every word of every paper.[3]

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[1]Cowley to Quillen, p. 5. For instance in the fall
1954 course, "Introduction of American Higher Education,"
Cowley wrote 29 outlines totalling 340 pages.

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

[3]Letter to Porter Sargent, September 7, 1947, p. 1.

Cowley devised his own writing guide to assist students;[1] nevertheless, he would often return to a student a typed reaction longer than the student's paper. "G9.2," a symbol in his writing guide meaning "I'd like to talk with you about the place marked or about the whole composition," appeared so often that his students formed the "G9.2 Society,"[2] and met annually prior to the convention of the American Association of Higher Education.

Each dissertation underwent careful editing and revision. Graduate students generally concentrated on research problems proposed by Cowley; hence, the product of student's research became an extension of his own thought.[3] He further reasoned:

> . . . I must train up other fellows to carry on this fight to improve American higher education. If they're to be effective, they must be good. To be good, they must have two qualities above all others. First, they must be able to think incisively. . . . Second, they must know how to write: they must be able to persuade people by their able rhetoric.[4]

Cowley did not allow his own writing to suffer, and assuredly, it consumed a major portion of his time. He

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[1] W. H. Cowley, "Write It Right and Brightly," September 1960. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:60-24, Stanford University Archives.

[2] Ibid., p. 32.

[3] W. H. Cowley, Memorandum on the Stanford University School of Education Higher Education Program for the Asilomar Conference and the Self-Study Committee, November 1, 1958, p. 4. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:58-12A, Stanford University Archives.

[4] Letter to Porter Sargent, September 7, 1941, p. 6.

stated: "Literally I 'write all the time.' No week goes by during which I do not write several thousand words, and some weeks I write as many as 10,000."[1] During his first years at Stanford, he continued a habit established at Hamilton, writing all night and sleeping only a few hours during the day. In describing the work habits of the creative, one author could well have been referring to Cowley:

> . . . productive scholars and scientists, of what-
> ever repute, simply spend more time engaged in research
> than do most academics. Close inquiry into the
> behavior of those who achieve renown reveals that
> many have been hardworking to the extent of appearing
> to be obsessed with their tasks.[2]

Initially Cowley's task was narrow in focus, concentrating on specific educational issues as a student at Dartmouth, but grew to encompass the entire field of student personnel work as an administrator at Ohio State. To write about student personnel work with authority, he thought a foundation of knowledge about colleges and universities was essential.[3] His study continued to broaden his thought and as a professor at Stanford he fervently set about the abmitious task

> . . . to encompass in one overarching taxonomy a
> comprehensive understanding of colleges and univer-
> sities--historically, structurally, functionally--

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[1]W. H. Cowley to I. J. Quillen, 1 January 1955, p. 15.

[2]Wilson, American Academics, p. 240.

[2]Interview with W. H. Cowley, Art Glogau, Palo Alto, California, 11 December 1973. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-A, Stanford Archives.

and provide a solid scholarly base for the study of higher education.[1]

In this effort, he made numerous addresses, prepared articles and chapters for books, and maintained an extensive correspondence with colleagues in the field. Various proposals included a unit in the library designated for documents pertaining to the history of higher education, a higher educational unit at Stanford, and an association for professors of higher education and other students of higher education in an effort to facilitate communication about one another's research.[2]

For over a decade the study of higher education at Stanford was synonymous with the name "Hal" Cowley. Historically the Stanford School of Education emphasized training in elementary and secondary education.[3] Then, in the late 1920's teaching courses in the junior and community college spurred development of a program in higher education. The program further broadened in scope with Cowley's appointment in 1945 and ". . . reflected his own interests in a specific taxonomic mode of analysis and a higher personalized retrieval

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[1]J. B. Hefferlin, P. Grinager, and R. Bachetti, untitled memoir, p. 2. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-A, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Cowley proposed the association, but desired no active leadership role in the organization.

[3]W. H. Cowley, Memorandum on the Stanford University School of Education Higher Education Program for the Asilomar Conference and the Self-Study Committee.

system to classify knowledge about higher education. . . ."[1]

Though the scope of the program continued to broaden with the appointment of additional faculty, he believed the program lacked a unified structure: "Since its inception, the program has been little more than an appendage to the School: it has never been adequately defined, organized, or staffed."[2] He further assessed the program's role in a report which he wrote in 1959:

> The very great majority of students majoring in higher education during the past fourteen years have become practitioners rather than teachers or scholars . . . during the writer's tenure the primary purpose of the higher educational program must, because of his predilections and preoccupations, continue to be the training of students of higher education.[3]

To insure the training of scholars after his retirement, Cowley wished to strengthen the program's structure by creating a separate higher educational institute or center. Affiliated with the School of Education, the Stanford Institute for the Study of Higher Education, the name Cowley suggested, would be the focus for instruction and research in

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[1]Dressel and Mayhew, Higher Education as a Field of Study, p. 110.

[2]"Report on the Stanford University School of Education Higher Education Program for the Self-Study Committee," September 23, 1959, p. 6; and Letter to I. J. Quillen, 8 June 1960, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-16 and 60-12, Stanford University Archives.

[3]"Report on the Stanford University School of Education Higher Education Program for the Self-Study Committee," pp. 2-3.

the field of higher education.[1] Directed by the occupant of

the David Jacks Professorship of Higher Education, the insti-

tute would encourage individuals from different disciplines

to study higher education without loosening their affilia-

tions with their disciplines.[2]

A rewarding capstone to his career, the institute would

become Cowley's legacy to higher education. He had carefully

cultivated support for the institute, but internal politics

at Stanford would deny him final approval. For a number of

reasons, the institute never materialized. In an overview

of the emergence of the field of higher education, two

authors summarize the reasons for the proposal's failure:

> Professors in the various disciplines were unwilling
> to commit themselves to such an institute; the unit
> did not have degree-conferring status and hence could
> not control the programs of graduate students; and
> most universities were unwilling to provide hard-
> money support for what was viewed as an ephemeral
> and a less than essential unit; virtually every
> attempt to implement the model resulted in a drift
> toward either an organic affiliation with a school
> of education or the independent status of a contract-
> ing body relying on outside grants for essential
> financing.[3]

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[1]Letter to Philip H. Coombs, The Brookings Institution,
Washington, D.C., November 19, 1962, p. 1. W. H. Cowley
Papers, SC 196, Series I-B: 62-22, Stanford University
Archives.

[2]"Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Future of
Higher Education to President J. E. Wallace Sterling," Stan-
ford University, 14 February 1964. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC
196, Series I-B:63-6, Stanford University Archives.

[3]Dressel and Mayhew, Higher Education as a Field of
Study, p. 24. During the period of the proposed institute,
Mayhew was, and is presently, on the faculty of the School
of Education at Stanford University.

Symbols of Recognition

Cowley's beginnings as a professor were indeed modest and were no indication of his later influence. Only two students were enrolled in the first course he taught,[1] but his enthusiasm and devotion to the study of higher education were contagious and soon he had a large following. By 1969, virtually all of his seventy doctoral students[2] held positions in the field of higher education. Half were members of faculties and about half held deanships or positions of comparable or higher rank; at least twelve became presidents. Cowley, however, did not recognize this fact as a personal achievement and lamented on the lack of scholars produced in the higher education program at Stanford.[3]

Recognition of individual faculty members takes on many forms within and outside the institution, but the most valued recognition is that which is conferred by scholars regarded as 'referrees' and 'gatekeepers' of merit symbols in a discipline:

> The most widely publicized estimates of scholarly and scientific worth--special fellowships, distinguished lectureships, major awards, listings in citation indexes, honorary degrees, editorial appointments,

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[1]Cowley's first course was the basic course of higher education in the 1945 summer session. A list of the courses Cowley taught at Stanford constitutes Appendix A.

[2]These include both Ed.D. and Ph.D. aspirants.

[3]Memorandum on the Stanford University School of Education Higher Education Program for the Asilomar Conference and the Self-Study Committee.

board and panel memberships, memberships in the National Academy of Sciences, and so on--are all symbols of visibility and esteem.[1]

Cowley received honorary degrees for his administrative abilities, but none were bestowed for his scholarship. While President, he received an honorary LL.D. from Hamilton. Other honorary degrees include: LL.D., St. Lawrence University, 1943; L.H.D., Hobart College, 1939; and Litt.D., Union College, 1940. From 1951-1952, he was a Fulbright scholar in England,[2] and in 1959 he was the George A. Miller visiting professor at the University of Illinois. His most prized reward took place on April 30, 1954, when Stanford bestowed on him the title of David Jacks Professor of Higher Education, the first such endowed chair in the study of higher education in the United States and indeed, the entire world.

It was as much a day of celebration for higher education as it was for Cowley. It had only been in the late nineteenth century, in 1893, that G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, initiated the first course in higher education. Even when he had accepted the position in 1945, Cowley was only one of twenty professors of higher education in the country.

Individual accomplishment is also widely recognized through publication and scholars generally recognize the

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[1] Wilson, *American Academics*, p. 141.

[2] He and his wife resided in Chelsea while he lectured at the University of Birmingham.

significance of peer evaluation:

> They are impelled to make known their research
> results not just to satisfy their egos, but to aug-
> ment the common fund of human knowledge and under-
> standing. Communicating the outcome of inquiries
> has long been recognized as an obligation of
> scholars and scientists because of its indispensable
> function in the advancement of learning.[1]

Cowley published over 300 journal articles, two books,[2]
several monographs and pamphlets, numerous reports, commen-
taries, and book reviews, and contributed several chapters
and forewords to books in the field. The majority of these
publications occurred in the 1930's and 1940's; later as a
professor Cowley devoted his attention to book manuscripts
his publication decreased precipitously. During his career
at Stanford, exposure of his ideas came largely through stu-
dents and correspondence. Though this is an impressive num-
ber of publications, it is no indication of the many unpub-
lished manuscripts that remain virtually unknown to the
field.

In addition to Cowley's larger writing projects, the
precipitous drop in publication is also the result of his
adamant refusal to publish, which caught the ire of col-
leagues, foundations which bestowed grants to further his
work, and numerous publishers. To quiet the many pleas to
publish, he stated his position in regard to a delay:

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[1]Wilson, American Academics, pp. 235-236.

[2]One of these books was published posthumously.

Some of my colleagues ascribe my delay in publishing
the book to 'perfectionism'; but I take the position
that if the present manuscript doesn't satisfy me,
its publication would probably furnish another
target for critics or educationists who welcome
opportunities to deplore our 'inadequate scholar-
ship.'[1]

Cowley was unwilling, however, to be identified with

educationists, preferring to be called a "higher education-

ist." Educationists, he believed, generally produced

scholarship of low quality, were generally good operators

who preferred to deal only with the immediate and demon-

strated a lack of the skill of conceptualization so badly

needed in the field.[2] He further explained:

But I could, at least, in the new field of higher
education, begin to set some standards. I'd
rather wait and get out a book that would do the
field and me, personally, good. I want to write a
distinguished book. I think most of my articles
are distinguished, in this comparative sense. . .
I want to write something definitive. I'd rather
write one important book than a whole slew of
lesser ones. But I've had a grand design on a
huge canvas, and have wanted to finish the huge
canvas rather than small pictures.[3]

Cowley's design of scholarship was indeed grand and

perhaps too ambitious for even the most able to achieve under

the best circumstances. His original plan involved writing

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[1]W. H. Cowley, "The Higher Learning Versus the Higher
Learning," Addresses by Paul R. Hanna and W. H. Cowley upon
the Occasion of Their Installation as Lee L. Jacks Professor
of Child Education and David Jacks Professor of Higher Edu-
cation delivered at the Ceremonies of Installation, Cubberly
Auditorium, Stanford University, April 30, 1954, p. 39.

[2]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 441.

[3]Ibid., pp. 439-441.

a single volume encompassing the entire field of higher education. He reevaluated this idea during the early 1960's and concluded that one volume would not offer a thorough treatment of the subject. What evolved was a plan to produce a series of ten books, but even this plan was too grand a design for Cowley. He would later reevaluate this plan in light of his limitations, and concentrate his efforts on three books, the taxonomy, history of higher education, and academic government. None was completed to his satisfaction when he died.[1]

Pain and Tragedy

Pain and tragedy marred Cowley's personal life. Beginning in 1931 his mother underwent lengthy hospitalizations due to the onset of mental illness and he accepted full responsibility for her welfare until she died of cancer in 1952. His father had died earlier in 1938 just months before his son was to become President of Hamilton. His youngest sister, Hazel, had lived her life with a co-genitally weak heart and died at age forty-five in 1945. Mildred, his oldest sister, developed arthritis in early adulthood and died of a heart attack at sixty-two in 1960.

While at Ohio State, he met and married Jean McCampbell, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Eugene McCampbell of Columbus, Ohio, on

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[1]The manuscript on academic government was later edited by one of his former graduate students, Donald T. Williams Jr., and published by Jossey-Bass in 1980 under the title, _Presidents, Professors, and Trustees_. Williams is currently a professor of higher education at the University of Washington.

September 8, 1934 in New York City.[1] In July 1936 the couple
welcomed their first daughter, Tina, and their second daugh-
ter, Ellen, was born in June 1940.

Pain and suffering were not limited to his parents and
sisters, but also plagued his wife and daughters. An ill-
ness which left his wife with only partial eyesight ended a
promising career in the theater almost before it began.
Tina (Ptak), troubled and distraught, took her own life in
1971, while Ellen lives with an orthopedic handicap.

If the tragedies and hardships were not enough, he
too, suffered from persistent bouts of debilitating illness.
Though illness increasingly hindered his work, Cowley's
devotion grew more intense. In later years arthritis
wracked his body, restricting his movement and considerably
limiting his work. Dogged with constant and increasing pain,
the arthritis disturbed his every moment, even his relaxa-
tion and sleep.

Cowley kept his personal problems private. He felt
that this led others to perceive that he was ". . . a rather
sour person,"[2] severely critical, abrasive, and indulging in
self-pity, a perception which is not unfounded.[3] Former

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[1]Jean McCampbell graduated from the Columbus School for
Girls and Ohio State University. Her major interest was dra-
matics and she travelled nationally performing with theatri-
cal companies. Her father was a former dean of the College
of Medicine at Ohio State University.

[2]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 764.

[3]The writer has substantiated Cowley's perception
through interviews and correspondence with former colleagues.

students, however, describe him as possessing a sparkling, delightful personality full of wit and humor.[1] Cowley explained the discrepancy of perception in his "Reminiscences,"

> People do think, whoever thinks about it, that I'm reasonably able and they admire the sort of things I do, but I'm not especially a likable person. I think I am to some of my students, but to my colleagues, no. I'm certainly not a popular person with them. . . . I've always been an outsider. Emotionally—I have intellectual attachments—but I don't have emotional attachments to the academic world. . . . It has helped intellectually; it's given me the opportunity to be alone and detached, with very little social life.[2]

Even with his own family, Cowley remained detached. Though he cared deeply for their welfare, he admitted that

> . . . the core of me is my work. I can always move into that, retreat into that, as relief from what's going on [personal problems]. Then I'm living in an entirely different world, and I can enjoy it, grow under it, and feel that I'm getting someplace.[3]

As the years passed financial problems became an immediate concern. His stubborn resistance to publication of his many manuscripts resulted in the loss of attention and faith from publishers and the dwindling of foundation grants. With the loss of his salary upon retirement in 1968,[4] he was

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 764.   [2]Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[3]Ibid., p. 766.

[4]James G. March, political scientist and sociologist, succeeded Cowley as the David Jacks Professor of Higher Education. Under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education and in collaboration with Michael D. Cohen, March investigated the academic presidency. Their findings are published in Leadership and Ambiguity (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1974).

forced to look for other means to secure a livelihood and
speaking engagements and consultations took him away from his
long-awaited research and writing.

Despair

Cowley's many problems, the tragedies within his family,
the financial strain, his deteriorating health, "the Hamilton
debacle,"[1] his lack of success in achieving his goals at
Stanford, the waning of professional recognition by his peers
and colleagues, and the realization that he would never
finish any of his projects, brought despair during his later
years. At times, he had been known to view his life as a
failure, and his life's work as pointless. He had even gone
so far as to consider burning his professional notes. Little
did Cowley know that it has been reported that many of his
students, to survive financially in graduate school, had sold
his course outlines "underground" to interested faculty and
students at other institutions.[2]

Cowley was aware that pioneer work in any unrecognized
field is often attacked, and that the pioneer is frequently
open to doubts about the worth of the undertaking. His
doubts and the alienation he felt from his peer group, how-
ever, only intensified when he stepped outside the sphere of
his higher educational expertise.

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 766.

[2]As told to the writer by the late Dr. Mary E. Dewey,
professor of education, University of Oklahoma, Norman,
Oklahoma, November 1979.

As the pain and tragedy persisted, more and more Cowley turned his attention to his collection of resource material on higher education. The collection comprised a rare collection of books, pamphlets, and unpublished works in the field and was supplemented by his own scholarly works. It was his life's work and through the years had found its way into every room in their home at 848 Northampton Drive in Palo Alto. So the books and papers would not hinder the family's comfort, part of the collection was housed in the garage, while still more was kept in an annex which had been built in the back yard some years earlier. In positive moments, he had wished his collection to be a gift to the future study of higher education and to fulfill this wish an anonymous donor provided the funds for the establishment of the Cowley collection with the Stanford University Archives.

As pain wracked his body, Cowley set to work organizing his life's work and increasingly delegated all other family responsibilities to his wife. Then on Sunday, July 23, 1978, he systematically wrote a note to his wife and daughter telling them the time had come to depart and carefully put himself to sleep.

For one who had once believed that ceremonies are the social cement needed "to start and end events and periods of life,"[1] the end of Cowley's own life provided no evidence for his belief. No funeral service was planned and inurnment

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[1] Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 489.

took place at nearby Skylawn Memorial Park at Half Moon Bay.

Cowley wished to be remembered for his efforts in life rather than for the welcomed peace of his death. He explained his dedication to the study of higher education in the following statement:

> The basic need of higher education is, above all else, that it needs to be turned into an intellectual discipline, . . . This is true of education in general. I wanted to be a pioneer for this in higher education, . . . I hope that, as a result of my work, higher education will become an intellectual terrain that has status and recognized ability, validity, and worth. This is what I would like to be the outcome of my career. . . . The basic need of higher education is a core of fundamental scholarship. . . . You need some fundamental concepts. This is the whole direction of my career and what I have stood for.[1]

To his family, friends, colleagues, and students Cowley's character was memorable. His devotion was unique, his design grand. So rich and bountiful is his collection that his work was not in vain. It continues to be a rich source for students of higher education.

Cowley ended his own life because the pain was more than he could bear. The pain was indeed severe, but Cowley was not a reasonable man. He was a street-fighter, an outsider, a perfectionist, and a brilliant scholar obsessed with an idea. Not any of these in themselves leads to an unreasonable character, nor any undeserving one. Admittedly, fate had been unkind. Perhaps given a different era and circumstances, the result would, indeed, have been

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[1]Cowley, "Reminiscences," pp. 785-786.

different. Nevertheless, for better or for worse, these were the ingredients for Cowley to become "the Horatio Alger of Higher Education." This statement is made not to diminish the achievements he attained, but to point out that his personality often got in the way of even greater success. Even Cowley, when discussing the disposition of his collection, remarked disparagingly that his writings would be ". . . witness of a man who didn't get anywhere."[1]

Cowley had drawn the perfect map, chartered the exact course, and steered in the correct direction, but he was doomed for failure. Sir Thomas Browne has more appropriately captured the sting of Cowley's defeat: "Yet is every man his own greatest enemy, and as it were, his own executioner."[2]

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[1]Interview with W. H. Cowley, Art Glogau, Palo Alto, California, 11 December 1973.

[2]Religio Medici, Pt. ii, 4, as cited in Burton Stevenson, The Home Book of Quotations, 10th ed. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1967), p. 544.

CHAPTER IV

HIS INTELLECTUAL TERRAIN

Educational Reform

Pioneers, more often than not, begin their quest fighting adversity under humble circumstances and events. While these events first appear to be meaningless and insignificant to the untrained observer, each plays an influential role in shaping the future. The pioneer's discovery is the cumulation of many developments which serve to challenge rather than discourage the imagination. To Cowley, challenge was a frequent visitor.

Cowley's ideas on education began as a result of a series of events which, on the outset, appear to be random and undramatic. He needed a job to help pay college expenses at Dartmouth and the editorship of the college newspaper, The Daily Dartmouth, provided the most lucrative employment. This position earned him a student following on campus and a readership in several Massachusetts and New York newspapers. His editorials, about 350 from 1922-1924, generally focused on college life at Dartmouth and reflected his personal dissatisfaction with the lack of intellectual stimulation and an over-abundant, frivolous social life. In rebuttal to his

own editorials, he would occasionally submit a "Letter to the Editor" under a pseudonym.

Up to this point Cowley was merely a precocious undergraduate sharpening his journalistic talents in echoing students' age-long lament about the insensitive faculty and poor instruction. A year older than his classmates, Cowley perceived himself as different from his fraternity brothers who chanted at pep-rallies and football games. Instead, his curiousity led him to the most unlikely place for a student, a faculty committee meeting.

Hidden in the darkness behind a stage curtain, Cowley spied on the proceedings. Here, in the spring of 1923, a faculty committee was making a periodical assessment of the learning environment at Dartmouth. Little was accomplished on the meeting's agenda; agreement was reached ". . . that we have here a peculiarly perplexing and embarrassing problem, and that any remedy for present difficulties must be initiated by the faculty . . . we have no formal recommendation."[1] But for the student behind the curtain the proceedings only confirmed his misgivings about his college. He took exception to the committee's opinion that the undergratuates' frame of mind was the biggest handicap in American education and that no adequate system could be devised to cope with the

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[1] "A Report of the Committee on Educational Policy," submitted to the Faculty of Dartmouth College, May 28, 1923, p. 8. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:24-1A, Stanford University Archives.

handicap.[1] He left the meeting angry. Little did he know

at that time that this event and his reaction would launch

him on the theme of educational reform that he would pursue

with enthusiasm the rest of his life.

The Dartmouth Report

Cowley's frequent editorials heightened campus-wide

interest in educational reform, but it was a 1922 student

committee report from Barnard College that inspired him to

take additional action:

> Are college students persons, or are they pupils?
> Most colleges treat them as pupils. But in some
> places they seem to be demanding admission to the
> human race. Barnard College has a group of candidates
> for such a standing. The Student Curricular Committee
> had made public a curriculum worked out by the stu-
> dents which they have asked the faculty to consider
> as a possible substitute for the present course of
> study.[2]

Barnard's faculty made no changes, but the student

report prompted Cowley to submit a lengthy proposal to Pres-

ident Hopkins of Dartmouth. In response to this proposal,

President Hopkins assembled a student committee in February

1924 to study the college's educational policies and teach-

ing methods. Chaired by Cowley, the Dartmouth College

Senior Committee published its conclusions in "The Report on

Undergraduate Education" in June 1924. The report became

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[1]"A Report of the Committee on Educational Policy,"
pp. 2-3.

[2]Barnard College, "Student Self-Determination," Survey
48 (May 6, 1922): pp. 217-218.

popular at other institutions and went through three print-
ings. Written primarily by Cowley, the report echoed his
editorials, except for a change in approach. While the edi-
torials generally criticized, the report suggested a recon-
struction of the present system. The report provided a
definitive statement on the purpose of the college:

> It is the purpose of the college to provide a
> selected group of men with a comprehensive back-
> ground of information about the world and its prob-
> lems, and to stimulate them to develop their capacity
> for rational thinking, philosophic understanding,
> creative imagination, and aesthetic sensitiveness,
> and to inspire them to use these developed powers in
> becoming leaders to society.[1]

Based on the premise that students would become active
participants in their own intellectual development, the
report charged the institution with providing a fertile
environment for learning. The college's goal, he argued, is
to stimulate self development:

> Is the culture and intellectual interest of college
> graduates meager? Do they forget and lose interest
> in the things they encountered in college? If so,
> is it not because they were spoon-fed there, and now
> that the manipulator of the spoon is no longer present
> they go hungry, never having been shown how to open
> the cupboards in the pantry, nor even the location of
> the pantry itself.[2]

The Dartmouth Report took issue with the faculty com-
mittee's assumption . . . that the primary function of the
college is training through scholarship."[3] Opposed to the

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[1]"The Report on Undergraduate Education," p. 10.

[2]Ibid., p. 22.

[3]"A Report of the Committee on Educational Policy,"
p. 2.

faculty committee's idea that "to stimulate in the student a respect for learning as such,"[1] the students believed that scholarship should be developed ". . . only in so far as it can have meaning in the life of the individual."[2] The report emphasized that any educational policy ". . . should insist upon a dual aim in education--the fullest possible development of the individual, and his adequate training for membership in society."[3]

Elaborating on the college's broad purposes, the Senior Committee stated:

> A college organized without reference to the needs of society has no meaning. . . .
>
> From a social point of view, the purpose of the college is to endow leaders of men with a set of values which shall place the lasting above the transitory, the social above the selfish, and the beautiful above the base. . . .
>
> Service is an elastic word--it represents more than anything else an attitude of mind--or rather of heart--which in a spirit of noblesse oblige seeks to use a particular talent in active cooperation toward what we sum up as the welfare of man.[4]

This was a theme to which Cowley returned.

In addressing the purposes of self and society twenty years later, Cowley repeated the Senior Report's sentiment:

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[1] "A Report of the Committee on Educational Policy," pp. 2-3.

[2] "The Report on Undergraduate Education," p. 8.

[3] Ibid., p. 7.

[4] Ibid., pp. 15-16.

Colleges have invariably been established to educate
their students for more ethical participation in
society, but most of them have forgotten the dedica-
tions of their founders. The fact remains, however,
that if education does not give students a sharp
awareness of their personal, social, and civic
responsibilities, it has failed and failed miserably.
The purposes of our students must be harmonized with
the interest of society. The public weal must be pro-
tected by our students or our whole educational
enterprise is a selfish sham.[1]

While admissions, degrees, curriculum, and the role of

the faculty were discussed, the report laid its stress on

methods of teaching.

The chief indictment against the present method
of teaching is that the student is forced into a
passive, rather than an active attitude. The cri-
terion of passing is his ability to absorb, retain,
and regurgitate on the proper occasions about fifty
per cent of the information the instructor sees fit
to include in his course, together with the latter's
supposedly authoritative commentary thereon. The
student is pitifully dependent upon the instructor
for information or for directions as to how to get it.[2]

In suggesting changes, the committee began with the

drastic recommendation for the "virtual abolition of the

lecture . . . which has degenerated into an attempt at mass

education, and the classroom, which has tended to become an

arena for academic inquisitions and student bluffings."[3]

Assignments by topic or project requiring a week or more for

examination would replace lectures. Classes, their size

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[1]"Freedom and Discipline," The Educational Record 25
(January 1944): 20.

[2]"The Report on Undergraduate Education," p. 21.

[3]Ibid., pp. 24 and 26.

ranging from groups of five to ten, would meet weekly for
discussion with the instructor ". . . to develop the stu-
dent's ability to analyze, to discriminate, and draw conclu-
sions."[1] The committee further suggested a system of regular
office hours for instructors to enable students to seek
guidance in their investigations and they advocated regular
written work in the form of short assigned papers. A pro-
gram of periodic papers investigating a topic would replace
the daily quiz method. These suggested changes to some
extent anticipated Cowley's teaching methods many years
later at Stanford.

The Dartmouth faculty adopted several recommendations
made by the Senior Committee. Only the A.B. degree would be
conferred, thereby discontinuing the B.S. degree. In addi-
tion to a reduction of the total number of required courses,
the first two years of instruction demanded strict applica-
tion to required work, but the last two years granted the
student flexibility to command his study in his major field.
Each senior was required to pass a comprehensive examination
demonstrating mastery of his major as a prerequisite to the
degree, thus replacing the procedure of passing a number of
courses and accumulating hours of credit.

Many of the changes implemented by Cowley as President
of Hamilton fifteen years later mirrored the recommendations
set forth in the Dartmouth Report. Hamilton would offer only

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[1]"The Report on Undergraduate Education," p. 25.

one degree, the A.B., instead of the previous three, and require students to attain a standard level of proficiency to satisfy the foreign language requirement rather than the accumulation of course credits.

The Generalist

The Dartmouth Report's stated aim of education, "the fullest possible development of the individual,"[1] anticipated Cowley's move from the specific to the general. His move into industrial psychology and his subsequent efforts to humanize the environment at the Bell Telephone Laboratories, his work in vocational guidance and placement at the University of Chicago, and his research in education at Ohio State University served to strengthen his belief that the intellectual, psychological, social, and physical development of each individual is the foci of educational reform.

Unlike many specialists who are limited to a narrow field of vision, Cowley's position at Ohio State enabled him to become a generalist, expanding his perspective and broadening his thought in education. As assistant editor of The Journal of Higher Education, his editorials acted as a national forum for developments and issues in higher education. From 1930-1938, forty editorials written by Cowley touched every field of academic concern--the biological sciences, the social sciences, the humanities, and the

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[1] "The Report on Undergraduate Education," p. 7.

professional schools--and every facet of the higher educa-
tional enterprise--instruction and curriculum, liberal edu-
cation, graduate education, organization and administration,
extracurricular activities, institutional relationships with
the state and national government, academic freedom, research,
faculty, students, board of trustees, physical plant and
fiscal policies, academic government, and history and phi-
losophy of education.

His editorial column availed him the opportunity to
react to authorities in the field; it provided the setting
for his opposition to intellectualism and the budding of his
own philosophy. His first opposition to intellectualism was
aimed at Abraham Flexner, an outspoken critic of higher edu-
cation. He vehemently opposed Flexner's intellectualism and
devoted the October 1931 issue of the Journal of Higher Edu-
cation to reviews of his recent book, Universities: American,
English, German.[1]

Cowley continued to review books as a means to broaden
his scholarship in the field of student personnel work and
higher education.[2] In addition, he published the research

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[1]This issue included seven reviews of Flexner's book,
three by presidents of leading institutions and three by
professors, including Cowley's review.

[2]While at Ohio State from 1930-1938, he published 37
book reviews with The Journal of Higher Education, 14 with
the Educational Research Bulletin, and several with other
miscellaneous professional journals.

findings of the personnel division at Ohio State.[1]

Cowley's attempt to write a book on student personnel work in 1936-1937 offers another example of the expansion and broadening of his thought. He completed only three chapters, but these illustrate his shift in focus from the specific to the general. The first chapter examines the history of student personnel work, focusing on the European antecedents of student personnel work in the colonial college, specifically Harvard.[2] The second chapter describes the five social pressures on American society during the nineteenth century, namely democracy, science, the industrial revolution, German thought, and secularization. Addressing the growth of democratic education, the third chapter analyzes the religious, political, frontier idealistic, Germanic, and economic thought converging on American society after the Civil War.

To view student personnel work in a broad perspective, Cowley explored its historical base. He discovered that educational thought and programs of the early colonial colleges were characterized by a pattern known as "the collegiate way of living." Conceived as education for ". . . the

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[1]Cowley published over ten research reports in the Educational Research Bulletin while at Ohio State.

[2]Portions of the chapter were later incorporated in a chapter by Cowley entitled "The University in the United States of America," in The University Outside Europe: Essays on the Development of University Institutions in Fourteen Countries, edited by Edward Bradby (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), pp. 37-112.

whole man--his body and soul as well as his intellect,"[1] this pattern flourished in the early American colleges until the Civil War. By the 1870's, the rise of the German universities and the subsequent domination of the scientific method in American higher education led to the decline of "the collegiate way of living." Cowley described the change of emphasis in American higher education:

> If one reviews the history of educational thought and practices in the United States during the past century, one must inevitably come to recognize two powerful but conflicting points of view concerning the goals of the college. The first of these is the deeply-entrenched philosophy that the college is concerned with the education of the student as a whole person, not with his intellectual training alone. The second is the widely-held conception that the responsibility of higher education is to the intellectual development of the student and to his intellectual development alone.[2]

In less than a decade Cowley became a generalist concerned about education in the broad. The concepts he articulated, however, still lacked a specific name.

Holism

Cowley first labeled these concepts in an address in April 1938 and later published them in the Educational Record in October of that year. Speaking of the purpose of higher education, he wrote:

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[1] Samuel E. Morison, The Founding of Harvard College (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 51.

[2] "Intelligence Is Not Enough," The Journal of Higher Education 9 (December, 1938): 469-470.

These two points of view I shall refer to herein-
after as intellectualism and holoism. [Cowley foot-
notes this word with this explanation: This word comes
from the Greek word holo meaning whole, and is pro-
nounced whol-o-ism.] The first asserts that the func-
tion of the college is the training of the mind of the
student and nothing else. The second asserts that the
college has a responsibility to the whole student, not
to his mind merely. These philosophies are in constant
and often violent conflict. The destiny of higher
education in America depends, it seems to me, upon
which shall eventually dominate.[1]

He elaborated on the term shortly thereafter in his

inaugural address at Hamilton in October 1938, which was re-

printed in The Journal of Higher Education in December of

that year:

Holoism comes from the Greek word holos, meaning
whole--that is, complete, entire. Holoism, there-
fore, is that philosophy of education which asserts
that the school and the college must be interested in
the emotional, moral, religious, social, aesthetic,
and physical as well as in the intellectual develop-
ment of students. Holoism affirms, in brief, that
educational institutions must be concerned with the
whole student in relationship to the whole of
society.[2]

A question arises in regard to the actual inventor of

the term. In an address in 1939, Cowley stated: "Because no

other word seems to exist in the language to express this

education-for-the-whole-man concept, I have recently coined

the word holoism as its designation."[3] Despite this claim,

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[1] A paper read before the College and University Presi-
dents Section of the American Alumni Council, meeting in
Columbus, Ohio, April 2, 1938, and published as "Nourishing
Future Alumni," The Educational Record 19 (October 1938):
494-495.

[2] "Intelligence Is Not Enough," p. 470.

[3] "The Liberal Tradition and Student Personnel Work,"
Address delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Association

Cowley did not coin the term. Jan Christian Smuts is credited

with this honor, using it first in 1926 in his book <u>Holism</u>

<u>and Evolution.</u>[1] In this work, Smuts developed a theory he

had begun in 1910, but had not been able to pursue until 1924.

He defines the term in reference to life and matter:

> . . . reality is not diffuse and dispersive: on the
> contrary, it is aggregative, ordered, structural.
> Both life and matter consist, in the atom and the
> cell, of unit structures whose ordered grouping pro-
> duces the natural wholes which we call bodies or
> organisms. This character or feature of 'wholeness'
> which we found in the case of matter of life has a
> far more general application and points to something
> fundamental in the universe, fundamental in the sense
> that it is practically universal, that it is a real
> operative factor, and that its shaping influence is
> felt ever more deeply and widely with the advance of
> Evolution. Holism is the term here coined to desig-
> nate this fundamental factor operative towards the
> making the creation of wholes in the universe.[2]

Eight years after the term's first appearance, it was inclu-

ded for the first time in the 1934 <u>Webster's New Interna-</u>

<u>tional Dictionary</u>: "Holism: The philosophic doctrine of

General Smuts that the determining factors in nature, and

particularly in evolution, are wholes such as organisms and

not their constituent parts."[3]

Cowley built his philosophy upon the organismic or

holistic concept introduced in the field of biology. In a

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of Virginia Colleges held in Richmond, Virginia, February 10-
11, 1939, p. 28.

[1]Jan Christian Smuts, <u>Holism and Evolution</u> (New York:
Viking Press, Compass Books Edition, 1961).

[2]Ibid., pp. 97-98.

[3]Second Edition (Springfield: G. & C. Merriam Co.),
p. 1188.

speech in 1940, he attributed his discovery of the concept

to his readings of John Scott Holdane, a British biologist:

> The organism maintains itself as a whole. It is
> not a mere federation of individual cells acting
> mechanically like a machine, but is, on the contrary,
> a closely unified organization whose nature is such
> that each part or even each cell partakes of and con-
> tributes to the life of the whole. The behavior of
> an individual cell is unintelligible apart from its
> being also an expression of the life of the higher
> organism as a whole. The individual cells as such
> express in their genesis, behavior, and deaths, the
> life of the whole organism.[1]

Cowley is not the term's inventor, but he is credited

with popularizing the concept of holism with student person-

nel work and annexing it to the field of education. E. G.

Williamson, professor of psychology, dean of students at the

University of Minnesota,and a leading authority in student

personnel work, makes a statement to this effect in the

Acknowledgements section of a book published in 1961: "Over

the years I have accumulated many obligations to Professor

Cowley--. . . for the concept of holism."[2]

According to Cowley, educational thought is dominated

by four conflicting theories: the natural depravity theory,

theory of formal discipline, the paedocentric theory, and

the organismic or holistic theory.[3] Growing from a theolog-

ical doctrine, the natural depravity theory of man dominated

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[1]As quoted in W. H. Cowley, "Fire Always Makes Room
For Itself," Vital Speeches 7 (November 15, 1940): 88.

[2]Student Personnel Services in Colleges and Universi-
ties (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc.), p. xiii.

[3]"Freedom and Discipline," pp. 6-8.

educational thinking until the nineteenth century. Assumed
to be naturally corrupt and degenerate, children and col-
lege youths were subjected to strict discipline in a fixed
curriculum. When educators abandoned this theory, they
adopted the theory of formal discipline. Defended in the
Yale Report of 1828 and popularly referred to as the Faculty
Psychology, this theory advocated the exercise and disci-
pline of the faculties of the mind. The paedocentric theory
appeared in the late nineteenth-century when G. Stanley Hall
invented the term "paedocentrism" to give a name to the
child-centered educational doctrine more popularly known as
progressive education.

Focusing on the holistic theory, Cowley believes that
problems and issues in education ". . . must be discussed in
terms of the whole individual or Self in relation to the
whole of society."[1] The foundation of the holistic theory
rests upon five postulates. Every individual is a unique
Self and distinct from all other selves. It is a unity, a
whole to itself. Its essence is motive or purpose. These
motives or purposes are manifold and dynamic and lead to
activity--the Self seeks to achieve realization through this
activity. To initiate, sustain, and complete its motives,
the Self assumes it is acting in harmony with the best inter-
ests of society and the public welfare.[2]

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[1]"Freedom and Discipline," p. 8.

[2]Ibid., pp. 17-22.

As president of a noted liberal arts college and
spokesman for holism, Cowley turned his attention to liberal
education while subordinating student personnel work as a
means to achieve it. Viewing holism and liberal education
in a reciprocal relationship, he describes the latter to be
"the education-of-the-whole-man concept which rejects the
mind-body dualism . . . and affirms that man is liberally
educated who is educated as a whole, not as a disembodied
mind."[1] Though Cowley did not author the 1945 Harvard Report,
General Education in a Free Society, the report illuminates
his philosophy of holism. In addressing its notions of man,
the Harvard committee writes: "It is obvious that our account
of education in its bearing on the entire human being pre-
supposes a general theory of human nature and values."[2] Two
principles of this general theory affirm the whole man con-
cept--"education must look to the whole man"--and oppose
educational intellectualism--"intelligence does not exhaust
the total potentialities of human nature."[3] Cowley's influ-
ence was, indeed, more pervasive on the Harvard Committee
than his initial suggestion for the study indicates.

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[1]"The Liberal Tradition and Student Personnel Work,"
p. 26.

[2]General Education in a Free Society: Report of the
Harvard Committee (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), p. 176.

[3]Ibid., pp. 74-75.

Crossing Boundaries

Cowley's intellectual terrain continued to expand in the mid-forties. At this time he began to view higher education much as he viewed the student, as parts of the whole.

Often his thought was enriched more by opposing forces than by mutual consensus. Consistent with this pattern, his partnership with Conant took on the flavor of a debate. In contrast to the intense and colorful skirmish with Hutchins, Cowley's debate with Conant was subdued and undramatic. But it was by no means insignificant for it served to broaden his intellectual terrain. Cowley had lauded President Conant for his support of the whole-man concept in the 1945 Harvard Report, but in 1954, he spoke against the Harvard executive's plan for restructuring higher education.

Cowley's major objection to the Conant plan, as in the Hutchins plan, lay in its end result, the disappearance of the liberal arts college. Yet the Conant and Hutchins plans were methodically different. Instead of agreeing with the Hutchins proposal to bisect the traditional liberal arts college by assigning freshman and sophomore years to secondary schools and and the junior and senior years to graduate and professional schools, the Conant plan would leave the junior college structurally intact. Under the Conant plan, however, students with the potential to become "cultural leaders" would go directly from the secondary school to a university; all others would be channeled to attend the junior college

which no longer would train potential "cultural leaders" but those who would become "future skilled manual workers, technical workers—including repairman of all sorts—secretaries, accountants, housewives, restaurant keepers, salesman."[1]

To assess the merits of such a plan, Cowley investigated the functions performed by the institution. He found that colleges and universities perform a host of functions which compete with varying degrees of dominance for material and human resources. Hence, conflict is inevitable. Cowley sharply defined the primary conflict to be ". . . the higher learning, that is, the function of increasing knowledge" versus ". . . the higher education, that is, the function of communicating the higher learning to students."[2]

Properly designating these functions as research and teaching, Cowley explains that institutions seek to achieve certain purposes.

> They undertake research because society has an unquenchable appetite for new knowledge, and they are teaching institutions because society wants the knowledge produced by research put to use. The purpose of research, then, is to increase the quantity and quality of higher learning; the purpose of teaching is to communicate the results of the higher learning to as many members of society as are capable both of acquiring it and of being absorbed into the economy.[3]

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[1]James B. Conant, "Our College System: A Re-evaluation," New York Times Magazine, June 5, 1950, p. 28.

[2]"The Higher Learning Versus the Higher Education," The Journal of Higher Education 25 (November, 1954): 408.

[3]Ibid., p. 409.

Cowley expressed grave doubts about the acceptance of
the Conant and Hutchins re-organization plans because neither
considered the factor of purposes.[1] Cowley, on the other
hand, welcomed the vitality that the interplay of research
and teaching insures: ". . . I think them equally important,
equally essential, equally vital."[2] He stipulated, however,
that an understanding of this conflict would heighten its
effectiveness.

Conant's plan was the springboard for Cowley's contin-
ued scholarship; soon there would be no recognizable boundary
for his thought. First undertaking a study of research and
curriculum, by the 1950's he crossed over the boundary into
academic administration and government. To this end he
launched himself into a scholarly investigation of the struc-
tures, functions, and purposes of colleges and universities.

The expansion of his thought, the broadening of his
intellectual terrain, the growing complexity of his scholarly
investigation--all had occurred in a natural progression. In
1962, he offered a statement of his holistic philosophy:

> . . . an educational institution is like a snake:
> touch it at any spot, and it wiggles all over. Stated
> differently, everything about a social institution
> influences everything else about it; and hence under-
> standing any single characteristic comprehensively
> required that it be seen in relationship to related
> characteristics and, indeed, to the entire institu-
> tional complex. Thus I woke up one morning about a
> decade ago to the awareness that in attempting to
> understand holism and its antithesis, intellectualism,

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[1] "The Higher Learning Versus. . . ."   [2] Ibid., p. 408.

I had slowly and unwarily been transformed into an
ill-starred maverick concerned with the ambitious and
probably impossible task of mapping the entire academic
terrain. I repeat that the change happened without
forethought, but for weal or for woe it occurred; and
I had no choice but to continue playing my new role.[1]

In Search of a Discipline

Development of the field into a discipline became Cow-

ley's personal goal. In this quest he became one of the

leading thinkers in the field of higher education.

In March 1966 he ranked third in a survey of professors

and scholars designed to determine the best minds of higher

education.[2] This survey was conducted at the second annual

colloquium for professors and scholars of higher education

which preceded the meeting of the Association for Higher Edu-

cation in Chicago. As a colloquium member, Arthur J. Dibden,

Acting Chairman, Department of Higher Education, Southern

Illinois University, Carbondale, queried the participants

with the following question:

> Suppose a Department of Higher Education wanted its
> students to develop--as one important goal in a doc-
> toral program--intensive acquaintance with one or two
> of the best minds working on, thinking into, and
> writing about the domain of higher education. What
> contemporary persons in the 20th century would you
> suggest?[3]

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[1]W. H. Cowley, "A Tentative Holistic Taxonomy Applied
to Education," in Behavioral Science and Guidance: Proposals
and Perspectives, ed. Esther Lloyd-Jones and Esther M. Wester-
velt (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1963),
pp. 39-41.

[2]Arthur J. Dibden, "The Best Minds in Higher Education,"
School and Society (February 4, 1967): 83-84.

[3]Ibid., p. 83.

Dibden distributed 28 questionnaires asking three
choices. Thirty-two names appeared on the twenty-four ques-
tionnaires which were returned. Finishing ahead of Cowley,
David Riesman came in first place followed by Nevitt San-
ford.[1]

Personal correspondence among leaders in higher educa-
tion substantiates the consensus of this survey. In a 1948
letter to John A. Perkins, the Budget Director of the State
of Michigan, J. L. Morrill, President of the University of
Minnesota, regarded Cowley ". . . as the most careful his-
torian and the most competent scholar of higher education in
America."[2] Alvin C. Eurich, Vice-President and member of
the Board of Directors of the Fund for Advancement of Educa-
tion and later the Executive Director, Education Division,
Ford Foundation, continued to emphasize Cowley's achievements
in a letter to Cowley in late 1954: ". . . there is no one in
the United States or perhaps the entire world, who knows more

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[1]Riesman received nine votes, Sanford received six, and
Cowley tied John W. Gardner with five. Receiving three votes
each were Burton R. Clark, Ruth E. Eckert; Algo D. Henderson,
Robert M. Hutchins, and T. R. McConnell. Receiving two votes
each were Sir Eric Ashby, Victor Butterfield, Lewis B. Mayhew,
John D. Millett, and James A. Perkins. One vote was cast for
each of the following: Clyde E. Blocker, John S. Brubacher,
M. M. Chambers, Lotus D. Coffman, Henry Steele Commager,
James B. Conant, James Davis, Harold W. Dodds, Alvin C.
Eurich, A. Whitney Griswold, Clark Kerr, Leland L. Medsker,
Walter H. Moberly, C. Robert Pace, Philip H. Phenix, Terry
Sanford, John Stecklein, and James W. Thorton.

[2]J. L. Morrill to Perkins, 3 March 1948, W. H. Cowley
Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:48-24, Stanford University
Archives.

about higher education than you do."[1]

Education, Cowley believed, is the most complicated of all topics because it cuts across every individual's terrain.[2] He claimed that the most distinctive characteristic of education, especially that of American higher education, is its diversity. But this diversity has contributed to higher education becoming a ". . . sprawling, complex, diversified mingle-mangle,"[3] and he continually called for the urgent need to organize the field systematically.

"One of the things I have been trying to do throughout my career," he said, "is to make the study of higher education a careful discipline."[4] Several years before Cowley spoke these words, Nevitt Sanford had also suggested this idea:

> We might be tempted to speak of a 'science of higher education' in order to accent the notion that the field may ultimately be constituted as a body of fact and theory, a discipline of sorts, in which individuals might become specialists.[5]

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[1]Eurich to W. H. Cowley, quoted in W. H. Cowley to I. J. Quillen, 1 September 1955. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:55-12/1, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Carnegie Corporation of New York, "Man With An Idea," Quarterly Report (January 1957): 4. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-A, Stanford University Archives.

[3]W. H. Cowley, "An Appraisal of American Higher Education," 1956, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-D, Stanford University Archives.

[4]W. H. Cowley, interview with College and University Business, "Don of Higher Educationists: In Search of a Discipline," College and University Business 46 (June 1969): 61.

[5]College and Character, ed. Nevitt Sanford (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964), p. 13.

Cowley also cautioned the observer about its development:
"It's really a new field, and it has a long way to go to be
accorded respect as an academic discipline."[1]

Dressel and Mayhew made a similar assessment in their
investigation of higher education as a field of study in
1974.[2] Describing higher education as an evolving field
still in its youth, these authors concluded that it has failed
to meet specific criteria for a discipline: a taxonomy pos-
sessing a specialized vocabulary and a basic literature serv-
ing to provide parameters as well as linkages to other bodies
of knowledge, a body of theory and recognized techniques for
theory testing and revision, some agreed-upon applied tech-
niques of analysis or an accepted methodology which includes
approved techniques for replication and revalidation of
research and scholarship, and upon professional acceptance
and maturity, scholarly associations, journals, and a recog-
nized pattern for training and sequence of experiences for
professional affiliation.[3]

These criteria are similar to those outlined by Cowley:

> First to be a discipline there has to exist a common
> body of knowledge. Second, there must be an accepted
> body of technics. Third, there must be a conviction

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[1]Don of Higher Educationists: In Search of a Disci-
pline," p. 61.

[2]Higher Education as a Field of Study.

[3]Ibid., pp. 2-7.

of group solidarity that uses the knowledge and the technics.[1]

Such a task would appear monumental for even a fraternity of the brightest minds. To Cowley it was an invitation.

His undergraduate experience at Dartmouth played an influential role in his later endeavor toward establishing higher education as an academic discipline. There he began his collection of data relevant to higher education. As the collection increased through the ensuing years, his full-time avocation became the analysis and classification of this data. "In any event," Cowley stated, "my job has been to attempt to make a system of classifying the data as the basis of an academic discipline called higher education." He preferred to describe himself as an educational taxonomist and attempted to view the parts of the whole field in their complex interrelationships. This objective, he believed, was urgent because most research in the field was devoted to the piecemeal collection of facts rather than the organization and appraisal of the concepts underlying these facts.[2]

His collection, housed at the Stanford University Archives since 1978, provides the basis for selecting the following topics for further study: Student Personnel Administration, History of Higher Education, and College and University Government.[3] Analysis of each topic will include

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[1]"Don of Higher Educationists: In Search of a Discipline," p. 61.

[2]For a detailed description of Cowley's collection and selection of topics, see Appendix B.

development of his thought and the nature and content of his contributions. Acting as guides in this analysis are specific questions: Which scholars influenced his thought? What personal or environmental factors influenced his thought? What set of beliefs or ideas undergird his position? What does he see as the core knowledge for the discipline? What evidence of internal consistency does he offer from topic to topic? Is his thought consistent with the thought of other scholars in the field? In what areas of the discipline of higher education did he pioneer?

In 1923 a Dartmouth faculty committee meeting adjourned concluding it accomplished little of the agenda, and to be sure, unaware of the significance of their inaction. Forty years later the curiousity of a rebellious student spying on the proceedings would mature as one of the best minds of higher education. In this process, his thought shifted from the specific to the general and his perspective of student personnel work broadened to include the entire field of education. But this would only come about through Cowley's natural bent toward opposition, first with Flexner in critical reviews, then with Hutchins in a heated, and often emotional, battle, and later with Conant in an undramatic, yet subdued, debate. To oppose Flexner's intellectualism, he articulated the education-for-the-whole-man concept. He borrowed a term from science to identify this concept as holism and it became his chief weapon against Hutchins.

Opposition to Conant's restructuring plan resulted in further expansion of his intellectual terrain. The horizon continued to beckon him; soon there would be no recognizable boundary. What began as an effort to understand holism and intellectualism became Cowley's personal search for a discipline of higher education. His collection stands as a map of this search. An early outgrowth of his diary, it is a treasury symbolic of the hopes and dreams found in any great adventure.

CHAPTER V

STUDENT PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION

Seeking Identity

When Cowley graduated with a Ph.D. in psychology in

1930, he had plans to enter the pioneer field of industrial

psychology. These plans never materialized; instead he

embarked in an enterprise which was yet to be recognized as

a professional field. As one of the early leaders of student

personnel work, he helped lay the cornerstone for the field:

formulating definitions and basic concepts, establishing

functions and structure, rediscovering its history, and seek-

ing professionalization.

The student personnel movement evolved from a host of

influences in the early twentieth century. Vocational guid-

ance, conceived in 1908 by Frank Parsons[1] and instituted in

school systems as educational guidance,[2] emphasized the

importance of self-awareness and understanding. The testing

movement, which developed rapidly preceding and during World

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[1]This was the publication date of Parsons' first report
on the work of the Vocation Bureau of Boston, Choosing A
Vocation (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909).

[2]The term educational guidance was first used in 1914
by Truman L. Kelly in his book Educational Guidance (New
York: Teachers College, Columbia University).

122

War I, supplied the techniques and instruments for analysis of individual differences.[1] Meanwhile, industry gradually became conscious of the worker as a person, thus giving rise to the field of industrial psychology.[2] Psychoanalysis helped to explain the reason for the existence and utilization of human characteristics[3] while the mental hygiene movement concentrated on the need for wholesome life-adjustment.[4] Thus, these diverse factions--movements in their own development, converged to provide the methodology, the instruments, and techniques for student personnel work.

Disguised generally as counseling and advising, "college personnel work was a reality for many years before it acquired a specific name."[5] During the post World War I period, personnel work as a unified administrative unit began to appear

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[1]Mental testing was originally conceived by Francis Galton in the late nineteenth century. His work was further extended by Edward L. Thorndike, Alfred Binet, James B. Minor, C. S. Yoakum, E. K. Strong, and John L. Stenquist who developed techniques for measuring intelligence, achievement, and interests.

[2]Regarded as the father of scientific management, Frederick W. Taylor's Principles of Scientific Management (New York: Harper & Bros., 1911) stressed the need for national efficiency in the use of human resources, including higher education.

[3]Its public recognition in this country occurred in 1909 when Sigmund Freud gave a series of lectures at Clark University.

[4]This movement was conceived in 1908 with the publication of Clifford Beers' book, A Mind That Found Itself, 5th ed., rev. (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1953).

[5]Barry and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel Work, p. 60.

at many institutions.[1] In 1922, Northwestern University was the first institution to open a "Personnel Office" with L. B. Hopkins as its Director.[2] As the Chairman of the Central Committee on Personnel Methods of the American Council on Education, Hopkins conducted a survey of fourteen colleges and universities in 1926 which was ". . . the first organized effort on a national level to identify some of the conditions in the 'frontier field' of college personnel work."[3]

Work of the Central Committee on Personnel Methods led to projects to formulate personnel tools, instruments, and techniques for use in colleges and universities: the development of the personal record cards, devising achievement tests, improving personality measurements, the preparation of vocational monographs, and an undergraduate study on character development. Cowley was responsible for the vocational monographs, but the project was never completed due to the economic exigencies of the Depression. Thus, he prepared a

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[1] Some of the first institutions were Brown University, University of Chicago, University of Minnesota, Columbia University, and Dartmouth College.

[2] This office was the brainchild of Walter Dill Scott, who was the Director of the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the United States Army before assuming the presidency of Northwestern in 1919. He was also the founder of the Scott Company, specializing in engineers and consultants in industrial personnel. Hopkins was a close associate of Scott, first working with the Committee on the Classification of Personnel during the war and later as treasurer of the Scott Company.

[3] Willard W. Blaesser, "The Contributions of the American Council on Education to Student Personnel Work in Higher Education" Ed.D. Dissertation, George Washington University, 1953, p. 230.

report in the form of recommendations to writers of future monographs.[1] Although this report has been heralded as Cowley's ". . . first introduction and contribution to a national audience in the college student personnel field,"[2] his contributions to the Journal of Higher Education beginning in 1930 followed by the publication of the Personnel Bibliographical Index in April 1932 have not been adequately acknowledged.

To find a definition of the emerging field was a preoccupation among its early leaders. Individual interpretation predominated during the thirties: "Unanimity of opinion about the definition of personnel work was not characteristic of the field. . . ."[3] The many definitions which emerged have been generally classified according to their major point of emphasis.[4] Student personnel work as synonymous with education was a definition first offered by Hopkins in his survey[5] and further suggested by the Committee on Principles and

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[1] Measurement and Guidance of College Students, First Report of the Committee on Personnel Methods of the American Council on Education, by Herbert E. Hawkes, Chairman (Baltimore, MD: Williams and Wilkins Co., 1933), pp. 165-181.

[2] Blaesser, "The Contributions of the American Council on Education to Student Personnel Work in Higher Education," p. 78.

[3] Barry and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel Work, p. 60.

[4] Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Education: Its Evolution As An Organized Movement."

[5] "Personnel Procedures in Education," p. 5.

Functions of the American College Personnel Association in
1931.[1] Others preferred a more restricted definition,
limiting it to those aspects which individualize education.[2]
Another opinion promoted personnel work as a point of view,
emphasizing the idea rather than any organization.[3] Another
definition viewed it as an integral or complementary part of
the instructional program.[4]

Critical of the broad and narrow definitions, Cowley
was among those who clearly differentiated it as extra-
instructional activities.[5] He tentatively proposed that
"Personnel work constitutes all activities undertaken or

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[1]"College Personnel Principles and Functions," Person-
nel Journal 10 (1) (June 1931): p. 10. This report is popu-
larly referred to as the Clothier Report, named for its
Chairman, Robert C. Clothier.

[2]Several who used this definition were Raymond Walters,
"Knowing Our College Students," Scribner's LXXXIII (6) (June
1928): pp. 665-674; Herbert E. Hawkes, Education is Guidance
(New York: The Macmillan Co., 1932): pp. 2-3 and 23; and
Ruth Strang, The Role of the Teacher in Personnel Work (New
York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935), p. 11 and
pp. 14-15.

[3]The Clothier Report was one of the first to use the
term "point of view," p. 10. Others who shared this view-
point were George F. Zook, "The Administration of Student
Personnel Work," Journal of Higher Education III (7) (October
1932), p. 350; Karl M. Cowdery, "The Guidance of Youth in the
Colleges," Occupations XII (4) (December 1933), p. 15; and
J. E. Walters, Individualizing Education by Means of Applied
Procedures (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1935), p. 10.

[4]Esther Lloyd-Jones, Student Personnel Work at North-
western University, p. 207.

[5]Another supporter of this definition was Francis F.
Bradshaw, "The Scope and Aim of a Personnel Program," Educa-
tional Record XVII (1) (January 1936), p. 121.

sponsored by an educational institution, aside from curricular instruction, in which the student's personal development is the primary consideration." Implicit in his definition was "individualization of education," "point of view," and "an integral part of the educational process," but he insisted that a clear demarcation between personnel work and education was essential to achieve unity of purpose.[1] In his attempt to resolve the indefinite and vague usage of the term, his attention turned to delineating its scope. In another publication, he stated that it ". . . includes all relationships with students aside from instruction and business relationships."[2]

But he remained dissatisfied with this definition. In correspondence with George E. Myers, Professor of Vocational Guidance at the University of Michigan, he concluded:

> . . . a direct rather than a residual definition is impossible. Such residual or relative definitions are, of course, rather frequent. . . . Complex concepts do not exist alone, but only in relationship to something else. . . . student personnel work cannot be defined except in relationship to other types of student-instructional relationships.[3]

Terminology continued to concern him. In the 1950's, he abandoned the term "personnel work" for "clientele

[1]"The Nature of Student Personnel Work," _Educational Record_ 17 (April 1936): 198-199 and 218.

[2]"The Disappearing Dean of Men," _Occupations_ 16 (November 1937): 150.

[3]Letter to Myers, May 7, 1937, pp. 1-2. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B: 37-48, Stanford University Archives.

services."[1] The emphasis was now on those served rather

than those performing a function, a shift which was more

mutually satisfactory with his holistic philosophy.

The field, however, was slow to respond to Cowley's

farsightedness. Almost two decades later, his peers favored

the term's demise.[2]

Philosophy

Diversity of opinion in regard to terminology fostered

confusion among personnel workers. Cowley himself fell vic-

tim to the prevailing disorder in the early 1930's when he

initially used "personnel work" and "personnel administration"

interchangeably.[3] In 1936, he acknowledged:

> The terms personnel work, personnel administration,
> personnel services, personnel research, and personnel
> point of view continue to be bandied about so variously
> and carelessly that faculty members cannot possibly be
> expected to know what personnel workers are all about.
> Indeed, plenty of evidence exists to suggest that per-
> sonnel people do not themselves know. At least, few
> personnel workers agree among themselves; and until

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[1]Student Personnel Services in American Higher Educa-
tion (Washington, D.C.: ERIC Document Reproduction Service,
ED 103 796, 1954), p. 8, and "The Rise of Clientele Services
in American Higher Education," paper presented at the Univer-
sity of Minnesota, October 8, 1959, p. 1. W. H. Cowley
Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-20, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Burns B. Crookston, "Student Personnel--All Hail and
Farewell!" Personnel and Guidance Journal (55) (1976): 26.

[3]During this time, Cowley also began designating topics
in his collection. Hence, the result is the term "personnel
administration" used as a topic designation. The term "per-
sonnel work" never appeared as any topic designation. "Per-
sonnel services," however, appeared as a major subdivision
and he used "services" and "work" synonymously. Personnel
Bibliographical Index (Columbus: Ohio State University Press,

they do, faculties and administrators will continue to be perplexed and apathetic if not unfriendly and even antagonistic.[1]

Cowley saw the need for clarification and consensus on

the national level:

> The pioneering days of the student personnel movement are rapidly passing, however, and the time seems to be ripe for a systematic discussion of what personnel people do, what they stand for, and how their activities fit into the educational programs of colleges and universities.[2]

To promote national unity, Cowley enlisted the support

of Donfred H. Gardner, Dean of Students at the University of

Akron, during the period of 1935-1936. Gardner submitted a

letter to George F. Zook, President of the American Council

on Education, suggesting the formation of a national commit-

tee or council ". . . brought together to lay out a definite

program of clarification of issues and procedures."[3] After

1932), p. 4; "A Technique for Making a Student Personnel Survey," The Personnel Journal 10 (June 1931): 21; "Personnel Division," Educational Research Bulletin 10 (September 16, 1931): 324-325; and "The Nature of Student Personnel Work," pp. 220-226.

[1]"The Nature of Student Personnel Work," pp. 199-200.

[2]Ibid., p. 199.

[3]As related to Blaesser from Gardner, 19 May 1953. Gardner took the initiative in writing the letter to Zook because of his association with him when he was President of the University of Akron. Although submitted by Gardner, the letter clearly acknowledged Cowley's role. A detailed account of these events is offered by Blaesser, "The Contributions of the American Council on Education to Student Personnel Work in Higher Education," pp. 132-144.

much deliberation, the Council agreed to support a confer-

ence.[1] In April 1937, a group of college presidents, aca-

demic deans, professors, and student personnel deans who had

distinguished themselves as leaders in the pioneer field[2] met

to develop a common understanding of the functions, scope,

and administrative relationships of personnel work.[3] Author-

ities in the field have considered this the founding confer-

ence of student personnel work, the first to appraise the

broad aspects of the field. Until this time developments in

the field had proceeded independently on many fronts.[4]

Their final report, entitled The Student Personnel

Point of View, addressed the philosophy, coordination, and

future development of student personnel work.[5] In the liter-

ature, it has been singled out as the most significant

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[1]It was formally referred to as the Conference on the Philosophy and Development of Student Personnel Work in College and University.

[2]For list of conferees, see Appendix C.

[3]The conference agenda was structured by a prospectus submitted by Cowley and Gardner, "A Proposal for a Conference of Individuals Interested in Student Personnel Work in Colleges and Universities," June 10, 1936, pp. 1-10.

[4]Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Education: Its Evolution As An Organized Movement," p. 66, and Blaesser, "The Contributions of the American Council on Education to Student Personnel Work in Higher Education," p. 236.

[5]Each of these points comprised a section in the final report. The conferees were divided into three sub-groups and each sub-group concentrated their efforts on one section. Hawkes was chairman of the sub-group on philosophy, Lee was chairman of the sub-group on coordination, and Cowley was chairman of the sub-group working on the future of student personnel.

contribution to the field.[1] Perhaps the most widely quoted

section of this report was the statement which laid the phi-

losophical basis for the field:

> One of the basic purposes of higher education is
> the preservation, transmission, and enrichment of the
> important elements of culture--the product of scholar-
> ship, research, creative imagination, and human experi-
> ence. It is the task of colleges and universities so
> to vitalize this and other educational purposes as to
> assist the student in developing to the limits of his
> potentialities and in making his contribution to the
> betterment of society.
>   This philosophy imposes upon educational institu-
> tions the obligation to consider the student as a
> whole--his intellectual capacity and achievement, his
> emotional make-up, his physical condition, his social
> relationships, his vocational aptitudes and skills,
> his moral and religious values, his economic resources,
> his aesthetic appreciations. It puts emphasis, in
> brief, upon the development of the student as a person
> rather than upon this intellectual training alone.[2]

This statement echoed the earlier writings of Hopkins

and Clothier, yet relied heavily upon Cowley's ideas and ·

thought.[3] A year earlier, he had written:

> The personnel point of view is a philosophy of edu-
> cation which puts emphasis upon the individual student
> and his all-round development as a person rather than
> upon his intellectual training alone and which promotes
> the establishment in educational institutions of curricu-
> lar programs, methods of instruction, and extra-

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[1]Blaesser, "The Contributions of the American Council
on Education to Student Personnel Work in Higher Education,"
pp. 235-236; Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher
Education: Its Evolution As An Organized Movement," pp. 66-67;
and Zook, writing for the Committee on Student Personnel Work
in the American Council on Education Studies, Student Person-
nel Point of View, Series VI, Vol. XIII, No. 13, 1949, p. iii.

[2]Student Personnel Point of View, 1937, p. 1.

[3]Nunn, "Student Personnel Work . . . ," p. 110, Barry
and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel Work, pp. 23-25.

instructional media to achieve such emphasis.[1]

The Student Personnel Point of View appears to be a summation of the concept of student personnel services Cowley articulated in 1935:

> Once a college has admitted a student it has a moral obligation to do everything within reason to help him succeed. . . .

> The college is much more than an agency for providing academic instruction. . . .

> The college, peopled by perplexed and anxious adolescents, has an opportunity and, what is more, a responsibility to help these youths resolve their insistent and portentious dilemmas. . . .

> To further the intellectual as well as the personal development of its students, the college must provide a wholesome and stimulating social environment. [Entire quote underlined.][2]

In 1940, he readily conceded that the Student Personnel Point of View and holism were synonymous; both denote education-for-the-whole-man.[3] Both statements involve goals rather than the imposition of specific methods and procedures. One is a credo of a professional body; the other is a philosophy of an institution. Yet neither can be achieved independently of the other.

Educational administrators were also reminded that student personnel work involved the cooperation and coordination

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[1]"The Nature of Student Personnel Work," p. 222.

[2]"The College Guarantees Satisfaction," Educational Record 16 (January 1935): 39-44.

[3]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work," p. 154.

of the administrative staff and the student body.[1] The need

for coordination was extended to secondary education as well

as post-collegiate activities. It was also proposed that the

Council sponsor a committee to encourage cooperation between

a number of associations.

When addressing the future of the field, the committee

recommended that the Council assume nation-wide leadership.

This could be achieved by conducting a national survey of

the field, publication of a volume describing the student per-

sonnel point of view in terms of experiences of students, pub-

lication of a series of handbooks or brochures detailing

specific personnel functions, encouraging other agencies to

undertake research, undertaking some projects on its own, and

development of an advisory service to colleges and universi-

ties.[2] The proposal received enthusiastic support from the

Council, which established a Committee on Student Personnel

Work to chart such a course.[3] The war years, however, cur-

tailed financial support and sapped committee members' atten-

tion; thus, only two of the projects, the brochures and

advisory service, were eventually carried out.[4]

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[1]The Student Personnel Point of View, 1937, p. 5.

[2]Ibid., pp. 10-14.

[3]Cowley was appointed to this committee, whose work began in October 1937 and continued until 1952.

[4]Nine of the fourteen brochures on personnel functions, each focusing on a specialized service, were published during the committee's fifteen years existence. The advisory service, operating 1946-1950, engaged 23 consultants with 82 member institutions of the American Council on Education.

The Services Approach

To determine the function of the field was a preoccupation among personnel workers.[1] When Hopkins utilized the services approach as the methodology in the 1926 survey,[2] he established a precedent by which to view the field. This approach was further reinforced by the listing of services in the 1931 Clothier Report[3] and firmly entrenched with the application of services in the 1937 Student Personnel Point of View.[4] To view the field as a collection of separate services prevails even to the present.[5]

Although a strong proponent of the services approach, Cowley hesitated subscribing to a list of personnel activities. More important, he believed, was the ". . . recognition that personnel work and business and instructional activities are different."[6] Acknowledging the influence of Hawkes' earlier statement--"work for the individual that is being

[1]Esther Lloyd-Jones, "Personnel Work Today," Journal of Higher Education 13 (February 1941): 81.

[2]For the list of the services Hopkins specified in his survey, see Appendix D.

[3]A list of services in the Clothier Report constitutes Appendix E.

[4]The services listed in the 1937 Student Personnel Point of View comprise Appendix F.

[5]In addition to the American Council on Education, these functions were adopted by the North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges and the American College Personnel Association, among others.

[6]"The Nature of Student Personnel Work," p. 219.

done outside the classroom,"[1] Cowley attempted to resolve

the confusion concerning the myriad activities offered as

personnel work and to articulate distinctions implied in the

literature. The difference between these activities, he

noted, was based upon an understanding of the instructional,

extra-instructional, and business relationships that insti-

tutions have with their students.[2]

Further study of these relationships led Cowley to

devise a tripartite classification scheme in the late 1950's.

The achievement of the institution's purposes rested upon

the raison d'etre, auxiliary, and self-continuity functions.[3]

In an address in 1964, he designated these as the core, com-

plementary, and continuity functions.[4] Teaching and research

constituted the only raison d'etre, or core functions, of

the institution. Extra-instructional services are the auxil-

iary, or complementary, functions which facilitate the raison

d'etre. Those maintenance and promotional activities under-

taken by the institution to insure its operation are labeled

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[1]Report of the Dean of Columbia College for the period
ending June 30, 1936 (New York: Columbia University Press,
1936), pp. 3-4, as quoted in W. H. Cowley, "A Technique for
Making a Student Personnel Survey," p. 20.

[2]"The Disappearing Dean of Men," pp. 149-150, and "The
Nature of Student Personnel Work," pp. 198-227.

[3]Cowley, "The Functions and Purposes of Clientele Ser-
vices in American Colleges and Universities," paper presented
at the University of Minnesota, October 8, 1959, pp. 4-6.

[4]"Reflections of a Troublesome But Hopeful Rip Van
Winkle," paper read at the meeting of the American College
Personnel Association, San Francisco, California, March 24,
1964.

as the self-continuity, or continuity, functions.

Student services, Cowley argued, are not the raison d'etre of the institution; instead they are auxiliary enterprises that ". . . are performed not for their own sake but to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of formal education."[1] Such a secondary role provided the means by which the field could gain respectability. According to Cowley, personnel workers

> . . . are likely to achieve greater support both morally and financially if they continuously make faculty members and general administrators aware of their awareness that the essential activities of CUs [colleges and universities] are intellectual but, further, that their work has vital importance in promoting these essential intellectual activities.[2]

But if the extra-instructional activities, or services approach, created a niche for personnel work, it also served to promulgate a dilemma it sought to eliminate. Popularly based upon the theory of individual differences, The Student Personnel Point of View requires that the individual be seen as a whole, or as an entity in parts. Yet in practice the parts of the student are viewed in terms of personnel services regardless of unique individual differences.

The literature has also noted that ". . . the delineated personnel responsibilities involved the personnel worker in a fundamental paradox--his approach demands that he view the

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[1]"The Functions and Purposes of Clientele Services in American Colleges and Universities, p. 7.

[2]Ibid., p. 7.

student as a whole and ignore his intellectual development."
Thus, critics charge, the services approach reflects more the
faculty psychology of the nineteenth-century which divides
the individual into parts of intellect, feeling, and will
than any theory of the twentieth century.[1]

Cowley's eagerness as an administrator to seek resolu-
tion of this dilemma through organizational structure weakens
his holistic position. The service, rather than the individ-
ual, becomes the integrating factor between the college and
the student. To strengthen the argument for holism, the stu-
dent should be the raison d'etre, not teaching or research.
Cowley makes this conclusion early in his writing, and adds
". . . that curricula should be devised which would make him
again the center of the educational process rather than
learning."[2] Here he makes teaching the means, not the end,
of education. The apparent contradiction, however, is not to
be viewed as inconsistent with his later statements classify-
ing teaching and research as the raison d'etre of the insti-
tution; rather it reflects the influence from Hopkins and
Clothier that education and personnel work are synonymous.

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[1]Barry and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel
Work, pp. 42-43.

[2]"The College Student of Another Day," unpublished man-
uscript, December 22, 1932, p. 18, and "The Historical Back-
ground of the Student Personnel Movement," unpublished
manuscript, March 16, 1933, p. 11. Both references are in
the W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:32-1 and 33-2,
Stanford University Archives.

It also testifies to the confusion about terminology in his own intellectual development as well as the entire field. More important, perhaps, the contradiction points to the development of his thought within a decade: in the early thirties he viewed higher education in terms of student personnel work and by the end of the decade he saw personnel work as an integral part of higher education.

Characteristic of any pioneer effort, cohesion among the separate services was slow to develop. By 1937 lack of coordination was the most critical issue in the field.[1] Personnel workers, Cowley pointed out, failed to cooperate among themselves, to present a united front to administrators and faculty, to see the enterprise as a whole, or to adopt sound organizational techniques.[2]

Cowley stressed the interdependence of all personnel services. He assumed that "all contacts with students in the area of student personnel work are but different facets of the same sort of relationship" and that ". . . a basic unity runs throughout them all."[3] The structure which unified these services was student personnel administration, one of

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[1]This was the conclusion reached in a study conducted by Edwin A. Lee, "Critical Issues in Guidance and Personnel," Occupations XV (May 1937): 689-693.

[2]"The Strategy of Coordination," Occupations 16 (May 1938): 724-725.

[3]The remaining three administrative divisions were operational, instructional, and research, The Personnel Bibliographical Index, p. 4.

the main divisions of college and university adminstration.[1]

Special functions within this division were individualized

services, administrative services, personnel research, and

co-operative research services.[2] These same functions were

also interpreted as guidance, environmental administration,

and research.[3]

To achieve an integrated, coordinated personnel program

Cowley advocated the centralization of responsibility in a

single administrative officer who ranked in authority with

other division heads.[4] In 1937, he speculated that this

shift would signal the demise of the deanship of men and

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[1]The remaining three administrative divisions were operational, instructional, and research, The Personnel Bibliographical Index, p. 4.

[2]Individualized services included counseling, discipline, placement, and financial aid. Administered generally to groups, administrative services included admissions and records, testing, extra-curricular activities, and housing. Personnel research involved investigations of individualized and administrative services. Co-operative research services were performed for academic departments to improve instructional methods, The Personnel Bibliographical Index, pp. 5-6.

[3]Some variation exists between the services offered under these functions and those stated in the previous definition. Guidance included pre-college guidance, counseling, advising, remedial, vocational guidance, and placement. Environmental administration includes orientation, housing, fraternities, social life, discipline, health, student accounts, and other extra-curricular activities. Research includes all investigations which concern the student in and out of the classroom, testing and disseminating information on college life. "What is Personnel Work?" unpublished manuscript, February 1930, p. 16. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:30-12, Stanford University Archives.

[4]"The Nature of Student Personnel Work," p. 221, and "The Strategy of Coordination," pp. 726-727.

transfer authority to a chief student personnel executive.[1]

At the time only a handful of institutions had felt such an

impact.[2] Personnel work would be assured its rightful place

in higher education, Cowley suggested, if college and univer-

sity presidents extended ". . . the invitation of the chief

student personnel officer on every campus to a permanent seat

in the highest administrative councils."[3]

History

During the development of a profession immediate con-

cerns generally take precedence over any historical perspective.

Contemporary reflection upon the past is scant, if present at

all, and limited to the selective interests of a few individ-

uals.[4] This is especially true of student personnel work,

which had no published comprehensive history until a doctoral

[1]"The Disappearing Dean of Men," p. 151.

[2]At the time of Cowley's statement, only one institu-
tion, the University of California at Berkeley, had elevated
the authority of the dean of men to that of a chief personnel
officer. The University of Oregon and West Virginia Univer-
sity had subordinated the deanship to a student personnel
executive, while William and Mary, Earlham, Iowa State, and
Northwestern had eliminated the deanship and replaced it with
a chief personnel officer.

[3]"Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," p. 23, in
Trends in Student Personnel Work edited by E. G. Williamson
(Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1949).

[4]Barry and Wolf, in Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel
Work, pp. 6-7, label John M. Brewer as an historian of the
field in addition to Cowley. These authors, however, qualify
Brewer's contributions, writing that he ". . . considered voca-
tional guidance as representative of all guidance, and there-
fore tended to eulogize the development of vocational guidance
and to ignore all materials not related to it."

student pursued the subject in 1964.[1]

This published history arrived late on the scene because
Cowley, the field's foremost historian, failed to publish his
research in book form. Nevertheless, his research appeared
as journal articles and addresses and was widely quoted by
other scholars.[2] In 1966, the National Association of Student
Personnel Administrators honored Cowley with one of its first
two Distinguished Service Awards and cited him as a ". . .
scholar, teacher and leader in the establishment of student
personnel and higher education as academic fields. . . ."[3]

Despite Cowley's plea that he was not properly qualified
to be called a historian, he used history to establish a tra-
dition for personnel work:

> Since I am not a historian, I must explain my
> interest in history. The explanation is twofold. I
> discuss the history of student personnel work, first,
> because accredited historians do not and, second,
> because early in my career I discovered that almost
> everyone employs history as a weapon to defend and to
> promote his point of view and his practices--that,

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[1]Nunn, "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Edu-
cation. . . ."

[2]Nunn's 1964 doctoral dissertation includes twelve separ-
ate bibliographic entries not to mention at least 64 textual
references to Cowley. Brubacher and Rudy, in Chapter 16,
"Reintegration of Curriculum and Extracurriculum," in Higher
Education in Transition, pp. 330-353, cited twelve textual
references to Cowley in six separate bibliographic entries.

[3]"Citation for Distinguished Service," 48th Annual Meet-
ing of the National Association of Student Personnel Admini-
strators, Seattle, Washington, June 28, 1966. Esther Lloyd-
Jones of Columbia University received the other award.

indeed, history is an arsenal bursting with armature
and ammunition.[1]

Cowley was particularly interested in the "critical
continuity" of ideas in history.[2] He used the history of
student personnel work as his first line of defense for holism
and was the first to offer a broad perspective of the field.
During the thirties much attention was devoted to the field
as a movement, thus casting the image of being born in full-
bloom. But for the field to be properly understood among its
members and to gain respectability, he knew its roots, as old
and tenacious as higher education itself, must be exposed.[3]

In 1937, he observed: "Bewildered by the plethora of
scientific details and of new administrative techniques, we
have lost our bearings. . . ."[4] In 1940, he stated that
"most of us are so busy with our specialized and exacting
jobs that we have little time to explore either the histori-
cal or the philosophical backgrounds from which we operate."[5]
After reporting that personnel workers have come from a
variety of backgrounds with many kinds of training and

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[1]"The Past and Future of Student Personnel Work," paper
read at the Northwest College Personnel Association Conven-
tion, March 1948, p. 1. Also stated in "Some History and a
Venture in Prophecy," p. 12.

[2]Cowley, Student Personnel Services in American Higher
Education, pp. 16-17.

[3]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work,"
p. 153.

[4]"A Preface to the Principles of Student Counseling,"
Educational Record XVIII (April 1937): 217.

[5]"The History and Philosophy . . . ," p. 153.

possess no common core of knowledge, Cowley emphasized that "somehow, all student personnel people should be helped to understand their common interests and their common destiny."[1]

While much of the writing in the field was devoted to practice and technique,[2] Cowley explored the historical antecedents of the movement. He traced student life in the Graeco-Latin era through the Middle Ages, but chose to concentrate his efforts on investigating the forces of the nineteenth century which sparked the personnel movement toward self-consciousness early in the twentieth century. No doubt the scientific psychology of the military, industry, and education had a decisive influence on the field, but Cowley maintained that at least three other considerations paved the way for its development: the secularization of higher education, the increase in student population beginning about 1870, and the attacks upon the intellectualistic impersonalism imported from Germany.[3]

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[1]"Student Personnel Services in Retrospect and Prospect," School and Society LXXXV (January 19, 1957): 22.

[2]C. Gilbert Wrenn, in "Philosophical and Psychological Bases of Personnel Services in Education," Personnel Services in Education, Fifty-eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 47, states ". . . practice has moved far ahead of logical foundations. The writing has been technique-oriented . . ."

[3]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work." p. 155, and "Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," p. 16.

According to Cowley, secularization changed the fabric
of higher education. The great changes in society ushered
in by the Industrial Revolution inevitably led to a reaction
against the excessive interest in the student's moral fiber;
Calvinism was abandoned on campuses in favor of the rising
Unitarianism.[1] Legislation further encouraged secular edu-
cation, especially the Morrill Federal Land Grant College
Act of 1862 which helped create sixty-nine state institutions.
Some existing institutions followed suit by dropping their
religious affiliations[2] while others were established inde-
pendent of both church and state.[3] Clerical college presi-
dents and faculty, whose concern for the student's soul had
led them often to expend more time guiding the student mor-
ally than to teaching or scholarship, now relinquished their
paternalism.[4] Personnel work, as an integral part of the
educational process, was brought to an abrupt end.

When higher education became available to the masses
as a result of the Land Grant Act, a rapid acceleration in
enrollments resulted. Even those presidents and faculty who
had stubbornly clung to their religious convictions and

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[1]"A Preface to the Principles in Student Counseling,"
pp. 119-220.

[2]Some notable examples are Harvard, Yale, Princeton,
and Columbia.

[3]These included Johns Hopkins, Clark, Washington Uni-
versity, and Stanford.

[4]"Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," pp. 17-18.

paternalism could not cope with the influx of students.
Sheer numbers alone hampered the student-teacher relation-
ship.[1]

By mid-century, many of the clerical faculty were
replaced by lay professors who had little interest in saving
souls.[2] Their presence alone spoke of the expansion of
knowledge due to the rise of science and technology during
the last decades of the eighteenth century and the first
decades of the nineteenth century. Many had recently returned
from study in Germany, whose universities stood alone as the
world's master of the scientific method.

These lay faculty enthusiastically embraced the German
scholarship and research and instituted curricular and in-
structional changes which profoundly influenced college life.
The net effect of these changes, Cowley declared, was the
abandonment of in loco parentis and the paternalistic tradi-
tion in favor of the proliferation of impersonalism and spe-
cialization.[3] Intellectualism now controlled higher educa-
tion. In sharp contrast, personnel work lost its stronghold;

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[1]"Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," p. 19.

[2]"Some History . . ." and "A Preface to the Principles
in Student Counseling," p. 220.

[3]"Intelligence Is Not Enough," p. 75, and "History and
Philosophy of Student Personnel Work," pp. 155-157. In "Fire
Always Makes Room For Itself," p. 88, Cowley considered "spe-
cialization as the natural child of intellectualism," the
elective system as one of its chief instruments, and depart-
mentalism as its framework.

it became instead ". . . a necessary evil, and more than

that, an evil that should be kept at a minimum."[1]

Students reacted first to these changes, which spurred

action from some farsighted administrators. The student

reaction was particularly dramatic, giving rise to organized

athletics and an extensive extracurriculum. In turn, admin-

istrators returned to residential housing and initiated stu-

dent counseling and advising for students confronted with

the maze of courses instituted through the newly adopted

elective system.[2]

Despite the potent force of intellectualism, personnel

work did not perish. The late nineteenth century witnessed

the appearance of a new educational officer to oversee the

additional responsibilities of the college, such as housing,

counseling, and advising. By the turn of the century, the

offices of deans of men, deans of women, deans of freshmen,

faculty advisers, advisors of men, warden, religious coun-

selors, deans of chapel were familiar to the student.[3] But

[1]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work," p. 158.

[2]"Intelligence Is Not Enough," p. 76, and "Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," pp. 20-21.

[3]Nunn, in "Student Personnel Work in American Higher Education . . . ," pp. 14-15, writes that "the Board of Fresh-man Advisers appeared at Harvard as early as 1889; and in 1890, LeBaron Russell Briggs was given the new post of Dean of Harvard College, . . . E. H. Griffin was appointed 'chief of advisers' at Johns Hopkins in 1889. The first appoint-ments using the title dean of women were made at Swarthmore College in 1890, at the University of Chicago in 1892, and at Oberlin College in 1894."

the faculty, in Cowley's view, continued to view the new officer with disdain.[1]

The Profession

Constructive evaluation from within and outside the professional ranks fosters healthy development of a field. Personnel work, however, has attracted a barrage of criticism which often stymied its own development and blurred its vision of the future.

One bitter, and often repeated, critique dismissed the student personnel movement by calling it a fifth wheel in education which could be ignored.[2] Cowley hastily countered with a quip which became the battle cry for the profession: "Of course personnel work is the fifth wheel! In all problems of student relations it's the most important wheel of all: the steering wheel."[3]

While Cowley was a strong supporter of the student personnel point of view, he was also the field's most severe critic. Historically, humanitarians dominated the ranks, followed by administrators in the 1870's, and joined by

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[1]"The Disappearing Dean of Men," p. 147, and "A Preface to the Principles of Student Counseling," p. 224.

[2]Chauncey S. Boucher, "Progressive Developments in the Colleges," Personnel Journal IX (June 1930): 20-27.

[3]"A Preface to the Principles of Student Counseling," p. 234; "Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," p. 13; and "The Past and Future of Student Personnel Work."

scientists in the early twentieth century.[1] Clinicians, in

the person of psychologically trained counselors, arrived in

the 1940's.[2] Noting the lack of coordination and the excess

of antagonism among these groups, he said: ". . . the so-

called student personnel movement is not a movement at all,

but instead, a collection of independent wheels turning at

different rates and often in different directions."[3] In

order for the field to mature, he insisted upon "the achieve-

ment of unity and solidarity among the national organizations

of personnel workers in higher education" and "the profes-

sionalization of personnel work."[4]

Just as diversity of opinion brought confusion to the

field, different specialty associations slowed any progress

toward achieving a unified national voice. A proposed feder-

ation of council of all agencies dealing with personnel

problems led to the birth of the American Council of Guidance

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[1]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work,"
pp. 158-160; "Student Personnel Services in Retrospect and
Prospect," p. 20; "The Rise of Clientele Services in American
Higher Education," p. 11; and "The Backgrounds of Student Ser-
vices," paper read at Michigan State University, July 7, 1967,
p. 17. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:67-10, Stan-
ford University Archives.

[2]Cowley, Student Personnel Services in American Higher
Education, p. 75.

[3]"Student Personnel Services in Retrospect and Pro-
spect," p. 20.

[4]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work,"
p. 161.

and Personnel Association in 1934,[1] but growing dissatisfac-

tion among the ranks was already evident four years later.

In 1938, Cowley attributed the dissension to the associa-

tion's diverse membership from elementary, secondary, higher

education, industry, and government. Achieving inter-

association cooperation and coordination was ". . . a lofty

dream, but alas it has turned out to be too lofty, and the

personnel people in higher education are hardly any closer

together today than they were when the movement started."[2]

One of Cowley's earliest proposals favored "eliminating

secondary school organizations from joint meetings of the

Association, and to stay in the field of higher education."[3]

He believed personnel work generated unique problems and

issues unlike those in elementary and secondary education.

Years later he continued to advocate the ". . . establishment

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[1]Member agencies were the American College Personnel
Association, Institute of Women's Professional Relations,
National Association of Deans of Women, National Federation
of Bureaus of Occupations, National Vocational Guidance Asso-
ciation, Personnel Research Federation, Southern Women's Edu-
cational Alliance, and Teachers College Personnel Association.
Affiliated organizations were the American Association of
Collegiate Registrars and the National Federation of Business
and Professional Women's Clubs, Inc.

[2]"The History and Philosophy of Student Personnel Work,"
p. 162.

[3]It is assumed in this statement that Cowley also meant
to eliminate elementary education. Report of Meetings on the
Coordination of Personnel Associations, the Executive Commit-
tee of the Deans and Advisers of Men, Cleveland, Ohio,
May 13-14, 1939, p. 2.

of an agency to serve all higher educational personnel
workers. . . ."[1]

But his words were largely ignored. Instead the Asso-
ciation made three attempts at unification in as many decades.[2]
Every attempt generated more, not less, hostility and pro-
phetically confirmed Cowley's belief.[3] It was not until 1963
with the birth of the Council of Student Personnel Associa-
tions in Higher Education that Cowley's 1938 proposal had
finally come to life.

Once an organizational body sustains a united front,
professional standards can be carefully defined. At the heart
of the professionalization rests the need for a comprehensive
training program. In turn, the goals and objectives set
forth in a training program are only as clear as the vision
of the end product.

To determine the kind of professional needed by the
field, Cowley devised a "centric triad" to describe the com-
ponents of a professional body. Practicentrists focus their
attention upon the practice of their professional credo,

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[1]National Association of Student Personnel Administra-
tors, Proceedings of Thirty-eighth Anniversary Conference
(Berkeley and Stanford, California, 1956), p. 161.

[2]In 1952, the American Council of Guidance and Person-
nel Association was replaced with the American Personnel and
Guidance Association, formed as a cooperative venture of
national organizations with a broad membership base.

[3]The attempts focused on unifying the membership. The
voice of dissension came largely from the members of ACPA, an
affiliate of the APGA, who felt that the parent association
did not adequately represent personnel workers in higher edu-
cation.

democentrists are generalists who interpret the profession to other professional bodies and the public, and logocentrists are primary thinkers who undertake research to expand the knowledge of the field.[1] Each group plays an integral part in a profession because ". . . no field moves ahead unless it has these three types of people."[2] While the majority of personnel were practicentrists, ". . . few logocentrists have emerged . . . to create a solid body of knowledge. . . ." Without the dynamic work of the logocentrists, the field would stagnate.[3]

Cowley called for a "solid curriculum" to train logocentrists, but did not outline its content. In the late 1940's he did, however, suggest that "its faculty should include not only professors of the several divisions of psychology which bear upon personnel work but also professors of personnel sociology, student demography, personnel administration, and personnel history and philosophy."[4]

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[1]Cowley derived this terminology from Greek. The adjective centric means centered in, practice is from the noun praxis, demos means people in general, and logos is a term for knowledge. Student Personnel Services in American Higher Education, pp. 181-182; "Student Personnel Work--Past, Present, Future," paper read at a Workshop on Administration in Student Personnel Work, Stanford University, July 13, 1959, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-14, Stanford University Archives; "Reflections of a Troublesome But Hopeful Rip Van Winkle, pp. 11-13; "The Background of Student Services," pp.20-21.

[2]"The Backgrounds of Student Services," p. 21.

[3]"Reflections of a Troublesome But Hopeful Rip Van Winkle," p. 13.

[4]"Some History and a Venture in Prophecy," p. 26.

In the early fifties, he urged the field to concentrate

on research exploring how the institution and the student

influence each other through anthropology, sociology, psy-

chology, politics, and demography.[1] Not until the late 1950's

did the deluge of research on the college and the student

begin. In 1969, the first comprehensive research on college

impact appeared.[2]

Although Cowley publicly defended personnel work as the

"steering wheel" in education, he also privately considered

every position he had held in the field as a "cul-de-sac"

with no potential for professional advancement.[3] Inevitably,

personal dissatisfaction increased as his intellectual sphere

out-grew the parameters of personnel work.

Meanwhile, his assessment of personnel work apparently

was justified. Several of his peers concluded:

> The publication of The Student Personnel Point of
> View marked the end of the period of fluid, individual-
> istic development of college personnel programs. Since

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[1]Student Personnel Services in American Higher Educa-
tion, pp. 182-183.

[2]Philip E. Jacobs, reporting his research in Changing
Values in College (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), introduced
the notion that certain institutions possess a "peculiar
potency," or distinctive institutional climate, which deci-
sively influences the student's development. Much of the
research which followed was volumninous, though limited in
scope, until Kenneth A. Feldman and Theodore M. Newcomb pro-
duced their landmark volume, The Impact of College on Stu-
dents 2 vols. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969).

[3]Interview with W. H. Cowley, Art Glogau. 11 December
1973. This interview focused on his work and experiences in
the field of personnel work.

> the appearance of the pamphlet, most college person-
> nel programs have been organized or reorganized
> around the services approach to personnel work.
> This trend . . . has also tended to standardize col-
> lege personnel programs without consideration being
> given to the particular institution, its size, and
> its educational aims. In a sense, the work of the
> 1937 conference defined the 'empire' of personnel
> work and simultaneously circumscribed it. . . .
> college personnel work figuratively stopped growing
> in 1937.[1]

Cowley's single most visible contribution, participa-

tion in the 1937 conference, was the beginning of the end.

He looked for a way out and left the field shortly after pub-

lication of the committee's report. Ironically, his escape

proved to be a more disappointing cul-de-sac: he became pres-

ident of Hamilton.

At the same time Cowley attempted to find himself in

the twenties the field of student personnel work also sought

its identity. Characteristic of any pioneer venture, defini-

tion of the field was subject to individual interpretation.

The confusion that abounded in the thirties described Cowley's

thought as much as it did the field in general. His single

most valuable contribution to the field put an end to that

confusion. The Student Personnel Point of View laid the

philosophical basis for the field and clearly reflected his

ideas and thought. He was a strong proponent of the services

approach, a functional view which established organizational

structure but weakened his philosophical position of holism.

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[1] Barry and Wolf, Modern Issues in Guidance-Personnel
Work, p. 25.

Although regarded by the field's professional body as its foremost historian, he never published his research in book form. His research concentrated on the historical forces of the nineteenth century which shaped higher education; later this work was to become his arsenal in his battle against intellectualism. Although his pleas repeatedly fell on deaf ears, his recommendations to achieve professional unity and professionalization among personnel workers bore fruit over twenty-five years later. A strong supporter of the field, he had also become its most severe critic: the fifth wheel of education had, at the same time, become a cul-de-sac. And like an adolescent who comes of age, he departed the field as it matured into a profession.

CHAPTER VI

THE HISTORY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Historical Scholarship

Each generation views the past in terms of its own
experiences and interests. While the nineteenth-century his-
torian "celebrated the individual and honored moral virtues,"
their successors of the twentieth century "concerned them-
selves more largely with forces than with persons."[1] But the
United States was yet a comparatively young nation, and the
twentieth-century historian was just as self-conscious as
earlier generations of historians to chronicle this experi-
ment of a nation.

As part of this great experiment, the university had
scarcely matured as a unique American institution when schol-
ars busily set themselves to work to explain the forces that
had produced and sustained it. Scholars from a number of
disciplines contributed to specific areas within the field, a
tendency which continues to dominate the literature. Dressel
and Mayhew state that "linkages with other fields are for the
most part unidirectional--higher education draws upon them

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[1]Commager, The American Mind, pp. 287 and 290.

but contributes little in return." Historical research is yet another matter, for these authors conclude that "the history of higher education has produced a few landmark synthesizing works but the linkages with history and other fields have been relatively weak." The wealth of historical insights available through the fields of sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, anthropology, and mathematical or statistical analysis have yet to be explored.[1] Meanwhile, the result has been a fragmented view of the history of higher education.[2]

Cowley attempted to be one of these exceptions. His initial interest in the history of higher education was only incidental to student personnel work and academic government, but slowly intensified in the forties and fifties as he settled in his role of teacher and scholar. By the 1950's, his historical scholarship moved from a means to an end in itself. In his latter years, it consumed all his attention.

Yet he did not view himself as a historian: "I am not, may I observe, an historian and am not, despite rumors I keep hearing, engaged in writing a history of higher education."[3]

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[1] Higher Education as a Field of Study, p. 100.

[2] Bernard Bailyn's commentary of higher education in Education in the Forming of American Society (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1972), pp. 87-91, illustrates that historical scholarship has been largely focused on institutional histories.

[3] W. H. Cowley, "The Heritage and Purposes of Higher Education," Vital Speeches 21 (1 May 1955): 1204.

Only a few years after this statement, however, he embarked

on just such an enterprise. His devotion to the subject

gained him a reputation as one of the field's noted histo-

rians. Frederick Rudolph, an authority in higher educational

history, expressed a well-known perception when he stated

that ". . . probably no one else knew as much as he did about

the history of American higher education."[1]

Even though Cowley did not begin concentrating on his-

tory until mid-century, he was influenced by the first gener-

ation of twentieth-century historians who took an avid

interest in facts, if only to justify and defend American

principles and practices. Thus, it is no accident that

Cowley concentrated on exposing myths and misconceptions

present in the field. He was also profoundly influenced by

two World Wars which threatened the foundation and moral

order of the western world. "The iron compulsion of events

forced, temporarily, a reconsideration of basic assumptions,

a restatement of traditional doctrines, and a revival of

philosophical inquiries."[2] In education, efforts to deline-

ate a coherent and viable philosophy of education focused on

liberal and general education. Cowley eagerly joined the

lively debate which ensued.

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[1]Book review of Presidents, Professors, and Trustees,
in The Journal of Higher Education 52 (May/June 1981): 322.

[2]Commager, The American Mind, p. 281.

It is difficult, however, to assess the impact of
Cowley's contributions to the history of higher education.
Unlike his many published journal articles in student person-
nel administration and academic government, most of his writ-
ing on this topic remains unpublished. To date, little has
been subject to peer criticism. Nevertheless, he did main-
tain an extensive correspondence with other educators and
historians and constructed formidable course outlines.

Only one of Cowley's manuscripts which included history
was published as a book, Presidents, Professors and Trustees,
and its delay in publication severely hindered its impact.
He used history in defense of his treatise about the evolu-
tion of American academic government. He first made refer-
ence to this manuscript in 1958, but titled it "Professors,
Presidents, and Trustees."[1] At least several known draft
versions exist for he was forever revising, reorganizing, and
refining his work.[2] For Cowley, the manuscript remained in

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[1]Completed in 1961, this manuscript was an expanded
format of another uncompleted draft of 1958 on the academic
presidency.

[2]In 1959, he announced the writing of a book to be
entitled American Academic Government, though no such manu-
script can be found among his papers. Only the two manu-
scripts mentioned here were in existence at this time and it
is assumed that Cowley was referring to one or both of these.
He made this announcement in an address presented at the Con-
ference of the Committee on the Development of Engineering
Facilities, "Understanding the Academic World," in Cleveland,
Ohio, 19-21 November, and published in the Journal of Engi-
neering Education 51 (November 1960): 89-92.

a state of permanent incompletion.[1] After his death, it

finally took shape with the help of an editor, D. T. Williams,

and was published in 1980.

One can only surmise the potential impact if this volume

had been published when initially completed. With this manu-

script, as with all others, he refused to publish for fear

that

> . . . its publication would probably furnish another
> target for the critics of educationists who welcome
> opportunities to deplore our 'inadequate scholar-
> ship.'[2]

Yet, in writing a critical review of a book in 1949 he

made the following statement:

> Knowing something of the complexities and difficul-
> ties of educational history writing, the reviewer
> presents these criticisms in the spirit expressed
> by Dean de Baron Russell Briggs of Harvard: 'We all
> live in glass houses; yet we must accept the duty--
> and take the risk--of throwing stones.' The stones
> must fly until educational history comes up to
> standard.[3]

For Cowley, the fear of broken glass must have, indeed,

been disabling.

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[1]A portion of this manuscript appeared as a journal
article, "Some Myths About Professors, Presidents, and
Trustees," Teachers College Record 64 (November 1962): 159-171.

[2]W. H. Cowley, "The Higher Learning Versus the Higher
Education," p. 39.

[3]Review of The University of Wisconsin: A History,
1848-1925, by Merle Curti and Vernon Cartenson. The American
Academy of Political and Social Science. Annals. 226
(November 1949): 232.

The Dimensions of History

History provided Cowley with a broad perspective:

> I am concerned with problems of the here and now and use history as one of the dozen or so tools. . . . Long ago I learned that coping adequately with the present requires an understanding of the historic continuum. This I visualize as a graph whereon the present constitutes but a fleeting point in time emerging from the long and direction-pointing past into the ever-arriving future. All previous history has made its markings on the graph, and we add ours to the continuum that the past forces upon us and from which we can deviate only when we have enough power to counteract its inertia.[1]

He also believed that movements throughout history are often the result of sudden and dramatic surges of energy rather than a steady stream of events responding to a consistent rate of change.[2] Thus, social and cultural change is induced at an expotential rate. He explained:

> I postulate that history, and in particular the history of educational institutions, can best be understood in terms of increases in the energy at man's command, that is, in terms of power saltations.[3]

The Education of Henry Adams,[4] an autobiographical statement as well as a study of the relationship of science

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[1]"The Heritage and Purposes of Higher Education," p. 1204.

[2]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities," 1955, Stanford University, p. 114. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-D, Stanford University Archives; and "Saltation," in Do You Teach? by Hugh Hildreth Skilling (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969), p. 90.

[3]"A Short History of American Higher Education," p. 2. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:61-4, Stanford University Archives.

[4]Adams (New York: Random House, 1931).

to history, influenced Cowley's historical perspective.[1]

Adams articulated a law of acceleration to describe the

forces of change produced by science and technology. The net

effect, he predicted, was that the accelerated rate of change

would surpass the ability of the nineteenth-century mind to

be its master. To control the unlimited power of science,

the mind of the future must leap; it would need to become a

student of the very force it created.[2] Although Cowley was

convinced of the concept's utility, he found Adams' termi-

nology unacceptable and substituted saltation for accelera-

tion.[3]

Borrowing from Adams' thought, Cowley described five

saltations which characterize history. The first saltation

occurred in the sixth century B.C. when ". . . 'the light of

Greece' again began to shine in Europe, or, in other words,

when the power that the Greeks had developed became known to

Europeans."[4] George Sarton, a Harvard historian of science,

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[1]Cowley's insight on power is attributed to a reading of Gerard Piel, who in his address before the Annual National Conference on Higher Education, April 19-22, 1964, discussed Adams' law of acceleration. The address was published as "The Acceleration of History," 1964 Current Issues in Higher Education: Undergraduate Education, ed. G. Kerry Smith (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Higher Education, pp. 22-32.

[2]The Education of Henry Adams, pp. 487-498.

[3]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities," p. 115.

[4]Ibid., p. 116.

strengthens Cowley's position by stating that ". . . the

sixth century is a period of far greater activity . . . a

real explosion of intellectual energy. . . ."[1]

He found strong support in his choice for the second

saltation, the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, which

brought "the revival of knowledge of Greek and Latin litera-

ture in Italy and especially in Florence."[2] Hastings Rash-

dall, an eminent authority on the medieval university, stated

that "the beginning of the eleventh century represents, as

nearly as it is possible to fix it, the turning point in the

intellectual history of Europe."[3]

The third saltation figured in the sixteenth century

as a result of the achievements of Columbus, Machiavelli,

Erasmus, Luther, and Copernicus. For supporting evidence,

Cowley turned to Lord Acton, Regius Professor History at

Cambridge in 1895, who agreed "it was an awakening of new

life; the world revolved in a different orbit, determined by

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[1]Introduction to the History of Science, 5 vols.
(Melbourne, Florida: Robert E. Kreiger Pub. Co., Inc., 1975),
vol. 1, p. 65.

[2]"A Holistic Overview of American College and Univer-
sities," p. 116.

[3]The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, 1936
revision of 1895 edition, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press),
Vol. I, p. 33. Similar statements are made by Crane Brinton
in Ideas and Men: The Story of Western Thought 2nd ed.
(Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p. 202;
and James J. Walsh in The Thirteenth, Greatest of Centuries
12th ed. (New York: Fordham University Press; D. X. McMullen
Co., distributors, 1952 (1907)).

influences unknown before . . . the controversial spirit began to make room for the scientific."[1]

The Enlightenment produced the fourth saltation which Cowley considered ". . . a continuation of the Renaissance."[2] Although the Enlightenment commonly means the intense intellectual and spiritual power which developed in the eighteenth-century, he relied heavily upon Kant who defined it as the liberation from the authority of organized religion.

Another spectacular leap occurred in the last half of the eighteenth century, commonly referred to as the Industrial Revolution. This term proved to be limiting and Cowley preferred to describe the process as the modern power saltation. "The great change," he wrote, "came when machine power began spectacularly to replace muscle power."[3] The impact of this surge of energy held special significance:

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[1]John Emerich Edward Dalberg Acton, Essays on Freedom and Power, ed. Gertrude Himmelfarb (Boston: Beacon Press, 1948), pp. 32-33, as quoted in Cowley, "A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities," p. 117.

[2]"A Holistic Overview . . . ," p. 117.

[3]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities," p. 118. In "Saltation," p. 90, he listed six events which precipitated the Power Saltation: the invention of Watt's steam engine which began the age of machine power; publication of Adam Smith's book, The Wealth of Nations, which provided the economic theory for the new age; Lavoisier's study of chemistry, including his law of combustion, which encouraged science; the Declaration of Independence which stipulated that the power to govern is derived from the consent of the governed; taking education out of the hands of organized religion by separating church and state; the broadening of the base of education because of the outlawing of inherited privileges involved in primogeniture.

Of all the saltations of recorded history, it seems
to me the most herculean. More thoroughly than any
other it has changed and continues to change the
technological and economic foundations of society. . . .[1]

Application of this saltation's effect on the develop-

ment of the American college and university was the focus of

a completed manuscript in 1961 entitled "A Short History of

American Higher Education," which was never published. In

this manuscript and several additional outlines, he examined

the development of the college and university in light of

the saltation's impact on the expansion of knowledge.

To Cowley, movements of energy characterize history,

and specific chronological classifications provided the

dimension for its interpretation. Yet the use of chronolog-

ical classifications raises several issues. If the institu-

tion is merely a reflection of its environment, it loses its

luster of uniqueness in American culture. Developments in

structure and function become subject to prevailing trends;

hence, the institution's autonomy is continually challenged.

The college and university become a depository of spent

ideas. While it is important that the college and university

preserve knowledge and maintain a foothold in tradition, it

is equally necessary to promote autonomy and blaze new trails

of truth. In other words, the colleges and universities

which seek direction through external constraint also

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[1]"A Holistic Overview . . . ."

compromise internal integrity.[1]

If the understanding of history can be narrowed to a single chronology of events, then Cowley's view of the college and university would, indeed, be limited. To compensate for this limitation, he attempted to construct a historical overview of higher education by topical headings in 1970. No manuscript ever evolved.

Myths and Misconceptions

"Much of the weakness of the writings on the history of education is . . . ," Bailyn writes, "their foreshortening, their wrenching of events from historical context, their persistent anachronism; and for this there is no better corrective than the study of antecedents."[2] Though Cowley was unaware of Bailyn's statement, he studied antecedents to dispel myths and misconceptions which had tainted the annals of higher education. As an English major at Dartmouth during the twenties, he was readily influenced by the novelists and poets of the day whose literature echoed a search for validity and meaning about American values and life. Like these authors, Cowley sought justification for some popular beliefs associated with higher education. His study of history became

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[1]This issue has also been raised by Derek Bok, who reaffirms the college and university's traditional purposes of teaching and research in Beyond the Ivory Tower: Social Responsibilities of the Modern University (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1982).

[2]Education in the Forming of Society, p. 59.

a lifetime devotion and provided a well-fortified defense to quell outspoken critics of higher education.

"Perhaps one of the most persistent myths prevailing in American higher education," he insisted, is "that a golden age once existed wherein professors operated their own institutions in some sort of 'free republic of scholars.'"[1] Neither the medieval universities of student-controlled Bologna or the ecclesiastically regulated Paris could boast of such a golden age. Only the fellows of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge came close to the formation of free republics of scholars, but this autonomy led to such inertia and stagnation from the mid-seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century that the British government initiated reform and regulation. Even the much-heralded self-governing rights and academic freedom in the German universities failed to consider that the ministry of education in each of the states held ultimate power over budgets, finances, and appointment of all holders of salaried academic posts.[2]

His motive in disclaiming this concept is not readily apparent to the casual observer. While President of Hamilton, he had a strained relationship with the faculty. Moreover, it was the faculty he had blamed for his downfall and eventual resignation. In his opinion, the faculty had firmly entrenched themselves in control of the institution prior to

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[1]Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 9.

[2]Ibid., pp. 10-28.

his arrival. The president was expected to comply with the

dictates of a small, but powerful, oligarchy of senior pro-

fessors. Any assertion by the president contrary to their

desire was viewed with open contempt. Whether or not Cowley's

perception matches that of reality is not under scrutiny here;

the important point is that Cowley's perception provided the

motive to disclaim the faculty's pretentions to being "a

republic of scholars."

According to Cowley, the notion of a free republic of

scholars only perpetuates another popular myth:

> . . . that lay governing boards and the office of col-
> lege president are American inventions--and the related
> fable that wily business tycoons, using the commercial
> corporation as their model, have foisted lay boards
> and presidents upon defrauded professors.[1]

He noted that the existence of a lay board of trustees

emerged in Italy to unleash professors from the domination

of student guilds, a development which took place over two

hundred years before the founding of the first American col-

lege. The Reformation precipitated the initiation of an

external board of nonacademics at Geneva Academy[2] and Univer-

sity of Leyden in the Netherlands, which in turn were modified

at the College of Edinburgh[3] and the University of Aberdeen

in Scotland and Trinity College at Dublin, Ireland. Although

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[1] Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 2.

[2] This institution is presently known as the University
of Geneva.

[3] Its name was later changed to the University of
Edinburgh.

Harvard and William and Mary adopted Leyden's and Trinity's two-board, or bicameral structure, most colonial colleges chose to follow Yale's unicameral system which was deeply grounded in Calvinistic tenets.[1]

Cowley thought that Americans cannot lay claim to the origins of the office of the academic presidency because its roots lie deep in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge of the thirteenth-century. Each of these colleges, as an autonomous corporation independent of any university authority, had a head who enjoyed indefinite tenure after election by his fellows. In addition, the Netherlands, Scotland, Australia, and Canada established comparable heads of their universities.[2]

Faculty members have never been a free republic, but neither have they been defrauded of their authority by trustees and presidents. Instead, Cowley argues, faculty authority has made great strides in determining curricular and research policy. The bicameral structuring of Harvard and William and Mary encouraged early faculty governance, while progress proceeded slower at unicameral colleges. During the nineteenth century when growth of institutional size necessitated formal faculty organization, their authority increased considerably.[3]

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[1]Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, pp. 29-48.

[2]Ibid., pp. 49-51.

[3]Ibid., pp. 71-77.

If faculty authority increased throughout the last hundred years, then presidential leadership gradually diminished. The nineteenth century was the golden age for presidents[1] where many, although serving autocratically, immortalized themselves to the institution. Cowley's own presidency demonstrates his desire to return to this golden age; his scholarship heralds the president as just and deserving, a reward he himself never received.

Another myth is the notion that the seven liberal arts constitute the curricular ideal. He directed his opposition to Mark Van Doren, who defended the liberal arts as central in traditional education:

> Tradition, grounded in more than two milleniums of intellectual history, calls them grammar, rhetoric, and logic; arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. . . . So the old ones, numbering seven, must be saved until such time as their meaning can be transferred without loss to another set.[2]

He believed instead that history confirms the exaggeration of the seven liberal arts' acclaimed brillance. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans had any knowledge of such an entity as the seven liberal arts; they partook of all the wisdom of their age and would have scoffed at the suggestion to be bound to the limitation of a prescribed curriculum. The term,

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[1]Clark Kerr, in The Uses of the University (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1964), pp. 29-36, referred to this period as the age of the giant presidents.

[2]Liberal Education (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 81.

liberal arts, did not appear until the beginning of the
Christian era and the total did not become seven until the
fourth century. Its two divisions, the Trivium and Quadri-
vium, were not used as designations until the ninth century.
Furthermore, the replacement of the impoverished seven
liberal arts by the mental, moral, and natural philosophies
of Aristotle resulted in the rise of the universities in
the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[1] George P. Schmidt
agrees with Cowley's conclusion: "An accidental assemblage
to begin with, it was pretty thin fare until enriched by the
three philosophies of Aristotle in the high Middle Ages."[2]

In Cowley's view, the proponents of the seven liberal
arts "were in effect urging the colleges to return to a
course of study which higher education subordinated some 800
years ago."[3] Charles H. Haskins, an American authority on
medieval universities, offered a similar conclusion: "So long
as knowledge was limited to the seven liberal arts of the
early Middle Ages, there could be no universities, . . ."[4]

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[1]W. H. Cowley, "A Short History of American Higher Edu-
cation," pp. 4-5 of the preface.

[2]The Liberal Arts College, p. 238.

[3]"The Seven Liberal Arts Hoax," Improving College and
University Teaching 26(1) (Winter 1978): 99.

[4]The Rise of Universities (New York: Henry Holt and
Company, 1923), p. 7.

Toward a Philosophy of Education

As Americans enjoyed progress at the turn of the twentieth century, events at home and abroad soon forced them to reexamine their values and beliefs. World War I shattered national complacency, followed by a decade of escapism. A step back to reality came as a result of a catastrophic economic upheaval which brought the country to a halt; it was barely on the road to recovery when it plunged into a second world war. These sobering events had a profound influence in higher education. "Choices and opportunities were multiplying," wrote Schmidt, "but the sense of direction was weak."[1] During this period of soul-searching,[2] colleges and universities found themselves in a ". . . struggle for definition of the basic aims of higher education."[3]

Attention focused on the merits and worthiness of liberal and vocational education. Personal philosophies and experience rather than research were the substance of the debates which ensued. This war of ideas resulted in two conflicting schools of thought, the conservatives versus the

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[1]The Liberal Arts College, p. 207.

[2]Cremin, in The Transformation of the School, states that "there was a good deal of experiment during the twenties and thirties, as well as much soul-searching about the aims of liberal education, about who should go to college and why, about what studies are of most worth, and about how best to humanize and integrate knowledge for purposes of instruction," p. 308.

[3]Mehdi Nakosteen, The History and Philosophy of Education (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1965), p. 526.

progressives.[1] But by the second quarter of the twentieth-century, the controversy centered on the personal philosophies of two thinkers, the outspoken conservatism of Robert M. Hutchins and the democratic progressivism of John Dewey.

By comparison, it was Hutchins who drew the most fire. He embraced modern rationalism, a mind-centered educational philosophy closely aligned with the metaphysics, logic, and ethics of Aristotle. Mental discipline was cultivated primarily through the classics. The chief purpose of higher learning became the preserving and transmitting of the enduring truths and insights known as the Great Tradition. To think in abstractions is the essence of the intellect: problem-solving had no place in liberal college education.

Cowley argued with Hutchins' insistence that the university education should be strictly intellectual, not social or moral or vocational.[2] He embraced Dewey's pragmatic-instrumentalist school of thought where "principles, truths,

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[1]A treatment of these two schools of thought can be found in Chapter 10 of Schmidt, The Liberal Arts College, and Chapters 15, 16, and 17 of R. Freeman Butts, The College Charts Its Course (New York, 1939). Representing the conservative position with varying emphases were leaders like Irving Babbit, Paul Elmer More, Abraham Flexner, Norman Foerster, Mortimer Adler, Stringfellow Barr, Scott Buchanan, Charles H. Judd and Nicholas Murray Butler. Among the progressives were such educators as Francis Parker, William James, George S. Counts, Alfred North Whitehead, Carl Van Doren, Harry D. Gideonse, and R. Freeman Butts.

[2]He answered Hutchins' admonishments in The Higher Learning in America and No Friendly Voice (The University of Chicago, 1936) with his celebrated inaugural address at Hamilton, "Intelligence Is Not Enough."

and knowledge are derived rather than pre-established."[1] To

Dewey, the key to education is experience. Experience became

the instrument of inquiry into problem-solving; solutions

rested with theory and practice. While Hutchins treated

intelligence as an end, Dewey treated it as a means.[2] Influ-

enced by Dewey's concept of cultural transmission,[3] Cowley

defined education as ". . . the product of the process of

acquiring new knowledge, skills, and attitudes, that is new

subjective and projective modes of behaving. Nature and cul-

ture both trigger the process, the latter predominating."[4]

The extent of Hutchins' or Dewey's influence can best

be measured by changes each brought to programs of study.

Because conservatism prevailed at most institutions, few

academics became complete devotees. Only one college, St.

[1]Nakosteen, The History and Philosophy of Education,
p. 606.

[2]Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition,
p. 301.

[3]This concept is the focus of Dewey's Experience and
Education (New York: Collier Books, 1938), but is introduced
in an earlier publication, namely the widely-read Democracy
and Education (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1916).

[4]Cowley, writing with D. T. Williams, in "The Meaning
of 'Higher Education,'" Educational Forum 33 (May 1969): 505,
acknowledged Dewey's influence and stated that the transmis-
sion of culture occurs through acculturation, enculturation,
interculturation, socialization, and indoctrination. Cowley
considered this definition of education synonymous with
enculturation, which ". . . is the more or less protracted
process by means of which societies put into their members
that which they consider important for their continuity,"
p. 502.

Johns in Annapolis, adopted Hutchins' idea.[1] Dewey's view-
point won more acceptance,[2] although institutions modified
their programs in accordance with local circumstances and their
perception of progressivism. Prime examples to tailor the
curriculum to the needs of students proceeded at colleges
like Sarah Lawrence, Bennington, Black Mountain, Bard, Rol-
lins, and Goddard.[3]

It was the 1945 Harvard Report on General Education in
a Free Society, the most influential document of the period,
which attempted to strike a balance between the conservatives
and progressives.[4] "The true task of education is therefore
so to reconcile the sense of pattern and direction deriving
from heritage with the sense of experiment and innovation
deriving from science that they may exist fruitfully together."[5]

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[1] Hutchins actually was not the first pioneer of the
Great Books idea, but it was the brainchild of John Erskine,
a Columbia English professor, who organized a colloquium for
selected upperclass students in Great Books of the Western
World some years before.

[2] Several of Dewey's more outspoken disciples were
Sidney Hook and Harold Taylor. Broad support also came from
the 1947 six-volume report of the Commission of Higher Educa-
tion appointed by President Truman.

[3] Cremin, The Transformation of the School, p. 208.

[4] Raphael Demos, "Philosophical Aspects of the Recent
Harvard Report," Philosophy and Phenomenological Research 7
(December 1946): 187-263. Also see his "Reply" to critics,
ibid., p. 265. A different perspective is presented by
Malcolm M. Marsden, "General Education: Compromise between
Transcendentalism and Pragmatism," Journal of General Educa-
tion 7 (July 1953): 228-239.

[5] General Education in a Free Society, p. 50.

While Brubacher states that the Harvard Report was ". . .
Aristotelian in spirit,"[1] Cowley viewed it ". . . somewhere
between absolutism and relativism, but much closer to the
latter than to the former."[2]

As Brubacher has reported, few were satisfied with the
report. "The defenders of heritage" regarded it as too brash
and the defenders of experiment "regarded it as too mild."[3]
Although Cowley heralded the Report as ". . . the most sig-
nificant statement about American education produced thus far
in the twentieth century," he also criticized it for philo-
sophically ". . . lacking in clarity." He pointed out that
". . . the Committee has mildly but nonetheless firmly
refused to align itself with any of the several varieties of
authoritarians . . . who have recently been pushing their
doctrines . . ."[4]

Concern for liberal education continued in the guise of
the general education movement.[5] "It is obvious, nonetheless,"
Hardy writes, "that the term 'general education' is trying to
recover for the modern student much of what liberal education

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[1]Higher Education in Transition, p. 303.

[2]"The Harvard Report--A Review," p. 62.

[3]Higher Education in Transition, p. 303.

[4]"The Harvard Report--A Review," pp. 57 and 62.

[5]Schmidt, The Liberal Arts College, p. 225. The
National Society for the Study of Education devoted two year-
books to this subject: the Thirty-eighth Yearbook, 1939,
Part II--General Education in the American College and the
Fifty-first Yearbook, 1952, Part I--General Education.

formerly claimed as its purpose--. . . ."[1]

Due to the many meanings of general education imposed by educators, a host of variations in programs resulted.[2] Hardy differentiates several different camps of interpretation: "One group of educators interprets general education as meaning a common body of knowledge that all people should have."[3] The emphasis here is on subject matter and leads to a prescribed, standardized curriculum. The 1945 Harvard Report gave widespread support to this view.[4]

Another viewpoint, Hardy points out, interprets ". . . general education to mean the training of the student in the processes of learning."[5] Here the focus is on the student rather than subject matter. This view won its strongest

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[1]Hofstadter and Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, p. 210.

[2]With Columbia as the trail-blazer of the later called orientation and survey course, general education soon became a separate university activity altogether focusing on the first two years as the nonprofessional and non-specialized program of study. Notable examples were the University of Wisconsin's Experimental College in existence from 1927-1932 and its Program of Integrated Studies begun in 1948, as well as Columbia's School of General Studies and the University of Minnesota's General College and Department of General Studies which took shape after World War II.

[3]The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, p. 210.

[4]General Education in a Free Society noted that the chief concern of American education is "the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system" and prescribed courses in the social sciences, humanities, and the natural sciences.

[5]The Development and Scope . . . , p. 212.

support with the American Council on Education which devised a Design for General Education for use by the armed services.[1]

Yet other thinkers believed that ". . . the best content and method of general education probably lies between the thinking of these two schools, or more accurately, in a combination of the two."[2] Cowley aligned himself with this view, defining general education as "education for the good life."[3] This concept of the good life differs from age to age and is based upon four philosophical and social issues: the nature of reality and truth, the nature of knowledge, the nature of man, and the nature of society.[4] These issues, together with the collective knowledge, skills, and attitudes of the people of that age, shape a curriculum which promotes "education for advanced commonality."[5]

While Cowley advocated the social aspects of general education, Alfred North Whitehead believed in only one

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[1]Problem-type courses in four areas--personal and community health, problems of social adjustment, marriage and family adjustment, and vocational orientation--were designed according to the needs of the student.

[2]Hardy, The Development and Scope. . . , p. 213.

[3]Course Outline for The Curriculum of Higher Education, Third Lecture: General Education Curriculum, 19 July 1950, Stanford University, p. 15, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:50-9, Stanford University Archives.

[4]Course Outline for The Curriculum of Higher Education, Fourth Lecture: The Problems of General or Pandemic Education, 19 July 1948, Stanford University, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:48-7, Stanford University Archives.

[5]"The Heritage and Purposes of Higher Education, p. 1206.

curriculum to stimulate and guide a student's self-development: "There is only one subject-matter for education, and that is Life in all its manifestations." Learning was keyed to the "joy of discovery"; therefore, the use of subjects destroyed the vitality of the curriculum.[1] An effective university education in Jose Ortega y Gasset's opinion, demanded "the genius for integration."[2] More specifically, he suggested this could be accomplished through a synthesis of culture and society.[3]

Despite the wide usage of the term general education, Cowley, like Hardy,[4] argued for its abandonment due to its vague and ambigious meaning. He proposed the adoption of "pandemic education," a term which he defined as "education for all the People." As its corollary, he coined the term "technodemic education," "education for special groups of

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[1]The Aims of Education, and Other Essays (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1959), pp. 3 and 10.

[2]The Mission of the University (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1966), p.

[3]Ortega y Gasset devoted Chapter V of Mission of the University to this subject. Also see Chapters 2-3 of Huston Smith, The Purposes of Higher Education (New York: Harper & Row, 1955) and Chapter 1 of Courtney Murray, "The Making of a Pluralistic Society: A Catholic View," in Erich A. Walter, ed., Religion and the State University (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958).

[4]The Development and Scope. . . , p. 210.

people for their special purposes,"[1] to replace special

education.[2]

None of the terms that Cowley coined have since been

popularly recognized in the literature; therefore, it is

highly questionable if he succeeded in clarifying terminology.

In all his gallant efforts, he may have succeeded only in

muddying the waters of educational terminology even more.

But Cowley's lack of impact serves as a reminder of higher

education's search for direction during this period. "In

spite of the identity crises through which higher education

was going," Brubacher and Rudy write, "no comprehensive and

coherent philosophy of its role emerged."[3] If higher educa-

tion had failed in its search and struggle, it was merely

reflecting the American scene. According to Commager, efforts

to establish a firm philosophical basis of democracy through

reform and reconstruction produced nothing significant.[4]

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[1]Course Outline for the Curriculum of Higher Education.
Eleventh Lecture, Special Education: Terminology and History.
Spring/Winter 1949, p. 2. Stanford University. W. H. Cowley
Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:49-31, Stanford University
Archives.

[2]During earlier debates of distinctions between cul-
tural and vocational education, Alexander Meiklejohn's reso-
lution included the use of the terms general and special
education. The Experimental College (New York: Harper & Row,
1932), p. 17.

[3]Higher Education in Transition, p. 306.

[4]The American Mind, p. 278.

The Nature of the College and University

Before educators could resolve their differences, new
developments were afoot by mid-century to challenge the
fabric of higher education. Progressivism was floundering.[1]
The relevance of liberal education was being tested by the
World War II servicemen who returned to campuses in unprece-
dented numbers seeking vocational training, technical skills,
and professional expertise. By sheer numbers alone, the uni-
versity overwhelmed the college. To many students, liberal
arts and general education were incidental to utilitarian
subjects.[2] Then Sputnik intensified national efforts to
advance science and technology. Increased federal aid led
to a renewed emphasis in the institution's service function.

Traditionally, the college and university enjoyed
autonomy while the faculty practiced a disinterested objec-
tivity to issues. By the 1960's, student activists politi-
cized the institution and challenged this "value-free" neu-
trality.[3] The character of the institution was being threat-
ened. The college and university, instruments of social

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[1]The clearest evidence is offered by Cremin in his
opening statement of his landmark volume about the movement:
"The death of the Progressive Education Association in 1955
and the passing of its journal, Progressive Education, two
years later marked the end of an era in American pedagogy."
The Transformation of the School, p. vii.

[2]Brubacher and Rudy, in Higher Education in Transition,
state that "the traditional goal of providing a liberating
experience gave way to that of advancing and only inciden-
tally transmitting knowledge," p. 304.

[3]Ibid., pp. 304-305.

reform in the past, now became the subject of reform. The demand to reexamine and rethink the role of American higher education became the difficult task of a new generation of educational leaders.

Cowley joined these leaders, but unlike so many administrators who were under fire in the late 1960's, his role was that of teacher and scholar. From a distant window of academe, he took notice of the emotional intensity on the nation's campuses while his attention focused on a far-sighted vision to view the college and university collectively and comprehensively. How his thought compares to his peers sheds light on the emerging role and character of the college and university.

In 1939, Cowley wrote that "the university in the United States is sui generis,"[1] a statement repeated by Brubacher and Rudy several decades later.[2] According to Hofstader and Hardy, "they have become institutions possessed of vigorous life and character of their own, and have become examples to the rest of the world."[3] Clark Kerr termed the

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[1] "European Influences upon American Higher Education," The Educational Record 20 (April 1939): 165; and "The University in the United States of America," in The University Outside Europe: Essays on the Development of University Institutions in Fourteen Countries, p. 37.

[2] Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 400.

[3] The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, p. 226.

American university as "unique" and "distinctive"[1] while

Jacques Barzun described them as "unlike any other."[2]

When Cowley published a detailed analysis of European

influences to the development of American higher education

in 1939,[3] he was only one among many during this century who

have sought to understand its distinct features. After the

turn of the century, Lyman Abbott, a clergyman and editor of

Outlook, contrasted the American university with its European

counterparts and concluded that the English university re-

volved around culture and the production of gentleman aristo-

crats, the German university idealized scholarship and the

production of scholars, while the American university strove

for the service ideal and preparation of individuals for

active men of affairs.[4] Kerr repeated this comparison in

1963 when he attempted to describe the ideal university.[5]

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[1]The Uses of the University, 1964, pp. 2 and 46.

[2]The American University (New York: Harper & Row, 1968),
p. 1.

[3]"The University in the United States of America," in
The University Outside Europe: . . . , and "European Influ-
ences in American Higher Education."

[4]"William Rainey Harper," Outlook LXXXII (1906): 110-111.

[5]Kerr, in The Uses of the University, 1964, states: A
university anywhere can aim no higher than to be as British
as possible for the sake of the undergraduates, as German as
possible for the sake of the graduates and the research per-
sonnel, as American as possible for the sake of the public
at large. . . , p. 18.

The American college and university, Cowley wrote, has characteristically been an expression of its age.[1] But it was Flexner who perhaps best described this phenomenon when he viewed the university as

> not outside, but inside the general social fabric of a given era. It is not something apart, something historic, something that yields as little as possible to forces and influences that are more or less new. It is on the contrary . . . an expression of the age, as well as an influence operating upon both present and future.[2]

Due to the tendency that "history moves faster than the observer's pen,"[3] developments in the field are usually already dated even before they come to print. As John Henry Newman idealized liberal education in 1852, the influence of the German research model was already making his Idea of a University a nostalgic reflection of his Oxford days. This post-mortem report was joined in 1930 by Flexner's Idea of a Modern University. Diametrically opposed to Newman, Flexner described the modern university as "consciously devoted to the pursuit of knowledge, the solution of problems, the critical appreciation of achievement and the training of men." Comprised of a graduate school, professional school, and research institutes, the modern university was "an organism characterized by highness and definiteness of aim, unity of

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[1] "A Short History of American Higher Education," 1961, pp. 1-2.

[2] Universities: American English German, p. 3.

[3] Kerr, The Uses of the University, 1964, p. 6.

spirit and purpose." By mid-century, Flexner's idea was but a fleeting shadow of the American college and university which was well on their way to becoming, as he had feared, "'service' stations for the general public."[1]

By 1963, Flexner's modern university had become, in Kerr's vision, "The Idea of Multiversity."[2] Initially used "as a descriptive phrase,"[3] the idea of the multiversity was meant to describe "a'pluralistic' institution--pluralistic in several senses: in having several purposes, not one; in having several centers of power, not one; in serving several clienteles, not one."[4] While attracting a number of supporters among practitioners in administration, it also unleashed a flurry of criticism from the academic ranks.

Even before the term gained currency, Cowley took his place among these critics. Three years prior to Kerr's initial use of the term, Cowley had criticized its use.[5] After this initial protest, he never used the term again. While Kerr readily admits that "the word was not really new with me" and concludes that it "was in the air, and had several

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[1] Universities: American English German, p. 45.

[2] The Uses of the University, 1964, p. 6.

[3] Kerr, The Uses of the University: With a "Postscript-- 1972" (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 136.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Cowley voiced this criticism in the course "An Overview of American Colleges and Universities," 1960, p. 110.

more or less simultaneous authors,"[1] Cowley attributes its

coinage to Whitney J. Oakes, a Princeton classicist, who had

employed the term before mid-century to protest the growing

fragmentation of the university.[2]

Cowley, too, opposed this fragmentation. Due to its

medieval heritage, the university was, in his view, "a com-

munity of scholars."[3] This view personified that of Newman's:

"By a college is meant not merely a body of men living to-

gether in one dwelling but belonging to one establishment."[4]

A more contemporary perception by Barzun emphasized that

". . . a university should be and remain One, not Many, sin-

gular not plural, a republic, not an empire. . . ."[5]

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[1]Kerr, in The Uses of the University, 1972, reported
that the term "had been used in an internal faculty report
at a midwestern university and by a faculty member at Cornell."
Presidents of two universities, James Lewis Morrill of Min-
nesota and Virgil Hancher of Iowa, also used the word, p. 136.

[2]Cowley questioned Oakes on its origin in correspondence
during the 1970's. Oakes responded that he could not recall
if he had invented or borrowed the term. The actual corre-
spondence with Oakes in early 1970 is not among Cowley's
papers, but is reported in a letter dated October 20, 1977,
to Dr. Louis T. Benezet, who had made an inquiry into the
origin of the term. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:
77-5, Stanford University Archives.

[3]This was the subject of an address given by Cowley at
the University of California at Davis on May 1, 1968, "The
University as a Community of Scholars." W. H. Cowley Papers,
SC 196, Series I-B:68-12, Stanford University Archives.

[4]Cited by George Sampson, The Office and Work of Univer-
sities (London, 1902), pp. 206-207.

[5]The American University, p. 246.

While Kerr described the institution "as a complex entity with greatly fractionalized power,"[1] Hutchins epitomized the underlying issue: "The multiversity does not appear to be a viable institution. There is nothing to hold it together, and something that is not held together is likely to fall apart."[2] A decade later Kerr agreed: "What was called in 1963 a 'multiversity' has, in fact, on occasion, become a Tower of Babel partially falling apart rather than being held loosely together." But he continued to argue that "what was once a 'community of masters and students' with a single vision of its nature and purpose" was no longer viable in American society. The multiversity was "an inconsistent institution," "not one community but several;" its interests, as well as its guiding principles, were varied and often conflicting.[3]

Kerr was aware, however, of the uneasiness among his peers:

> These several competing visions of true purpose, each relating to a different layer of history, a different web of forces, cause much of the malaise in the

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[1] The Uses of the University, 1964, p. 20.

[2] "The Next Fifty Years," American Planners' Institute, October 1967, p. 12.

[3] Kerr reported in The Uses of the University, 1972: pp. 129, 8, and 18-19. ". . . it turned out to be a word that was easily misunderstood. A number of people thought it was 'multiversity' in the sense of a multi-campus institution. . . . It should have been clear that the 'multiversity' was viewed primarily as a single campus phenomenon. . . ," p. 135.

university communities of today. The university is so
many things to so many different people that it must,
of necessity, be partially at war with itself.[1]

The result, in Cowley's view, led the university to become

"a vague term" with "no standard meaning."[2]

Other scholars preferred to describe the college and

university metaphorically to reflect their changing shape

and texture. Meyerson, Bell, Brubacher, and Bok brought to

maturation the idea equating it to a secularized church as

well as a semi-political organization,[3] the seeds of which

lay in Cowley's thought that academic governments were pat-

terned after civil governments.[4] Commager pointed to its

political nature when he described the university "firmly

established as the focal point not only of American educa-

tion but American life. It is, next to government itself,

the chief servant of society, the chief instrument of social

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[1]The Uses of the University, 1964, pp. 8-9.

[2]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Univer-
sities," Stanford University, 1966, p. 43, and "The Univer-
sity as a Community of Scholars."

[3]Martin Meyerson, "After a Decade of the Levelers in
Higher Education: Reinforcing Quality While Maintaining Mass
Education," in Daedalus, Volume II (Winter 1975): 320;
D. Bell, "Quo Warranto: Notes on the Governance of Univer-
sities in the 1970s," in S. R. Graubard and G. A. Ballotti,
eds. The Embattled University (New York: Braziller, 1970);
John Brubacher, On the Philosophy of Higher Education (San
Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), p. 116; and Bok, Beyond the
Ivory Tower . . .

[4]Kerr also voiced this idea in The Uses of the Univer-
sity, 1964.

change . . ."[1]

Sanford and Barzun both identified it as a corporate enterprise, but the former ranks individual development as its primary goal while the latter weighs heavily in favor of elitist intellectualism.[2] The issue becomes one of equality versus quality, two goals, which Theodore Hesburgh writes, it is "America's prime educational challenge to devise a coexistence of both patterns."[3]

Despite the college and university's notable achievements in successfully meeting the nation's challenges, they have been slow and lethargic to respond to their own internal issues and problems. One stumbling block is the disparity of opinion whether reform is even possible. David Riesman describes the leading American universities to be "directionless"[4] while Kerr argues otherwise:

> . . . they have been moving in clear directions and
> with considerable speed; there has been no 'stale-
> mate.' But these directions have not been set as
> much by the university's visions of its destiny as
> by the external environment, including the federal
> government, the foundations, the surrounding and
> sometimes engulfing industry.[5]

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[1]"The Community of Learning," in T. B. Stroupe, ed. The University in American Culture (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), p. 79.

[2]Sanford, College and Character, pp. 6 and 10 and Barzun, The American University, pp. 210 and 244.

[3]Theodore M. Hesburgh, The Hesburgh Papers (Kansas City: Andrews and McMeel, Inc., 1979), p. 26.

[4]Constraint and Variety in American Education (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956), p. 52.

[5]The Uses of the University, 1972, p. 122.

Barzun, however, is optimistic that colleges and universities are capable of reforming themselves, provided they act not singly, but in groups.[1] Like Cowley,[2] he believes their strength lies in their diversity, but issues a warning of courting disaster:

> The suspicion grows that diversity, generally deemed a sign of corporate strength, has for this institution become a means of escaping responsibilities, a means which all alike employ--students, faculties, and administration.[3]

Kerr, on the other hand, is not as optimistic as Barzun. He believes the research university as the bulwark of American higher education "remains much the same,"[4] despite substantial changes within the community colleges and the comprehensive colleges and universities spurred by the troubled decade of the 1960's. Cowley also believed that the resiliency accorded by tradition would effectively counter efforts toward reform: ". . . short of a social upheaval of vast proportions in American life, it seems certain that established practices in many sectors in higher

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[1]The American University, pp. 6, 242-243.

[2]"American Higher Education: Progress and Problems," Stanford University, July 27, 1961, W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:61-6, Stanford University Archives.

[3]Constraint and Variety in American Education, p. 242.

[4]"The Uses of the University: Two Decades Later--Postscript 1982," Change 14(7) (October 1982): 24, and The Uses of the University, 3rd edition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 151-152.

education will continue in effect."[1]

The college and university is deeply embedded in the social fabric of its culture. The diversification which contributes to its resiliency and vitality assures its dynamic role as a social institution. Riesman, however, expressed reservations about its impact:

> Yet, if I must make an over-all judgment, I am somewhat more impressed with the self-renewing tendencies in academia than depressed by complacent success and mindless stagnation. The spark-producing friction between American life and American universities visibly continues but the sparks, if more reliably produced, are less spectacular.[2]

Despite Cowley's early pessimism about the future of the American college and university, he later explained: ". . . the more I learn about those of other nations, the more optimistic I become about our own."[3] At one point, he even agreed with his life-long adversary, Hutchins, who reported that "American universities will soon be the finest in the world despite themselves."[4]

As a generalist, Cowley joined the ranks of that first generation of historians of higher education who stepped

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[1] "Some Ideas for Educational Designers," Memorandum for the Fund for Advancement of Education," New York, New York, 4 September 1954, p. 5. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:54-13, Stanford University Archives.

[2] Constraint and Variety in American Education, p. 52.

[3] "The Higher Learning Versus the Higher Education," address at Stanford University, p. 36.

[4] Cited in Cowley, "The University in the United States of America," p. 112.

forward to record and chronicle the development of the university as an American institution in the twentieth century. It was a strategic and decisive moment in its history, a time when historians could lay the framework for understanding this unique institution. Those scholars who were drawn to it, whether motivated by a sense of duty or self-interest, were not of one mind--they brought to the emerging field a diverse interpretation but offered little organized and systematic understanding of its institutional character.

Cowley attempted to offer the field what it lacked, a broad and comprehensive view which could provide the historical underpinnings for a discipline of study, but it is doubtful whether he succeeded. His refusal to publish severely limited his historical scholarship though his extensive correspondence with other scholars offered food for thought. He, too, was swept by the movements of the day, particularly in the fruitless soul-searching for a philosophy of education.

David Starr Jordan expressed faith when he observed that "'the true American university lies in the future.'"[1] That faith continues as the history of higher education awaits its next chapter.

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[1]Cited by Kerr in The Uses of the University, 1964, p. 85.

CHAPTER VII

COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY GOVERNMENT

The Subject and the Man

Academic government as a subject of study was virtually

nonexistent before the twentieth century. Prior to the

expansion of the size and scope of the institution which

began in the late nineteenth century, an attitude of indif-

ference characterized the subject.

The emergence of academic government is generally iden-

tified with the rise of administration which enjoyed a new

dimension of institutional management and organizational

planning after the Civil War. "By 1900, it could be said

that administration had developed something of its full mea-

sure of force in American higher education."[1] During that

year, Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve Univer-

sity and historian of higher education, claimed to publish

the first book devoted to the subject.[2] In addition to many

published articles in the late nineteenth century, Charles W.

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[1]Laurence R. Veysey, The Emergence of the American
University (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965),
p. 306.

[2]College Administration (New York: Appleton-Century-
Crofts, 1900).

Eliot was the first president to advance academic administrative theory and practice with his volume on <u>University Administration</u> in 1908.[1]

While interest surged in administration, the structure of the American university stabilized by 1910 and the growth which followed generally duplicated existing patterns of organization.[2] Emphasizing this stability, Brubacher and Rudy wrote that "the frame of academic government remained basically unchanged as late as the 1950s."[3]

Beginning in the 1960's, however, academic government caught the interest of even the most distant bystander. The upheaval on the campus moved higher education from an agent of social mobility to that of an agency of social change.[4] Attention shifted from the broad concept of government which includes the structure and process of leadership, management, and decision-making to the structure and process of decision-making in governance.[5] Modifications in the decision-making

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[1]Eliot (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

[2]Veysey, <u>The Emergence of the American University</u>, p. 338 and Hofstadter and Hardy, <u>The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States</u>, p. 31.

[3]<u>Higher Education in Transition</u>, p. 354.

[4]Kerr writes that "colleges and universities throughout American history have been looked upon as instruments of social reform, "'The Uses of the University' Two Decades Later--Postscript 1982," p. 28.

[5]This distinction is made by John D. Millett in his discussion of academic governance and government in <u>New Structures of Campus Power</u> (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1979), pp. 8-12.

process became inevitable.

In many respects Cowley anticipated the developments of the sixties without loosening a foothold on his own period. No less dramatic than the explosions of the sixties were the perennial power struggles occurring since the turn of the century. The environment played a key role, and Cowley's scholarship is indicative of the times, focusing on shifts in the control of the governing board, the expansion and differentiation of the administrative function, the steady acquisition of faculty authority and the recognition of academic freedom, the rise of pressure groups and the advent of voluntary regulatory agencies. The first half of the century witnessed the institutionalization of these developments; they became necessary mechanisms in the organization and administration of the modern college and university. In comparison to the mood of the sixties, the base of authority broadened silently and slowly, but its impact was no less potent.

From the outset, it appears that Cowley's thought flowered in the late 1940's after an abrupt departure from student personnel work. But such is not the case, for his fervent interest in academic government was nurtured by his role in the governance process at Hamilton. As president of that institution, Cowley felt he had failed to accomplish his goals. The loss of confidence from the faculty so severely jeopardized his leadership that he was forced to

leave the institution before his work was completed. This unfinished business led to a fervent interest in academic government. Perhaps with a thorough study he would find the answers to his defeat; logic would not defy him. Triggered by his first major opposition at Hamilton, this intellectual restlessness would never loosen its grip.

The Control of Government

"Colleges and universities," Cowley stressed, "have governments which, within their spheres of authority, perform the same functions as civil government--legislative, judicial, and executive."[1] Among these functions, legislative and judicial authority are lodged with the board of trustees whose specific concern is policy-making. The faculty, in turn, are vested with legislative authority while the president is conferred executive power and administrative leadership.[2] Academic government was essentially political in nature.[3]

Cowley proposed this concept of government as an alternative to the academic trend which had drawn much heated comment since the beginning of the century: the application

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[1]"Lectures on American Academic Government," University of Illinois, Spring 1959, Topic One: Medieval Roots, p. 1. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-36, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Lecture for Course, Introduction to American Higher Education, "The Government or Policy Control of American Higher Education," 1954. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-14, Stanford University Archives.

[3]Cowley, "Reminiscences," p. 777.

of business models to the educational enterprise.

> Losing a clear sense of purpose, spokesmen for the
> American university around the turn of the century
> ran the danger of casually, even unconsciously,
> accepting the dominant codes of action of their more
> numerous and influential peers, the leaders of
> business and industry.[1]

Conflicts between the vision of business and the mind of the academic surfaced in various forms in virtually every institution of higher education in the first half of the twentieth-century. At the heart of the conflict was the issue of power and control. To Cowley, control was derived from two sources, either a stipulation or a stimulation. While stipulations are definitive documents which establish authority, stimulations are influences from any source affecting the behavior of a given entity.[2] The emergence and growing influence of stimulations and the diminishing role of stipulations describe the brooding forces in the development of the modern college and university.

Perhaps the most-widely published and scathing indictments on college and university government were those in James M. Cattell's University Control,[3] Thorstein Veblen's

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[1] Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, p. 346.

[2] "Academic Government in Britain and the United States," a paper presented at a conference at the University of Lancaster, England, April 6-10, 1967, and published under the same title in AGB Reports 11(6) (February, 1969), p. 13.

[3] (New York: Science Press, 1913).

The Higher Learning in America,[1] Upton Sinclair's The Goose-
Step,[2] and John E. Kirkpatrick's Academic Organization and
Control.[3] These authors declared that businessmen had come
to dominate boards of trustees, that presidents were condi-
tioned puppets under their command, and that the faculty had
lost their right to govern colleges and universities. Pub-
lication of Cattell's book afforded him the opportunity to
head the movement which eventually led to the formation of
the American Association of University Professors in 1915, a
vehicle which he hoped would reorganize academic government
by wrestling control from presidents and trustees. Veblen's
concluding statement in his book summarized the sentiments
of a disillusioned minority:

> . . . the academic executive and all his works are
> anathema, and should be discontinued by the simple
> expedient of wiping him off the slate; and that the
> governing board, in so far as it presumes to exercise
> any other than vacantly perfunctory duties, has the
> same value and should with advantage be lost in
> the same shuffle.[4]

While Cattell made the accusation that institutional policy
was in the hands of the "kleptocracy," Sinclair painted a
similar scathing picture of "plutocrats" whose membership as
a trustee signified an elitist corps.

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[1] (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918).

[2] (Pasadena, CA: Published by the Author, 1923).

[3] (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1931).

[4] The Higher Learning in America, p. 286.

Several decades later these sentiments surfaced again

in Hubert Park Beck's <u>Men Who Control Our Universities</u>, pub-

lished in 1947[1] and Harold Laski's <u>The American Democracy</u>,

published a year later.[2] The ardent wish of all these cri-

tics was to abolish and eliminate the board of trustees and

the office of the presidency and to allow the faculty solely

to govern the institution. Cowley devoted much of his

scholarship in opposition to this move.

Admittedly, businessmen held the majority in the mem-

bership of the board,[3] but Cowley believed that critics

failed to recognize the nature of power in social institu-

tions: "Those in control of academic boards of trustees

change as the power groups in society change."[4] The shift

of the board's dominance from clergy to corporate benefactor

reflects the increasing secularization of higher education.

Theoretically, ultimate control lay with the board,

but practice indicated that it frequently exerted influence

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[1](New York: King's Crown Press, 1945).

[2](New York: The Viking Press): 343-392.

[3]Earl J. McGrath, in a study of the occupations of
trustees of twenty private and state universities at ten-
year intervals between 1860-1930, found 48 percent of the
trustees were businessmen, lawyers, and bankers in 1860; by
1900, the proportion rose to 64 percent. "The Control of
Higher Education in America," <u>Educational Record</u> XVII (April
1936): 259-272.

[4]"Tendencies in Academic Government," unpublished manu-
script, Stanford University, October 24, 1949, p. 13.
W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-10, Stanford Uni-
versity Archives.

in matters of the ". . . budget, priorities, and planning . . ."[1] and delegated authority over academic policy to the faculty.[2] "Their usual function was to provide quiet reassurance to the 'respectable' outside world," while matters of academic policy were approached only when the integrity of the institution appeared to be threatened.[3]

According to Cowley, membership of the board resided in the theory of functional representation where specific interest groups participate in the policy-making process.[4] Although each generation provides its own interpretation of the parameters to this theory, it is based on the democratic principle that government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people." In brief, those governed shall govern. Higher education, as a social institution, represents and serves the vital interests of society; therefore, the power to govern is shared among its many interest groups.

Cowley derived his theory of functional representation from Beck, who actually never used the term in his book, Men Who Control Our Universities, but proposed that boards of trustees be organized on this principle. According to Beck, the ideal board of trustees should have thirteen members,

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[1]Rudolph, The American College and University, pp. 175-176.

[2]Hofstadter and Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, p. 130.

[3]Veysey, The Emergence of the American University, p. 303.

[4]"Tendencies in Academic Government," pp. 6-7.

eight representing the public and five the institution.
Those representing the public would be two each from the
business sector, the professions, agriculture, and blue-
collar workers, one of which must be a woman. The institu-
tional representatives would be comprised of one student and
two each from the faculty and the alumni.[1] Beck's proposal
was, indeed, far-sighted, for it would require several more
decades for his underlying concept to bear fruit.

Cowley's scholarship on academic government remained
on the cutting edge on the issue of control during the first
half of the twentieth century, and his theory of functional
representation is admirable in comparison to the fashionable
cry against the infiltration of business. While not calling
for its total banishment, he included the business sector as
a vital element in democratic governance. A decade after
Cowley introduced his theory of functional representation,
Riesman noted the advancing integration of business and aca-
demia.[2] When writing on the history of higher education,
Veysey described this development as "the tendency to blend
and reconcile."[3]

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[1]Men Who Control . . . , p. 151.

[2]Constraint and Variety in American Education, pp. 31
and 34.

[3]The Emergence of the American University, p. 342.

The Administrative Function

While the many fears about the domination of the board proved to be exaggerated, such was not the case with the office of the presidency.[1] Unlike the colonial president who acted as a representative of the faculty, his later counterpart was ". . . not the leader of a college faculty but the spokesman and representative of an absentee board of governors."[2] By the turn of the twentieth century, "presidents were as much the object of faculty ire as trustees because, selected by the board, they were often identified as siding with the trustees rather than the faculty."[3]

For the most part, they were self-confident and incisive autocrats with cosmopolitan interests.[4] They represented a new breed, sophisticated and aggressive diplomats and politicians whose attitudes and motives emulated the efficiency and organization of the corporate executive. Sensitivity to public opinion and active pursuit of benefactions contributed to the suspicion that these "captains of erudition" were foresaking traditional academic ideals of "ends"

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[1]The Emergence of the American University, p. 304.

[2]Rudolph, The American College and University, pp. 165-166.

[3]Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 370.

[4]Hofstadter and Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, p. 33.

for "means."[1]

To be sure, William R. Harper's deliberate designing
of what was to be the standard-bearer of the modern univer-
sity on corporate lines in 1892 only promoted this image.
Harper was joined by Nicholas M. Butler, President of Colum-
bia University, who ascribed to order, discipline, and econ-
omy to the suppression of academic ideals. When Andrew S.
Draper took the helm as President of Illinois in 1894, he
affirmed qualitative goals but warned that the academic enter-
prise would collapse without the employment of business tac-
tics.[2] Not all academic executives reigned as business
managers, but centralization of power proved symptomatic to
the emergence of the modern university.[3] "Name a great Amer-
ican college or university," Cowley stated, "and you will
find in its history a commanding leader or leaders who held
its presidency. On the other hand, name an institution with
a brilliant but now-withered past, and you will probably
have little difficulty in identifying the weak headmen

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[1]"Captains of erudition" was a term used by Veblen in
Higher Learning in America, p. 13. A lengthy discussion of
this interference of qualitative goals for quantitative suc-
cess is provided by Veysey, The Emergence of the American
University, pp. 346-360.

[2]Ibid., pp. 353-354 and 360-380. Veysey discusses in
detail these presidents and their business tactics.

[3]Hofstadter and Hardy, The Development and Scope . . . ,
state that "with the development of complex university organ-
ization, administrative skill was at a premium, and astute
men of affairs were needed," p. 33.

presidents who blocked its progress."[1]

Skepticism about the incongruency of administration and education continued to prevail, as expressed by Flexner in 1930: "Efficiency in administration and fertility in the realm of ideas have in fact nothing to do with each other-- except, perhaps, to hamper and destroy each other."[2] But by the mid-twentieth century, administration had become more palatable; it was now described by a student of management as ". . . a creative rather than an adaptive task."[3] Business methods had also generally been accepted in the academic enterprise. Harold Stoke, President of Queens College in New York City, epitomized this trend when he openly acknowledged that the president was a businessman.[4] Attention now focused on the proper integration of business ethics and academic ideals.

The role of the twentieth-century administrator was, indeed, complex and controversial. Campuses were mushrooming in size and scope; a leader who wore several hats was a necessity. While describing the president's many obligations, Cowley summarized his dilemma: "The president must deal with

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[1]"What Does a College President Do?" Improving College and University Teaching IV (Spring 1956), p. 32.

[2]Universities: American, English, German, p. 186.

[3]Peter F. Drucker, The Practice of Management (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), p. 47.

[4]The American College President, p. 35.

a greater range of problems and a wider variety of kinds of
people than perhaps any other executive in modern life."[1]
He categorized the conflicting perceptions which determine
the role of the president: educaterer or educator, orator or
administrator, headmen or leader. To Cowley, a successful
and effective president possessed the leadership ability to
implement a solid educational policy through decisive man-
agement skills.[2]

Cowley's view of the presidency won the support of
Harold W. Dodds, former president of Princeton, who focused
his study of the presidency on the role conflict: "educator
or caretaker?"[3] Although the role requires ". . . a combi-
nation of managerial competence and talent for educational
leadership, . . . ," Dodds maintains that the president's
primary function rests with the latter. Three administrative
skills are critically needed to accomplish this task: the
practice of consultation, the principles of delegation, and
the structuring and staffing of the administrative

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[1]"The Government and Administration of Higher Educa-
tion: Whence and Whither?" Journal of the American Associa-
tion of Collegiate Registrars 22 (July 1947), pp. 486-487.

[2]"Conflicts in the College Presidency." Texas Techno-
logical College Bulletin, Lubbock, 29 (June 1953): 30-37.

[3]Dodds acknowledges in the preface of his book, The
Academic President--Educator or Caretaker? Cowley's contri-
bution to its writing, in the form of suggestions and the
use of the preliminary draft for Presidents, Professors, and
Trustees.

organization.[1]

In the same vein, Cowley identified four areas of responsibility for the chief executive: superintendence, facilitation, development, and leadership in policy-making. He acquired the term, superintendence, from the first statutes of Harvard, which constituted ". . . the operational responsibility for the work of the institution." In performing this task, he advised that the president ". . . must depend upon the art of persuasion and not upon the power to command. . . . He must reason, negotiate, persuade. . . ."[2] Perhaps the faculty discontent from his own presidency still haunted Cowley. Veysey illustrates the complex relationships: "The secret of success for the academic administrator of the new type was to rule firmly without being a naked autocrat." Veysey, however, clearly identifies consultation as a key to this success.[3]

To Cowley, facilitation of housekeeping duties "should not extend beyond the development and establishment of a well-coordinated administrative structure."[4] A theme which repeated often was the suggestion to relieve the president of routine matters so as to devote more time to educational

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[1] Dodds, The Academic President . . . (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1962), pp. 2-3 and 72.

[2] "What Does a College President Do?" pp. 28-29.

[3] Veysey, The Emergence . . . , p. 308.

[4] "What Does a College President Do?" p. 28.

issues,[1] a problem which beleaguered him throughout his own

presidency. This proved to be a problem for other admini-

strators as well.[2] John J. Corson concluded, in a study on

expenditure of time, that the university president spent

". . . less than one-fifth of his time working on educational

matters and keeping in touch with his faculty or with his

students."[3] Dodds also recognized the problem and recom-

mended that fifty per cent of presidential time was a desir-

able proportion to devote to educational thought.[4]

Development, in Cowley's view, is more than fund rais-

ing, and entails engaging ". . . in the enterprise with spe-

cific ideas about operations that need improving and about

new programs that need initiating."[5] Again, the emphasis

was toward achieving a total view of the institution with a

proper blending of concrete and abstract ideas.

Cowley described the expansion and differentiation of

the administrative function as functional administration and

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[1]"Problems of Administration," Association of Texas Colleges Bulletin 4 (May 1950): 42-58; "Conflicts in the College Presidency;" and "What Does a College President Do?"

[2]Stoke, The American College President, pp. 24-27, and Henry M. Wriston, Academic Procession (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 11.

[3]Governance of Colleges and Universities (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1960), pp. 60-61.

[4]Dodds, The Academic President . . . , p. 60.

[5]"What Does a College President Do?" p. 30.

emphasized coordination between the consolidated areas.[1]

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, administration was

lodged with a specialized cadre surrounded by a bureaucratic

structure.[2] A librarian was first appointed, followed by a

registrar with deans appearing during the 1890's. The next

century would witness the introduction of admissions direc-

tors, directors of public information, and business managers

as well as vice-presidents, provosts, and chancellors. Cow-

ley noted the trend to make the business manager responsible

to the president rather than the board and further recommended

that his service as secretary to the board be curtailed. To

Cowley, power and responsibility must reside together.[3]

Due to the rising complexity of administrative manage-

ment, he recommended that research units staffed by full-time

staff who have no administrative responsibilities be organized

to study institutional management and policy-making.[4] Although

professional societies and commissions conducted studies on the

national level, Cowley viewed these sponsorships as inadequate.

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[1]"The Government and Administration of Higher Educa-
tion: Whence and Whither?" p. 485.

[2]John Dale Russell provides a comprehensive account of
the evolution of these positions during this period in "Chang-
ing Patterns of Administrative Organization in Higher Educa-
tion," The American Academy of Political and Social Science.
Annals 301 (September 1955): 22-31.

[3]"The Government and Administration of Higher Education:
Whence and Whither?" pp. 488-489.

[4]Ibid., and "Professional Growth and Academic Freedom,"
Journal of Higher Education 21 (May 1950): 225-236.

Instead, he recommended the organization of a research agency

for higher education

> . . . to keep in touch with problems and practices
> over the country, to funnel the prolific literature
> being produced, to service administrators and faculty
> committees seeking information and to plot out long-
> time trends.[1]

Faculty Authority

"Whether or not a professor is more than an employee

is an issue which has a long history,"[2] wrote Brubacher and

Rudy. The beginnings of this issue, however, are more recent

for Kirkpatrick, who argued that the contractual, employee

status of professors is a phenomenon of the post-Civil War

period.[3] Metzger took issue with these authors:

> From the earliest times, the assumption of American
> trustees was that professors were employees, and the
> only way in which the post-Civil War period differs
> from what went before was that in the later period
> the professors were more disposed to question the
> theory, to use professional pressures to mitigate
> it, and to seek redress in the courts.[4]

This apparent disparity of opinion leads to the issue

of the nature of faculty participation in the governance pro-

cess. According to Cowley, faculties have participated in

academic government since the beginning of American higher

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[1] "The Government and Administration of Higher Education:
Whence and Whither?" pp. 489-490.

[2] Higher Education in Transition, p. 371.

[3] Academic Organization and Control, pp. 189-201.

[4] Academic Freedom in the Age of the University, p. 185.

education.[1] When Cowley stated that "faculty participation

in governing both Harvard and William and Mary began

early . . . ,"[2] he was referring to a diffused force which

exercised legislative, administrative, and judicial duties.[3]

Although reforms of the Harvard statutes of 1826 invested

the faculty ". . . with ample power to administer the instruc-

tion and discipline of the University," he stipulated that

their power did not increase substantially until the formal

development of faculty governing structures which emerged

after the Civil War.[4]

To the professor of the late nineteenth century, the

movement toward professionalization, the growth of bureau-

cratic structure, the emulation of business practices, and

the increasing visibility of the president only added cre-

dence to faculty perception as hired hands. In many respects,

they were a disenfranchised and fragmented lot who lacked

professionalism within their ranks. The size of the institu-

tion, the sub-dividing of faculties into departments of

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[1]Lecture for course: Introduction to American Higher Edu-
cation, "The Government or Policy Control of American Higher
Education," p. 8, 1954. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series
I-B:54-19, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 77. The
governments of Harvard and William and Mary were bicameral.

[3]This point is also made by Brubacher and Rudy, Higher
Education in Transition, who state: "President and faculty
exercised legislative, executive, and judicial functions;
they decided academic policies, executed them, and sat in
judgment of their infringement," p. 368.

[4]Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 76, and
"Tendencies in Academic Government," pp. 4-6.

instruction, and the specialization within their ranks only

served to widen the gap between the faculty and the presi-

dent and the governing board.[1]

But neither were they to be sanctioned as a "repub-

lic of scholars." Cowley stated: "Personally I hope that

the day will never come when faculties gain the major voice

in the government of our colleges and universities, and I

don't think it will, short of an unforeseeable and extra-

ordinary kind of social revolution."[2] Participatory govern-

ment, yes, but for control, the answer was a resounding no.

The republic of scholars was to be an ideology shared many

constituencies.[3] Another historian, Veysey, ". . . doubted

whether there ever had been even a remote possibility for

outright faculty control of the American university." When

some disillusioned faculty began to demand changes in the

academic pattern in the late nineteenth century, the

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[1]Rudolph, The American College and University, P. 427,
and Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 368.

[2]"The Government and Administration of Higher Educa-
tion: Whence and Whither?" p. 482.

[3]In a speech, "The Government and Administration of the
California State Colleges, at San Jose State, on May 1, 1953,
Cowley stated that faculty should share their power with
trustees and alumni. Sharing power, however, does not mean
surrendering it. This point is reiterated in "The American
System of Academic Government," Western College Association
Proceedings, Fall 1955, p. 32, and "Lectures on American Aca-
demic Government," University of Illinois, Spring 1959,
Topic Four: The Legislative Function, p. 6ff. Sources for
San Jose State speech and University of Illinois lectures are
located in W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-B:59-30,
respectively, Stanford University Archives.

structure of the institution had already crystallized.[1]
Efforts to grasp power simply came too late.

Although faculty ". . . did feel that they had been
socially and institutionally demoted,"[2] they were part of
the larger environment which had brought them to this junc-
ture. In their very lack of power emerged a movement toward
professorial self-consciousness. Sparked by the spirit of
Progressivism, faculty joined forces in retaliation to the
repeated violations of academic freedom and established the
American Association of University Professors in 1915.
Within a bureaucratic structure, professors succeeded in
marshalling power as professionals defending academic goals.
When initially organized, its membership crystallized a sys-
tematic body of principles which reflected the issues of the
past quarter-century. Two later statements, one in 1925[3]
and another in 1940, specifically dealt with the implementa-
tion of these principles. Due process, tenure, and estab-
lishment of professional competence became inextricably woven
into the fabric of academic freedom.[4]

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[1]The Emergence of the American University, p. 393.

[2]Metzger, Academic Freedom in the Age of the Univer-
sity, p. 192.

[3]In addition to the AAUP, this statement was in part
framed by the American Association of Universities and the
American Association of Colleges.

[4]Metzger, Academic Freedom . . . , p. 207.

In its efforts to win respectability, the organization soon found its interests and activities divided. Metzger wrote:

> Thus, on the one hand, the AAUP tried to function as an agency of codification, fixing its sights on the larger aspects of academic freedom and other professional problems. On the other hand, it had to function as an agency of group pressure, investigating cases and imposing penalties in response to immediate demands. . . . the Association became stamped, in lay and professional circles alike, as an organization of professorial defense.[1]

While academic freedom was severely tested throughout the First World War with morbid ferocity, it remained relatively unaffected during the Second World War, only to be subjected to insidious, covert attacks during the Cold War era. During 1954 alone, at the height of McCarthyism, there were 165 cases on academic freedom pending before the AAUP and this figure does not reflect the many which never reached formal proceedings.[2]

Unlike the many professors who developed "a cautious timidity"[3] to the events at hand, Cowley reacted sharply to the odious witch-hunts of McCarthyism and the controversy surrounding the California loyalty oaths. He believed that ". . . the problem of academic freedom is but a subdivision

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[1]Metzger, Academic Freedom . . . , pp. 205-206.

[2]As reported by Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 321.

[3]Ibid., p. 326.

of the problem of the nature of democratic freedom in the broad."[1]

A clear understanding of freedom in a democracy was essential in the resolution of this issue. "The core of the problem," Cowley stated, "is clearly the relationship of freedom to order."[2] Freedom is not absolute; nor does it exist in a vacuum. Without order, a society cannot exist. When order is established, then freedom can operate. One cannot exist without the other, although the balance between the two is tenuous. If the scale is tipped more in favor of order, then freedom is jeopardized, and vice versa.[3] During the period when subversive paranoia rattled the skeletons in every academic's closet, Cowley's defense offered an objective, yet refreshing, understanding of a repressive and volatile atmosphere.

While Cowley linked academic freedom to the ideal of democratic freedom, this was an idea which only began to emerge in the twentieth century. Veysey reasoned that disputes over academic freedom rested ". . . not in the realm of abstract reason but rather in that of institutional

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[1]"Tendencies in Academic Government," p. 20.

[2]Ibid.

[3]"Professional Growth and Academic Freedom."

authority and hierarchy."[1] Walter P. Metzger concurred,

writing that academic freedom primarily involved institu-

tional relationships at the turn of the century, not educa-

tional theory.[2]

To Cowley, freedom for the faculty did not mean abso-

lute control. In 1962, he observed ". . . that faculty mem-

bers have assumed that academic freedom and tenure embrace

the right of faculties to dominate educational and research

policy. . . ."[3] Despite the 1920 position of the AAUP's Com-

mittee T which stipulates that trustees ". . . should also

have the right to take the initiative in matters of educa-

tional policy,"[4] the trend which followed unequivocably

established that the trustees' primary bailiwick lay with

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[1]Veysey, in The Emergence of the American University,
suggests that "especially at the state universities, that
academic freedom was often tacitly conceived as a buffer
against an intolerant democracy. . . . it was the administra-
tor who represented the new wave of vague tolerance toward
(almost) all ideas; the proponents of faculty prerogative
were more likely to insist upon the right to advance unpopu-
lar thoughts in a manner so firm-minded as to suggest abso-
lutism," p. 386.

[2]"Some Perspectives on the History of Academic Free-
dom," Antioch Review, XIII (September 1953), p. 278.

[3]"Some Myths About Professors, Presidents, and Trus-
tees," p. 167.

[4]American Association of University Professors, Com-
mittee T. Report of Committee T on place and function of
faculties in university government and administration. AAUP
Bulletin (6) 1920, pp. 17-47.

financial interests and material needs of the institution.[1]
In reaction to his dismay over this trend, Cowley advocated
trustee-faculty collaboration in formulating educational
policy, although he failed to delineate his position in
operative terms.[2]

In Cowley's view, the professor was not a hired hand,
but neither was he the sole inhabitor in a republic of
scholars. While the establishment of the AAUP offered faculty
an autonomous power structure to exercise academic freedom,
it stopped short of granting total control. Control was too
important to be in the hands of only one constituency.[3]

Other Voices

In addition to the faculty, other voices gained influ-
ence in institutional affairs. One voice was that of the
alumni, and Cowley's writing reflects their increased visi-
bility.[4] Although alumni activities began with the appoint-
ment of an alumni secretary at Yale in 1792 and the formation

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[1]This idea was endorsed by B. Ruml and C. H. Morrison,
in Memo to a College Trustee (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.,
1959), and by Cowley, in Presidents, Professors, and Trustees,
p. 95.

[2]"Some Myths About Professors, Presidents, and Trustees,"
p. 167.

[3]"Academic Government in Britain and the United States,"
p. 15, and "Professional Growth and Academic Freedom," p. 231.

[4]"Problems of Administration," p. 45, and "Academic
Government," Educational Forum 15 (January 1951): 217.

of an alumni association in 1821,[1] their rise to power accompanied the increasing secularization of colleges and universities and the rise of business and industry after the Civil War. According to Cowley, alumni moved into power by becoming members of the governing boards, organizing separate alumni governing boards, and forming alumni councils.[2] As members of the board, alumni were usually elected by their whole body or its representative group.

Whether alumni exerted more influence as members of one institutional board or organized as a separate governing board is debatable because they retained legal representation in institutional affairs in both patterns. Alumni councils, however, had no designated membership on the board or voting rights, but acted as a pressure group in an advisory capacity on a limited number of alumni interests. While Brubacher and Rudy stated that "the participation of the alumni in university affairs was not an unmixed blessing,"[3] Cowley lauded their 'meritorious characteristics and activities" and emphasized their growing importance and value.[4]

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[1]Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 364.

[2]"The Government and Administration of Higher Education: Whence and Whither? p. 479; "Tendencies in Academic Government," p. 2; "Problems of Administration," p. 45; "Academic Government," Educational Forum 15 (January 1951): 217; and "The Government or Policy Control of American Higher Education," p. 10.

[3]Brubacher and Rudy, Higher Education in Transition, p. 364.

[4]Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, pp. 142 and 144.

Another voice which grew to explosive proportions in the twentieth century was that of the students. Riots and rebellion, however, had been traditional strategies by which students have sought redress for their grievances and rights. Cowley wrote extensively of their control of the universities of Italy and southern France in the Middle Ages, particularly that of Bologna, and the unsuccessful efforts to mold a student self-government at the University of Virginia.[1]

Before the nineteenth century, nearly every colonial campus experienced riots and rebellions. These disturbances, beginning in the 1760's and climaxing in the 1830-1840's, reflected the exuberance and the spirit of a liberated, young nation and generally focused on the extracurriculum. This focus broadened as the institution expanded in size and scope and student government emerged in the structure of the modern university. By the twentieth century, Cowley wrote, students became actively involved in academic policy and public issues.[2]

While many outside and within academe expressed shock and dismay of students' radical activism which disrupted campuses in 1968-1969, Cowley stated as early as 1947 that ". . . it seems certain that they will demand more voice in academic affairs than they have now." He warned:

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[1]Cowley discusses student control of Bologna on pp. 9-13, and student government at Virginia on pp. 99-101 of Presidents, Professors, and Trustees.

[2]Ibid., p. 105.

> The larger the student population becomes and the
> more advanced their average age, the greater will
> be the efforts of political organizations to mould
> them into pressure groups. . . . The probabilities
> are that we shall be hearing a good deal more
> from . . . political groups of students, and we had
> better be at work studying the issues involved and
> deciding upon plans to meet them.[1]

Two years later, Cowley supported Beck's recommendation of

student representation on the board of trustees.[2] The stu-

dent radicals of the sixties would, indeed, be surprised to

discover that their demand for participation had been made

two decades earlier.

Cowley believed that one of the most important develop-

ments of the twentieth century was the rise to power of supra-

academic governments, namely state governmental bodies and

accrediting agencies.[3] To the modern college and university,

these supra-governments provided order and organization to

its sprawling structure. During this period, the organiza-

tional structure of higher education tended to move toward a

centralized administration. Coordination became the utmost

concern as state institutions sought to alleviate duplica-

tion of programs and offerings and overcome extreme competi-

tive factionalism.

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[1]_Presidents, Professors, and Trustees_, pp. 483-
484.

[2]"Tendencies in Academic Government," p. 6, and "Aca-
demic Government," p. 220.

[3]"Tendencies . . . ," pp. 14ff., "Academic . . . ,"
p. 224: and "The Government or Policy Control of American
Higher Education," p. 16.

The state legislature acted as the earliest coordinating agency, but was eventually supplanted by the governor, who in turn differentiated tasks among various specialized state offices. As the size and scope of institutions grew, however, even the legislature and governor could no longer provide the necessary coordination, and many states adopted a state coordinating board. Coordination by these boards concentrated on two dimensions, the vertical constituted degree programs and the horizontal on the geographical distribution of academic programs around the state. Statewide patterns were changing the character of higher education. "The spirit of autonomy," wrote Brubacher and Rudy, "now seemed to be giving way to that of cooperation and coordination."[1]

The passing of institutional autonomy concerned Cowley. Whether states established boards or departments of education, he believed that this development ". . . makes for coordination of the public higher educational program of a state, but it thereby hobbles the freedom of institutional governing boards."[2] "If the colleges and universities get federal aid," Cowley surmised, "these boards will become prodigiously strong."[3]

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[1]Higher Education in Transition, pp. 386-387.

[2]"Tendencies in Academic Government," p. 16, and "Academic Government," p. 224.

[3]"Tendencies . . . ," p. 17.

Cowley was among many who observed that the accrediting agencies ". . . have become so powerful that they dominate substantial segments of the educational programs of all American colleges and universities."[1] First created at the turn of the century to resolve the confusion in admission standards from secondary school to college and then to graduate school, the Association of American Universities only reluctantly accepted accreditation as a responsibility on the eve of the First World War. Accreditation and standardization proliferated with unprecedented popularity in the early twentieth century. Although regional associations flourished, no nationwide agency emerged. By the beginning of the 1930's, growing criticism dampened the movement.[2]

To Cowley, accrediting agencies required the board of trustees to spend funds under threat of losing their endorsement, issued a mandate to faculty to teach certain courses, forced students to take a rigid pre-subscribed curriculum, and ossified traditional programs and practices. Institutions neglected areas not subject to accreditation and tended

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[1] Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 94.

[2] This sentiment is best expressed by Samuel P. Capen, former specialist in higher education at the U.S. Bureau of Education and later Chancellor of the University of Buffalo, who enthusiastically endorsed accreditation in 1931, only to recommend its abandonment in 1939. Capen, "The Principles Which Should Govern Standards and Accrediting Practices," Educational Record 12 (April 1931): 95-96; and "Comments," in American Council on Education, Coordination of Accrediting Activities (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1939).

to limit educational experimentation and discourage innovative programs. Specialization was encouraged at the expense of liberal education.[1] "Accrediting by voluntary associations is one of the prices of democracy," Cowley wrote at the height of the debate in the late 1940's, "and making them work soundly is one of the challenges to democracy."[2] Cowley remained a skeptic his entire career, believing they usurp the power and "limit the freedom of action of professors, presidents, and trustees."[3] Despite these criticisms and the total abandonment of accreditation by the Association of American Universities in 1948, the National Commission on Accrediting was formed several years later to act as the agent to accredit the accrediting agencies.

"Incalculably more potent than accrediting agencies in shaping college and university policies are the learned societies,"[4] Cowley wrote. Spurned by the level of scholarly activity in Germany, learned societies became America's expression of intellectual independence[5] and the academic

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[1] Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 155.

[2] "Tendencies in Academic Government," p. 15, and "Academic Government," p. 224.

[3] Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, pp. 156-157.

[4] Ibid., p. 157.

[5] Several scholarly organizations did exist before the 1870's, but these usually served a general purpose or were predominantly local. Excluding the one exception, the American Association for the Advancement of Science which was founded as a specialized group in 1848, these scholarly organizations had little impact in any specific area.

embodiment of the organization mind. These organizations

rapidly multiplied due to the ". . . growing professionaliza-

tion, specialization, and institutionalization of American

scholarship."[1] The first society of this era was the Amer-

ican Philological Association created in 1869, and soon fol-

lowed by the American Chemical Society in 1877, the Archeo-

logical Institute of America in 1879, the Modern Language

Association of America in 1883, the American Historical Asso-

ciation in 1884, the American Economics Association in 1885,

and the American Mathematical Association and the Geological

Society of America in 1888. By the First World War, exces-

sive fragmentation of knowledge resulted in the forming of

great federations of related professional associations.[2]

This tendency to fragment knowledge was further aug-

mented by the newly instituted departmental organization of

academic instruction in the nineteenth century. Soon faculty

devotion to the subject matter specialization superceded

institutional loyalty. Brubacher and Rudy appraised this

development:

> . . . the importance of the departments in the univer-
> sity's administrative structure should not be minimized.

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[1]Bledstein, in The Culture of Professionalism, reported
that at least two hundred learned societies were formed, in
addition to teachers' groups, in the 1870's and 1880's, p. 96.
Brubacher and Rudy, in Higher Education in Transition, stated
that 120 national learned societies and 550 local ones were
in existence by 1908, p. 189.

[2]Several such associations were the National Research
Council, the Social Science Research Council, and the Amer-
ican Council of Learned Societies.

They had become the indispensable vehicle for disciplinary and professional specialization. On many campuses departments played an important role in determining actions on personnel, curriculum, and research facilities.[1]

Specialization loomed large in Cowley's thinking of the role of departments in governance. Higher education in the broad and emphasis on teaching were neglected in favor of divisive specialism and allegiance to one's scholarly organization. He concluded:

> . . . departments and the learned societies undergirding them extensively influence the educational and research programs of colleges and universities. Together with accrediting bodies and most of the other clusters of academic associations . . . , they continuously circumscribe and often cripple institutional policy decisions.[2]

In Cowley's concept of a republic of scholars, any attempt to move the faculty toward increased autonomy met his stiff opposition. Power was to be shared among a balance of forces, namely that of presidents, trustees, and professors. Academic government remained the domain of a republic of scholars, but a republic populated with many voices.

A Turbulent Decade

"The 1960s were a period of innovation in campus governance,"[3] wrote John D. Millett, an authority on public administration and higher education. The college and university,

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[1] Higher Education in Transition, p. 368.

[2] Presidents, Professors, and Trustees, p. 162.

[3] New Structures of Campus Power, p. xi.

once patterned after the structure of the business corpora-
tion, became a hotbed for social protest and reform. On

looking back on this period, John J. Corson, a recognized

consultant on governance patterns and practices for over two

decades, observed ". . . that the authority originally vested

in the board and its chief executive simply was no longer in

their hands; it had been claimed from above by governmental

authorities and from below by the faculty and students."[1]

While Cowley had long anticipated these developments,

the erosion of trustee and presidential power continued to

concern him. When queried in 1957 by Theodore Caplow, Pro-

fessor of Sociology at Stanford, about the "'tremendous prob-

lems'" still to be solved in academic government,[2] Cowley's

response focused specifically on the board of trustees.[3] Its

composition, the selection process, and the length of service

for its members were crucial to its effectiveness as a board.

Members needed a clear understanding of their power in effect-

ing educational policy and research in addition to controlling

finances and property. Instead of endorsing faculty, alumni,

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[1] The Governance of Colleges and Universities, Rev. ed.
(New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1975), p. 18.

[2] Caplow to Cowley, 20 June 1957, W. H. Cowley Papers,
SC 196, Series I-B:57-22, Stanford University Archives.

[3] Cowley also published several aritcles which specifi-
cally focused on the board of trustees, "Academic Government
in Britain and the United States," and "Myths and Half-Truths
Distort View of Trustees," College and University Business
47 (August 1969): 43 and 48.

or student membership to the board, he opted for ". . .

broad participation by the public at large." Mechanisms,

however, needed to be instituted to facilitate communication

with the board.[1]

These problems persisted into the 1970's. Boards con-

tinued to devote the majority of their attention to finances,

the physical plant, personnel matters, and external affairs,

and few of its members arrived with any familiarity to educa-

tional problems and issues. Despite advances toward social

equality in the 1960's, board members were predominantly

white, Protestant, businessmen over fifty years of age.[2]

Corson reported:

At this point in their evolution, governing boards of
several categories are beset by criticism of the capa-
bilities of the individuals who serve, of methods of
selection, and particularly of their tendency to inter-
fere with and inability to contribute to the basic
educational functions of the institutions they govern.[3]

"Trustees are now not only criticized for their alleged atti-

tudes and activities," Samuel Gould, an experienced practi-

tioner and scholar in educational administration wrote, "but

their very existence is challenged."[4] While James A. Perkins,

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[1]Cowley to Caplow, 26 June 1957, W. H. Cowley Papers,
SC 196, Series I-B:57-22, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Corson, The Governance of Colleges and Universities,
rev. ed. p. 266.

[3]Ibid., p. 264.

[4]"Trustees and the University Community," in James A.
Perkins, ed., The University as an Organization (New York:
McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973), p. 215.

former president of Cornell University and former vice-
president of the Carnegie Corporation, supported the board's
continued existence,[1] John K. Galbraith proposed that lay
boards be abandoned.[2] Some transformation was certain, how-
ever, as documented by Corson's prediction: ". . . the boards
of individual public institutions will either be eliminated
or their functions delimited and their status lowered in the
years ahead."[3] In all likelihood, the erosion would be
sharply felt from above with the state governing bodies.

One recommendation made by T. R. McConnell advocated
the reconstruction of the board to include faculty and stu-
dents.[4] It was generally thought that the inclusion of these
groups would bring to the board familiarity with the problems
of higher education, but Corson objected, stating that "the
board should not be made a forum in which spokespersons for
various constituencies 'bargain out' the policies that shall
prevail." Like Cowley, he believed that "the role of the
board is responsible in overseeing the public interest."[5]
Although present practice does not generally include faculty

[1]"Conflicting Responsibilities of Governing Boards,"
in The University as an Organization, p. 259.

[2]The New Industrial State (Boston: Houghton Mifflin,
1967), pp. 370-378.

[3]The Governance of Colleges and Universities, p. 270.

[4]"Faculty Government," in Power and Authority, by
Harold L. Hodgkinson and Richard L. Meeth (San Francisco:
Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970), pp. 98-125.

[5]The Governance of Colleges and Universities, p. 272.

and students as board members, their participation has been
effected through faculty senates, academic councils, and
student committees.

While Cowley was interested in academic government in
the round, his contemporaries narrowed their attention to
governance. The trend of the 1960's was an emphasis on the
decision-making process and its consequences. Consequently,
the seeking of institutional autonomy gave way to a concept
of shared power that extended well beyond the campus.

A number of governance models in the literature reflect
these trends, and in some degree, Cowley's theory of func-
tional representation. In 1960, Corson presented the dual-
organization model which divided decision-making into two
separate spheres: academic affairs and administrative manage-
ment.[1] To Corson, functional representation consisted of the
faculty who presided over academic affairs, and presidents
and governing boards who commanded administrative decisions.
As a reflection of the 1950's, this model proved inadequate
in the face of the upheaval of the 1960's. By 1975,[2] he
abandoned it in favor of Mary Parker Follett's concept of
primary and communal authority. Primal authority, or the
right to formulate a proposal, rested with those individuals
responsible for its enforcement while communal authority

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[1]Governance of Colleges and Universities, p. 272.

[2]The Governance of Colleges and Universities.

included a consensus among all affected parties.[1]

Another model which closely resembles Corson's in some respects is that of Peter M. Blau's bureaucratic model presented in 1973.[2] Blau made clear distinctions in the organization of the academic enterprise. Based on explicit procedures, formal divisions of labor, and an administrative hierarchy, this model distinguished two authorities in decision-making, the professorial and the bureaucratic. The emphasis was clearly on the productive role of the institution.

In 1962, Millett proposed a model of academic community, whereby power resided not in hierarchial authority, but in the consensus of faculty, students, alumni, and administrators.[3] He advocated a power relationship within existing structures based on a common interest and interacting as a community. Similarly, Cowley's functional representation implied fluid participation among constituent groups, however, his own presidency resembled a hierarchical power structure.

J. Victor Baldridge rejected Millett's community model and in 1971 presented a political model based on power

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[1] Dynamic Administration (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940), pp. 146-150.

[2] The Organization of Academic Work (New York: John Wiley & Sons).

[3] In Millett's use of the term, administrators, he included the president, his immediate colleagues, and the governing board. The Academic Community (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.)

struggles and political compromises.[1] He perceived faculty,
students, and administrators as representing specific inter-
est groups vying for dominance. Like Cowley, he readily
accepted the inevitability of conflict, but failed to devote
any attention to the structural organization within which
compromise was to occur. In this respect, his model paral-
lels Michael D. Cohen and James G. March's model of organized
anarchy proposed in 1974.[2] The institution's organizational
setting is characterized by problematic goals, unclear tech-
nology, and fluid participation. The American college or
university neither understood its own purposes, and its par-
ticipants were characteristically transient. Because their
model proved to be more concerned with the ambigious role of
presidential leadership than with any construct on governance,
its relation to Cowley's theory is limited to that aspect of
the administrative function.

These models are limited in their ability to depict a
total image of the institution because they tend to focus on
a specific aspect of governance. Like Cowley's theory of
functional representation, they speak more to the period of
their initiation than to the developments which followed. In
Millett's study of governance during the decade of 1966-

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[1] Power and Conflict in the University (New York: John
Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

[2] Leadership and Ambiguity.

1976,[1] he found these models inadequate in describing the
campus environment. He observed that the governance process
was directly related to the institution's unique organiza-
tional characteristics. The governance process consists of
two dimensions: an internal one composed of faculty, students,
administrators, and support staff, and an external one of
alumni, general public, governments, professional groups,
accrediting agencies, private foundations, and many other
special interest groups. Although Cowley had acknowledged
these groups, he did not make a clear distinction of their
unique relationship to the governance process. Millett con-
cluded that the institution's organizational characteristics,
and hence, its governance process, is reflected in the auton-
omy of the academic department, the centralization of support
services, and the linkage of learning with society. He advo-
cated the formation of a faculty council at the college
level, a faculty senate at the university level, a student
senate, and a student affairs council, all of which would act
in an advisory capacity to the president, who in turn is
advisory to the final authority of decision-making, the
governing board.[2]

These governance models focus on the nature of rela-
tionships in the academic enterprise. Relationships change
as the participants in the governance process shift in domi-
nance or influence. Present challenges include judicial

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[1]New Structures of Campus Power.   [2]Ibid., pp. 250-258.

intervention, tenure policies and collective bargaining,
revenue sources and expenditures, the increasing strategic
role of middle management, and government regulatory agen-
cies. The basic framework of academic government, however,
has not changed appreciably throughout the history of Amer-
ican higher education. The governing board, the president,
faculty, and students still dominate campus-wide decision-
making while other special interest groups influence through
external channels.

Cowley's contribution to the understanding of the
structure and processes of the academic enterprise is limited
at best. Due to the lengthy delays from written draft to
published book, his contributions to the literature of aca-
demic government suffered substantially. His cry for func-
tional representation speaks well to the developments of the mid-
twentieth century, but his thought solidified by the early
1950's. Veysey, in his review of <u>Presidents, Professors, and
Trustees</u>, wrote that Cowley failed to offer ". . . sense of
the nuances of context. . . . The focus remains consistently
on formal institutional structures, in the broadest, most
unrefined way."[1] Cowley's perspective remained fixed on aca-
demic government while decision-making in the governance pro-
cess dominated discussion of his contemporaries. There would
be no appreciable change in any research or writing. Once

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[1]"Cowley on Governance," <u>Change</u> (October 1980): p. 61.

fixed, he simply reiterated his original argument that faculty had sufficient power while trustees and presidents needed to reassert theirs. In the transition from government to governance, his scholarship would remain an echo from the past. His interest in academic government was initially triggered by a need to overcome his sense of defeat at Hamilton. It is doubtful whether the impact of his scholarship provided convincing answers for him or his public.

CHAPTER VIII

THE TAXONOMY

Its Roots

To examine a fragment of knowledge often requires
scholars to place their subject in a larger context. Many
directions point toward that path to understanding and the
scholar often finds truth in unknown territory. For many
this step over the boundary of their own specialization into
other terrain is only momentary or temporary at best. After
clarifying a point, they are content to move back to their
specialty, secure in their additional breadth of knowledge.

Yet others are charged with enthusiasm and never
retreat. This was the fate of Cowley, who ventured out in
the broad dimension of viewing higher education in the con-
text of society. This adventure began with the attempt to
understand holism and its antithesis, intellectualism, in
student personnel work. After moving into the study of aca-
demic administration and government and then the history of
higher education in the mid-forties, he launched into an
investigation of the structures, functions, and purposes of
colleges and universities. By the 1960's, this study took
shape in the appearance of a taxonomy, a conceptual map of

the terrain of the college and university as a social insti-
tution.

Cowley's taxonomy was not entirely a creature of his
own imagination, but a reflection of a growing body of thought
in the various fields of social science since the beginning
of the twentieth century. The pioneers of the American fron-
tier were no longer the settlers of the American west, but
the social scientists who sought to disect the mechanisms of
culture and society. The individual, the group to which he
belonged, the organization where he worked, the environment
in which he lived, and the institutions which he respected--
all came under the scrutiny of the new breed of psychologists,
sociologists, anthropologists, economists, and political
scientists.

Industrial psychology provided some of the early re-
search on organizations. Frederick W. Taylor's theory of
scientific management with its emphasis on structure and
mechanisms gained prominence in the early decades of the cen-
tury. Popularly regarded as the classical approach, it held
as its major tenet that specialized functions could be broken
down into component parts and measured to gain greater effec-
tiveness and efficiency within organizations.

In reaction to the classical approach, the human rela-
tions movement was born in recognition that social forces
influence the formal structure through an informal climate.
Popularly promoted as the neoclassical school of thought, it

introduced the behavioral sciences into organizational
theory.[1] Elton Mayo, its founder, concentrated on the human
elements at work within an organization and set forth an
interdependency of relationships.[2] Thus, sociological mod-
els turned away from descriptions of components which yielded
products to a system of interrelationships which included
social rewards.

The synthesis of these two schools of thought gave rise
to the structuralist approach.[3] Here the organization was
viewed as a large, complex social unit in which many interest
groups interact. A number of factors, formal and informal,
became analytical tools to study the organization and its
environment. This approach to organizational analysis encom-
passed a broad and balanced perspective which included all
types of organizations and its elements. Max Weber, its
most influential founder, referred to organizations as bureau-
cracies and was concerned with their structure and authority.[4]

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[1]The inspiration for the neoclassical school were the
Hawthorne studies, published by R. J. Roethlisberger and
William J. Dickson, Management and the Worker (Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1939).

[2]His major contribution in this regard was The Human
Problems of Industrial Civilization (New York: Macmillan,
1933).

[3]A detailed discussion of this school of thought is pre-
sented by Amitai Etzioni in Modern Organizations (Englewood
Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964), pp. 41-49.

[4]His major contribution was The Theory of Social and
Economic Organization (translated by A. M. Henderson and
Talcott Parsons) Talcott Parsons, ed. (New York: Oxford
University Press, 1947).

The direction of industrial psychology, however, fell short of its contribution to organizational theory. Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn state that before World War II it contributed ". . . some knowledge about the behavior of individuals in work organizations but little about the behavior of organizations."[1] The nature of organizations, and how they change, remained uncharted territory.

Despite the limitation of industrial psychology, the field had a profound influence on Cowley's thought during his early career as a psychologist. Colleges and universities, in his view, were structured social institutions comprised of interrelated components. This interdependency of various elements led him to the belief that "a social institution resembles a snake: touch it one place and it wiggles all over."[2] Hence, the institution and its existing structure became the focus of the taxonomy.

In addition, the ferment in the field of sociology at mid-century did not escape Cowley's attention. Structural-functionalism, a school of thought headed by Talcott Parsons which examined social structures by the functions they perform,[3] made a lasting impression on his thought.

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[1] The Social Psychology of Organizations 2nd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1978), p. 10.

[2] "A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities," 1966, pp. 8, 12, 20, and 7.

[3] Two of Parsons' publications which focused on this idea were Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949), and The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951).

Cowley borrowed from Parsons' work on macro-functionalism,

the study of large-scale social systems in comparison to

micro-functionalism, the study of small group dynamics, and

applied this orientation to this taxonomy:[1]

> . . . every fact and idea relevant to a social insti-
> tution interlinks with a host of other facts and ideas
> concerning both it and its environments and further,
> that to understand an institution with any degree of
> thoroughness requires that it be investigated as a
> whole, that is, holistically.[2]

The Conceptual Map

This investigation led Cowley to formulate "a holistic

overview" by means of a taxonomic analysis. The taxonomy was

to become "a conceptual map of American higher education by

means of which to record the facts about all American higher

educational structures, . . ."[3]

The concepts of structure and function constituted the

pillars of the taxonomy. In Cowley's view, they were the

"axial duad" about which all knowledge and information

revolves. The axial duad is based upon the assumption that

every social institution, including colleges and universities,

are social structures which perform a number of characteristic

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[1]Some exponents of macro-functionalism are inclined to
trace its origin to anthropology while the roots of micro-
functionalism are found primarily in Gestalt psychology.
Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Sociological Theory
(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1960), p. 464.

[2]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Univer-
sities," p. 7.

[3]Ibid., p. 238.

activities called functions. Although structure and function

could be studied separately, their interdependence was vital.

His axiom, "no structure, no function" was used often to

emphasize that "only structures can perform functions."[1]

A number of questions evolved in his attempt to clarify

the institution's structure and functions:

> What purposes activate the functions of the social struc-
> ture under study?
> What values foster these purposes?
> When and why did the structure come into existence, and
> how does the past influence its functioning?
> Where does the structure operate, and how do its external
> and internal environments influence its functioning?
> Who performs its functions and for whom?
> With what kinds of subject matter does the structure
> deal?
> What resources are available to the structure for per-
> forming its functions?
> How is the structure organized?
> How are its functions performed?
> What external and internal forces control its function-
> ing?
> What problems confront the structure?
> What products result from its functioning?
> What images do those associated with the structure have
> of it, and what public images does it elicit?
> What is its essential character?[2]

The search for answers to these questions led to the

formulation of the taxonomy's framework. It is comprised of

sixteen subdivisions, or taxons, which act as the means of

analysis of the institution's activities. These taxons are

arranged in five categories--the two axial taxons of struc-

ture and function, two generator taxons, two contextual

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[1]W. H. Cowley, "A Tentative Holistic Taxonomy Applied
to Education," p. 42.

[2]"A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Univer-
sities," pp. 8 and 238.

taxons, six operational taxons, and four outcome taxons.

Purposes and values comprise the generator taxons, and "supply human structures, be they individual people or groups, with their most vital sources of energy." Simply defined, purpose is a stated intention. Arising from an individual's or group's values, or perceived worth, "a purpose or complex of purposes activates every function of a structure."[1]

Two contextual taxons which relate to time and space permeate the taxonomy. The temporal continuity taxon is defined as "the facts and ideas about the past organized to enhance past-present-future perspective."[2] Spatial continuity refers to the multitude of environments, whether natural or cultural, interacting within and outside the structure.

Six taxons are responsible for the operation of the social structure. The participants in the functions, be it the "personnel" who perform or the "clientele" for whom the functions are performed, constitute one taxon. Another is "subject-matters," which consists of the distinctive entities which the structure deals in performing its functions. A third taxon involves "resources," or "the subjective, objective, and projective entities that facilitate the functioning of a structure."[3] The nature of control, whether

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[1]Cowley, "A Tentative Holistic Taxonomy Applied to Education," pp. 43-44.

[2]"A Holistic Overview . . . ," p. 104.

[3]Ibid., p. 9.

governmental, environmental, or historical, provides restraints upon the functioning of the structure and constitutes the fourth taxon of this catetory. The fifth taxon is called "structuring," a term which refers to the internal organization of a structure. Its counterpart, "functioning," is the last taxon and refers to the processes, procedures, and routines that implement a function.[1]

The four remaining items are designated as outcome taxons. These refer to the result of the structure's functioning and include products, images, problems, and character. The products taxon is comprised of "the subjective, projective, and objective entities produced by a structure."[2] The images taxon is synonymous with terms as opinions, beliefs, sentiments, reputation, and stereotypes. Problems, or "the puzzling questions a structure faces in the performance of its functions," is the third taxon of the category. The last taxon is the character taxon, which is "the unique composite of all the features of a given structure."[3] Unlike the images taxon which identifies a plurality of perceptions held by the public, the character of a social structure is the aggregate of its distinctive features.

Analysis within each taxon generally focused on classification schemes called triads. The J-triad and C-triad

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[1] "A Tentative Holistic Taxonomy . . . ," p. 45.

[2] "A Holistic Overview . . . ," p. 104.

[3] Ibid., p. 232.

were of critical importance in this analysis.

While Cowley believed that colleges and universities
are to be assessed by "what they do overtly," he proposed
that these "activities can be comprehended in depth only if
related to their subjective origins, their objective media,
and their projective processes."[1] By extracting the "J" from
the "ject" stem in these terms, he constructed the concept
of the "J-triad" to designate the aggregate of these entities
permeating throughout the taxonomy.

In a similar fashion, he constructed the "C-triad" by
extracting the "C" in the centric stem of the terms, logo-
centric, practicentric, and democentric, to identify the
three methods of organizing knowledge. Logocentric desig-
nates the seeking of new knowledge, practicentric refers to
application of knowledge, and democentric applies to the dis-
semination of knowledge.[2]

Critical Assessment

Although Cowley never introduced the subject in his
writings, his taxonomy reflects the growing intellectual move-
ment during the mid-twentieth century for a unified science
popularly regarded as general systems theory.[3] The roots of
this theory lay with the organismic view of biology pioneered

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[1]"A Holistic Overview . . . ," p. 13.

[2]Ibid.

[3]He did, however, consider the term "taxonomy" synony-
mous with the term "system," "A Holistic Overview . . . ,"
p. 11.

in the thirties by Ludwig von Bertalanffy but who did not

publish his general system ideas until after World War II

when science was more receptive to theory and model build-

ing.[1] Military and industrial application of systems concepts

added momentum to the movement. More importantly, however,

the age of specialization encouraged the integration of dis-

ciplines to construct a body of organized constructs by which

to study the general relationships of the empirical world.

Systems theory is primarily "concerned with problems

of relationships, of structure, and of interdependence rather

than with the constant attributes of objects."[2] Unlike

classical and neoclassical theories which focused on closed

social systems, general systems theory developed on the prem-

ise of interdependencies operating in an open system.

Closed systems remained relatively self-contained structures

operating independent of external forces while open-systems

were acutely dependent upon interaction with the external

environment.

Although the taxonomy and systems theory are based upon

similar ideas, Cowley insists that the taxonomy is "a system

of classification." "The taxonomy as a whole is not a theory

but a tool. It constitutes a congeries of integrated con-

cepts designed to analyze a given social structure." He

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[1]Frank Baker, ed. Organizational Systems (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1973), p. 1.

[2]Ibid., p. 4, and Katz and Kahn, The Social Psychology of Organizations, p. 4.

argued that it had not been designed as an organizational theory, but for "the purpose of analyzing the operations of colleges and universities in particular and social institutions in general."[1]

Unlike the modern organizational theory of open systems which includes analysis of the interaction of subsystems, the taxonomy remains, in a strict sense, a scheme for classifying components. Interaction of these components is implied, and the change processes acting upon the structure and function of colleges and universities remain on an abstract level. With the exception of the structure-function axial duad, the assumption that each taxon holds equal importance in the classification scheme resembles more the fixed stability associated with closed systems than the fluid nature which occurs in open systems.

The taxonomy, however, gave expression to some of the ideas underlining systems theory. It continued to evolve long after its basic tenets were constructed. Revisions became a necessary ingredient in the building of concepts. Since it remains unpublished, its contribution to the study of social institutions, and particularly colleges and universities, remains to be seen. It is certain to raise questions and heighten awareness of the complex structure and functions of the college and university and its role in society.

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[1] "A Holistic Overview . . . ," pp. 11, 17, and 241.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

His Life

Born of English immigrants in 1899, William Harold
Cowley was a product of early twentieth-century America. He
spent his childhood in the recently urbanized, sprawling,
industrialized city of New York. His family was more for-
tunate than most immigrants of the period who eked out a hand
to mouth existence. Due to his father's employment as fore-
man of a gas works, the Cowleys were usually assured of the
basic necessities of food and shelter.

But like so many immigrants searching for the good life,
the family struggled to climb the socio-economic ladder.
Their attempts in this regard often led to more hardship.
The need to survive instilled in young Cowley a fighting
nature which was transformed into an arrogance and pugnacious-
ness that was both a motivating force and a liability for
years to come. At the heart of his rebelliousness was a
strained relationship with his authoritarian father. Named
after his father, his opposition led him to prefer the name
"Hal" instead. The chasm in the relationship widened as he
grew older and greatly influenced future relationships.

He emulated the characters depicted by Horatio Alger;
his dream was to rise from obscurity to worldly success. Edu-
cation was the key to success and he excelled academically.
He entered Dartmouth at the age of 21 and graduated in 1924
with a bachelor's degree in English. But it was the extra-
curriculum which influenced him more than academics. As
editor of The Daily Dartmouth, he used his editorials to
launch himself on a theme of educational reform. His pro-
posal to revise the curriculum led to the well-publicized
The Report on Undergraduate Education which emphasized the
fullest development of the individual. While many of his
editorials were reported in Massachusetts and New York news-
papers, none attracted more attention than his debate on evo-
lution with the evangelical reformist, William Jennings Bryan.
Upon graduation, he was voted by classmates as "the man who
had done the most for college, for Dartmouth" and "the man
most likely to succeed."

To Cowley, the business world was to offer him this
opportunity in addition to providing him with financial suc-
cess. But neither occurred; both became broken dreams. He
gave up early on a business career and settled happily in the
young profession of industrial psychology, a move which later
motivated him to earn a Ph.D. in psychology from the Univer-
sity of Chicago in 1930. The desire for financial success,
however, remained. Because it had become his measure of a
man, he would continue to compare himself unfavorably with

others for the rest of his life.

While still a graduate student at Chicago, he joined
the Board of Vocational Guidance and Placement, the first
office of student personnel at the university, to develop a
vocational counseling service. Upon graduation, he joined
the faculty at Ohio State University as the head of the stu-
dent personnel research unit. His research served to
strengthen the belief that the primary aim of education is
the student's intellectual, social, and physical development.
His responsibilities at Ohio State included an assistant
editorship of a new publication, The Journal of Higher Edu-
cation, which enabled him to touch every field of academic
concern and become a generalist in education. This position
helped pave the way for the thirties to become his most pro-
ductive publishing years in addition to gaining him a
national reputation in educational issues. Though he did not
teach, he attained the rank of full professor in psychology
in 1935.

Cowley's popularity grew and in 1938 he became the
President of Hamilton College. The college was to become the
embodiment of holism, a philosophy which spoke to "education-
of-the-whole-man." But his brash and aggressive moves to
reform the curriculum brought stiff opposition from the
faculty. After six years as president, he departed bitter
and resentful and weary from battle. Though his extraordinary
and tireless efforts had saved the college from certain

closure throughout World War II, his plan for integrating

holism into the fabric of the college was only partially

effected. A more far reaching impact of his philosophy

occurred when it was incorporated into the celebrated 1945

Harvard Report, General Education in a Free Society. Although

he did not participate in the Harvard committee's efforts,

he authored the idea which changed the face of higher educa-

tion during the twentieth century. He has never received

any recognition for what is one of his greatest contributions

to the field of higher education. His reputation won him an

invitation to become President of the University of Minnesota,

yet he declined the offer and left the administrative ranks

to fulfill his dream of becoming a scholar.

At Stanford he became a man of learning and his intel-

lectual terrain continued to broaden. He now began to view

higher education much as he viewed the student, as parts of a

whole. He launched himself into a study of the college or

university as a social institution, concentrating particu-

larly on its structures, functions, and purposes. Contact

with other scholars occurred largely through his extensive

correspondence. Despite this self-imposed isolation, he

yearned for the respect and admiration of his peers. Recog-

nition came in 1954 when Stanford bestowed on him the title

of David Jacks Professor of Higher Education, the first such

endowed chair for the study of higher education in the United

States, and indeed, the entire world.

For over a decade the study of higher education at Stanford was synonymous with his name. Aware of the program's narrow scope and lack of unified structure, he wanted to create a higher educational institute or center apart from the School of Education. This was to be his contribution to higher education, and despite all his efforts, it failed to materialize.

He devoted his life to teaching, supervising the research of graduate students, and his own research and writing. Despite the fact that he wrote considerably more as a scholar than during his earlier career, publishing became less frequent. The precipitous drop in publication was in part due to his devotion to large writing projects in his later years. More importantly, however, it was the result of his perfectionism that he refused to publish. The many foundation grants dwindled and colleague support faded as the delays from draft to final copy would eventually result in a state of permanent incompletion.

In addition to his extensive correspondence, exposure of his ideas came through his large following of students. By 1969, virtually all of his seventy doctoral students held positions in the field of higher education; at least twelve became college and university presidents. Despite his own critical opinion of himself, his students were dazzled with his sparkling, delightful personality full of wit and humor. They remained his loyal devotees.

Pain and tradegy marred his personal life. Tradegies within the family, financial strain, his own deteriorating health, his lack of success in achieving his goals at Stanford, the waning of professional recognition, and the realization that he would never finish any of his projects, brought him despair in his later years. More and more, his attention turned to his collection. After his death in 1978, its care was entrusted to the Stanford University Archives. It stands as his legacy to the study of higher education.

Contributions

While many of Cowley's manuscripts remain unpublished, his collection offers a unique tool for providing an overview of his contributions. It is comprised of books, published journal articles, pamphlets, yearbooks, proceedings, unpublished manuscripts, news reports and typed interviews, addresses and administrative reports, personal and professional correspondence, and professional notes.

The beginnings of his collection lay in his youth and the early years of his professional career. In addition to his father's influence of orderliness, his bent for organization began with assembling armies with buttons from his mother's sewing box. His habit of collecting started when he assembled anecdotes and phrases to overcome his feelings of inferiority. In college, this developed into a collection of personal notes which later became his professional notes. As a teenager, he cut up parts of the Bible to challenge

religious doctrines of the Seventh Day Adventists. Little did he know then that this would be the embryo of his later workbook system. While at Ohio State he initiated a system for classifying and indexing resource material. This eventually led to his product collection, the major foci of his work.

This product collection contains both published and unpublished material. He published over 300 journal articles, two books, several monographs and pamphlets, numerous reports, commentaries and book reviews, and several chapters and forewords to books in the field. Though this is an impressive number of publications, it is no indication of the many unpublished manuscripts that remain unknown to the field.

Four hundred eighty-nine topics span the product collection though student personnel administration, the history of higher education, and college and university government, were of major concern to Cowley. The field of student personnel work was yet a movement when he joined the vocational guidance and placement office at the University of Chicago. He was among the early pioneers of student personnel who were preoccupied with defining the emerging field. He differentiated it as extra-instructional activities, but saw the need for consensus among personnel workers on the national level. In 1937, he joined a distinguished cadre of college presidents, academic deans, professors, and student personnel deans who met to develop a common understanding of the functions,

scope, and administrative relationships of personnel work. This was the founding conference of the field. The committee's report, The Student Personnel Point of View, gave concrete expression to Cowley's holism and laid the philosophical base for the field. While his support of the services approach tended to weaken his philosophical position of holism, this was a dilemma which reflected the dominant problems and issues in the field.

He was regarded by the field's professional body as its foremost historian, although he failed to publish his research in book form. Much of his scholarship concentrated on the historical forces of the nineteenth century which found expression in the form of journal articles and addresses. His farsighted recommendations to achieve professional unity and professionalization among personnel workers were largely ignored, but bore fruit over twenty-five years later. While he publicly defended personnel work as the "steering wheel" of education, he also viewed it as a "cul-de-sac" for professional advancement. Thus, just as quickly as he entered the emerging field in the late twenties, he departed a decade later as it matured as a profession.

Cowley joined the ranks of the twentieth-century historians just after the college and university matured as a unique American institution. Early historical research produced a few landmark works, but generally contributed to a fragmented view of the history of higher education. His

initial interest in the subject was only incidental to other

research. It gradually grew into a major enterprise toward

synthesizing the wealth of forces throughout history which

had produced and sustained the college and university.

Though he became one of the field's noted historians, he did

not view himself as one. Most of his writing on this topic

remains unpublished, but an extensive correspondence with

other educators and historians provided exposure of his

scholarship.

Cowley's historical perspective was profoundly influ-

enced by Henry Adams' law of acceleration, though he prefer-

red to use the term "saltation" to describe these sudden

surges and forces of energy which produced changes in society.

Particular periods throughout history produced dramatic

change, hence, he found chronological classifications to be

a useful tool for historical research. In the course of his

research, he discovered many myths and misconceptions about

higher education. In keeping with his perfectionism, he

sought to dispel these with ample documentation. His research

became his well-fortified defense against outspoken critics

of higher education. To Cowley, the existence of a "free

republic of scholars" was more fiction than fact and offered

a hollow argument for faculty-controlled higher education.

Contrary to popular belief, governing boards and the office

of the president were not American inventions but firmly

rooted in the Middle Ages. The curriculum was also not

exempt from misconception; the seven liberal arts of medieval
higher education severely limited, rather than enhanced, the
development of the university.

While higher education was experiencing an identity
crisis in the first half of the twentieth-century, Cowley
joined other scholars in the search for basic aims and pur-
poses. Several leaders and their thought emerged, notably
the conservatism of Hutchins and the progressivism of Dewey.
Cowley's thought was heavily influenced by Dewey's pragmatic-
instrumentalist philosophy; education was a process of
problem-solving. During the ensuing debates on the nature of
liberal arts and general education, he refused to embrace any
school of thought wholeheartedly. General education was
neither subject-matter or student-centered, but rather a com-
bination of the two. But he, like other scholars of the
period, failed to make any significant impact and no coherent
philosophy of the role of higher education emerged.

By mid-century the nature of the college and university
was undergoing a transformation and scholars sought to under-
stand its distinct features. The American college and uni-
versity, in Cowley's view, were unique institutions. As an
integral part of the social fabric of its culture, it was
clearly an expression of its age. Yet its strength lay in
its diversity. A popular view, though criticized by Cowley,
was that of a multiversity to denote its pluralistic character.
Though he acted as one of the field's most severe critics, he

firmly believed in the superiority of the American college
and university over those of other nations.

Cowley's work on the history of higher education paral-
lelled his study of college and university government. His
intrigue with this topic was initially sparked by his role
in the governance process at Hamilton, an experience which
left him with an intellectual restlessness which persisted
long after he left the institution. The patterns of academic
organization in existence when the American college and uni-
versity matured in the early twentieth century are generally
reflected in Cowley's treatment of the topic. His thought,
like the structures of academic government he described, solid-
ified by the early 1950's. While his contemporaries address-
ed the governance process, the impact of his study on aca-
demic government was hindered significantly due to the
substantial delays from draft to print.

Popular thought during the first half of the century
focused on the application of business models to the educa-
tional enterprise, a model opposed by Cowley. Instead, he
viewed the control of government as distinctly patterned after
the legislative, judicial, and executive authority of civil
governments. His theory of functional representation, where
specific groups participate in the policy-making process, was
essentially political in nature.

To Cowley, the growth in size and scope of the college
and university led to the expansion and differentiation of

the administrative function. Cooperation and coordination
became necessary mechanisms in the educational enterprise.
The faculty was not a republic of scholars who exercised
absolute power and authority, but a community intimately in-
volved in participatory government. The modern republic was
populated with many voices, students, alumni, coordinating
bodies, accrediting agencies, and learned societies, which
threatened institutional autonomy. At no time was this
threat more imminent and potent than the turbulent decade of
the sixties when governmental authorities and students vied
for power and control.

The study of these topics, student personnel administra-
tion, the history of higher education, and college and uni-
versity government, contributed to the familiar piece-meal
efforts which characterized the scholarship of the field.
Higher education needed to become more than a passing inter-
est to scholars, so Cowley, bold and undaunted, set out single-
handedly to make it a discipline. To become a discipline, it
needed to be organized systematically. To this end he pro-
posed a taxonomy by which to study the college and university,
and social institutions in general. Like his study of college
and university government which failed to address the gover-
nance process, the taxonomy focused on the constant attri-
butes of social institutions, namely their structure and
functions. One major limitation of this classification scheme
resided in its appearance of a fixed and static system.

Interaction between its various components was implied, but the fluid nature which characterized an interacting system remained vague and abstract. Like many of Cowley's manuscripts, the taxonomy's yet unpublished state limits its potential impact to the study of the college and university.

The Impossible Task

The question remains: could Cowley have single-handedly succeeded in establishing a discipline of the study of higher education? The answer is probably not. Two reasons account for this improbability. The first relates to the very nature and character of a discipline. The second involves Cowley himself.

Historically, the establishment of a discipline is based upon the slow accumulation of many scholarly efforts which crystallize to form a common body of knowledge. It is an intellectual process rather than a conceptualization created in full maturity. It has achieved a commonality of core ideas accepted by those who pledge their allegiance to it. There are many examples of a single founder of a field, but a discipline grows and matures as a diverse body of tried and proven ideas. No single effort, regardless of how Herculean, can of itself constitute a discipline.

As early as 1962, Cowley publicly acknowledged this ". . . ambitious and probably impossible task of mapping the

entire academic terrain."[1] If he was aware then of this impossible task, why did he proceed anyway? Assuredly, the answer lies in his character and being. But the statement that he was his own worst enemy is not enough. To counter the sting of defeat, an awareness of who he was is essential in understanding his motivation.

He was an outsider. He stood alone. And he learned to fight. At first it was for the sake of survival against the street gang in his neighborhood, but it later became a pattern he could not erase. As the son of an authority figure in the neighborhood, he had little chance of acceptance by his peer group. At college he was older and more intellectually advanced than his classmates. At Hamilton, he could only stand at the perimeter of the power group. At Stanford, he scoffed at any activities typically associated with professionalization. Most of all, he refused to publish.

His experience at Hamilton proved to be a turning point in his life. Presidents generally bring to their job high expectations of themselves and the institutions they lead. They approach their responsibilities with enthusiasm and zest and their devotion and loyalty to the institution is steadfast. When they become totally committed to institutional purposes and aims, the marriage is complete. They generally

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[1]"A Tentative Holistic Taxonomy Applied to Education," p. 41.

view their tenure as the most exciting and challenging period of their lives. All goes well as long as the marriage is successful.

Until his presidency, Cowley was highly successful. He was a leader who had widely published and was actively involved in professional activities. He was accustomed to winning. But he clearly lost at Hamilton, a loss from which he never recovered. Like a lost love affair, he felt rejected by his beloved.

And so he left the scene of battle and went west to Stanford. But the wounds of Hamilton never healed; the scars remained. His publishing dropped precipitously and he shunned all professional activities. To compensate for all the loss, he became a perfectionist obsessed with an idea, an idea he knew from its inception was an impossible task. Like so many who experience an overwhelming trauma, he played out his hopes and fears over and over in an attempt toward resolution, only to repeat the performance many times again. Manuscripts were continually subject to revision and remained unfinished. Like the events at Hamilton, he simply could not lay them to rest. To do so meant acceptance of the painful past. Ironically, publication would then have become a likely result, and brought him the recognition he so dearly craved.

Yet his cause was a noble one. He selflessly gave of himself to the study of higher education more than he would ever allow it to recognize. The debt remains.

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*By chronological order.

APPENDIX A

COURSES TAUGHT 1945--1968[1]

The American College and University:	1945-1953
Introduction to American Higher Education:	1953-1956
An Appraisal of American Higher Education:	1956-1958
An Overview of American Higher Education:[2]	1959-1965
A Holistic Overview of American Colleges and Universities:[2]	1965-1968
Curriculum of Higher Education:	1946-1953
Student Personnel:	1946-1954
Administration of American Higher Education:	1950
Government and Administration of American Higher Education:	1947-1948
Government of Higher Education:	1949-1950
Functions and Structures of American Higher Education:	1948-1955
Functions, Aims, and Structures of American Higher Education:	1953
Instruction in Higher Education:	1955

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[1]W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-A, Stanford University Archives.

[2]The title was changed as the taxonomic course was revised.

APPENDIX B

The Collection

One way to view the parts of the whole field, as Cowley did, is to look at his collection. Upon instituting the collection, President Richard W. Lyman of Stanford briefly described the collection and explained its significance:

> During his career, he compiled a rare collection of books, pamphlets, and unpublished works in the field. This is supplemented by his own scholarly works, his lecture notes, unique for their thoroughness and completeness, and by his wide-ranging correspondence with other major figures in higher education during the span of his career. Cowley's correspondence both presented and elicited a wealth of views on the spectrum of issues in higher education. Those members of the faculty and library staff who have been familiar with the collection have termed it a treasure of unique and profound materials of great present and potential value to students and scholars.[1]

In a memorandum describing the collection, Cowley himself viewed his scholarly work as seven distinct, but smaller collections: books; pamphlets; reports, proceedings, yearbooks; professional notes; professional folders; WHC (W. H. Cowley) File; and WHC Bibliographies. Approximately 2000 volumes comprised the book collection, which for the study of higher education he admitted to be ". . . a shockingly small

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[1]As quoted in Edgar B. Graves, "William Harold Cowley: A Memoir," Hamilton Alumni Review, p. 21.

number . . ."[1] He defended this small number by emphasizing:

> . . . the ensemble brings together in one compact place many more pivotal books concerned with higher education and subjects impinging upon it than owned by any other individual of whom I know or by the several university libraries with which at first hand I am familiar.[2]

Fourteen hundred seventy-three pamphlets dealing with higher education and related topics supplement the book collection. Approximately 100 were published in the nineteenth-century, the earliest published in 1813, and includes the Harvard reforms of 1825-1826. His collection of reports, proceedings, and yearbooks, according to Cowley, ". . . include some of my most important and valuable tools, indeed, possessions."[3]

His professional notes and folders are his first collections and offer insight into his early intellectual growth. As an adolescent he collected quotations from books, magazines, and newspapers which he considered noteworthy. By the time he entered Dartmouth in 1920 he accumulated 2,000

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[1]"A Description of My Integrated Professional Collections," 3 November 1975, p. 2. W. H. Cowley Papers, SC 196, Series I-A, Stanford University Archives.

[2]Ibid. In the book collection, approximately 200 books are classified as reference material, and include the Dictionary of American Biography, the Oxford English Dictionary, the Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, the 1911 Cyclopedia of Education, the 14th edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica (24 vol.), and the Harvard Classics (50 vol.). The remaining volumes are concerned primarily with ". . . academic history (ancient, medieval, and modern), biography, general history, philosophy, religion, science, the social sciences, and general literature," p. 3.

[3]Ibid., p. 7.

quotations. In the beginning he referred to them for pleasure and inspiration while later he used them in writing term papers. This collection grew as his reading volume increased. It served as a tool in the editorship of the college newspaper and marked the beginning of his focus on educational reform. Later he added what he termed the "F" files (connoting folder) which include research papers by graduate students and occasional reports. Though these are identical conceptually with the professional notes and professional folder and merely differ in size, he did not regard the "F" file as a separate, distinct collection apart from them. This ensemble, the professional notes, professional folders, and the folder file, represented over 200,000 items within Cowley's lifetime.

The WHC File, which includes the years 1922-1978, contains personal and professional correspondence with the bulk concentrating in the years 1940-1970.[1] He regarded this file as his product collection since it includes all he has written in whole or part, published or unpublished. He required that an item's inclusion in this file be significant to his whole thought, that is, a complete understanding would be hindered without it. This file includes newsclippings, papers, reports, speeches, interviews, articles and chapters from published books, drafts of unpublished books in various

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[1] This file replaced the record in his diary which contained personal correspondence and lists of books he read each year.

stages of completion, and correspondence with leaders during the field's infancy.

Initiated by Cowley in 1945, the bibliography collection has limited value. In the 1960's, he devised a triple reference bibliography for cross-referencing by subject, date, and type of writing, only to abandon the unfinished enterprise in 1968.[1]

Cowley evaluated his collecting procedures and set up a system of classifying and indexing his materials while at Ohio State. He maintained this system throughout his lifetime and the Archives continue its use; it includes 489 topics with each assigned to one of four subdivisions: Student Personnel Services, Psychology, Education, and Miscelaneous.

An analysis of every topic in each of Cowley's collections is beyond the scope of this study. If attempted, the result would be voluminous and repetitious. In contrast, limiting this research to those topics which were the major foci of his work offers generalizations applicable to his entire thought.

To determine which topics figured significantly in his thought, only the WHC File will be quantified. A number of reasons account for the choice of this collection. First,

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[1]Only the "type of writing" was near completion when he abandoned the project. This specific cross-reference included most of Cowley's writings up to 1969 and has been transferred to the WHC File and used in designating topics.

Cowley described the file as his product collection that
only included those items which he considered significant to
the understanding of his thought. Second, the index to the
file offers a systematic approach from which to select spe-
cific topics for further analysis. Third, Cowley's use of
an accession number in indexing the file is a reliable indi-
cator to determine the actual date of an item's writing and
inclusion into the collection. He did not index according
to published date because all too often publication was
delayed considerably, if it occurred at all.

A few examples illustrate the lengthy delays. In 1953
Cowley collaborated with Glenn Reed to produce a book on
academic anecdotes to be named "Are Professors Human?"[1] This
publication never materialized in book form. In 1977 the
manuscript came to print in the form of an article authored
with Reed entitled "Academics Are Human." In a similar vein,
Cowley produced a document in 1945 entitled "The Seven
Liberal Arts Hoax," but publication did not occur until after
his death in 1978. Perhaps one of the most significant, and
yet, delayed publications was Cowley's book on the evolution
of American academic government entitled Presidents, Profes-
sors, and Trustees. The manuscript resulted in publication
in 1980 under the editorship of Donald Williams although his
first reference to its existence was in 1958. He originally

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[1]He also used this question as the title of a speech
at a San Jose State Class Dinner in 1954.

titled the manuscript, "Professors, Presidents, and Trustees,"
and the first version of the book was finished in 1961.

A fourth reason for quantifying the WHC File is that
categorizing each item into at least one topic offers an
objective tool to investigate Cowley's progression of thought.
Quantification of the file entails recording the frequency
and year of each topic's appearance in the index.

The WHC File was chosen for quantification because it
reflects more of Cowley's actual writings than the remaining
collections which largely contain primary resource material.
A similar quantification could be made of the system of pro-
fessional notes; however, quantifying 200,000 items appears
burdensome at best. Since the professional notes served as
resource material for his writing, it is assumed that the
results from this quantification would only verify the ten-
dencies found in the WHC File. Another method would involve
quantifying only the published and unpublished manuscripts.
Though this appears to be a simple procedure, difficulty
lies in judging what constitutes a complete manuscript since
much lies in various stages of completion.

Quantifying the WHC File, however, does not assure the
quality and significance of a manuscript, yet the usefulness
of this method cannot be underestimated. Logic dictates that
a particular topic which appears frequently over a period of
time consumes a larger measure of attention and interest over
another which appears only once or twice. It is assumed,

therefore, that frequency of occurrence is directly related
to an abiding interest in that topic. Admittedly, this
method is by no means fool-proof, but utilizing this method
in conjunction with biographical data serves as a guidepost
to delineate Cowley's writing interests and concerns, as
well as the progression and potency of his thought on parti-
cular topics throughout his career.

The WHC File has a total of 1,776 items or entires,
but 358 items are excluded because they are solely designated
as professional notes and biographical material and lack a
topic number. Therefore, the adjusted number of items is
1,418.

Of this adjusted number, some items are assigned more
than one topic number, an indication of commonality. This
characteristic is indicative of the organization of Cowley's
entire collection. He based his collection on his holistic
thought, where interdependent parts comprise a whole. Thus,
an analysis of selected topics will provide generalizations
applicable to the understanding of other topics and the
entire sphere of Cowley's thought. The assignment of multi-
ple topic numbers resulted in a cumulative total of 2,099
topic entries, which are further subdivided: Student Person-
nel Services-325, Psychology-40, Education-1,402, and Mis-
cellaneous-332.

Of the 489 topics, 272 never appeared in the index (see
Table 1). Largely these constitute resource material which

TABLE 1

Topics With No Entries in Index*

1	75	215	283
8	76	216	285
10	81	221	287
12	82	222	290
15	101	225	292
22	106	226	295
23	107	234	296
32	108	237	297
35	109	238	302
36	110	240	304
38	111	242	305
40	115	243	309
42	116	244	310
47	117	245	311
48	119	247	312
49	120	253	315
50	121	255	316
51	122	259	317
52	124	260	322
53	125	261	323
54	127	263	324
55	128	265	325
57	129	267	326
58	130	268	328
59	132	269	329
60	133	271	331
61	134	272	333
62	135	274	335
64	136	276	336
66	138	277	337
67	140	278	338
69	141	279	344
70	142	280	345
72	203	281	347
73	205	282	348
74			

*The total number of topics with no entries in the index is 272.

Topics are designated by number only. See listing for full topic notations.

Table 1--continued

355	403	1046	1098
356	405	1047	1102
359	406	1049	1103
360	407	1051	1105
363	409	1052	1106
365	411	1053	1107
367	412	1054	1108
368	415	1058	1109
371	416	1059	1110
372	419	1063	1111
375	420	1064	1115
376	421	1065	1116
377	422	1066	1118
379	1001	1067	1119
380	1002	1070	1120
381	1006	1074	1121
382	1007	1075	1124
383	1010	1076	1125
384	1013	1077	1126
386	1019	1079	1127
387	1021	1080	1128
388	1024	1081	1130
389	1026	1083	1132
390	1031	1085	1133
391	1032	1087	1134
392	1035	1088	1135
395	1036	1089	1136
396	1037	1090	1137
397	1038	1091	1139
398	1039	1093	1140
399	1041	1095	1141
401	1044	1096	1142
402	1045	1097	1143

ordinarily would not be included in the product collection.

One hundred ninety-five topics appeared 1-24 times in the

index, 83 of this number appearing only once and 112 appear-

ing three times or less (see Table 2). Twenty-two topics

figured 25 or more times and had a cumulative total of 1,308

entries, or 64% of the total entries (see Table 3).

Though Cowley did not consider himself an "educationist,"

18 of 22 topics appeared under the subdivision of Education.

The subdivision of Psychology was not represented and con-

firms the fact that he had no involvement after graduate

training in that field. Student Personnel Services was repre-

sented only once, but figured the highest frequency, or 8% of

the total entries. The Miscellaneous subdivision figured on

three occasions, evidence of a broadening base of topics

which developed later in his career.

Since almost two-thirds of all entires focused on 22

topics, it is assumed that these were of significant interest

to Cowley. For purposes of this study, however, analysis of

Cowley's thought will focus primarily on the three topics

which figure prominently in frequency and sustained occur-

rence: Student Personnel Administration, History of Higher

Education, and College and University Government.

TABLE 2

Topics Appearing 1-24 Times in Index*

2	68	233	314
3	71	235	318
4	77	236	319
5	78	239	321
6	79	241	327
7	80	246	330
9	83	249	332
11	102	250	339
13	103	251	340
14	104	252	341
16	105	254	342
17	112	256	343
18	113	257	346
19	114	262	349
20	118	264	350
21	123	266	351
24	126	270	353
26	131	273	354
27	137	275	357
28	139	284	361
29	209	286	364
30	210	288	366
31	212	289	369
33	213	291	370
34	214	293	373
37	217	294	374
39	218	298	378
41	219	299	385
43	220	300	393
44	223	301	394
45	224	303	400
46	227	306	404
56	228	307	408
63	230	308	413
65	232	313	417

*The total number of topics appearing 1-24 times in the index is 195.

Topics are designated by number only. See listing for full topic notation.

Table 2--continued

418	1023	1056	1094
1003	1025	1057	1099
1004	1027	1060	1100
1005	1028	1062	1101
1008	1029	1068	1104
1009	1030	1069	1112
1011	1033	1071	1113
1012	1034	1072	1114
1014	1040	1073	1117
1015	1042	1078	1122
1016	1043	1082	1129
1017	1048	1084	1131
1018	1050	1086	1138
1022	1055	1092	

TABLE 3

TWENTY-TWO TOPICS WITH HIGHEST FREQUENCY

Rank	Subdivision	Topic Number	Topic	Frequency*	Percentage of 2099 Topics	Cumulative Percentage
1	Student Personnel Services	25	Student Personnel Administration	168	8.004	8.004
2	Education	201	History of Higher Education	129	6.146	14.150
3	Education	206	College and University Government	103	4.907	19.057
4	Education	334	Hamilton College	99	4.717	23.773
5	Education	414	Study of Higher Education	80	3.811	27.585
6	Education	248	Educational Publications	78	3.716	31.301
7	Education	204	Instruction	63	3.001	34.302
8	Education	352	Semantics	57	2.716	37.018
9	Education	202	University Administration	54	2.573	39.590
10	Education	207	College and University Presidency	51	2.430	42.020
10)	Education	211	Research	51	2.430	44.450
12	Miscellaneous	1020	Criticism	48	2.287	46.737
12)	Miscellaneous	1123	Classification of Knowledge	48	2.287	49.023
14	Education	229	Finances of Higher Education	45	2.144	51.167
15	Education	258	Administrative Techniques	44	2.096	53.264
15)	Education	410	Educational Biography	44	2.096	55.360
17	Education	362	Structure of Higher Education	43	2.049	57.408
18	Miscellaneous	1061	Controversy	40	1.906	59.314
19	Education	358	Teaching Versus Research	29	1.382	60.696
20	Education	208	Curriculum	27	1.286	61.982
21	Education	231	Liberal Education	26	1.239	63.220
22	Education	320	The College	25	1.191	64.412

*Cumulative total number of frequencies is 1308.

292

APPENDIX B

STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES

Topic Number	Topic
1	Student Life
2	Faculty-Student Relations
3	Student Housing
4	Educational Counseling
5	Vocational Counseling
6	Admissions
7	Fraternities
8	Sororities
9	Student Health Services
10	Student Dining Halls
11	Educational Placement
12	Student Government
13	Athletics
14	Extra-Curricular Activities
15	Student Loans
16	Student Scholarship
17	Student Publications
18	Student Discipline
19	Student Religion
20	Student Finances
21	Debating
22	Hazing
23	Student Musical Organizations
24	Social Life of Students
25	Student Personnel Administration
26	Industrial Personnel Administration
27	Traditions
28	The Deanship
29	Intramural Athletics
30	Interviewing
31	Y M C A
32	Scholarships
33	Counseling, Miscellaneous
34	Emotional Life of Students
35	Student Personnel Records
36	Intellectual Life of Students
37	Student Military Drill
38	Student Morality
39	Student Rebellions
40	Student Dramatics
41	Student Social Services

Appendix B--Continued

STUDENT PERSONNEL SERVICES

Topic Number	Topic
42	College Unions
43	Student Intercollegiate Organizations
44	Gifted Students
45	College Radicalism
46	Freshman Orientation
47	College Class Organizations
48	Student Employment
49	Student Racial Problems
50	Class Attendance
51	Literary Societies
52	Speech Training
53	Sex Education
54	Student Leaders
55	Student Morale
56	Pupil Personnel
57	Success Motive
58	Student Personnel Research
59	Student Orientation
60	Student Time Expenditure
61	Student Diagnosis
62	Personality Development
63	Guidance
64	Pre-college Counseling
65	Student Morality
66	The Registrar
67	Class Sectioning by Ability
68	Personal Counseling
69	Instruction and SPS
70	Student Recruiting
71	General Financial Aid
72	SPS Coordination
73	Student Assemblies
74	Curricular Counseling
75	Student Organizational Finance
76	Relations with Parents
77	Honor System
78	Student Problems
79	Student Attitudes
80	Imagination
81	Geographical Distribution
82	Skiing
83	Student Criticism

Appendix B--Continued

PSYCHOLOGY

Topic Number	Topic
101	Motivation
102	Intelligence
103	Personality
104	Miscellaneous Psychology
105	Psychological Adjustment
106	Individual Differences
107	Rating Scales
108	Mental Hygiene
109	Interest
110	Adolescence
111	Aptitude
112	Psychological Tests
113	Attitudes
114	Culture
115	The Subconscious
116	Adaptation
117	Compensation
118	Maturity
119	Glands
120	Ideation
121	Social Psychology
122	Suggestion
123	Learning
124	Psychical Research
125	Impulse
126	Emotion
127	Psychoanalysis
128	Temperament
129	Apperceptive Mass
130	Morale
131	Habit
132	Happiness
133	Neurology
134	Vision
135	Audition
136	Hypnosis
137	Action
138	Versatility
139	Intelligence and Purpose
140	Psychological Types
141	Role and Status
142	Commonality Concept

Appendix B--Continued

EDUCATION

Topic Number	Topic
201	History of Higher Education
202	University Administration
203	General Administration
204	Instruction
205	History of Education
206	College and University Government
207	College and University Presidency
208	Curriculum
209	Examinations
210	Degrees
211	Research
212	Alumni
213	German Educational Philosophy
214	Classical Controversy
215	The CU Vice-Presidency
216	French Education
217	Public Services of Universities
218	Academic Freedom
219	The Morrill Act
220	The Professorship
221	Theological Education
222	Coeducation
223	College and University Libraries
224	Physical Education
225	Economics
226	Government
227	British Education
228	The University
229	Finances of Higher Education
230	Secondary Education
231	Liberal Education
232	State Universities
233	Buildings and Grounds
234	How to Study
235	The Junior College
236	Medical Education
237	Departmentalization
238	Instruction in English
239	Legal Education
240	Secularization of Education
241	Graduate Education
242	Age of Students
243	Industrial Education
244	Elective System
245	Publicity Bureau

Appendix B--Continued

EDUCATION

Topic Number	Topic
246	University Personnel
247	Veterinary Medicine
248	Educational Publications
249	Adult Education
250	Dental Education
251	The College Calendar
252	Functions of Education
253	Scientific Education
254	Instruction in History
255	Educational Statistics
256	Education and Religion
257	Criticisms of Education
258	Administrative Techniques
259	Home Economics
260	Democracy and Education
261	Principles of Education
262	Educational Research
263	Instruction in Political Science
264	Education of Teachers
265	Instruction in Botony
266	Instruction in Mathematics
267	Instruction in Biology
268	Instruction in Chemistry
269	Survey Courses
270	Instruction in Modern Languages
271	Instructional Administration
272	Instruction in Economics
273	Engineering Education
274	Instruction in Physics
275	Scholarship
276	Art Education
277	Instruction in Music
278	University Presses
279	Instruction in Business Admin.
280	Meteorology
281	Astronomy
282	Forestry
283	Instruction in Agriculture
284	Rating of Faculty
285	Instruction in Social Sciences
286	Grading System
287	Educational Organization
288	Negro Education
289	Remedial Instruction
290	Instruction in Psychology

Appendix B--Continued

EDUCATION

Topic Number	Topic
291	Accreditation
292	University Business Administration
293	Academic Ceremonies
294	Instruction in Public Speaking
295	Individualized Education
296	Biology and Education
297	Instruction in Sociology
298	Theory of Discipline
299	Theory of Subject Matter
300	Intellectualism
301	Character Education
302	Student Humor
303	Professional Education
304	National University
305	University Extension
306	Boards of Higher Education
307	Social Science
308	Utilitarian Education
309	Scotch Education
310	Nationalism in Education
311	Instruction in Journalism
312	Instruction in Philosophy
313	European Higher Education
314	Holoism
315	Instruction in Architecture
316	Summer Sessions
317	Articulation
318	Indoctrination
319	General Education
320	The College
321	Manual Labor Colleges
322	Radio in Education
323	Southern Education
324	Urbanization of Education
325	Instruction in Geology
326	Instruction in Pharmacy
327	Government and Education
328	Integration of Instruction
329	Regionalism in Higher Education
330	Public Relations of HE
331	Education of Women
332	Progressive Education
333	Catholic Education
334	Hamilton College
335	College Catalogues

Appendix B—Continued

EDUCATION

Topic Number	Topic
336	Instruction in Geography
337	Motion Pictures
338	Lectures and Concerts
339	Renaissance
340	Trends in Higher Education
341	Credit System
342	Philanthropy
343	Tenure
344	Freshman Curriculum
345	Growth Concept
346	Achievement Concept
347	Functional Curriculum
348	Majors
349	Purpose
350	The Self
351	Techniques of Thinking
352	Semantics
353	Educated Man Concept
354	National Defense
355	Absolutism
356	Scholasticism
357	Scientism
358	Teaching versus Research
359	Materialism
360	The University Idea
361	Factualism
362	Structure of Higher Education
363	Taxation and Higher Education
364	Impersonalism
365	Post-Doctoral Education
366	Chapel Talks
367	Professionalism
368	Latin American Studies
369	Youth
370	Medieval Period
371	History of Instruction in HE
372	Re-evaluation of HE
373	Morality
374	Spirit
375	Determinism
376	Collectivism
377	Importance of Education
378	Freedom
379	Social Context of Education
380	Communication

Appendix B--Continued

EDUCATION

Topic Number	Topic
381	Social Mobility
382	Informal Education
383	Social Aspects of Purpose
384	Social Mind
385	Academic Anecdotes
386	Acceleration of Education
387	Literary Professions
388	Instruction in German
389	Instruction in Russian
390	Pedantism
391	Veterans
392	Harvard 1945 Report
393	Skill
394	Medieval University
395	Latin American Education
396	Instruction in Anthropology
397	Dialectics
398	Rhetoric
399	Law and Higher Education
400	Military Education
401	Education of Gentlemen
402	Pandemic Education
403	Academic Poetry
404	Nursing Education
405	Truman Committee Report
406	Instruction in Higher Education
407	Evaluation
408	Other Systems of HE
409	Improvement of College Teaching
410	Educational Biography
411	Educational Psychology
412	Subjectivity-Projectivity
413	Acculturation
414	Study of Higher Education
415	Group Dynamics
416	Higher Education Documents
417	Clientele of Higher Education
418	Selection Function
419	Organisms
420	Needs Concept
421	Normal Schools

Appendix B--Continued

MISCELLANEOUS

Topic Number	Topic
1001	Epigrams
1002	Verse
1003	Anecdotes
1004	Public Speaking Material
1005	Change
1006	Standardization
1007	Individualism
1008	Work
1009	Sociology
1010	Energy
1011	Science
1012	Characterizations
1013	Social History
1014	Specialization
1015	Democracy
1016	Social Life of Adults
1017	Age
1018	Words
1019	Chance
1020	Criticism
1021	Conservation
1022	Leadership
1023	Religion
1024	Logic
1025	Idealism
1026	Play
1027	Measurement
1028	Women
1029	Liberalism
1030	Love
1031	Marriage
1032	Sex
1033	Humorous Observations
1034	Evolution
1035	Birth Control
1036	Catholicism
1037	Reading
1038	Civilization
1039	Heredity
1040	Ethics
1041	War
1042	Writing
1043	Knowledge
1044	Leisure
1045	Poetry

Appendix B--Continued

MISCELLANEOUS

Topic Number	Topic
1046	Environment
1047	Theory
1048	Publicity
1049	Social Statistics
1050	Philosophy
1051	Public Opinion
1052	Etiquette
1053	Capitalism
1054	Definitions
1055	Values
1056	Socialism
1057	Conversation
1058	Egoism
1059	Art
1060	Children
1061	Controversy
1062	Friendship
1063	Music
1064	Famous Utterances
1065	Sentiment
1066	Rapport
1067	Business
1068	Humanism
1069	Humanitarianism
1070	Romanticism
1071	Politics
1072	Communism
1073	The Humanities
1074	Scientific Method
1075	Labor Unions
1076	Elihu Root
1077	Population
1078	Human Resources
1079	The Great Tradition
1080	Bureaucracy
1081	Security
1082	Protestantism
1083	Subversive Americanism
1084	American Life
1085	Symbols
1086	Power
1087	Pessimism
1088	Denunciation of Intellectuals
1089	Progress
1090	Social Disorganization

Appendix B--Continued

MISCELLANEOUS

Topic Number	Topic
1091	Statism
1092	Germany
1093	Loyalty
1094	Cooperation
1095	Complacency
1096	Social Responsibility
1097	Victorian Era
1098	Human Relations
1099	Technological Power
1100	Money Power
1101	Political Power
1102	Personal Power
1103	Spiritual Power
1104	Intellectual Power
1105	Moral Power
1106	Social Power
1107	Power Equation
1108	Magic
1109	Aristotle
1110	Purpose and Science
1111	Russia
1112	American History
1113	Religious Power
1114	Education for Power
1115	Tools
1116	Verbalism
1117	Atomic Power
1118	International Education
1119	Japan
1120	One World
1121	New World
1122	History of Ideas
1123	Classification of Knowledge
1124	Asia
1125	Internationalism
1126	Mineral Age
1127	Islam
1128	Myth and Ritual
1129	Equality
1130	Truth
1131	Community
1132	Military Power
1133	Anthropology
1134	Fashion
1135	Manpower

Appendix B--Continued

MISCELLANEOUS

Topic Number	Topic
1136	Conflict
1137	Belongingness
1138	Ancient History
1139	California
1140	The Future
1141	The Reformation
1142	Style
1143	English History

APPENDIX C

Conferees of the

American Council on Education's

Conference on the Philosophy and Development

of

Student Personnel Work in College and University

April 16-17, 1937

Washington, D.C.

George F. Zook, General Chairman of the Conference, was
    assisted by two members of the Council staff:

C. S. Marsh, Vice-President
D. G. Shank, Assistant to the President

In addition to Cowley and Gardner, the remaining conferees
    were:*

Thyrsa Amos, Dean of Women at the University of Pittsburgh
    and former president of the National Association of
    Deans of Women

F. F. Bradshaw, Dean of Students at the University of North
    Carolina

D. S. Bridgman, Chairman of the American Council of Guidance
    and Personnel Associations

A. J. Brumbaugh, Dean of Students at the University of
    Chicago

A. B. Crawford, director of the personnel department at Yale
    University

Edward C. Elliott, President of Purdue University

Burton P. Fowler, Principal of Tower Hill School, Wilmington,
    Delaware and leader in the Progressive Education Asso-
    ciation and the Educational Records Bureau

H. E. Hawkes, Dean of Columbia University and Chairman of the
    earlier ACE's Central Committee on Personnel Methods

*Positions are those held at the time of the conference.

305

L. B. Hopkins, President of Wabash College and Pioneer of
    first student personnel survey

F. J. Kelly, Chief of the Bureau of Higher Education, U.S.
    Office of Education

Edwin A. Lee, Director of the National Occupational Confer-
    ence

Esther Lloyd-Jones, President of the American College Person-
    nel Association and Professor of Guidance at Columbia
    University

D. G. Paterson, Professor of Psychology at the University of
    Minnesota

C. Gilbert Wrenn, Professor of Educational Psychology at the
    University of Minnesota

APPENDIX D

Services specified in

"Personnel Procedure in Education"

by

L. B. Hopkins

Hopkins listed twenty services, or functions, under five
        headings:

Selection and Matriculation:

        Selective Process
        Freshman Week
        Psychological Tests
        Placement Tests

Personal Service:

        Faculty Advisers
        Other Organized Student Interviews
        Health Service
        Mental Hygiene Service
        Vocational Information
        Employment and Placement
        Discipline

Curriculum and Teaching:

        Curriculum
        Selection of Instructors
        Methods of Instruction
        Objective Tests

Research:

        Concerning Teaching
        Concerning the Individual

Coordination:

        In the College
        In Whole Institution
        Of Outside Agencies

APPENDIX E

Services, or functions,

listed in the

Report of Committee on Principles and Functions

"The Clothier Report"

1. Selection of students

2. Selection of instructors

3. Orientation of students

4. Educational guidance

5. Personal Counselling

6. Scholastic motivation

7. Housing service

8. Financial assistance

9. Extra-curricular activities

10. Student health

11. Mental hygiene

12. Personnel records

13. Research

14. Vocational guidance

15. Placement

APPENDIX F

Services listed in

<u>The Student Personnel Point of View</u>

1. Interpreting institutional objectives and opportunities to prospective students and their parents and to workers in secondary education.

2. Selecting and admitting students, in cooperation with secondary schools.

3. Orienting the student to his educational environment.

4. Providing a diagnostic service to help the student discover his abilities, aptitudes, and objectives.

5. Assisting the student throughout his college residence to determine upon his courses of instruction in light of his past achievements, vocational and personal interests, and diagnostic findings.

6. Enlisting the active cooperation of the family of the student in the interest of his educational accomplishment.

7. Assisting the student to reach his maximum effectiveness through clarification of his purposes, improvement of study methods, speech habits, personal appearance, manners, etc., and through progression in religious, emotional, social development, and other non-academic personal and group relationships.

8. Assisting the student to clarify his occupational aims and his educational plans in relation to them.

9. Determining the physical and mental health status of the student, providing appropriate remedial health measures, supervising the health of students, and controlling environmental health factors.

10. Providing and supervising an adequate housing program for students.

11. Providing and supervising an adequate food service for students.

12. Supervising, evaluating, and developing the extra-curricular activities of students.

13. Supervising, evaluating, and developing the social life and interests of students.

14. Supervising, evaluating, and developing the religious life and interests of students.

15. Assembling and making available information to be used in improvement of instruction and in making the curriculum more flexible.

16. Coordinating the financial aid and part-time employment of students, and assisting the student who needs it to obtain such help.

17. Keeping a cumulative record of information about the student and making it available to the proper persons.

18. Administering student discipline to the end that the individual will be strengthened, and the welfare of the group preserved.

19. Maintaining student group morale by evaluating, understanding, and developing student mores.

20. Assisting the student to find appropriate employment when he leaves the institution.

21. Articulating college and vocational experience.

22. Keeping the student continuously and adequately informed of the educational opportunities and services available to him.

23. Carrying on studies designed to evaluate and improve these functions and services.