1-1-1973

The New England boarding school : an analysis of its historical development and contemporary uncertainty of purpose.

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Recommended Citation

McLeod, John P., "The New England boarding school : an analysis of its historical development and contemporary uncertainty of
purpose." (1973). *Doctoral Dissertations 1896 - February 2014*. 2831.
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THE NEW ENGLAND BOARDING SCHOOL:

AN ANALYSIS OF ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

AND CONTEMPORARY UNCERTAINTY OF PURPOSE

A Dissertation Presented

By

JOHN P. MCLEOD, II

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

JUNE 1973

Major Subject: Educational Administration

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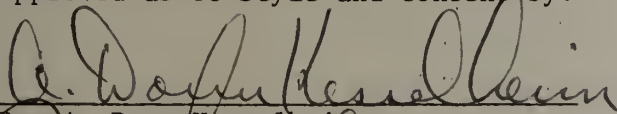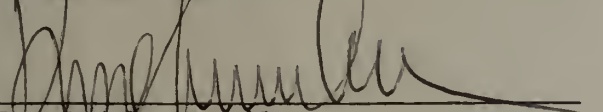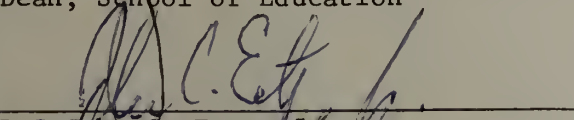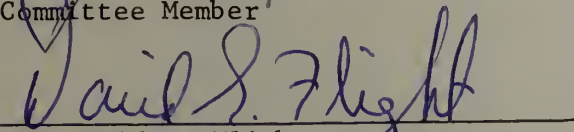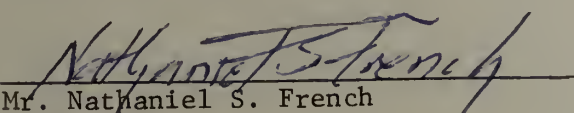Committee Member

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The New England Boarding School: An Analysis of Its Historical
Development and Contemporary Uncertainty of Purpose
(June 1973)

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation examines the underlying principles which were
instrumental in the historical development of the New England boarding
school and evaluates their influence in its current institutional form.
Intertwined with this investigation is a delineation of the changing
role of the headmaster, both as an evolutionary force in the boarding
school's transition and as a contemporary source of insight into its
present condition and future direction.

The historical survey demonstrates that limiting the investiga-
tion geographically, in addition to defining a population conducive to
field research, was consistent with the institutional genesis and ex-
tension of the boarding school in America, since the prototypical schools
established in New England generated, either in form or philosophy, suc-
cessors that survived and remain today as the fundamental examples of
independent schooling in this country. The field research, based on
the conclusions of the historical study, investigates the degree to which
headmasters of twenty-six New England boarding schools perceive the un-
derlying principles, essential in the past, as still valid and influen-
tial today.

The first seven chapters of the dissertation trace the development of the boarding school from its inception as academies in the late eighteenth century to the present. Following the Introduction and a discussion of the educational climate and beginnings in colonial New England, in Chapter III, The Age Of The Academy (1780-1850), the boarding school's temporary predominance in American secondary education is analyzed. Chapter IV, which comprises an overlapping period from 1820 to 1910, is a discussion of the emergence of the public high school as the dominant form of secondary education in this country and the boarding school's concurrent assumption of college preparation as its primary function.

Following a chapter devoted to the belated rise of residential education for girls, the confusion and uncertainty which has characterized the form and purpose of the boarding school in the twentieth century is analyzed in Chapter VI. The final historical chapter is a summary of the evolution of the underlying principles, concluding that, without significant modification, they are no longer appropriate to the meaningful continuation of the boarding school. This chapter serves, as well, as a transitional link to the field research, since determining the degree to which boarding schools today retain their traditional ability to adapt to changing social needs is the general research objective.

In Chapter VIII, the major research assumptions are introduced and defended, and the hypotheses to be tested within the sample of boarding schools are outlined. In the following two chapters, the research procedure is explained, the interview form and questionnaires are analyzed, and the quantitative examination and the qualitative evaluation of the hypotheses are presented. The concentration of the dissertation's

final chapter is six trends which emerged in the research, trends which
suggest why today's headmaster and boarding school are not reacting to
changes in society as effectively as did their predecessors. The dis-
sertation concludes that extensive change is needed and whether these
trends remain as prominent in the future may well determine the degree
to which boarding schools will continue as viable and valuable education-
al alternatives within American secondary education.

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Each conscious moment in the ongoing life of
an individual is a unique combination of past
experience and intimations of an impending
future. Much the same may be said of an in-
stitution that retains its vitality in an
ever changing society. Consequently, for
those who would influence an institution
such as the American school to function in a
manner relevant to tomorrow as well as today,
two things are essential: an analysis of
factors of change in contemporary society and
the history of that institution.

-- V. T. Thayer

Formative Ideas In
American Education

C H A P T E R   I

INTRODUCTION

To assess and to respond to the changing needs of American society
has been from the beginning a major function of private schools.
The function remains while the form changes. The problem of the
established school is how to exercise the function in forms that
are relevant and adaptable in a time when the only constant is
change.[1]

Historical Perceptions

Otto Kraushaar's statement pinpoints a phenomenon of independent

boarding schools which is essential for understanding their historical

development and impact as well as their contemporary uncertainty of pur-

pose. From their inception as academies in the late eighteenth century,

boarding schools have responded to the changing needs of the American

society, occasionally enjoying extraordinary success, yet historians

differ widely on the importance of their contribution.

For many historians, the significance of boarding schools in

America is limited to the Age of the Academies, extending from the

Revolution to the Civil War; the emergence of public high schools as the

dominant form of secondary education in the latter half of the nineteenth

century relegated boarding schools to a minor role serving a wealthy elite.

This historical perception, while convenient for an unencumbered, uni-

linear explanation of the development of American public education, fails

to acknowledge the contribution of boarding schools to the pluralistic

ideology which underlies our present educational structure.

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[1]Otto Kraushaar. American Nonpublic Schools. (Baltimore:
The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), p. 17.

Unfortunately, the few comprehensive investigations of American boarding schools tend to overcompensate for this inadequate interpretation, generating an exaggerated legend of accomplishment and influence. Rather than considering boarding schools for what they were--reflections of a changing culture--these historians down-play boarding schools' elitist nature--which must be understood accurately in order to appreciate their evolutionary function--and stress, often in misleading ways, their creative contributions to and ephemeral domination of secondary education in this country. James McLachlan summarizes the traditional controversy surrounding boarding schools.

> Their critics have labeled them "class schools" teaching little but
> snobbery. Their defenders have maintained that they are truly "in-
> dependent" schools--bastions of liberal experimentation and leader-
> ship in contrast to the timidity, inertia and stifling bureaucratic
> control they attribute to the public school system. In truth, very
> little is known about them.[2]

Statement Of Purpose

The two fundamental purposes of this study are interrelated: to trace the underlying principles which were instrumental in the historical development of the New England boarding school and to evaluate their influence in its current institutional form. Necessarily intertwined with this investigation will be a delineation of the changing role of the headmaster, both as an evolutionary force and as a contemporary source of insight into the present condition and future direction of this form of secondary education. Perhaps in no other position of educational leadership has the accuracy of Emerson's observation been more significant: "An institution is the lengthened shadow of one man."

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[2]James McLachlan. American Boarding Schools. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1970), p. 7.

The historical survey will comprise three periods: The Age of the Academies, extending from 1780 to 1850; an overlapping ninety year period from 1820 to 1910, referred to as The Age of Apostolic Succession; and the remainder of the twentieth century, The Age of Uncertainty. Limiting the investigation geographically, in addition to defining a population conducive to later field research, is appropriate to the institutional genesis and extension of this form of American education. Boarding schools grew out of a need in early New England for a form of secondary schooling commensurate with the character of the new republic. They represent, in retrospect, a logical and necessary response to the political and religious fervor which stimulated growth and expansion, and, as society changed, boarding schools reflected in a remarkable way the concomitant transition in American values. The prototypical boarding schools were established in New England and subsequently generated, either in form or philosophy, successors that survived and remain today as the fundamental examples of independent schooling.

Cecily Selby's admonition, a reaction to the danger of entrophy in contemporary education, articulates a primary assumption of this study:

> There is certainly some order in the manner in which changing educational practices stem from related changes in the needs of students and of society. Practices that have been discarded, may have served well in the school and the world in which they developed, but unless they serve a current one, have no reason to be considered anything but vestigial today.[3]

In many instances, principles which underlay the historical development of the boarding school may no longer be functional. But part of the uncertainty plaguing contemporary boarding schools may be

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[3]Cecily C. Selby. "Trust and Tradition: Evolution and Entrophy," The Independent School Bulletin, 30:7, December, 1970.

attributable to the inability of a school or its headmaster to determine which purposes should be eliminated, which should be retained, which should be modified, and why. The perspective of a historical overview will provide a necessary basis for concentrated research within a sample of twenty-six New England boarding schools to determine the degree to which current headmasters perceive these purposes, essential in the past, as still valid and influential.

Outline Of Major Themes

In his recent book, The Finest Education Money Can Buy, Richard Gaines outlines three objectives which he concludes are found in most boarding schools' "statements of purpose" today.[4] Briefly defined under each of his "goals" are the related themes with which this study will be particularly concerned.

A. Academic Excellence

   1. The boarding school's function as a college preparatory school

   2. The importance of structure in the boarding school

B. Service To Society

   1. The boarding school's role in educating an elite

C. Full Personal Development

   1. The boarding school's isolation from the larger society

   2. The boarding school's function as a familial institution

   3. The importance of religion in the boarding school

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[4]Richard L. Gaines. The Finest Education Money Can Buy. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1972), p. 47.

This format will allow the coherent inspection of these themes as they reflect and were instrumental in the historical direction of boarding schools. Equally important, it creates a framework which, in effect, gives meaning to the chronological spectrum, by relating these enduring yet changing principles to the three objectives which boarding schools contend they are fulfilling today. Determining whether or not this contention is valid within a sample of these schools constitutes the second part of this study; determining whether or not the perpetuation of these principles, when understood in their historical context, is justified in contemporary society is the primary objective of the first part.

Do boarding schools--responsive traditionally to societal needs--retain this viability today? If their original purposes and forms are no longer valid, what institutional changes are necessary to justify their existence in 1973? To purport to conclude whether the boarding school should (not) or to project that it will (not) endure on the basis of a limited study would be presumptuous; but to investigate the degree to which boarding schools today are clinging to traditional assumptions which have become antiquated and irrelevant and to explore the vision and purpose with which today's headmaster responds to a changing society is both timely and appropriate to the meaningful continuation of independent boarding schools in this country.

> The prime question facing a headmaster, new or old, then, is obvious: can we continue to adapt to our culture, in this time which is not of heady revolution, but of reluctant evolution, not of optimism in the perfectability of man and woman, but of discouragement and doubt?[5]

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[5]Theodore R. Sizer. "The Headmaster's Address," _The Andover Bulletin_, 66:3, November, 1972.

The ability of the modern boarding school to adapt to changing social needs, a fundamental ingredient in their survival to the present day, remains as the primary challenge facing the contemporary headmaster.

17th and 18th century America

This was a period in which theological and
philosophical presuppositions were dominant
in education. But it was also a period in
which an open country with its seemingly in-
exhaustible natural resources contributed to
the transformation of a closed society into
one more nearly open, with revolutionary ef-
fects upon conceptions of the Deity, of na-
ture, and of man and society--conceptions
that have not ceased to give direction to
men's lives.

-- V. T. Thayer

Formative Ideas In
American Education

C H A P T E R   II

COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND

Theocratic Climate

While the spirit of the academy movement was aptly described by
Ted Sizer as "grandly optimistic," it is important to understand the
basic philosophical and political roots of this optimism. Colonial New
England orthodoxy imposed a rigidity and a sense of practicality against
which later educational reformers would react.

> In Puritan theology, the Bible was the source of all law, civil
> as well as religious. Consequently, the ability of each child to
> read and to understand its injunctions assumed social as well as
> individual importance and was so recognized in legislation. . .
> enacted to insure the ability of each child to read, write, perform
> the simple operations of arithmetic, and master the elements of
> some lawful calling, labor, or employment. . . . Thus early did
> Americans come to conceive of the school as a supplementary in-
> stitution, one designed to achieve through associated action what
> individuals alone are unable to realize.[1]

Although the religious fervor which generated the first colonial
school laws subsided in the wake of growing commercial interests by the
end of the eighteenth century, the theocratic climate did contribute, in
two important ways, to the rise of New England academies--by stimulating
educational reform, and by generating, ironically, the need for special-
ized, trade-related education. It was the clergy--colonial leaders by
virtue of their religious stature--who sought to create educational op-
portunities equivalent to their own English schooling and urged the de-
velopment of formal education beyond the existing rudimentary level.

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[1]V. T. Thayer. _Formative Ideas In American Education_. (New
York: Dodd, Mead and Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 12-13.

Harvard College, however, founded as a theological institute in 1636, symbolized the strength of pragmatic opposition to higher education by its subsequent fifty year history as the sole college in New England. Already the democratic undercurrents of representative leadership were being felt, but basically, this pragmatism reflected the widespread consensus that a practical, vocationally-oriented education was more important.

Commercialism

The religious emphasis in early New England was a strict adherence to the Calvinist doctrine. However, ". . . the New England version of theocracy--government control by religious authority--invested authority in the congregation instead of in the priesthood."[2] The frontier existence accentuated a growing spirit of independence and local self-determination; the colonies were establishing ". . . as principle the concept of local initiative and autonomy."[3] The combination of a confidence to reinterpret fundamental concepts and the seemingly unlimited natural resources in America led, quite logically, to a rationalization on religious grounds of capitalistic interests. As long as you continued to help others, there probably wasn't anything wrong with helping yourself at the same time. The shifting value structure, then, contributed to the decline of the theocracy and the rise of a merchant class leadership.

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[2]Robert E. Potter. _The Stream of American Education_. (New York: American Book Company, 1967), p. 21.

[3]Thayer. _Op. cit._, p. 12.

> As commercialism became stronger, secular interests replaced the overriding concern with religion. . . growing commercial interests began to require more formally prepared workers in certain fields, such as bookkeeping, surveying and navigation. To meet this need, there appeared a new kind of educational institution, the practical private school. . . . These pioneer schools, with their practical concerns and their wide range of studies, were the forerunners of Benjamin Franklin's educational proposals and led directly to the development of the academy.[4]

A primary reason for the institutional genesis of the academy, Robert Potter implies, was a need in the colonies for more specialized, technical education.

Political Polarization

V. T. Thayer suggests, as well, a related thesis concerning the growing divergence in educational theory at the end of the eighteenth century. One of the crucial contributions of seventeenth-century New England to the American tradition, Thayer concludes, was its enunciation of a political duality: a republican view that government should be by an elite, and a democratic perspective that government should be by the people.[5] Indirectly, this was the basis of educational pluralism. The dichotomy clearly underlay the eighteenth century conflict between those who felt that education should be concerned with training leaders for the society and those who felt that education should provide practical and equivalent skills for all members of the society.

In the nineteenth century, this polarization structured the struggle between Horace Mann's commitment to the creation of a common school, serving all classes, races and religions in a truly democratic,

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[4]Potter. Op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[5]Thayer. Op. cit., p. 11.

representative way, and the proponents of the academies, which were sustaining and inculcating the cultural values of the Christian gentleman and scholar, i.e. the elite leader. The fundamental question was whether separate forms of education for the wealthy or of sectarian instruction should exist in a democracy. In a somewhat different light, perhaps, Thayer's dichotomy illustrates the acceptance of dissent and freedom of thought during the colonial period; ". . . the origins of academic freedom are traceable to this early period."[6]

Transitional Significance

Otto Kraushaar described the educational climate at the end of the eighteenth century as "chaotic." Although a variety of schools had emerged during the colonial period, both public and private, they offered little more than an introduction to learning, and beside the struggling Latin grammar school, private tutoring, or enrolling in a "preparatory department" of a few universities, which in themselves were woefully far behind their European counterparts, the opportunity for secondary education was minimal. Kraushaar concludes, as do most historians, that the grammar school, in a truly elitist sense, was primarily concerned with preparing a few for leadership roles and failed as an institution because it did not meet the needs of the general population.[7] But this conclusion glosses over their significance as a transitional link to the emerging academy in the Federalist period. They _were_

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[6]_Ibid._, p. 18.

[7]Kraushaar. _Op. cit._, p. 58.

elitist, they <u>did</u> prepare for college, and they <u>did</u> contribute to the training of public servants. Perhaps as much as the institutional form of the "practical private school," the institutional purpose of the Latin grammar school emphasized the vacuum in secondary education at the end of the eighteenth century which the academy would fill.

As institutions go, the academies held the
stage but a short time. Yet in that time,
they were "wisely suited to the character
and condition of the people among whom they
(were) introduced," the optimistic Americans
of the early nineteenth century.

                        -- Ted Sizer

                        The Age of the
                            Academies

C H A P T E R III

THE AGE OF THE ACADEMY

. . . the American Youth are allow'd not to want Capacity; yet the
best Capacities require Cultivation, it being truly with them, as
with the best Ground, which unless well tilled and sowed with pro-
fitable Seed, produces only ranker Weeds. That we may obtain the
Advantages arising from an Increase of Knowledge, and prevent as
much as may be the mischievous Consequences that would attend a
general Ignorance among us. . . . It is propos'd

That some Persons of Leisure and publick Spirit, apply for a
CHARTER, by which they may be incorporated, with Power to erect
an ACADEMY for the education of Youth, to govern the same, provide
Masters, make rules, receive Donations, purchase Lands, &c. . . .[1]

Influence Of John Locke

The birth and development of the academy after the Revolution

institutionalized secondary education in this country. Much of the in-

tellectual stimulation was provided by John Locke.

In modern terms, what Locke denied is the existence of inborn ten-
dencies to think, feel and act in ways pre-determined and unrelated
to the experience of individuals; his concept of human nature was
admirably designed to validate American ideas of innate equality
already in process of winning popular acceptance.[2]

Locke's ideas probably spurred the educational search for curriculum

more responsive to the times than the traditional grammar school. He

afforded liberal thinkers like Franklin and Jefferson ". . . philosoph-

ical and psychological justification of a type of education rich and

varied in its offering, practical in its emphasis."[3]

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[1]Theodore R. Sizer. The Age of the Academies. Number 22 of the
Classics in Education, ed. Lawrence A. Cremin. (New York: Columbia
University, 1964), pp. 68-69.

[2]Thayer. Op. cit., p. 48.

[3]Ibid., p. 55.

In a more general but perhaps equally significant way, Locke's recognition of two sources of knowledge--"sensation" and "reflection"-- contributed to rivaling schools of thought in which the first stressed the passive, receptive nature of the learner, and the second emphasized the original powers of the mind. It was in the nineteenth century that these two interpretations intersected, as the importance of extending learning to include actual experience, rather than passive text book consumption, gained credibility. But, at the same time, Locke's belief that all minds are essentially alike--which affected educational procedure until the end of the nineteenth century--"encouraged educators to oversimplify the task of the classroom and to assume that one type of educational material and one method were appropriate for all."[4] In fact, it is safe to say that educational institutions of all types in the Age of the Academy were greatly influenced by his thinking, and as V. T. Thayer correctly concludes, ". . . expected that the child should adjust himself to the school, not the school to the child."[5]

Federalist Optimism

As eighteenth century America expanded and commerce flourished, the theological idealism with which the colonists had tampered a century earlier became crystalized in a harmonious philosophy of self-interest and benevolence. Franklin, perhaps as well as any of the Federalist leaders, sensed the implications inherent in an abundance of land and the unlimited opportunity for man to better himself. His optimism prompted his educational concern that each child in America obtain the

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[4]Ibid., p. 58.

[5]Ibid., p. 57.

best education he was capable of assuming, but he tempered this, typically, with the necessary touch of realism. Anticipating the creation of his Philadelphia Academy in 1751, he said:

> It would be well if they could be taught everything that is useful, and everything that is ornamental, (but since) art is long and their time is short. . . it is therefore proposed that they learn those things that are useful and more ornamental; regard being had for the several professions for which they are intended.[6]

Basically, Franklin advocated a secondary education that was both practical and diverse.

Growth Of The Academy

Although, as Ted Sizer points out, Franklin's Academy did not sustain the academic reform he had envisioned, it did emphasize the need for an expansion of the grammar school curriculum.

> The narrow classical curriculum was simply out of step with the ideas of the this-worldly, commercial, optimistic American, who often associated traditional learning with the social distinctions he wished America to avoid. There was, in a word, disjunction between the expectations of society and the offerings of the Latin schools.[7]

The post-Revolutionary academy, which offered both classical and more modern subjects, responded to this need, and the variety within their curriculum is an important distinction.

The other distinguishing characteristic of the academy was its corporate basis of private control, adapted from the existing collegiate examples. Most academies were private in the sense that they were controlled by a self-perpetuating board of trustees, much as they are today.

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[6] Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[7] Sizer. Op. cit., p. 9.

But, contrary to modern boarding schools, they were not private either in the sense of academic requirements for admission or sole reliance on private financial support. In fact, as James McLachlan mentions, ". . . the device of incorporation allowed the state to give encouragement, exercise some control, and sometimes give direct aid to the thousands of academies almost spontaneously organized by education-hungry Americans . . . ."[8] At the same time, incorporation, which created a stability and sense of permanence, also generated the institutional selectiveness of the academy. Even though all were welcome to attend, tuition payment was crucial to the academy's existence; in this respect, enrollment was limited to families who could pay.

It is not surprising that academies grew rapidly during the early nineteenth century, numbering over six thousand in 1850 America. As families settled in rural areas, the need for academies became obvious. The widely spread population simply could not sustain a publicly supported system of secondary education, except in the densely populated towns and cities. Ted Sizer speculates that the academy did not emerge ultimately as a publicly supported institution--certainly a logical possibility as this point--because of the American's paradoxical hesitancy to support institutions he desires.

> While the American was opposed to a general and continuing tax, he believed enough in education to dignify a private venture with a charter and to set it on its way with an initial grant of money or, more usually, of land. Assistance to the academies most often took the form of public encouragement and sporadic aid rather than continuing full financial support.

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[8]McLachlan. Op. cit., p. 44.

The states were _for_ education, but they found that in the last
analysis, support of private ventures was more congenial and less
of a drag on the public purse.[9]

The entrepreneurial character and corporate policy which was proving
successful in business enterprise led to a generally held assumption
that an educational institution could and should be operated on the
same basis.

While the academy was, as such, establishing a tradition of
dependency on tuition, it was concurrently establishing a tradition
of serving society _in loco parentis_. In the sense that today's board-
ing school means a residential experience at the school, however, the
nineteenth century academy was actually a community school. The stu-
dents boarded with families in the town rather than at the academy. In
a way, the early academy form encapsulated three influences which edu-
cators in the 1970's argue are crucial ingredients of a successful ed-
ucation--a source of formal knowledge (the academy proper), the family
tradition (parental values), and society at large (the community and
local family). Certainly within the society at that time, the academy
education represented a remarkable degree of exposure and potential for
learning.

Academies usually offered both terminal and college preparatory
education, but frequently, the quality was inconsistent and often super-
ficial. Perhaps this was appropriate.

It provided a smattering of both useful studies and traditional
learning, a veneer of education. This was considered good by
Americans who distrusted the narrow erudition of the college
graduate. . . . There was no profound love of learning for its
own sake, no intellectual aspiration. . . . There was the material

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[9]Sizer. _Op. cit._, pp. 21-23.

hope of getting ahead and the political hope of improving the re-
public. The academy founder was the optimistic entrepreneur
rather than the reflective scholar.[10]

The Phillips Academies

This generalization, while important for appreciating the cul-

tural implications of the academy movement, is dangerously misleading.

To draw the conclusion that the academy served primarily as an econom-

ic stepping stone misses other, also significant ramifications. The

academy concept as articulated by Franklin, based in part on Locke's

theories, and galvanized by the Great Awakening, conceived its most

impressive and prominent off-spring when Samuel Phillips, Jr. founded

Phillips Academy in 1778 and his uncle founded Phillips Exeter in 1781.

Claude Fuess would refer to these schools almost two centuries later

as ". . . the oldest and the most completely indigenous of the great

American independent schools."[11]

The extent of the religious zeal which precipitated their crea-

tion is, perhaps, most clearly seen in the Constitution of Phillips

Andover which refers to the institution not as an academy but as a "sem-

inary" and states that many of the students would be ". . . devoted to

the sacred work of the gospel ministry. . . . And, in order to prevent

the smallest perversion of the true intent of this Foundation, it is

again declared, that the _first_ and _principal_ object of this Institution

is the promotion of true PIETY and VIRTUE."[12] Subordinate to this

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[10]_Ibid._, p. 16.

[11]Claude M. Fuess. _Independent Schoolmaster_. (Boston: Little,
Brown and Company, 1952), p. 76.

[12]Sizer. _Op. cit._, pp. 87-88.

overriding objective, the Phillipses proposed that a variety of subjects, both classical and liberal, should be taught, suggesting that the academy would be, philosophically, less concerned with terminal education than with college preparation. Certainly Harvard College had a particular interest in the establishment of these schools as a source of better prepared students. Ironically, with the exception of Harvard and a few others, colleges at this time did not offer superior education to that available at Phillips Academy and Phillips Exeter; it was not until late in the 1800's that a significant percentage of their graduates continued on in higher education. Clearly, these two academies established a tradition of academic excellence--probably atypical of the movement as a whole--and the tradition, in a somewhat disjointed fashion, of college preparation which would become the primary function of the boarding school before the end of the nineteenth century.

Both Phillips academies were serving a very special clientele. In 1804, a "society of gentlemen," referred to historically as the Anthologists, was created.

> The Anthologists thought that a class of Christian gentlemen and
> scholars, who would resist the slide into barbarism and create a
> national culture, might be brought about by forming institutions
> which would embody their cultural values and ideals; they would
> thereby spread these qualities in their own generation and trans-
> mit them to the next.[13]

Many Anthologists attended the two academies, and it seems logical to assume that these two schools were providing an education designed to support and to perpetuate the ideals of the Christian gentleman and scholar. This conclusion is important because it suggests that the

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[13]McLachlan. Op. cit., p. 28.

influential academies in the early and middle 1800's were intentionally
adopting a republican philosophy and were educating a class of elite
leaders. The impact of the academy, especially Phillips Academy and
Phillips Exeter, on the direction of nineteenth century America must
have been enormous.

End Of The Academy Age

Why, then, did the academy movement end? Certainly the influ-
ence of public school proponents was increasing as the nation split
over fundamental values and marched irrevocably toward war. "Horace
Mann and Henry Barnard in particular stressed the importance of schools,
publically supported and attended by all children, as a means for devel-
oping values that all might share in common despite differences of
class, creed and national origin."[14] In addition, the decreasing sup-
port of sectarianism in the country and a corresponding awareness that
secular instruction could be compatible with moral training generated
a propensity for national, non-exclusive education which certainly must
have been felt in educationally sensitive New England. V. T. Thayer,
in a decisive way, summarizes these trends.

> . . . by 1860, the American people were committed to the establish-
> ment of free schools, publically supported and publically controlled.
> From the conviction that all men are created equal and that govern-
> ments are created among men to insure to all the rights of equality,
> several conclusions with respect to education were drawn:
>
> 1. that each child is possessed of a natural right to an educa-
>   tion. . .
>
> 2. that the state, in its own interests, must prepare each on-
>   coming generation for intelligent participation in govern-
>   ment. . .

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[14]Thayer. Op. cit., p. 96.

3. that moral and intellectual training is essential, but. . . in a population as diverse in origin, religion and political conviction. . . must not be sectarian in any sense. Rather should the school strive to develop disciplined ways of thinking, feeling and acting, that is, a common morality to function as a unifying influence in change.[15]

Probably this attitude suggests more why the public high school succeeded than why the academy failed.

Ted Sizer states that ". . . the academy failed because it was fundamentally a rural institution, a school uniquely appropriate for a population thinly spread."[16] The rapid growth in the American population during the nineteenth century, he continues, was concentrated in the urban areas as towns became cities capable of supporting public high schools. Indeed, he concludes, ". . . the high school is a city institution."[17] If this did, in fact, cause the extinction of the academy movement, the cultural phenomena necessary existed only for a brief, special moment in history. At the end of the century, in the face of even greater urbanization and post-war industrialization, many of the boarding schools in existence today were established.

The form of the academy died, but its function survived--an important distinction. The boarding school as it exists today has formative roots in the transformation of this function, a transformation necessary because, as yet, the form of the boarding school had not become purely residential. At the same time, the educational philosophy which produced Phillips Academy and Phillips Exeter would undergo cultural

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[15]Ibid., p. 118.

[16]Sizer. Op. cit., p. 40.

[17]Ibid., p. 42.

reshaping and modification before generating, a century later, institu-
tions which would serve society in much the same way as had their fa-
mous predecessors.

If we would attempt to form the characters
as well as to cultivate the minds of the
young, we must be able to control all their
occupations. For this reason, we intend to
have them under the same roof with ourselves,
and we become responsible for their manners,
habits and morals, no less than for their
progress in useful knowledge.

                              -- Prospectus for
                                  Round Hill School

                                  1823

C H A P T E R   IV

THE AGE OF APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION

Many educational historians, particularly George Edwards, con-
tend that American boarding schools founded in the late nineteenth cen-
tury were modeled on the English public schools. While some external
manifestations of the English system were adopted--the English term
"form" for an academic class and the use of older boys as prefects, for
example--the essential structural and philosophical inspiration origin-
ated in central Europe a half century earlier.

Round Hill

When George Bancroft and Joseph Cogswell founded the Round Hill
School in 1830, it culminated their search for an alternative to the
academy which could better fulfill the educational objectives of the
Anthologists. Dissatisfied with the pedestrian nature of the academy
instruction, Cogswell became interested in Henri Pestalozzi's theory
that a natural distinction existed between men which led to social strat-
ification, a concept consistent with the Anthologists' belief in an in-
tellectual elite. He visited the aging Pestalozzi's schools ". . . to
observe the new way of developing the child's natural faculties through
immediate sense impressions and manual activity instead of the abstrac-
tions of the printed page."[1] Although he was disappointed with
Pestalozzi's schools, Cogswell discovered at Hofwyl, a complex of schools

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[1]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 63.

founded on Pestalozzi's ideas by Emmanuel von Fellenberg, an educational
structure ideally suited to training a Christian gentleman and scholar.
Fellenberg's goal was ". . . the harmonious development of the physical,
intellectual and moral faculties by means of a rigorous, detailed schedule
covering a liberal curriculum of studies both classical and modern, as
well as exercise and play."[2]

Brancroft, meanwhile, was visiting German schools, and his journal
includes several ideas later to be implemented at Round Hill: ". . .
Emulation must be most carefully avoided. . . . No one ought to be re-
warded at the expense of another. . . . Classes must be formed according
to the characters and capacities of each individual boy. . . ."[3] When
reunited, Cogswell and Bancroft evolved a philosophy which, supported
financially by Harvard College, took institutional shape as a residential
school in Northampton, Massachusetts.

> Round Hill marked the practical inception in the United States of
> an educational philosophy calling for a carefully contrived learn-
> ing environment combined with the isolation of the young in a unique
> boarding school subculture under the watchful eye of concerned
> tutors.[4]

V. T. Thayer speculates that one of the most significant factors
in Round Hill's success was its emphasis on "familial" government. Assum-
ing a responsibility in loco parentis, Round Hill achieved a communal en-
terprise which most American colleges were unable to maintain at that
time.[5] The daily schedule was rigorous, highly structured, and punctuated

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[2]Ibid.

[3]McLachlan. Op. cit., p. 67.

[4]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 65.

[5]McLachlan. Op. cit., pp. 86-87.

with physical, outdoor activities; "we manage our boys by keeping them employed," said Bancroft.[6] Round Hill's curriculum, which combined the classical and English courses in a framework of recitation, was like the contemporary academy's, but ". . . the spirit that informed the old system was new--no more lockstep progress into a Procrustean bed of rote memorization and regurgitation."[7]

The residential experience created an unusual subculture of peers and faculty. The educational advantages were anticipated; the cultural implications perhaps were not. "Round Hill was established at a time of unprecedented urban growth; as early as the 1820's, the burgeoning American city seemed morally and physically polluted; it was no place in which to raise children."[8] And, as was true at the academies, the clientele was limited by tuition payment. Round Hill, as a result, tended to attract students from the wealthy, well-established families, referred to by Anthologists as the "artificial" aristocracy.

> In the century after 1823. . . mistrust of the city as an environment for children would remain one of the most consistent themes in the founding of American boarding schools. Insofar as the United States was concerned, the nineteenth century claustration of the child in boarding schools seems to have been due as much to urbanization as to changes in the idea of the child.[9]

When Bancroft left Round Hill in 1834, the institution floundered under Cogswell's business inefficiency and external pressures. Round Hill, like Franklin's Academy, was clearly ahead of its time in American education. Its graduates were so well prepared, in fact, they were

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[6]Ibid., p. 87.

[7]Ibid., p. 84.

[8]Ibid., p. 93.

[9]Ibid.

normally able to enter college as juniors. But this produced transitional complications for students and financial problems for parents, since the colleges insisted on payment for the first two years the student had not attended! When Round Hill closed, however, its fundamental ideas did not fade away. Bancroft and Cogswell had succeeded in inculcating in their students a belief in Round Hill's philosophy which would be translated into new institutional forms in succeeding decades.

<div align="center">Flushing Institute</div>

The void in educational alternatives for the Anthologists which the closing of Round Hill might have created had already been averted in 1827 when William Muhlenberg, an Episcopalian clergyman, founded the Flushing Institute. Flushing also provided individualized instruction in a controlled, isolated environment.

> But the metamorphosis of the boarding school into the Episcopal church school necessarily implied a shift in priority of goals. While Muhlenberg and his successors would continue to strive to educate Christian gentlemen and scholars, they would emphasize much more strongly the Christian elements.
>
> Missing too. . . was the fear of a slide into cultural barbarism, the suspicious pessimism of the Federalists. It was replaced by the optimistic, evangelical spirit of. . . the Second Great Awakening.[10]

As were the Phillipses, Muhlenberg was concerned with a contemporary neglect of moral (religious) education. In addition to a religious emphasis, Flushing maintained Round Hill's familial form of operation--the school as family. In true Anthologistic logic, ". . . only if the family and the virtues it was thought peculiarly well suited to

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[10] Ibid., p. 106.

nurture could be sustained would social dissolution be halted and an organic society maintained."[11] The future Christian gentleman and scholar was sent to Flushing for much the same reasons he had been sent to Round Hill--to avoid the influence of the city.

When Muhlenberg attempted to expand his institution to include both secondary and higher education, in order to avoid Round Hill's problem of meshing with colleges, however, the undertaking proved to be too ambitious. In addition, Muhlenberg wanted especially to influence his students toward the ministry, and, most likely because of the clientele he served, this evangelical purpose failed. The "emotional moral earnestness" which was unsuccessful at Flushing, nevertheless, would prove just the opposite in later institutions.[12]

St. James

By the late 1840's, St. James was the only school remaining which sustained the ideas established at Round Hill. John Kerfoot, one of Muhlenberg's former pupils, had been appointed its director on his recommendation. The curriculum, the familial environment, and, especially, the religious tone were almost identical to Flushing's. St. James was ". . . the complete romantic boarding school--an isolated community, sheltered from the corrupting outside world; a controlled environment, carefully designed to nurture Christian character through the family system of intimate contact between children and adults."[13]

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[11]Ibid., p. 116.

[12]Ibid., p. 130.

[13]Ibid., p. 133.

Because of its location in Maryland and a preponderance of South-
ern students, St. James was unable to continue during the Civil War.
Does, then, the thread of apostolic succession end? No. James McLachlan
explains:

> Round Hill's Federalist legacy and the evangelical impulse repre-
> sented by Muhlenberg's Institute would be reunited in Concord to
> form the classic boarding school of Victorian America--an institu-
> tion which would, in turn, serve as a basic model for the private
> prep school of the Progressive Era.[14]

Dr. George Shattuck, Jr., founder of St. Paul's in 1855, was an alumnus

of Round Hill!

St. Paul's

Searching unsuccessfully for a school for his two sons and gaining

almost simultaneously a large inheritance, Shattuck possessed both the mo-

tive and the means to recreate in New England an institution similar to

Round Hill. He recognized that ". . . academies were not boarding schools;

only in a boarding school could the child be moulded, through gentle

Christian nurture, into the complete Christian gentleman and scholar."[15]

Creating his own school seemed like the logical solution.

Shattuck chose as the rector of St. Paul's Henry Coit who believed

". . . that the Christian religion, backed by home influences and the man-

ly compulsions of physical sports, is all that is necessary for the prop-

er training of the young."[16] Utilizing the models of St. James and

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[14]Ibid., p. 135.

[15]Ibid., p. 142.

[16]Ibid., p. 161.

Flushing, Coit introduced at St. Paul's a full daily schedule to train
the intellect, the body and the spirit. However, he clothed the stu-
dent's existence in an almost Puritanical simplicity, believing that
this discipline best developed a sense of gentlemanly integrity. At
the same time, and somewhat paradoxically, he encouraged sports and a
respect for competition which carried over into the academic climate.
The freedom to grow without the pressure of competition, integral at
Round Hill, seemed to be less appropriate at St. Paul's. Related to
this, perhaps, was the social reality that more and more graduates were
gravitating into business careers. The Federalist notion of scholarship
as an ideal was no longer idealized.[17]

> By the 1870's Joseph Buckminster's 1809 expectation--in fact, de-
> mand--that the Christian gentleman and scholar play an active
> and vital part on the broad stage of American affairs must have
> seemed to many something of a historical curiosity.[18]

Coit, however, never abandoned his initial convictions, and it remained
for the early twentieth century boarding schools to redefine the educa-
tion of the elitist leader. When St. Mark's was established in 1865,
for example, it reflected much of St. Paul's structure and philosophy;
its first rector was an alumnus of St. James.[19]

> As the structure of American society grew more complex, so did the
> structure of American secondary education. . . It was in just these
> years--the years of the decline of the academy the growth of the
> public high school, and the emergence of the modern university--
> that the private family boarding school showed its most rapid in-
> crease.[20]

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[17]Ibid., pp. 166-184.

[18]Ibid., p. 185.

[19]Ibid., p. 181.

[20]Ibid., pp. 193-194.

Influence of Colleges

Although the public high school was now clearly ensconced as the popular form of American secondary education, there were many, particularly the well-off and well-educated, who were ". . . distressed by the heterogeneous nature of its student body and its increasingly egalitarian social goals. Above all, they appear to have been distressed by the public school's low academic standards and sheer educational in-effectiveness."[21] The public high school, apparently, was responding to educational reformers who urged practical and utilitarian instruction to raise the skills and abilities of the American common man; it was generally less concerned with college preparation. Yet, by the late nine-teenth century, colleges, sparked by industrial and technological growth in society, had noticeably improved and were now vitally concerned about thorough college preparation.

Several prominent colleges, in fact, openly supported the crea-tion of boarding schools designed specifically to prepare students for higher education. Many of the best known schools today were founded either directly or partially in response to this influence--Lawrenceville (1883), Groton (1884), Taft (1890), Hotchkiss (1891), and in 1896, Choate and St. George's.[22] Lawrenceville, for example, was founded primarily through Princeton's financial support and her interest in developing a secondary school which would send to Princeton better prepared students. James MacKenzie, the first headmaster, introduced several innovations--

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[21]Ibid., p. 195.

[22]Ibid., p. 194.

most notably the "house" system in which some thirty students lived with a master and his family--and encouraged most of his students to attend Princeton. A similar relationship existed between Yale and Hotchkiss. The function of the boarding school as a "feeder" school developed, then, in response to a need in higher education when its concern diverged with the primary interest of public secondary education. But, it is important not to lose the historical perspective in the flush of a particular phenomenon.

The problem Exeter faced in the late 1880's was typical of existing academies that had survived to that time and related directly to the motivation behind the founding of boarding schools during this period. The tradition of protected isolation against extensive urbanization remained, and many parents sought schools which, in effect, had built-in social and economic segregation. Urban-centered, indifferent and undifferentiated public education reconfirmed the need for the boarding school.

Nevertheless, it was clear that boarding schools could no longer afford to offer both college preparatory and terminal education. Public support, which had previously supported the academies, was now fully committed to non-private education, and unless a school was blessed with a large endowment, tuition represented the primary means of survival. So academies like Exeter made the choice to abandon their old double function and to become college preparatory schools stressing scholarship. While this would remain as the basic purpose of most boarding schools well into the twentieth century, if not to the present, however, the traditional purposes had not been abandoned. Many schools founded in

the late 1800's were the product of religious concern and offered moral

instruction in concert with academic preparation. Also, and probably

most important, the reasons for a family choosing Round Hill in the

first part of the century were even more pronounced at the end of the

century.

> The family boarding schools of the 1880's and 1890's were founded
> in response to many motives, and would be shaped by a complex of
> often conflicting ideological and social traditions and pressures;
> among others, by a reaction against the rigidity of the emerging
> urban school bureaucracies, by the admissions standards of the new
> universities, by the needs and aspirations of the urban and suburban
> rich, by much the same Victorian notions of childhood innocence and
> isolation as had molded St. Paul's and St. Mark's, and, not the
> least, by many parents' undefined hope that they provided the "best"
> education available for their sons.[23]

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[23]Ibid., p. 217.

1. The academy has performed an important
   work in the past.

2. The high school is now doing much of
   the work formerly done by the academy.

3. The high school, as a part of the true
   system of public education, should be
   encouraged to the fullest extent.

4. When the high school has done all it
   can do, there will, probably, still be
   room for a large and valuable work to
   be done by the academy.

5. This work will be largely, though not
   exclusively, in preparing youth for
   college.

> -- Report of the Committee
>   on Secondary Education,
>
> National Education Association
>
> (1885)

CHAPTER V

BOARDING SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS

One of the major social reform efforts of the mid-nineteenth century was the women's rights movement, and perhaps the greatest advance in gaining equality for females came in the increase in educational opportunity.[1]

A historical survey of the development of independent boarding schools in the United States would be severely inadequate without a discussion of the education of girls. To consider its history apart from the chronological context of this analysis, as well, is justifiable only because there is considerably less material available on girls' schools. Integrating their development by juxtaposing the major events with the relative abundance of information about boys' schools would run the risk of minimizing its importance.

Historical Development

Quite logically, girls' boarding schools, and subsequently, co-educational boarding schools, rose belatedly, reflecting the role of women in our history. It wasn't until the late nineteenth century that educational opportunities for girls compared favorably with those available for boys.

> The struggle to secure for girls an education equal to that available to boys was a slow, uphill battle. If the early champions of women's education are characterized less by the philosophical originality of their ideas of what education should be than by the

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[1]Potter. Op. cit., p. 249.

dogged effort to overcome deeply entrenched prejudices, it is be-
cause they had first to be allowed to walk before they could be
expected to run.[2]

As the town schools and Latin grammar schools were usually closed
to them, colonial girls had to rely on their family for instruction un-
til the emergence of proprietary private schools for girls near the end
of the eighteenth century. More than the academies for boys, the prolif-
eration of these institutions produced both good schools and those whose
quality was severely reduced by their profit motivation. Academies for
girls often bore the name "female seminary," and, as they developed, they
were the first institutions in the United States to provide higher educa-
tion for women.[3]

Female Seminaries

The female seminaries were markedly different from boys' boarding
schools in important ways. Social standards dictated programs stressing
"finishing" and breeding skills rather than more academically oriented
education. Emma Willard, in particular, inveighed against this education-
al short-sightedness and discrimination. When she founded the Troy Female
Institute in 1821, she offered instruction to girls in four general areas:
"religious and moral, literary (science, math and natural philosophy), do-
mestic, and ornamental."[4] One of her major objectives was to prepare
young women for teaching careers, and, as Robert Potter points out,

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[2]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 69.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Ibid., p. 70.

". . . the academies continued to be the main source of the comparative-
ly few teachers with any training for their schoolkeeping duties."[5]
Primarily because of her influence, the female seminary was the fore-
runner of the modern boarding school for girls.

> The female boarding seminaries grew up quite independent of the
> boys' boarding schools, and there appears to have been remarkably
> little communication between them. They were literally two dis-
> tinct, separate worlds.[6]

Unlike boys' schools, the female seminary was indigenous to America, did

not reflect European influence, and, from their inception, were pure

boarding schools. Even more important, the absence of the classical cur-

riculum allowed seminaries to emphasize the English program; frequently,

as a result, their graduates were more thoroughly schooled in math, natur-

al science, literature, history, and the arts than were their male count-

erparts. By mid-century, the best seminaries offered work at a level com-

parable with most contemporary colleges.[7]

When Mary Lyons founded Mt. Holyoke Seminary in 1836, she intro-

duced two important innovations which led to this level of achievement--

"firm entrance requirements and a rigorous curriculum which compared fa-

vorably with the English and scientific courses offered by men's colleges

at the time. Moreover, she had resolved from the first to ". . . provide

a good education for daughters of the poor farmers and artisans from

which she herself sprang."[8]

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[5]Potter. Op. cit., p. 250.

[6]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 71.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Ibid., p. 72.

College Preparatory Schools

Following the Civil War, as institutions of higher education became increasingly available to women and feminism gained momentum in the Woman's Movement, many female seminaries were transformed into college preparatory institutions. With the corresponding recognition and emphasis on the classical curriculum, they came to resemble boys' schools and served a similar function. By the end of the nineteenth century, two fairly distinct types of girls' boarding schools were well established--college preparatory schools and proprietary schools that ". . . stressed the cultivation of 'feminine' womanly virtues."[9] Miss Porter's, founded in 1843, was a prototype of this second group, and, in true apostolic tradition, several of her graduates later established similar institutions.

Beginning with the sexual revolution in education in the 1920's and cresting with the demise of the decorous girls' schools around 1940, college preparation became the dominant purpose of the twentieth century girls' boarding school.[10]

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[9] _Ibid._, p. 73.

[10] _Ibid._

For the past seventy-five years or so, there
has been an uncertainty among many indepen-
dent school educators: an uncertainty that
reflects, I suppose, the fact that the pub-
lic school movement by 1890 had progressed
so far that the public school had become the
"chosen instrument" of education, or rather
schooling, in the United States.

-- James E. Wheeler

"The Distinctive Character
of Independent Schools"

(1966)

C H A P T E R   VI

THE AGE OF UNCERTAINTY

James Wheeler's theory is an intriguing one. Certainly the
present condition of boarding schools in our society seems to support
his conclusion that the institutional mind of the boarding school suf-
fered a loss of self-assurance as its preeminence in secondary education
declined in the twentieth century.[1] Despite its mystique and continued
support by a privileged class, the boarding school's function in a plur-
alistic society became confused and less obvious.

Pre-World War I

But if the later uncertainty was born in the early 1900's, it
failed to exert any noticeable restraint on the assurance and overwhelm-
ing influence of a remarkable breed of leaders emerging in boarding schools.
"Stearns, Perry, Peabody, Drury, Thayer, Taft, St. John, Meigs, Boyden--these
are names to conjure with and cherish. It is perhaps fair to say that no
school grew to eminence without the presence of such a man for a conspicu-
ous period of time."[2] Although it may be short-sighted to concentrate on
any one of these unusual men at the exclusion of the others--each of whom
could stand as an example of this legendary style of leadership--the ca-
reer of Endicott Peabody and the impact of the Groton School clearly

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[1]James E. Wheeler. "The Distinctive Character of Independent
Schools," The Independent School Bulletin, 26:10, December, 1966.

[2]Edward T. Hall. "Two Heads Are Better," The Independent School
Bulletin, 26:13, October, 1968.

illustrates the form and purpose of the boarding school at the turn of the century.

The transformation of the role of the Christian gentleman and scholar into the social democrat--"the gentleman as perfected public servant"--represented the wider sense of public responsibility which Groton and other boarding schools emphasized in the Progressive Era.[3] It was no longer sufficient to be virtuous but uninvolved. Above all, Peabody would repeat again and again, Groton was foremost a church school designed to build character and secondarily a preparatory school.[4]

Groton's organization reflected the succession of ideas and purposes in the preceding century. Peabody believed that ". . . the ideal environment in which to build character was the family," and as in other boarding schools, Groton's size remained small, conducive to or perhaps the result of the continuing idea of the school as an idealized family.[5] Groton's schedule was rigid, but its community was intimate, contrasting sharply with the impersonality of the public high school. Avoidance of the city's influence and its schools, then, remained a primary parental motivation for sending their sons to the isolated boarding school.

Colleges in the twentieth century, however, were demanding greater and greater specialization in their applicants. For Peabody, preoccupied with character building, the expectations of higher education seemed incongruous with his objectives. Other boarding schools, it should be noted, were more responsive to this pressure, recognizing, perhaps, the

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[3]McLachlan. Op. cit., pp. 287-295.

[4]Ibid., p. 256.

[5]Ibid.

practical expectations of their clientele. If, as some critics claim,
Groton was offering "mediocre instruction, but excellent education," it
was caused by the disjunction between ". . . the expert and the gentle-
man, between intellect and character."[6] But such criticism probably
didn't affect the self-assured, "austere," inspired Peabody. He was
convinced that ". . . even when innocence is lost in college, something
in the Groton idea will never quite leave the Groton boy, so that the
Groton boy who fails will, in time, be lifted up again."[7] It is easy to-
day to question his arrogance and idealism, but it was an impressive ex-
pression of the Federalist dream of ". . . a nation inspired and led by
a gentlemanly elite."[8]

The absolute power which a headmaster and his faculty exerted in
these schools is poignantly but fairly illustrated by an incident at
Andover in 1908. Claude Fuess, later to become Andover's headmaster, re-
called the ending of the fall faculty meeting and the following exchange:

> One of the older members remarked casually, "This is an unusual
> meeting--we haven't fired anybody."
>
> Whereupon Jimmy Graham looked up and said, "I've got a candidate.
> I move that Randolph be fired. He hasn't done a stitch of work
> since vacation."
>
> . . . after some perfunctory discussion, the boy was dropped.[9]

By World War I, boarding schools were a familiar, well-established
American institution. A general identification of three representative

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[6]Ibid., p. 265.

[7]Ibid., pp. 260-267.

[8]Ibid., p. 298.

[9]Fuess. Op. cit., p. 93.

groups can be made on the basis of their history and tradition: the di-
rect descendants of the eighteenth century academy, like Exeter and
Deerfield, which were comparatively less expensive, less Victorian, and
had more diverse student bodies; the Episcopalian church schools, e.g.
St. Paul's, St. Mark's and Groton, which appealed to wealthy urban fami-
lies, were heavily religious, and were strictly regulated; and the non-
denominational schools like Lawrenceville, Choate and Taft, which also
attracted an upper class clientele, and which attempted to balance the
academy's freedom with the discipline of the religious school.[10]

> By 1916, their image. . . would be fixed for the greater part of
> the twentieth century: "self-sufficient and insular communities,
> providing for their rather narrow clientele just what was expected
> --a conservative, gentlemanly preparation of body and mind for the
> Ivey League Colleges and for support of the economic, political
> and religious status quo."[11]

The Progressive Movement

The wave of Progressivism following the war disrupted and changed
secondary education as it did the American society. But its influence on
the boarding school is neither clear nor easily defined. Peabody and
Horace Taft seemed unimpressed by the movement, possibly because, at
first glance, it was a philosophy consistent with what many boarding
schools thought they were doing, or because they were suspicious of what
seemed to be "undemanding" education. Claude Fuess would later write:

> Progressive education. . . has been in my judgement more successful
> with preadolescents than with boys and girls beyond the age of four-
> teen. I suppose that everybody, no matter how young or how old, is

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[10]McLachlan. Op. cit., p. 216.

[11]Ibid., p. 217.

the better in character for being obliged once in a while to carry
through a task which he may not like. . . . It has been responsible
for much loose talk, some preposterous ideas. . . . But it must be
granted that its philosophy has profoundly affected secondary educa-
tion.[12]

Regardless of the absence of external indications, it seems plausible to

assume that basic underlying principles of the boarding school were af-

fected.

The movement's most prominent spokesman was, of course, John Dewey.

Having absorbed William James's theory that ". . . the knower is an actor

who helps transform the world of which he is a part," Dewey wrote prolif-

ically and passionately during his life in support and explication of ed-

ucation which enabled an individual to control his surroundings rather

than adapt to them.[13] One of his definitions of education was: ". . .

that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the

meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course

of subsequent experience."[14]

Despite the confusion about what exactly Dewey meant by "experi-

ence," it is clear, in an admittedly over-simplified way, that he was

concerned with moving the child to the center of the educational process

and with designing the curriculum in more meaningful terms for the child.[15]

His thinking stimulated the creation of laboratory or experimental schools,

like his own private venture in Chicago, which recognized and treated

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[12]Fuess. _Op. cit._, p. 337.

[13]Lawrence A. Cremin. _The Transformation of The School_. (New
York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 122-123.

[14]_Ibid._, pp. 89-90.

[15]_Ibid._, p. 131.

children as individuals with unique needs. Conformity as practiced in
the public schools, he argued, obstructed intellectual development and
violated individual integrity. In a lecture entitled, "The School and
the Life of the Child," he described the basis of his ideal school:

> If we take from an ideal home, where the parent is intelligent
> enough to recognize what is best for the child, and is able to
> supply what is needed, we find the child learning through the
> social converse and constitution of the family.[16]

Familial, individual and experimental--probably most headmasters
in the 1930's thought these qualities existed in their schools. Selective
choosing from Dewey's writing to make this point, however, obviously
misrepresents the overall implications of his thinking in relation to
the boarding school. While it is correct that Dewey argued against regi-
mented schools and their lockstep procedures in favor of creative oppor-
tunities for self-expression, he certainly would have objected strongly
to the exclusiveness, inequality and fixed curriculum in boarding schools.
In Democracy and Education, he wrote:

> The things which are socially most fundamental, that is, which have
> to do with experience in which the widest groups share, are the es-
> sentials. The things which represent the needs of specialized groups
> and technical pursuits are secondary. A democracy cannot flourish
> where there is a narrowly utilitarian education for one class and
> broadly liberal education for another. It demands a universal edu-
> cation in the problems of living together.[17]

For Dewey, universal schooling, as Horace Mann had suggested a
century earlier, represented the crucial first step toward a democratic
society, and it required the transformation of the nature of the public

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[16]Thayer. Op. cit., p. 250.

[17]Cremin. Op. cit., p. 125.

school.[18] Perhaps it was the inability of the public school to realize

this transition that saved the boarding school from extinction during

the interbellum period.

The phenomenal growth in the secondary school aged population--

from 600,000 in 1900 to 6,000,000 in 1935--made extensive, perhaps ex-

hausting demands on public education.[19] At the same time that Dewey was

emphasizing individualized learning, public education was moving toward

greater conformity in curriculum and standards of achievement. The ex-

panding high school was unable, realistically, to mesh these two purposes

--centralization and individualization--and boarding schools continued to

offer a necessary alternative. But the American public, looking to edu-

cation to reestablish a national unity shaken by war, found the undemo-

cratic private school unsuited to this crusade.

In 1922, this sentiment motivated Oregon's voters to pass a law

requiring all students to attend public schools. Its constitutionality

was immediately challenged, and, in 1925, the United States Supreme Court

declared the law to be unconstitutional (Pierce vs. Society of Sisters).

Kraushaar refers to this decision as ". . . the Magna Carta of non-

public schools in the United States, (which) established the private

school's constitutional right to exist and the parents' right to choose

a private school."[20] In effect, the decision affirmed pluralism in

American education, while indirectly confirming the state's right to

supervise all schools. A potentially death-dealing public blow had been

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[18]Ibid., p. 126.

[19]Thayer. Op. cit., p. 295.

[20]Kraushaar. Op. cit., pp. 13-14.

avoided, and the private school had survived its most severe crisis; but it is debatable whether it ever regained the public stature and impact it had enjoyed during the preceding century.

<center>1940 to 1973</center>

> The 1940's and 1950's witnessed a quite different attitude toward public education. Progressive education, with its emphasis upon experimentation, once welcomed, now encountered stubborn opposition and suspicion. . .
>
> This implie(d) a need for education that enable(d) the young person to bridge the gap between his home and the complex world of adults in which he must eventually play a part, but for which neither home nor school prepare(d) him adequately.[21]

Not the public school, perhaps, but many Americans still viewed the private school's isolated, controlled environment as an important alternative to this dilemma. But it is simplistic to conclude that boarding schools offered the educational solution. They continued to serve only a limited segment of the nation's secondary students, offering academic preparation for college which was recognized publicly as both superior and elite. Ironically, this special stature which still remains, in part, represents a current failure of many boarding schools to respond to social needs beyond this specific function.

The twenty-five year period following World War II witnessed a major change in boarding schools which belatedly mirrored the confusion and growing unrest among the nation's young. Probably because the traditions and assumptions of the boarding school were relatively protected and preserved by selective admissions policies, a luxury related to their

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[21]Thayer. Op. cit., pp. 360, 365.

success in college preparation and admission until the late '60's, unrest
and dissatisfaction surfaced within these schools later than in public
schools. When the principles underlying the structure and operation of
the boarding school were challenged, however, they were emphatically,
and the consequent redefinition and search for institutional purpose has
yet to be completed.

Particularly within the boarding school, a growing lack of public
interest in and acceptance of the emphasis and discipline associated with
independent education has been reflected recently in declining applica-
tions and enrollment. In part, this relates to a changing social atti-
tude towards the assumption that college is the only appropriate alterna-
tive for a young person after secondary school and that a rigidly sequen-
tial academic program provides the best preparation for higher education.
As this phenomenon relates to the broad spectrum of secondary schooling,
both public and private schools are faced with the necessity of redefining
and modifying curricula based primarily on the expectations and explicit
requirements of colleges and universities.

More specifically, however, this recent trend emphasizes the funda-
mental difference between public and private education in 1973--their de-
gree of economic stability. Because the public school is guaranteed a
steady flow of students, it is protected by society in the sense that it
does not face a struggle for survival; ". . . (its) existence is guaran-
teed. . . (and) funds are not closely tied to the quality of performance."[22]
Private schools, on the other hand, dependent on endowment and tuition

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[22]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 10.

for survival, have been thrust into an intense competition for students,
as the pool of applicants becomes smaller, and are clearly unprotected
at vulnerable points. A failure to perceive changing student needs and
aspirations and to adapt their programs accordingly risks increasing
public dissatisfaction and lack of interest.

> Each passing year records the demise of private schools, even long-
> established ones. It would be strange indeed if, in a time of ver-
> tiginous change, some forms of private schooling, that served well
> another era, were not found wanting and obsolete.[23]

In much the same way, the role of the post-war headmaster has
dramatically changed, a transition which was poignantly chronicled in
the career of Frank Boyden.

> Boyden. . . is the latest of a line of willful, creative men who,
> using their own personalities as moral floor plans, so to speak,
> established or reconstructed great schools. . . . (He) may be
> not only the latest but almost the last of the line. . . styles
> have changed.[24]

Throughout most of his sixty-five years as headmaster of Deerfield Academy,
his dogmatic, autocratic leadership, based purely on personal intuition
and judgment, but flavored with concern for "his boys," proved extraor-
dinarily successful. Like Endicott Peabody, Horace Taft and other head-
masters of their vintage and stature, Boyden's effectiveness and durabil-
ity resulted from a combination of personality, institutional power, and
subordination of constituencies within the school. But this style of
leadership was inconsistent with a growing trend in the sixties towards
democratization in the governance of boarding schools, a result in part
of shifting values within the larger society and in part of the greater

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[23]Ibid., p. 17.

[24]Donald Barr. "The Tale of the Headmaster," _Education in
America_, IV:90, April 15, 1967.

complexity and uncertainty involved in running the modern school. Leadership required of a headmaster today, Otto Kraushaar concludes, ". . . is characterized more by prudence, circumspection, balancing of conflicting influences, and caution rather than boldness and swiftness born of self-confident exercise of sole control."[25]

Although he remained as Deerfield's headmaster until 1967, his impact and effectiveness dwindled appreciably during his last ten years, the logical consequence of his philosophy, supported by the isolation and security of his school, to ignore delegation of responsibility and distribution of power. Frank Boyden was synonomous with his school, and just as his personality was instrumental in the national prominence of Deerfield for much of his career, it also dictated its decline and stagnation from which it has only recently begun to recover.

The era of the dictator, benevolent or otherwise, is over.

The contemporary boarding school student wants, and with increasing volume and impact is demanding, an education constructed on new and different assumptions, ones relevant to his concerns and which make sense to him. Richard Gaines describes the resulting institutional conflict in this way:

> As a school's reputation grows, as its walls become encrusted with tradition, a tendency develops to venerate the permanent (institution) at the expense of the transient (student). . . . The customary reaction within the academic "establishment" has all too often been an idiotic attempt to close ranks against the barbarians and defend ever more strongly the inviolability of the institution. . . . Living in an explosively changing world, (students seek) to shift the emphasis in their own environment from institutional traditions to human needs.[26]

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[25]Ibid., p. 175.

[26]Gaines. Op. cit., pp. 95-97.

The premises underlying the traditional academic program in most boarding schools are suspect to students raised in a technological age. Today's adolescent approaches secondary education with an awareness of his world--broadened and made immediate by electronic media--far greater and more sophisticated than did his parents and teachers. His analytic skills are more precise, his command of factual information more extensive, and his sense of social problems considerably more pronounced. Instead of a sterile classroom exercise, he seeks tentative, but real commitments. As The Four-School Study Committee concludes, ". . . adolescents in America can be expected to see little value in the mastery of. . . formal, academic facts and skills if their instruction is not couched in forms that touch their senses and presentiments of life."[27]

In his study, An Inquiry into Student Unrest in Independent Secondary Schools, Alan Blackmer recognizes the student's ". . . intense longing to be listened to with respect, to be treated as grown up and taken seriously. . . to be trusted and given more responsibility for the conduct of (his) life."[28] If it is true that an adolescent needs the opportunity to establish his personal identity in an impersonal, diffracted world, the student-centered approach of "free schools" probably accounts for their tremendous appeal to young people.

> Lacking tuition, prestige, plant, money, they see themselves more
> as function than as institution. They are short-lived. Sometimes
> they expect to be short-lived. . . . When a school's highest pri-
> orities are its own perpetuation and reputation, its students won't

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[27]16-20: The Liberal Education of an Age Group, The Four-School Study Committee, (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970), pp. 13-14.

[28]Alan R. Blackmer. An Inquiry into Student Unrest in Independent Secondary Schools. (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1970), p. 29.

care much what happens to it; but when a school loves its students more than its own life, the students will return that love.[29]

Until recently, the boarding school student accepted without reservation fundamental assumptions about his education. But now he is questioning these principles, and in the process, becoming critical of institutional attitudes, spawned by another generation, which restrict his own growth.

> . . . at this time in their lives when they are thirsting for identification with some larger group, for ideological commitment, and for meaningful engagement with the adult world. . . it is unlikely that a course designed simply to prepare them for the next will strike them as anything but quaint. They see reality made visible before them every day; they therefore expect something "real" to happen at school. . . hence the students' plea for revelance as well as action.[30]

Students want responsibility; but giving real responsibility requires a school's willingness to risk mistakes and disappointments. Yet the traditional alternative, which requires that a student reflect the school's beliefs and not his own, impresses a sensitive adolescent as vapid and hypocritical.

In place of restriction, structured roles and conformity, students desire greater freedom, warmth, support, and respect. Their mood is away from learning as a product to be consumed toward learning as an experience of living and sharing. The administrative or teaching posture of amiable condescension, presumably supported by experience, fails to heed Margaret Mead's crucial observation: "There are no elders who know

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[29]Gaines. Op. cit., p. 98.

[30]The Four-School Study Committee. Op. cit., p. 17.

what those who have been reared within the last twenty years know about

the world in which they were born."[31]

> It is the young who have the future in their bones. It is they who
> perceive, however dimly and confusedly, if not the shape of things
> to come, at least the irrelevance, the outworness, the betrayal of
> the dream which is implicit in things as they are. It is particu-
> larly important that they be listened to about education, for the
> school is their world, or rather, the world that adults have made
> for them. As such it is bound to incorporate visions of the past
> rather than a fresh appraisal of new possibilities that the young
> discern, as they see the world with eyes as yet unencumbered by
> the rationalizations, compromises, hypocrises, accumulated guilt
> feelings, and frustrations that older people collect along life's
> way.[32]

In essence, it is experience--traditionally the basis of a teacher's or

an administrator's eminence and authority--which is now most suspect.

For the headmaster or faculty member whose life style and teaching

philosophy was formulated by intensive, traditional academic training and

who believes firmly in the primacy of the intellect, these changing needs

and expectations of students today may represent a healthy challenge to

redefine their educational tenets and update their professional behavior,

or they may represent a serious threat of obsolescence.

While today's headmaster must listen and respond to criticism

about the focus and direction of his school, he can, at the same time,

ultimately fail by being too responsive and understanding, by providing

too much of a good thing.

> There has been among independent schoolmen a failure in knowing
> their students well. . . . From a refusal to listen to the young,
> many educators have apparently gone to the other extreme, approx-
> imating a credulity that not only accepts everything (they) say

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[31]Gaines. _Op. cit._, pp. 224-225.

[32]Kraushaar. _Op. cit._, p. 186.

as a statement of factual truth rather than an expression of feel-
ings and symptoms, but also responds impulsively to whatever they
demand.[33]

It is precisely this failure of liberal educators today to assert values,
Dwight Allen contends, that is killing schools and society. An intellec-
tual attitude which accepts as legitimate all positions, or any expres-
sion of values, fails to require discrimination and, as such, fails to
teach a student to recognize differences, a fundamental requirement in
making sound decisions. As the society develops its capacity of biolog-
ical manipulation, the question of genetic control becomes crucial. More
immediately, evidence suggests that drug abuse cannot be legally controlled;
an adolescent's decision of whether or not to use drugs, within the context
of peer influence, is clearly an individual one apart from adult control.
Lacking a value system which allows him to distinguish and commit himself
thoughtfully, today's adolescent and tomorrow's adult will face decisions
without the capacity to understand the implications, much less make a
rational choice.

Coeducation

The most significant institutional question confronting headmas-
ters since 1960 has been of coeducation. In his installation address as
headmaster of Phillips Academy last fall, Ted Sizer said:

> Any school dominated by maleness (or femaleness, for that matter)
> is a distortion of what is rational or just--or even human. We
> offer an incomplete learning community if it distorts or ignores
> men or women. . . . This decade promises to be a critical time
> of redefining women's and men's roles. Our culture and our schools

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[33]Fessenden Wilder. "The Abdication of Belief," The Independent
School Bulletin, 30:8, February, 1971.

are all too full of easy male and female stereotypes. There must be no room for simplistic and insensitive chauvinisms.[34]

Reflecting the influence of this transition in higher education and recognizing a need to respond more realistically to the social and human needs of students, boarding schools have either adopted coeducation or coordinate education, or have considered thoughtfully why they should not. Although both Loomis and Milton Academy were established as coordinate institutions by the turn of the century, the vast majority of schools retained their single sex indentity until the 1960's. Kent built and established its own girls' school in 1960; Choate now operates a fully coordinate program with Rosemary Hall; Taft, Exeter and St. Paul's all recently became coeducational; and Groton, Hotchkiss and Phillips Academy will follow suit in the near future.

Many of the reasons for this institutional change are local to a particular school, but the headmaster of Loomis articulated an overriding belief two years ago:

> Our present objective must be to produce an adult at the end of the twelfth grade--young people no longer have three or four years to grow up, for as our adult communities go off about their own business, they leave the young alone. Coeducation is a necessary part of the more rapid growth pattern forced upon us.[35]

Few would argue that the feminine influence in and outside of the classroom brings a new dimension to the boys' boarding school. Girls' schools, at the same time, have been forced to change their goals and programs drastically to survive, frequently becoming day schools or combining with

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[34]Theodore R. Sizer. "The Headmaster's Address," The Andover Bulletin, 66:8, November, 1972.

[35]Frederick F. Clark. "Report to the Trustees," Carpinteria, California: The Cate School, June, 1970, p. 7.

boys' schools simply because, as single sex boarding schools, they were
unable to maintain full enrollments.

> The independent schools that remain loyal to their own tradition of
> creativity, personal concern and freedom by translating that loyalty
> into terms relevant for the crisis of the society today may make a
> greater contribution in the future than any they have made in the
> past. If they are to do this, they will have to take what they have
> and give it away.[36]

The movement to coeducation, in many respects, reflects that traditional
responsiveness as boarding schools today seek to create an environment
more conducive to the development of social awareness and maturity.

The challenges facing the contemporary boarding school and its
headmaster are complex and often ambiguous, and the acceleration of
change has shortened the time for contemplation and heightened the cost-
liness of mistakes. The transition in social and educational assumptions
since the turn of the century is requiring the boarding school to reex-
amine its purpose and objectives with an urgency and force greater than at
any other time in its history.

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[36]John B. Coburn. "Independent Schools and Social Issues," The
Independent School Bulletin, 28:27, May, 1969.

. . . a shifting balance of power, alternative
learning environments, and student focused
curricula--are unquestionably going to change
education in America. Just how this change
will affect the prestige schools, though, is
not clear. It could conceivably destroy them.

                        -- Richard Gaines

                        The Finest Education
                            Money Can Buy

C H A P T E R   VII

A NEW PERSPECTIVE

The history of private schools shows that there is nothing sacred
or immutable about the particular form a school takes at a given
period of time.[1]

The history of the New England boarding school is a remarkable

example of an institution's ability to adapt and to respond to the chang-

ing nature of the society it serves. During one period in its history,

New England boarding schools were the dominant form of education in this

country; during another, national sentiment seriously threatened their

very constitutional right to exist. Today they serve a numerically in-

significant portion of the nation's secondary school population and many

of their traditional functions have been modified or rejected.

In one sense, this section of the historical analysis is the

conclusion, summarizing the evolution of the institutional principles

defined in the introduction. In another, equally important sense, how-

ever, it is the beginning of the study's second objective--an evaluation

of the degree to which contemporary boarding schools in New England are

fulfilling their stated objectives--providing the basis for research hy-

potheses to be examined within a sample population of these schools.

Because the existing literature provides little insight into how these

principles are influencing schools today, the degree to which the hypoth-

eses are appropriate and potentially illuminating rests largely on their

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[1]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 350.

historical context and on their contemporary status as determined in this summary.

Academic Excellence

The academic programs offered by most boarding schools today are excellent. Unlike his predecessor, who was required to absorb passively a prescribed, limited curriculum, the contemporary student receives far superior, more flexible intellectual training. But the remnants of an intense structure, which served the boarding school well in the past and which was essential to the philosophy of so many schools historically, still remain in many schools and limit their educational impact. The arbitrary adherence to a rigid framework, which was suitable for Muhlenberg's Institute or Coit's St. Paul's, is difficult to defend as educationally appropriate for adolescents in 1973.

> Students may be provided with excellent tools, with a great variety of courses and activities; but they can never investigate these in their own way. They are not allowed either to sample at random or to immerse themselves totally, either to dream or to contemplate or to experiment or to fail. Most revealingly, they are not allowed to reject the school's offering in favor of their own vision.[2]

This last point relates specifically to a pervasive assumption which debilitates the effectiveness of many boarding school teachers and headmasters today--that credentialed achievement in a limited field somehow confers upon them a knowledge, both moral and intellectual, which justifies using their experience as a basis for teaching maturing, young adults. As Kraushaar explains,

> The major dilemmas of "school" stem from the fact that it is conceived as a place where the young are told what to see and believe

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[2]Gaines. Op. cit., p. 59.

and study and value by adults who, in the fast-changing world of the present, are prone to live in a receding and already obsolete world. When this happens, what the adults think the school is doing for the young often bears little or no resemblance to what the young actually get from the school.[3]

It seems quite plausible that the disciplines taught in boarding schools today, representing different cognitive styles and offering narrow, academic preparation for college, do not interrelate in the adolescent mind and fail to touch aesthetic, emotional and ethical concerns which impress him as infinitely more important; ". . . he finds himself and his world diffracted into a jagged spectrum of various scholar's separate skills."[4]

The extraordinary success which many boarding schools have had in admitting their students into colleges and universities, a phenomenon related to their historical affiliation as feeder schools, contributes, ironically, to their present immobility. Schools are reluctant to alter drastically curricula which have been designed to meet the academic requirements and expectations of the colleges and universities to which their students seek admission. But there is growing evidence that independent boarding schools no longer enjoy a competitive advantage in college admissions over the public schools. Their relationship with higher education is considerably different from the tight, mutually dependent affiliation which created Lawrenceville and Taft. Contemporary colleges and universities recognize that boarding school academic preparation is no longer automatically superior and that public schools may well provide better social and emotional development.

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[3]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 186.

[4]The Four-School Study Committee. Op. cit., p. 31.

> In the college-placement race, all independent schools have lost the sway they once had. Lawrenceville, for example, used to send seventy boys a year to Princeton; there were twelve Lawrenceville graduates in the Princeton class of 1969.[5]

On the one hand, this phenomenon has serious implications for the institutional functioning and survival of boarding schools; on the other, it represents a forced opportunity to explore more imaginative and responsive curriculum which will attract and meaningfully involve today's questioning, searching adolescent.

> Out of the torrent of criticism over the shortcomings of schools and the voluminous literature about how they can be improved. . . there emerges a main theme which should serve as a guide to the school of the future; you start with living children and build a teaching staff, a curriculum, and a school from there. Instead of trying any longer to fit the student to the school, the new school turns around 180 degrees and fits itself to the needs of the students, now and in the future.[6]

Boarding school students do acknowledge the quality of academic instruction in their schools, but they seem to feel more and more that this is not the most important aspect of their education. They question the competitive, academic tension and the school's obsession with graduates' admission into prestige colleges. It is interesting to speculate that today's students may no longer view secondary school as a means to a future goal, but as a goal in itself. Ironically, they are asking the school to provide terminal education as well as college preparation, a function which the boarding school abandoned late in the nineteenth century.

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[5]John McPhee. The Headmaster. (New York: Four Winds Press, 1966), p. 220.

[6]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 339.

Service to Society

This changing student perspective has affected the boarding school's traditional purpose of preparing an elite for service to society. The purpose still exists, but the school and its students define quite differently what this leadership should be. While independent schools take pride in the disproportionate number of its graduates who have assumed influential positions in society, a fact probably no less true today than in the past, the context of the professional roles the contemporary graduate assumes is changing. But the historical premise that these leaders be, above all, responsible not only to themselves but also to their society is probably as important in 1973 as it ever was.

> Their models are the doctor working in a community clinic or the lawyer arguing public interest cases for pollution control or the social-service worker struggling in a ghetto against ignorance and indifference and bureaucratic corruption. For them, "good citizenship" often lies in opposing the very power-structure their schools seem to be serving.[7]

The current public image of the boarding school as elite reflects, in part, its historical attraction to wealthy Americans who could afford to protect and set apart their young from the mainstream of society. The Anthologists' Christian gentleman and scholar, the disinterested public servant of the Progressive Era, and the contemporary business or political leader, replete with a private school education, share a common characteristic--public recognition as an educated aristocrat. Although the term connotes an unpopular image of undemocratic class division, to

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[7]Gaines. Op. cit., p. 57.

reject the validity of the distinction is to reject the reality of American history. As it provided the training for a priveleged class of future leaders, the boarding school served the American society in a most basic way.

But the boarding school's role today, as it serves a more amorphous, impersonal society which is less dependent on a particular class for its leaders, may be less one of preparing an elite for traditional, clearly defined positions of leadership and more one of offering an alternative form of education which utilizes its flexibility to demonstrate new ways of inculcating social responsibility. Many boarding schools have recently incorporated public service experiences in their curriculum, an emphasis which affords a student the opportunity to engage in learning which both heightens social awareness and touches the adolescent's need for meaningful engagement with his world.

Students do want to serve, but not in ways that reinforce the existing power structure in society. The aristocratic concept of leadership by class or birth is anathema to their egalitarian ideals. Unlike their ancestors or even their parents, ". . . adolescents no longer pursue liberal education in order to become acceptable to the established institutions about them, but rather to help shape a New Jerusalem."[8]

Full Personal Development

. . . late adolescents have a special need for a community separate from their families in which to pass these years. For these are the years of self-discovery, of the development of a sense of unique identity, and of an imaginative awareness of one's capabilities and limitations. . . these demonstrably are the years of highest student

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[8]The Four-School Study Committee. Op. cit., p. 19.

interest in and profit from those multi-disciplinary studies that tell them of their world and of themselves. . . the optimal years for tentative apprenticeships with working adults. . . the years when young people need to be members of a community that is larger and cooler than the family but smaller and warmer than the world.[9]

One of the most significant manifestations of the changing twentieth century society has been the demise of the closely-knit family unit; as a result, the familial function of the boarding school today becomes important beyond its historical role. In the past, the boarding school provided a retreat from the potential contamination and corruption of the larger society which preserved the values and upbringing established in the home. Today, however, not only is the boarding school expected to maintain an imaginative learning environment, but it is also expected to provide an emotional and social stability often no longer found in the family. The importance of this expectation is accentuated by ". . . recent evidence suggest(ing) that the crucial educational determinants of a student's development are the humanistic climate or atmosphere of the school, the student's sense of participant involvement, and the student's identification with the purposes of the faculty."[10]

From early colonial times until the late nineteenth century, religious indoctrination was a fundamental component of secondary schooling in this country. Yet, religion in the contemporary non-sectarian school is little more than a hollow tradition, a superficial framework for a challenging academic program. Certainly it is clear that traditional requirements of compulsory chapel and religion courses are no longer successful.

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[9]Ibid., p. 61.

[10]David Mallery. Toward A More Human School. (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools, 1970), p. 43.

Many schools are now competing with one another in a deemphasis of
the religious purposes on which in both faith and hope they were un-
ashamedly founded. The flight from the chapel, in effect if not in
content, suggests that the religious basis of the school is no long-
er visible.[11]

But because the form is not visible does not mean, necessarily, that the

underlying values have been rejected. Young people in the 1970's--"these

long-haired, dungaree-clad, pot-smoking kids"--have an ingenuous recep-

tiveness to certain values which are basic to the Christian belief, like

charity, tolerance, and love.[12] The form of religion is dying, but the

underlying principles are not. The responsive boarding school, willing

to commit itself to an emphasis on values in educating adolescents,

". . . is shifting, to a lesser or greater degree, from a dogmatic theo-

logical posture founded on rigid affirmations to a belief that man's re-

lation to a creator can best be expressed in service to others."[13]

Whether or not a school is able to make this transition is directly related

to its ability and willingness to lessen the insular nature of its environ-

ment.

Isolation from the larger society, once the attraction and dis-

tinguishing characteristic of the boarding school, may well be counter-

productive to the full and meaningful education of today's young adult.

William Harvey argues that the well-being of an adolescent derives from

a sense of having some control over his environment, from satisfaction

obtained from successful functioning in his world. If the world adoles-

cents are given to live in cannot be experienced, much less manipulated,

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[11]Wilder. Op. cit., p. 9.

[12]Gaines. Op. cit., p. 124.

[13]Edward T. Hall. Perspective: An Introduction to Boarding
School. (Wellesley Hills: The Independent School Press, 1973), p. 64.

it should not be surprising that they either ". . . turn in upon them-
selves in quest of some experience, or out of formal education."[14] Stu-
dents come to school to learn about their world, not to escape it.

Creating or sustaining a supportive, stimulating community today
requires an extension of school boundaries to allow students opportuni-
ties for learning away from the school. Many boarding schools are cur-
rently exploring the potential of independent study, including off-campus
projects, as an alternative to the more traditional academic options for
older students.

> Independent study may have a maturing, strengthening effect upon the
> students' self-sufficiency and self-esteem that far outweighs dif-
> ficiencies in the raw amount of information or scholar's skill ac-
> quired. It is not at all clear that erudition is the proper purpose
> of such efforts. They appear, rather, to give students a sense of
> active, creative participation simultaneously in their world and
> their learning.[15]

Although the educational merit of off-campus involvement seems
widely accepted, many schools, in their haste to incorporate such oppor-
tunities, have confused the end objective with the means. Rather than
examining their curriculum to determine exactly what it should include
to prepare students most effectively, they start by urging students to
get involved away from the school and then justify the experience as an
appropriate addition to the prescribed academic curriculum. The result,
too often, is a poorly planned experience, with sketchy purpose, which
fails to be successfully integrated in the total learning which the school
is attempting to provide. But the trend toward cooperative relationships
with the outside community is an important step away from the isolated,

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[14]The Four-School Study Committee. Op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[15]Ibid., p. 52.

self-contained community which was appropriate for the boarding school in the past, and reflects both ". . . a desire to bring students to a more direct confrontation with their world than traditional training in the disciplines can provide," and a growing appreciation of students' need ". . . to be accepted and to act, as well as to learn, with seriousness but without commitment."[16]

Historical isolation from the larger society, however, has implications beyond curriculum design and internal policy. Harold Howe II described the ramifications of this traditional posture, one which is still all too true, when he addressed the annual meeting of the National Association of Independent Schools in 1967.

> Through the years, the independent schools have for the most part remained neutral toward the concerns of education and the community beyond their walls. . . . At the national level, the voice of the independent schools has barely been audible.

But he went on to say,

> . . . your independence gives you the freedom to shape an educational experience which is often superior to that available in many public school systems. Discharging those obligations will require independent schools to form alliances they have seldom had in the past--alliances with the community, with the public schools, with universities and with other institutions. It may also entail a modification of some attitudes about what it means to be an "independent school."[17]

A redefinition of "independent" in 1973 must consider a fact which Ted Sizer contends is often forgotten in the rhetoric of boarding schools today--because private schools are non-profit and enjoy a tax free status, they are, in a real sense, servants of the state. The distinction between

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[16]Ibid., pp. 98-99.

[17]Harold Howe II. "The Need for Entangling Alliances," The Independent School Bulletin, 27:14 and 15, May, 1967.

public and private enterprise on the secondary level, he argues, is
"crashingly irrelevant," and he envisions Phillips Academy not as an
alternative school, but as a complementary school able to reinforce
the local public schools.

At a recent conference of independent school administrators,
Sizer said,

> You can hypothesize that there are very few kids high school age
> that wouldn't benefit at some point in their careers for some length
> of time from an experience of intensive residential character. The
> whole point is to try to create a relationship between high schools,
> country day schools and boarding schools where the boarding school
> serves the youngster when he needs it.

Dwight Allen, in a more vehement and critical tone, argues that
any alternative school which can not attract and serve the racial and
ethnic diversity of the society it serves shouldn't exist. Both men are
clearly attacking the very core of homogeneity which has long been the
trademark of the boarding school population. In fact, as the Coleman
Report implies, one unmistakable characteristic of independent education
is the communities of like-minded, like-motivated people it creates.
The natural tendency of a selective school community, Kraushaar explains,
is to serve its own kind.

> Although the non-public school world embraces a remarkably diverse
> group of institutions, the individual schools tend to be by their
> very nature homogeneous. . . . The question is whether a homogene-
> ous environment composed of like-minded people is a viable educa-
> tional medium or whether a truly modern education calls for greater
> heterogeneity of human input, so as to better fit the student to
> live in a pluralistic society.[18]

Certainly there are few schools or headmasters willing to take
a stance as extreme as that advocated by Sizer, and many who reject the

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[18]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 93.

implied criticism in Allen's assertion. But if Coleman is correct that schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and social context, and if it is true that students learn as much or more outside of formal classes than within them, a serious redefinition of the boarding school's relationship with both public secondary education and the larger society is crucial to its institutional future. The complex challenge facing today's boarding school, and its enormous responsibility, is to figure out how to provide a full sense of community while providing greater opportunity for involvement outside the school.

Conclusion

The degree to which the contemporary boarding school successfully accomplishes this is interwined with the evolutionary relationship between the institution and the student. The following is one way to view the historical transition.

1780 - 1850	1850 - 1910	1910 - 1940	1940 - 1970	1980?
Adult	Adult	Adult/ student	adult/ student	student/ adult
(student)	student			

The schema suggests the emerging importance and impact of students in the form and function of boarding schools. Whether or not the traditional distance between the two groups, historically based on subordination and fearful respect, and currently produced by scepticism and doubt, can be diminished in the future depends on a school's ability to establish within its community greater appreciation of the dignity and importance of each individual member.

If it is able to do this,

Teachers and administrators may rediscover what we never should have forgotten, that the young, though not our equal in age or experience, are our equals as persons and are probably infinitely superior to us in directness of insight and in ability to renew the world.[19]

In essence, then, the task of the contemporary headmaster is to balance the interests of the various constituencies within his school-- faculty, students, administration, parents, alumni, and trustees--each genuinely concerned about preserving and improving its own prerogatives, while he is providing vision and direction. Emphasizing these differences, Gaines points out, only serves ". . . to harden incipient prejudices, thereby making understanding, communication, or any kind of responsible guidance all the more difficult."[20] But which group is right? Student demands for change are often uninformed, formulated without a necessary consideration of underlying principles; the faculty, at the same time, may resist change because of naiveté, benevolent misunderstanding, or fear of obsolescence. Balancing this tightrope of conflicting pressures requires patience, wisdom, imagination, and foresight.

But one fact is unavoidable. Traditional principles which were historically valid are not, without modification, operable today. Under- standing how the forms have changed is essential to running a successful and meaningful boarding school in the 1970's and requires a willingness to examine critically a school's stated goals. Is the commitment to col- lege preparation overshadowing a genuine concern for learning? Does a boarding school's training for service to society serve to reinforce the

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[19]Dexter K. Strong. "This Way To The Egress," The Independent School Bulletin, 28:6, October, 1968.

[20]Gaines. Op. cit., p. 145.

existing power structure? And, most important, is the boarding school's goal of full personal fulfillment being met? In other words, is the school allowing its students sufficient latitude to determine their own education, even if it moves in ways unfamiliar or antithetical to the school's philosophy?

Historically, boarding schools have satisfied a wide range of needs within our pluralistic society. But in society, the freedom to make choices carries with it both the opportunity to succeed and the possibility of failure. The challenge of the next decade for New England boarding schools is to utilize this freedom themselves and, at the same time, offer it to their students.

> If the turmoil of the 1960's taught us anything about education, it is that the traditional, formal, authoritarian "school" is no longer suited to the needs of young people who will live most of their life-span in the twenty-first century. Ever since colonial times, more and more functions have been piled on the school. . . . In the process, young people became shunted off into a contrived school environment which not only retrogressively excluded them from the responsibilities of adulthood, but also prolonged the period of dependency. In a way, the pent-up human explosion in the schools and colleges during the 1960's was finally triggered by the post-Sputnik emphasis on the single-minded pursuit of academic excellence. . . . When the reaction came, people were dismayed at its suddenness and ferocity. But it had been long in the making. And in the aftermath, it became clear that a whole new agenda for education had been precipitated. No longer could it be assumed that learning is something that is imposed by adults on obedient, passive children. The conclusion is by now inescapable—the traditional school, whether it be public or private, is simply not good enough.[21]

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[21]*Ibid.*, pp. 335-336.

C H A P T E R   VIII

RESEARCH STATEMENT

Research Assumptions

Both the evolution of fundamental principles which influenced the development of New England boarding schools and their current institutional unrest coalesce in three basic assumptions which underlay the research of a sample of these schools.

1. The purpose of the boarding school in contemporary society is unclear, both internally and externally.

2. Some changes are necessary if the boarding school is to survive meaningfully.

3. The headmaster is the decisive influence in defining the purpose and future direction of the boarding school.

The degree to which the modern boarding school is actively and thoughtfully reevaluating its responsibility to the contemporary student and his society rests on the direction and leadership provided by the headmaster.

This research study assumed that a headmaster, cognizant of the climate of the 1970's and committed to a "new order of things," can effect the necessary alteration of purpose despite a hesitant faculty, confused student body, and generally conservative board of trustees and parent body. Or, viewed another way, an underlying contention of this study was that an enlightened faculty, a discontented and articulate student body, and an informed, educationally sensitive board must risk "bloodshed," immense frustration, and extensive damage to the school if they attempt

(even assuming that such an endeavor could be coordinated) to change a school's direction without the consent and support of the headmaster. He is the focus of change, both actual and potential, and his perception of his school has a far greater impact than any other factor on how its direction is sustained or altered.

This contention does not reject the crucial importance of whether or not other constituencies within the school understand a headmaster's objectives or perceive the school as he does. The support and interest of the entire school community will significantly affect how successfully a school achieves the headmaster's goals, especially if he is attempting to implement change. But the degree of influence is critical. Progress will be impeded, altered, redirected, or misshapen because groups within the school do not understand or will not support a headmaster's proposals, but without a headmaster's directing and initiating the change or defending the status quo, only stagnation exists. The Fleischmann Committee's recent report on schooling in New York state reached a similar conclusion about leadership in their public high schools. "A school can be ineffective despite the most heroic efforts of a good principal, but the converse is seldom true, it being very rare that a school exceeds the quality of its head man."[1] The accuracy of this conclusion is accentuated in independent schools. Given the autonomy surrounding a headmaster and his freedom from the centralized structure and accountability which plagues and limits his public counterpart, a headmaster can influence almost single-handedly the direction and tone of his school.

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[1]The New York Times, October 22, 1972, Section E, p. 9.

The typical private school is not only unitary and relatively autono-
mous; it is with but a few exceptions a relatively small school that
enrolls only a manageable group of students. . . . The aim is to
provide a familial, personalized education under a headmaster or
principal who accepts a broad delegation of power. Many public
schools, on the other hand, under the necessity of dealing with
large numbers efficiently and economically, delegate the decision-
making powers to a hierarchy of professional administrators, who
because of the scale of operations are often remote from the students
and the day-to-day educational process.[2]

Although there is the specter of an all-powerful board of trustees, its

power and direct involvement is greatly controlled by the headmaster's

reports and summaries at meetings twice or three times a year. Or, viewed

more positively, if they are interested and involved, they most likely

support and endorse the ideas and policies of the headmaster they selected.

The primary objectives of this research project were to determine

how New England boarding school headmasters are responding to internal

and external pressure for change in their schools and to evaluate their

leadership assumptions and characteristics. The research format consisted

of visiting a sample of New England boarding schools and interviewing their

headmasters. Each headmaster, in addition, was asked to complete follow-

up questionnaires designed to determine his value assumptions, specific

patterns of his thinking related to the research hypotheses, and his

decision-making process. The research was aimed at uncovering general

patterns of similar and dissimilar perceptions among the headmasters,

perceptions which may clarify the present uncertainty of institutional

purpose and direction of these schools.

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[2]Kraushaar. Op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Related Literature

It is clear from a review of current literature that definitive insight into these two crucial aspects--the research objectives stated above--of the future direction of boarding schools in New England is minimal. This research concentration, the logical conclusion to this particular study, assumes an added dimension of importance, then, as a contribution to educational understanding of a relatively neglected segment of American secondary education.

Otto Kraushaar has done some research on the role of headmasters in independent schools which is documented in his book, American Nonpublic Schools, but, unfortunately, as Donald Erickson points out in his article, "The Book of the Decade on Nonpublic Schools?" the actual research is an incongruously weak aspect of an otherwise impressive study. Low response rates and a limited sample, in particular, contributed to the basis of the conclusions from which Kraushaar generalized to a larger population.[3]

In a sub-section of his chapter on "Styles in Leadership," Kraushaar describes the criteria he concluded are most frequently used to measure a headmaster's performance. He cites, while advising caution in interpretation, the following: pressure for admission into one's school, performance of graduates, formal evaluation by accrediting agencies, a headmaster's ability to attract and hold a good faculty, the extent to which a headmaster succeeds in introducing or coping with change, the school's morale, and the development of the physical plant.[4]

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[3]Donald A. Erickson. "The Book of the Decade on Nonpublic Schools?" The Independent School Bulletin, 7:12, October, 1972.

[4]Kraushaar. Op. cit., pp. 191-194.

The problem with applying these criteria indiscriminately or
conclusively is that most are subject to manipulation and depend cri-
tically on the perspective from which they are evaluated. For example,
pressure to get into a school could be related to a variety of factors
other than the quality of education offered, such as lower tuition, repu-
tation for structure and discipline, or a policy of taking dropouts or
"problems" from other schools. If one measures graduate performance by
job attainment and/or financial success, students who pursue careers
without regard for status or money are slighted. The potential for in-
accuracy and misrepresentation by an outside accreditation committee,
given the limited amount of time usually allowed for evaluating a school
and the composition and commitment of the committee, is considerable.

A headmaster's ability to attract and to hold a good faculty, as-
suming that agreement can be reached on what a good faculty is, is not
necessarily attributable to him personally. A "prestigious" school, high
salary scale, an advantageous location, or a desirable teaching load all
might be more influential reasons for a faculty's stability. Although
some headmasters probably do feel that physical additions are indicative
of their successful leadership, the superficiality of that assumption
seems obvious. Probably the best insight into a headmaster's leadership
ability is the morale of his school and his impact as a school changes
or resists change.

The empirical component in Kraushaar's book, as it provides in-
formation specifically about headmasters, includes only a socioeconomic
profile on nonpublic school heads and a profile on how headmasters think
their constituencies view integration within their schools.[5] Neither

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[5]Ibid., pp. 110 and 245.

profile offers much data about a headmaster's performance or the poten-

tial and actual impact of his position on the school's direction.

David Mallery, one of the most prolific writers about independent

schools, offers in two pamphlets--Independence and Community in Our Schools

and Toward a More Human School--insights into how individual headmasters

are perceived and the influence which the more creative ones are having,

but he fails (and it was clearly not an objective of his investigation)

to provide any comprehensive evidence about patterns or characteristics

of headmaster behavior and leadership.

Alan Blackmer's study, An Inquiry into Student Unrest in Indepen-

dent Secondary Schools, provides more extensive research information

about the role of the headmaster. Prompted by the wide-spread student

unrest in independent schools two years ago, the National Association of

Independent Schools commissioned Blackmer to investigate the causes.

While he did an admirable job of collecting data from forty-six indepen-

dent schools (which represents less than half of his total survey), the

questionnaire to which the headmasters responded was worded differently

than those administered to students, faculty and parents. Where the lat-

ter were asked about "grievances," the comparable questions for headmas-

ters inquired about student "interest" in the problem. This probably

accounts for the high percentage of headmaster responses reflecting

"strong and considerable student interest" which were then collated with

student, faculty and parent answers to "grievances heard expressed fre-

quently or very frequently."[6] Obviously, a headmaster is able to recog-

nize interest more easily and in a less threatening way than he can

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[6]Alan R. Blackmer. An Inquiry into Student Unrest in Independent
Secondary Schools. (Boston: National Association of Independent Schools,
1970), pp. 85-86.

grievances. Blackmer's questionnaire failed to provide statistically reliable information about headmasters' understanding of aspects of their schools needing revision and redefinition.

In depth studies of individual headmasters and their schools have been published, such as The Headmaster and A World of Our Own, but the very strength of these studies--the insight they provide into how a particular school is influenced by its headmaster--does not permit a generalization to a larger group of headmasters. The "handbook" type of study of the headmastership is even less informative, since the techniques represent an individual writer's or editor's opinion about how a school should run, not how they are being run.

Another possible source of information on general trends among headmasters is the Independent School Bulletin and, less accessible, the myriad local alumni bulletins and school publications. For the most part, however, these articles reflect how a headmaster wants to be heard on particular issues and seldom explore weaknesses and deficiencies within his particular school. Collectively, they fail to provide the basis for evaluation of patterns other than to demonstrate that most headmasters feel a favorable public image is important.

As a result of this absence of research on the contemporary head-master and the evolving boarding school in New England, the research concentration of this study derived its form from the conclusions reached in the historical analysis. The need for institutional change permeated much of the last two chapters and is summarized in the three basic assumptions introduced at the beginning of the Research Statement.

Research Corollaries

The following two corollaries which the study investigated emanated from these assumptions.

A. A static school reflects its headmaster's inability or unwilling-
   ness to utilize his position as a focal point for change because
   of some combination of the following:

   1. Adherence to traditional assumptions about the purpose of
      boarding schools

   2. Complacency engendered by satisfaction with the status quo

   3. Failure to perceive the changing needs of students in the 1970's

   4. Uncertainty about his capability

B. A boarding school's openness and flexibility, i.e. its potential
   for change, is critically related to how its headmaster defines
   and understands certain aspects of his school. This study ex-
   amined, as indicators of change potential, a headmaster's percep-
   tion of the following:

   1. Uniqueness -- what distinguishes his school from other board-
      ing schools or how is he attempting to create a difference?

   2. Essential Purpose -- to whom is the school primarily respons-
      ible; is the student at the center of the school's program?

   3. Relationship With Outside Community -- is the local community
      utilized as a resource and vice versa; is the school in-
      volved in the surrounding educational network?

   4. School Environment -- does the headmaster emphasize as char-
      acteristic of his school community support for individual
      members, humanness, trust, open communication, and par-
      ticipatory decision-making?

The field research determined how a sample of New England boarding school headmasters perceive their schools in relation to these corollaries. The data collected were used to examine null hypotheses generated from the corollaries. Each null hypothesis represents the possible correlation of two single scale continua which may be by themselves illuminating. But the larger objective of the study was to explore multiple correlations suggested in the following questions.

Null Hypotheses

A. What correlations exist among the headmasters' perceptions of the four specific indicators of change; e.g. are there headmasters who stress a school's uniqueness and offer a student-centered program who feel involvement in the outside community is not important? Or, does a headmaster who emphasizes the need for a human community and interaction with the outside community, not find it necessary or appropriate to distinguish a uniqueness which sets his school apart from others?

Null
Hypotheses:
1. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he is able to define the basic purpose of his school.

2. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he believes that his school is unique.

3. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which his school interacts with the outside community.

4. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he perceives his school's environment as supportive.

B. What correlations exist among the attitudes of headmasters who
favor change and those that do not; e.g. is the traditional
school, marked by complacency, not concerned with involvement in
the outside community? Or, may a headmaster express interest in
all of the four change indicators yet lack the confidence to
change a static situation? Or, does the headmaster who does not
perceive the changing needs of students in the 1970's minimize
the importance of an open community?

Null
Hypotheses: 5.   There is no relationship between the degree to which
a headmaster relies on traditional assumptions and
the degree to which his school interacts with the
outside community.

6.   There is no relationship between the degree to which
a headmaster relies on traditional assumptions and
the degree to which his school's environment is sup-
portive.

7.   There is no relationship between the degree to which
a headmaster perceives the changing needs of the stu-
dents in the 1970's and the degree to which his school's
environment is supportive.

C. What are the individual leadership traits which characterize head-
masters who recognize a need for change contrasted with those who
are less susceptible to change? Does he make key decisions by
himself, consult a trusted few, or involve the entire school com-
munity?

Null
Hypotheses: 8.   There is no relationship between the degree to which
a headmaster favors change and the degree to which
he possesses the following characteristics: self-
confidence, openness to criticism, concern with per-
sonal status, professional competency.

9. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he uses a group decision-making process.

D. Is there a relationship between a school's characteristics—size, monosexual/coeducational, urban/rural, and age—and its change potential as perceived by the headmaster?

Null
Hypothesis: 10. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster perceives change potential within his school and the following school characteristics: size, type, location, age.

E. Do headmasters recognize their power to implement change? Do most headmasters feel they can change their schools if they want to? Is length of service a factor in this? Are there indications that a headmaster's dissatisfaction with his job reflects his inability to translate desired change into reality?

Null
Hypotheses: 11. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he recognizes the power inherent in a headmastership.

12. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and his length of service at the school.

C H A P T E R   IX

RESEARCH ANALYSIS

Sample

Approximately eighty-five New England secondary boarding schools
are affiliated with the National Association of Independent Schools.
This investigation was limited to twenty-seven schools and their head-
masters[1] in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont. A
primary selection objective was to include a roughly equal number of
single sex and coeducational schools. A secondary concern was to estab-
lish an effective interview rapport with each headmaster; this predicated
the selection of schools at which introductions could be facilitated by
members of the dissertation committee.

The resulting sample is not random in the sense that any boarding
school in New England might have been included in the study; geographical
parameters defined an initial group of fifty-three schools, of which
twenty-seven were included in this investigation. In an important sense,
however, the sample comprises a wide cross section of schools and repre-
sents the diversity and range which a true random sample would--well-known,
prestigious schools and fledgling institutions struggling for recognition,
schools in the process of incorporating basic changes and schools com-
mitted to sustaining traditional and familiar standards, pure single sex
boarding schools and coeducational schools with boarding and day students,

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[1]In the interest of clarity and succinctness, the term "head-
master" will be used throughout the analysis to indicate the twenty-five
headmasters and one headmistress in the sample.

first year headmasters and headmasters whose length of service eclipses the age of some of the schools in the sample; in short, despite limiting the geographical scope of the study to permit visiting each school and interviewing its headmaster, the resulting sample is diverse and includes a full range of New England secondary boarding schools.

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE SCHOOLS

		RANGE	MEDIAN
Years As Headmaster At Present School		1-46	4.0
Total Headmaster Experience		1-46	8.0
School Age		28-195	93.5
Enrollment		112-1,127	236.0
Faculty		21-133	42.5
Type of School:			
Single Sex*			
Girls Boarding	1		
Girls Boarding and Day	3		
Boys Boarding and Day	8		
Coordinate			
Boys Boarding	2		
Coeducational**			
Boarding and Day	10		
Boys Boarding - Boys and Girls Day	2		

*Four will become coeducational within three years.

**Five have been coeducational for more than twelve years; seven have been coeducational for less than three years.

Data Collection Procedure

Data was collected from each headmaster through a half hour interview and three questionnaires. The questionnaires and the interview format, described briefly below, are included in Appendix A.

Form I: A semantic differential scale of value assumptions, designed to allow the expression of dissonance between what a headmaster would like (ideal) and what he believes the reality of a situation to be (actual). The basic form was adapted from a set of simulation materials, but was markedly shortened, altered by the addition of the ideal-actual dichotomy, and reworded for application to leadership in independent boarding schools. For each of the twelve adjective pairs, two variables--the ideal and the actual--were scored one to five.

Form II: A self-constructed scale indicating how a headmaster perceives decision-making in his school; the degree of participation by various constituencies was evaluated on three levels: (3) person or group who ultimately makes the decision, (2) person or group whose participation is necessary for making the decision, and (1) person or group who is consulted, but whose participation is not necessary for making the decision.

Form III: A Likert scale measurement of a headmaster's reaction to forty original statements about boarding schools. The items were designed to cluster around the eight concepts defined in the two main corollaries underlying the basic

assumption of the research proposal. The scale categories
ranged from (1) I strongly agree to (5) I strongly disagree.
Following an explanatory letter to each headmaster describing the
purpose of the study and referring to the appropriate intermediary commit-
tee member, an interview to be conducted at his school was arranged by
telephone. The letter also mentioned the followup questionnaires which
he would be asked to complete, assured the headmaster that the interview
and the questionnaire data would be used anonymously in the study, and
requested permission to tape record the interview for later review.

Interview: The basic format of the interview included questions re-
lating to the eight concepts defined in the two proposal
corollaries. Additional questions explored a headmaster's
leadership philosophy and program variations at his school.
Each interview was evaluated immediately after its comple-
tion and again after listening to the tape by assigning a
score from one to five for each of the eight concepts and
by noting the text of significant statements to be quoted
in the summary of the investigation.

Each instrument used to gather data was pre-tested in formal and
informal groups of University of Massachusetts faculty members and gradu-
ate students familiar with independent schooling; extensive revision, re-
wording, deletion, and modification was supervised by a consultant from
the Center for Research at the University of Massachusetts' School of
Education.

Statistical Analysis

The Statistical Package For The Social Sciences (SPSS) is ". . . an integrated system of computer programs for the analysis of social science data."[2] SPSS contains programs for producing descriptive statistics (e.g. mean, range, and standard deviation), frequency distributions and two-way cross-tabulations of variables, and for correlation and factor analysis. Natural language statements are used to manipulate and control the data analysis.

Two types of correlation analysis were utilized in this study. Pearson correlation analysis estimated the product-moment correlation coefficients--the amount of association between two continuous variables having interval scales; Spearman and Kendall rank-order analysis estimated the amount of association between variables assumed to have ordinal scales.

The critical value at the .05 level of significance for a correlation coefficient in the sample of twenty-six headmasters is .388. Using this critical value, the null hypotheses defined in the research proposal were accepted or rejected and the data was examined for alternative patterns not considered in the original hypotheses. Because the sample is not purely random yet represents a large percentage of the total population of New England boarding schools, this level of .388 is somewhat arbitrary. It should be viewed less as an accurate cut-off point of statistical significance and more as a value which allows the selection of important variable relationships in the data.

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[2]Norman Nie, Dale H. Bent and C. Hadlai Hull. Statistical Package For The Social Sciences. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 1.

Factor analysis of sets of correlation coefficients was used to confirm assumed underlying patterns of relationships and to indicate other relationships. In all methods of analysis, the first factor represents the best summary of the linear relationship of the variance in the data. Each factor is orthogonal or independent from the other components so that the resulting factors are uncorrelated. In principal component analysis, which transforms all of the original data, the distinction between the common and unique part of each variable is ignored; in common factor analysis, the unique part of each variable is estimated and eliminated, and the common parts, the extent to which the variables are related, dominate the factors.

Methods of rotation were applied to the initial factor analyses to rearrange the data through large and small loadings on different factors; this has the effect of reducing the number of factors on which a variable loads highly. Varimax rotation maximizes the variance of factor loading in columns which are uncorrelated; oblique rotation allows the resulting factors to be correlated.

Analysis Of The Interview Format And Questionnaires

Interview Format

Each headmaster was interviewed at his school. Primary emphasis in arranging the interviews was on selecting a day and time most convenient for each headmaster. The interview was scheduled for a half hour and only at the urging and encouragement of a headmaster was the time extended. Preparation for each interview included an early arrival, which allowed time for wandering around the school and talking to students and for reading several school publications, usually the newspaper and catalog. In

addition, the summary of a school in the <u>Independent Secondary Schools Handbook</u> described unusual aspects of that school's program which were then explored during the interview. As much as possible, the factual information included in the study, e.g. a school's age, the number of students and faculty, was determined prior to the interview from Porter-Sargent's <u>Handbook of Private Schools</u>.

The interview format included in Appendix A provided the general progression of questions, although often digressions which developed naturally and seemed germaine interrupted the sequence. Usually not all of the format questions were asked, but each interview included a specific question relating to each of the eight concepts defined in the research corollaries. These responses were the basis on which a numerical evaluation was completed immediately after the interview. Several weeks later, after all the interviews were completed, the tape of each interview was played, and a second, similar appraisal was made. These two were compared, discrepancies were analyzed, and a final evaluation was incorporated into the sample data.

The interview scores were combined into two variables--one a total of the four concepts relating to a static school (INTERVS) and the other a total of the four concepts relating to a school's potential for change (INTERVC). Each concept was evaluated on a scale from one to five so that a relatively higher score indicates adherence to static assumptions in INTERVS and greater change potential in INTERVC. The differences between these two variables (INTERV) is used in this study as the interview variable measuring a headmaster's change orientation. Perhaps the major limitation of these variables is the subjective bias which the interview format introduces. At the same time, the interview allowed the examination

of a headmaster's opinions in depth and may reflect a specificity greater than the questionnaires achieved.

The correlation between these three variables is as follows:

INTERVS - INTERVC   .483

INTERVS - INTERV   .448

INTERVC - INTERV   -.567

The positive correlation between INTERVS and INTERVC apparently contradicts the assumption of the research corollaries--that a change-oriented headmaster adheres less to static or traditional assumptions. However, as will be seen in later correlation analysis of other variables measuring these two concepts, a low score on the static variables does measure effectively a headmaster's propensity for change, whereas a low score on variables indicating a headmaster's perception of his school's potential for change measures a quite different perspective of change orientation because of the nature of the cluster variables involved. INTERV's positive correlation with INTERVS and negative correlation with INTERVC suggests such a difference.

Probably the most important aspect of the interviews was the insight they provided into personalities of the headmasters and the overall sample. These impressions constitute an important source of agreement and contradiction in the analysis of the null hypotheses.

Form I: semantic differential scale of value assumptions

After summarizing the values assigned to each variable by the headmaster sample[3] and the relative frequencies adjusted for missing cases, the scoring order of eight variables--questions #2, 5, 8, and 11--was reversed (1=5, 2=4, etc.) so that a lower score suggests change orientation and a higher score suggests adherence to traditional assumptions. The average and the difference of each of the twelve ideal-actual combinations were computed, and variables indicating the sum of the differences, the absolute discrepancy (ABDIS), and the total of the sums of the ideal and actual responses were determined. By subtracting the sample mean from this latter variable and dividing by its standard deviation, a standardized variable (IDEAL-ACTUAL) was formed. This variable, combined with standardized variables from the other questionnaires, formed CHANGE, a composite variable measuring change orientation used in examining the null hypotheses.

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[3]One headmaster failed to complete this form explaining that it was "too confusing."

TABLE 2

IDEAL-ACTUAL AVERAGES FOR TWELVE QUESTIONS ON THE
SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE OF VALUE ASSUMPTIONS

QUESTION		VARIABLES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
1	Participation-Efficiency	(var004, var005)	2.180	.675
2	Structure-Flexibility	(var006, var007)	3.100	1.080
3	Action-Contemplation	(var008, var009)	3.220	.765
4	Cooperation-Competition	(var010, var011)	1.720	.693
5	Self-Discipline-Creativity	(var012, var013)	2.563	.665
6	Risk-Security	(var014, var015)	2.391	.602
7	Freedom-Order	(var016, var017)	2.740	.523
8	Tradition-Innovation	(var018, var019)	3.396	.625
9	Intuition-Reason	(var020, var021)	3.440	.821
10	Pluralism-Unity	(var022, var023)	2.583	.917
11	Present-Future	(var024, var025)	3.440	.821
12	Idealism-Pragmatism	(var026, var027)	2.333	.717

The means of the ideal-actual averages suggest that as a group, the twenty-five headmasters slightly favor change orientation concepts, as the means for seven of the twelve questions were less than 3.000 (possible range--1.000 to 5.000). The means do not indicate either an amount of agreement between ideal and actual or the location on the one to five scale, only the group average of the scores on a particular item.

The sample generated the lowest mean on question #4, indicating a definite preference for an atmosphere of cooperation within the school rather than individual or group competition. On questions #8 and #11, the sample favored preserving institutional traditions rather than emphasizing innovation, and solving present problems rather than concentrating on the prevention of future problems.

The standard deviations, for the most part, indicate that general agreement existed among the headmasters' responses to the twelve items, with the strongest disagreement registered on question #2. Although the group mean was slightly above 3.000, the standard deviation suggests that there was inconsistency among the headmasters regarding the choice between maintaining school policies impartially and adjusting for individual situations.

TABLE 3

IDEAL-ACTUAL DIFFERENCES FOR TWELVE QUESTIONS ON THE
SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE OF VALUE ASSUMPTIONS

QUESTION		VARIABLES	MEAN	STANDARD DEVIATION
1	Participation-Efficiency	(var004, var005)	-1.240	.723
2	Structure-Flexibility	(var006, var007)	- .360	1.036
3	Action-Contemplation	(var008, var009)	.280	1.061
4	Cooperation-Competition	(var010, var011)	- .480	.586
5	Self-Discipline-Creativity	(var012, var013)	- .042	.806
6	Risk-Security	(var014, var015)	- .696	.703
7	Freedom-Order	(var016, var017)	- .680	1.030
8	Tradition-Innovation	(var018, var019)	- .625	.770
9	Intuition-Reason	(var020, var021)	.240	.779
10	Pluralism-Unity	(var022, var023)	- .739	1.054
11	Present-Future	(var024, var025)	- .800	1.354
12	Idealism-Pragmatism	(var026, var027)	- .750	.847

The means of the ideal-actual differences defined with two exceptions--questions #3 and #9--a stronger tendency towards change on the ideal variable than on the actual variable. The responses indicate that as a group, the headmasters favor greater emphasis on change orientation

but accept the necessity of incorporating both adjectival concepts in actual decision-making.

Question #1, in particular, illustrates a considerable dissonance between the sample's desire for greater participation in decision-making and the apparent necessity of limiting the number of people involved (a phenomenon which emerged strongly in Form II). At the same time, on five items, the standard deviation scores exceeded 1.000, suggesting that a sizeable minority did not feel the tension between a desired ideal and a realistic actuality. For example, in question #2, the standard deviation indicates, as did the average, that an important minority do not feel that there should be decided emphasis on flexibility rather than impartial support of the existing structure. Perhaps significantly, this relationship emerged on three of the five items whose average mean exceeded 3.000. In other words, there may exist within the sample a more pronounced inclination toward change than the ideal-actual averages revealed.

The standardized variable IDEAL-ACTUAL indicates a headmaster's comparative position within the sample on a continuum measuring change orientation as identified in this questionnaire. If a headmaster tended to answer the ideal and actual items close to the change orientation adjective, the sum of his responses will be relatively lower than another's whose answers were more toward the opposite adjective. The high correlation between the ideal and actual sums (.900) confirms that this was done consistently throughout the sample.

Form I, over all, delineates a moderate discrepancy between the ideal and the actual variables among the twelve dichotomies, suggesting that the headmasters are unable to stress change orientation to the degree they would prefer.

Form II: participation in decision-making within the school

This questionnaire provided a useful indication of which constitu-
encies within a school community participate in decision-making and to
what degree. Three groups--parents, alumni, and others--are not included
in this summary because their response categories were seldom used. The
response patterns suggested, as well, that only in those areas of specific
responsibility, such as budget formulation, trustee selection, and fund-
raising policies, did the trustees exert any significant influence. The
degree to which their influence is less overt than the twenty-one areas
of responsibility detect and is, quite possibly, a subtle but real under-
lying or external force was not considered in this questionnaire.

The total scores for students, faculty, administration, and head-
master columns on the questionnaire were obtained and combined into two
standardized variables. One indicating the amount of student participa-
tion in decision-making (STUDENT DEC) was formed by subtracting the stu-
dent total from whichever of the other three was highest; another indicat-
ing headmaster influence (DECVAR) was formed by subtracting the average
of the other three scores from the headmaster total. STUDENT DEC was the
variable from Form II incorporated into the overall change orientation
variable CHANGE.

Because the directions for this questionnaire did not limit the
respondant to a specific number of designations, the total scores cannot
be used separately as variables and compared numerically. Whereas some
headmasters chose to use 1, 2 and 3 once each in an area of responsibility,
others used the numbers more often within each area. The raw scores do
indicate, however, a strong relationship between the headmaster and

student totals. <u>With rare exceptions, a definite hierarchy of decision-</u>
<u>making with students at the bottom exists in the sample of schools</u>.

Some headmasters qualified their responses by stating that a
distinction between faculty and administration was difficult to make
when the same individual served in both capacities. However, the correla-
tions between the raw score totals indicates a clear difference in how
these groups participate in decision-making.

Students - Faculty	.201	Faculty - Administration	.034
Students - Administration	.422	Faculty - Headmaster	.189
Students - Headmaster	.328	Administration - Headmaster	.589

<u>The strong relationship between the administration and headmaster totals</u>
<u>suggests that a nucleus of control and decision-making power exists with-</u>
<u>in the sample schools</u>; this observation was substantiated in the inter-
views as headmasters frequently mentioned that expediency dictated the
involvement of only a few administrators or experienced faculty members
in most decisions.

<u>Form III</u>: Likert scale measurement of statements about boarding schools

The questionnaire was designed so that five questions relate to
each of the eight main concepts defined in the two research corollaries.
Table 4 shows the sample's responses to each of the forty items. The
variables distinguished by asterisks were recoded to establish a con-
tinuum indicating change orientation on which a low score (scale 1 to 5)
suggests a stronger degree of change orientation than does a high score.

The following cluster variables were created by combining the
questions according to the eight corollary concepts. A breakdown of
each variable into its component questions is provided in Table 5.

TRADIT = adherence to traditional assumptions STATQUO = satisfaction with status quo STUDENTS = failure to perceive change in students CAPABIL = headmaster uncertainty about capability	STATIC
UNIQUE = uniqueness of school PURPOSE = essential purpose of school OUTCOM = relationship with outside community SCHCOM = nature of school environment	CHANGE ORIENTATION

TABLE 4

HEADMASTER RESPONSES TO LIKERT SCALE MEASUREMENT
OF 40 STATEMENTS ABOUT BOARDING SCHOOLS

VARIABLE	QUESTION CONTENT	SA	A	U	D	SD
var028	1. Value Of Apprenticeships	6	16	3		1
var029	2. Student Participation In Rule Creation	12	12	2		
* var030	3. Knowledge Acquisition vs. Training Mind			1	8	15
* var031	4. Schooling At Only One School	2	5	8	10	
var032	5. Three Years Adequate Preparation	1	19	2	2	
var033	6. Head Influences School Direction	19	6	1		
var034	7. School Should Be Distinguishable	13	10		3	
var035	8. Parents Select For Personal Attention	3	11	7	5	
* var036	9. Curriculum Precludes Public Exchanges		5	2	15	4
var037	10. Drugs Main Cause Of Poor Communication	2	5	1	11	7
var038	11. Non-compulsory Chapel Attendance	5	9	4	4	3
var039	12. Residential Value Will Sustain Schools	7	5	8	6	
var040	13. Students Today Have Different Needs	6	15	2	3	
var041	14. Headmaster Selection Crucial Decision	7	13	2	4	
var042	15. Head Should Know School Uniqueness	10	11	3	2	
var043	16. Shift To Human Emphasis Needed	10	10	1	3	1
var044	17. Boarding Schools Can Change Quickly	2	3	7	13	1
* var045	18. Inadequate Preparation For College Freedom	1	8	3	10	3
* var046	19. Test Scores Indicate School Success		1		15	10
* var047	20. School Should Structure Student Time	3	8	2	12	1
var048	21. Regulations Do Not Eliminate Drugs	13	11			1
* var049	22. Head Needs Knowledge Of All Aspects	4	9	1	11	1
var050	23. School Should Offer Special Learning	9	14	2	1	
var051	24. Primary Emphasis Is Individual Growth	12	12	1	1	
var052	25. Students Should Take Outside Courses	2	8	11	5	
var053	26. School Goals Understood By Students	2	9	10	5	
* var054	27. School Important Refuge From Society		4		15	7
var055	28. School Involvement In Controversy O.K.	6	15	2	3	
* var056	29. Academics Most Important Criterion		1		17	7
var057	30. Head Needs Faculty Support	9	15	1	1	
var058	31. Single Sex School Viable	9	14	2		1
* var059	32. School Has Little Influence On Students		1	3	17	4
var060	33. School As Resource For Local Community	7	15	1	1	
var061	34. Environment Compares Favorably With Others	9	8	4	4	
* var062	35. Required Athletic Participation	13	8		2	2
var063	36. Minority Composition Must Change	8	12	3	1	
* var064	37. Schools Rarely Initiate Change		9	2	10	4
var065	38. Head Crucial To School Future	8	9	6	2	
var066	39. Learning Outside School Important	10	10	1	4	
var067	40. Students Retain Constitutional Rights	9	12	2		

SA – Strongly Agree (1)
A – Agree (2)
U – Undecided (3)
D – Disagree (4)
SD – Strongly Disagree (5)

*Subsequently recoded -- low score indicates change orientation for all variables.

TABLE 5

LISTING OF EIGHT CLUSTERS GIVING COMPONENT VARIABLE NUMBERS AND QUESTIONS

TRADIT
var030 Knowledge Acquisition vs. Training Mind
var038 Non-compulsory Chapel Attendance
var046 Test Scores Indicate School Success
var054 School Important Refuge From Society
var062 Required Athletic Participation

UNIQUE
var034 School Should Be Distinguishable
var042 Head Should Know School Uniqueness
var050 School Should Offer Special Learning
var058 Single Sex School Viable
var065 Head Crucial To School Future

STATQUO
var031 Schooling At Only One School
var039 Residential Value Will Sustain Schools
var047 School Should Structure Student Time
var055 School Involvement In Controversy O.K.
var063 Minority Composition Must Change

PURPOSE
var035 Parents Select For Personal Attention
var043 Shift To Human Emphasis Needed
var051 Primary Emphasis Is Individual Growth
var059 School Has Little Influence On Students
var066 Learning Outside School Important

STUDENTS
var032 Three Years Adequate Preparation
var040 Students Today Have Different Needs
var048 Regulations Do Not Eliminate Drugs
var056 Academics Most Important Criterion
var067 Students Retain Constitutional Rights

OUTCOM
var028 Value Of Apprenticeships
var036 Curriculum Precludes Public Exchanges
var044 Boarding Schools Can Change Quickly
var052 Students Should Take Outside Courses
var060 School As Resource For Local Community

CAPABIL
var033 Head Influences School Direction
var041 Headmaster Selection Crucial Decision
var049 Head Needs Knowledge Of All Aspects
var057 Head Needs Faculty Support
var064 Schools Rarely Initiate Change

SCHCOM
var029 Student Participation In Rule Creation
var037 Drugs Main Cause Of Poor Communication
var045 Inadequate Preparation For College Freedom
var053 School Goals Understood By Students
var061 Environment Compares Favorably With Others

Subsequent analysis identified TRADIT as the most effective measure of change orientation among the eight cluster variables; it's standardized form was combined with the standardized variables from Form I (IDEAL-ACTUAL) and Form II (STUDENT DEC) to establish CHANGE, the inclusive variable used to measure change orientation in the examination of the hypotheses. The three component variables correlate with each other as follows:

IDEAL-ACTUAL - STUDENT DEC	.188
IDEAL-ACTUAL - TRADIT	.520
STUDENT DEC - TRADIT	.440

The correlation between IDEAL-ACTUAL and STUDENT DEC is largely attributable to the commonality they share with TRADIT. Their inclusion in CHANGE, rather than relying entirely on TRADIT, provides representative weighting from all three research questionnaires in the standardized measure of change orientation.

Correlation analysis of the eight cluster variables produced the following combination above the critical value of .388.

TRADIT - STATQUO	.480		PURPOSE - STUDENTS	.422
UNIQUE - PURPOSE	.564		PURPOSE - OUTCOM	.558
CAPABIL - SCHCOM	.472		UNIQUE - OUTCOM	.406

It is clear that a strong degree of commonality exists among the pairs; the cluster variables apparently do not measure separate concepts as some individual variables are influencing more than one pair.

Factor Analysis. Table 6 lists the first three factors when the eight cluster variables are factor analyzed with varimax rotation.

TABLE 6

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF EIGHT CLUSTER VARIABLES
USING ITERATED PRINCIPAL FACTORING WITH VARIMAX ROTATION
LISTING LOADINGS DEFINING FIRST THREE FACTORS

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
TRADIT	-.213	.852	-.037
STATQUO	.164	.839	-.061
STUDENTS	.649	.069	-.212
CAPABIL	.095	-.270	.817
UNIQUE	.765	-.280	.214
PURPOSE	.849	-.151	.064
OUTCOM	.713	.310	.123
SCHCOM	-.011	.136	.866

This factor solution indicates that STUDENTS, UNIQUE, PURPOSE, and OUTCOM have, as cluster variables, the strongest influence among the eight and are measuring a similar concept which is relatively independent from the other two combinations--TRADIT and STATQUO in Factor 2, and CAPABIL and SCHCOM in Factor 3.

When the forty individual variables from the questionnaire are factor analyzed, the initial solution before rotation, grouped by cluster variables which contain at least three high loadings, supports the

relationships between CAPABIL and SCHCOM, PURPOSE and UNIQUE, and TRADIT

and STATQUO. Table 7 lists a partial printout of this factor solution.

TABLE 7

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF FORM III VARIABLES
USING ITERATED PRINCIPAL FACTORING WITHOUT ROTATION
SELECTED LOADINGS GROUPED BY CLUSTER VARIABLES

Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 3	
CAPABIL		TRADIT		STUDENTS	
var033	.44634	var030	.31985	var032	.51398
var041	.55829	var038	.46235	var040	.45606
var049	-.32944	var046	-.11042	var048	-.12046
var057	.45040	var054	.26122	var056	.33530
var064	.31403	var062	.46759	var067	.13566
PURPOSE		STATQUO			
var035	.62378	var031	.57617		
var043	.04321	var039	-.55559		
var051	.69916	var047	.45885		
var059	.65620	var055	.02582		
var066	.38245	var063	.35767		
UNIQUE		OUTCOM			
var034	.14056	var028	.40010		
var042	.55809	var036	.54278		
var050	.15914	var044	-.58389		
var058	.42200	var052	.07330		
var065	.71119	var060	.41973		
SCHCOM					
var029	.17513				
var037	.16974				
var045	.36474				
var053	.41347				
var061	.39391				

Table 8 shows a partial printout, grouped by cluster variables, after varimax rotation. CAPABIL-SCHCOM and UNIQUE-PURPOSE load highly on separate factors; var065 is transferred to CAPABIL because of its high loading on Factor 1 and because its question content is consistent with that cluster variable. OUTCOM has three variables which load highly on Factor 1 as well, suggesting that these three clusters contain variables measuring a similar concept. TRADIT and STATQUO retain their relationship, although on Factor 4, indicative of relatively less influence within the group of forty variables.

TABLE 8

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF FORM III VARIABLES USING
ITERATED PRINCIPAL FACTORING WITH VARIMAX ROTATION
SELECTED LOADINGS GROUPED BY CLUSTER VARIABLES

Factor 1		Factor 2		Factor 4	
CAPABIL		UNIQUE		TRADIT	
var033	.28336	var034	.33502	var030	-.04539
var041	.74373	var042	.83250	var038	.89169
var049	-.42136	var050	.23365	var046	.02677
var057	.81033	var058	-.01031	var054	.41734
var064	-.02264	var065	.22121	var062	.05469
(var065	.85749)				
SCHCOM		PURPOSE		STATQUO	
var029	-.02971	var035	.39044	var031	.71364
var037	.37208	var043	-.02629	var039	-.48002
var045	.51396	var051	.75925	var047	.33453
var053	.14931	var059	.22870	var055	.05060
var061	.19960	var066	.26852	var063	.26506

Factor 5					
OUTCOM					
var028	.08643				
var036	.55627				
var044	.30201				
var052	.79823				
var060	.04849				

When the questionnaire variables are rotated obliquely (Table 9),
four high loading variables in the first factor by varimax rotation re-
tain their strength--var041, var045, var057, and var065. These were
combined into a variable which represents a concentrated form of CAPABIL -
CAPA. In Factor 2, TRADIT and STATQUO continue to indicate the influence
of variables measuring a similar concept; var031, var038, var039, var047,
and var054 were combined into TRAST. A third concentrated variable--UNIP
--includes those variables which loaded highly in UNIQUE and PURPOSE by
varimax rotation.

TABLE 9

FACTOR ANALYSIS OF FORM III VARIABLES USING
ITERATED PRINCIPAL FACTORING WITH OBLIQUE ROTATION
SELECTED LOADINGS GROUPED BY CLUSTER VARIABLES

Factor 1		Factor 2	
CAPABIL		TRADIT	
var033	.24306	var030	-.00884
var041	.61429	var038	.89474
var049	-.28691	var046	-.07677
var057	.62804	var054	.42004
var064	.05246	var062	.19634
(var065	.92100)		
(var045	.42200)		
		STATQUO	
		var031	.74444
		var039	-.50588
		var047	.34507
		var055	.02620
		var063	.31811

Other combinations of the eight cluster variables were created by replacing or eliminating a single variable on the basis of the question's content or its low loading on factor solutions. These variations of the original eight variables are listed in Table 10.

TABLE 10

VARIATIONS OF THE ORIGINAL EIGHT CLUSTER VARIABLES

TRADIT #2	=	var030 + var038 + var046 + var054 + <u>var056</u>*
STATQUO #2	=	var031 + var039 + var047 + var055
STUDENTS #2	=	var032 + var040 + var048 + var067
CAPABIL #2	=	var033 + var041 + var049 + var057 + <u>var065</u>
UNIQUE #2	=	var034 + var042 + var050 + var058 + <u>var064</u>
OUTCOM #2	=	var028 + var036 + var052 + var060 + <u>var063</u>

*Underlined variables have replaced an original variable.

<u>Correlation Analysis</u>. The correlation analysis of the variables generated from the research data, which is presented in Tables 11 and 12, is based on the contention that the original eight cluster variables, although not distinctly independent, more accurately reflect the intended concepts than do any alternative variables. By re-grouping the forty variables into different clusters according to factor loadings before and after rotation and by reducing the size of the clusters to include only those variables which load highly, new combinations, some of which have been discussed, were generated. These new variables, with a few exceptions, did not correlate as highly with existing variables established

as effective measurements as did the original cluster combinations, suggesting that the elimination of related variables lowered the reliability of the new variations.

Several cluster variables are measuring essentially different concepts, but some underlying commonality exists which is difficult to label. An analysis of the content of the questions included in these variables--an appropriate procedure in view of the design assumption that groups of questions rather than single questions more reliably measure a particular concept--suggests that the original cluster variables, despite or because of their over-lapping influence, provide the best indication of the concepts defined in the null hypotheses.

It also appears true that the eight cluster variables, when grouped together into two large variables--STATIC and CHANGE ORIENTATION --do not measure the ideas anticipated by their labels. Because of the interrelationships between the cluster variables which are strongly correlated, examination of the null hypotheses will depend primarily on these groupings rather than on the two larger combinations which do not clearly measure the intended concepts. The cluster variables, utlimately, emerge after recoding as eight partially related continua indicating a degree of change orientation within different contexts.

The interdependence between these cluster variables requires care in interpreting the relationships in Tables 11 and 12. Certain patterns do emerge as statistically important, however, particularly as they involve negative correlations, and provide, in concert with the interview impressions, a substantial framework for examining the hypotheses.

TABLE 11

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF MAJOR STUDY VARIABLES

	CHANGE	STUDENT DEC	IDEAL-ACTUAL	TRADIT	STATQUO	STUDENTS	CAPABIL	UNIQUE	PURPOSE	OUTCOM	SCHCOM
CHANGE		.707	.742	.851	.410	.104	-.272	-.408	-.034	.184	.031
STUDENT DEC	.707		.188	.440	.204	-.121	-.464	-.527	-.143	.005	-.362
IDEAL-ACTUAL	.742	.188		.520	.260	.401	.123	-.001	.334	.327	.354
TRADIT	.851	.440	.520		.480	-.045	-.282	-.402	-.269	.092	.080
STATQUO	.410	.204	.260	.480		.188	-.195	-.100	-.066	.279	.021
STUDENTS	.104	-.121	.401	-.045	.188		-.049	.371	.422	.157	-.063
CAPABIL	-.272	-.464	.123	-.282	-.195	-.049		.265	.083	.121	.472
UNIQUE	-.408	-.527	-.001	-.402	-.100	.371	.265		.537	.409	.057
PURPOSE	-.034	-.143	.334	-.269	-.066	.422	.083	.537		.558	.099
OUTCOM	.184	.005	.327	.092	.279	.157	.121	.409	.558		-.008
SCHCOM	.031	-.362	.354	.080	.021	-.063	.472	.057	.099	-.008	
DECVAR	.604	.670	.127	.653	.260	.406	-.487	-.552	-.489	-.222	-.132
TOTEXPER	.564	.428	.307	.562	-.012	-.192	-.269	-.215	-.255	-.009	-.124
TYPESCH	-.179	-.327	.023	-.107	-.017	-.410	.337	-.135	-.033	-.106	.443
YRSCOED	-.194	-.002	-.387	-.062	.126	-.003	.046	.055	-.097	-.069	.232
STATIC	.637	.649	.130	.689	.762	.469	.094	-.027	.021	.297	.208
CHANGE ORIENTATION	-.055	.409	-.377	-.158	.051	.305	.370	.680	.802	.691	.513
INTERVS	.485	.579	.102	.434	.360	.296	.000	.021	.072	.389	.085
INTERVC	-.025	.356	-.393	-.020	.014	.124	.123	.123	.091	.226	.261
INTERV	.481	.181	.498	.429	.325	.151	-.125	-.105	-.026	.135	-.187

TABLE 11 (Continued)

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF MAJOR STUDY VARIABLES

	DECVAR	TOTEXPER	TYPESCH	YRSCOED	STATIC	CHANGE ORIENTATION	INTERVS	INTERVC	INTERV
CHANGE	.604	.564	-.179	-.194	.637	-.055	.485	-.025	.481
STUDENT DEC	.670	.428	-.327	.002	.649	.409	.579	.356	.181
IDEAL-ACTUAL	.127	.307	.023	-.387	.130	-.377	.102	-.393	.498
TRADIT	.653	.562	-.107	-.062	.689	-.158	.434	-.020	.429
STATQUO	.260	-.012	-.017	.126	.762	.051	.360	.014	.325
STUDENTS	.406	-.192	-.410	-.003	.469	.305	.296	.124	.151
CAPABIL	-.487	-.269	.337	.046	.094	.370	.000	.123	-.125
UNIQUE	-.552	-.215	-.135	.055	-.027	.680	.021	.123	-.105
PURPOSE	-.489	-.255	-.033	-.097	.021	.802	.072	.091	-.026
OUTCOM	-.222	-.009	-.106	-.069	.297	.691	.389	.226	.135
SCHCOM	-.132	-.124	.443	.232	.208	.513	.085	.261	-.187
DECVAR		.574	-.251	-.150	.176	-.498	.112	-.072	.179
TOTEXPER	.574		-.172	-.095	.142	-.226	.296	.072	.205
TYPESCH	-.251	-.172		.461	-.119	.113	.007	.326	-.328
YRSCOED	-.150	-.095	.461		.039	.059	-.069	.217	-.287
STATIC	.176	.142	-.119	.039		.200	.551	.094	.423
CHANGE ORIENTATION	-.498	-.226	.113	.059	.200		.210	.272	-.080
INTERVS	.112	.296	.007	-.069	.551	.210		.483	.448
INTERVC	-.072	.072	.326	.217	.094	.272	.483		-.567
INTERV	.179	.205	-.328	-.287	.423	-.080	.448	-.567	

TABLE 12

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF MAJOR STUDY VARIABLES AND ALTERNATIVE VARIABLES

	TRAST	UNIP	CAPA	TRADIT-2	STATQUO-2	STUDENTS-2	CAPABIL-2	UNIQUE-2	OUTCOM-2
CHANGE	.496	-.220	-.258	.688	.316	.183	-.253	-.237	.357
STUDENT DEC	.196	-.294	-.489	.214	.243	-.070	-.515	-.396	.028
IDEAL-ACTUAL	.238	.182	.094	.387	.182	.408	.147	.000	.329
TRADIT	.707	-.394	-.200						
STATQUO	.719	-.134	-.155						
STUDENTS	-.087	.418	-.035						
CAPABIL	-.370	.117	.684						
UNIQUE	-.284	.855	.318						
PURPOSE	-.305	.670	.205						
OUTCOM	.003	.492	.170						
SCHCOM	.001	-.020	.686						
DECVAR	.579	-.440	-.490	.502	.211	-.239	-.619	-.335	-.013
TOTEXPER	.286	-.144	-.378	.517	-.076	-.189	-.257	-.197	.200
TYPESCH	-.040	-.251	.500	-.168	.005	-.343	.327	-.161	-.192
YRSCOED	.079	-.068	.150	.001	.199	.043	.124	-.012	-.132
STATIC	.580	-.074	.051	.533	.615	.619	.230	.057	.335
CHANGE ORIENTATION	-.205	.685	.550	.042	.023	.141	.313	.717	.666
INTERVS	.321	.066	.047	.363	.274	.274	.153	-.119	.409
INTERVC	.096	.194	.218	-.031	-.011	.137	.146	.035	.098
INTERV	.204	-.136	-.178	.373	.270	.117	-.006	-.148	.286

CHAPTER X

EXAMINATION OF THE NULL HYPOTHESES

The first seven null hypotheses were designed to test the two
major corollaries of the research proposal. The assumption underlying
their formulation was that separate, independent variables could be as-
certained which would measure both the eight concepts involved and change
orientation; as was explained in the analysis of Form III, this was not
fully accomplished. It is evident, nevertheless, that certain of the
major variables determined by research and statistical analysis relate
in ways that provide appropriate evidence for accepting or rejecting
each hypothesis. Tables 11 and 12 list the correlations among these
variables which will be used in the examination.

The null hypotheses will be evaluated in two steps. In the first
step, the hypothesis will be either accepted or rejected on a statistical
basis, i.e. as they are measured by quantitative variables. The second
step will introduce qualitative evaluation based on interview impressions
and more detailed interpretation of the variable relationships used in
the statistical examination. In cases where the variable correlations
and factor analysis indicate that one hypothesis is strongly interrelated
with another, either because they are exploring the same idea through
different terms which could not be accurately assigned independent vari-
ables or because the variable correlations indicate that some terms in
the hypotheses thought to be independent were being measured by the same
variables, they will be examined together.

Null Hypotheses #1 and #2

1. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he is able to define the basic purpose of his school.

2. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he believes his school is unique.

a) UNIQUE-PURPOSE	.537	c) PURPOSE-CHANGE ORIENTATION	.802
b) UNIQUE-CHANGE	-.408	d) UNIP-CHANGE ORIENTATION	.685
UNIQUE-CHANGE ORIENTATION	.680	UNIP-TRADIT	-.394

In addition to factor loadings which indicate that PURPOSE and UNIQUE share a strong degree of commonality, their positive correlation suggests that certain items in each cluster, isolated in UNIP, are measuring a similar concept. Their high correlation with CHANGE ORIENTATION, in which it appears that PURPOSE is a dominating influence, is sustained in the correlation between UNIP and CHANGE ORIENTATION. Although the accuracy of CHANGE ORIENTATION is suspect as a measure of change, it does support the strong relationship between UNIQUE and PURPOSE.

The negative correlation between UNIQUE and CHANGE allows the second null hypothesis to be rejected; a headmaster favoring change believes that his school is not unique.

The negative correlation between UNIP and TRADIT, the latter accurately measuring change orientation, allows the first hypothesis, as tested by these two variables, to be rejected as well. A headmaster

favoring change feels it is not necessary to be able to define the unique-
ness-basic purpose of his school.

This conclusion was borne out by the interviews, although there
was a wide variation in how the headmasters responded, ranging from lit-
tle concern that these concepts be clearly evident or defined--suggesting
that such a rigid definition would suppress the flexibility and very in-
dependence which represents the strength of the boarding school and that
a school's purpose is not static--to a genuine concern that a school be
unique in distinguishable and perceivable ways in order to survive in
the intense competition for students today. While most headmasters sup-
ported the idea that a school blessed with a location or program varia-
tion should stress that individuality, they also expressed the general
feeling that each independent boarding school, by definition and heritage,
was unique.

Perhaps the sentiment is best understood by the sample's reaction
to the traditional assumption that the primary purpose of the boarding
school is college preparation. While this remains as an important part
of a boarding school's purpose, the sample as a whole expressed the feel-
ing that the school that limits itself to this function primarily may not
be best preparing its students for future adjustment in society, either
in college or elsewhere. Certain schools clearly retain this as a basic
purpose, as a primary objective, and if they do it exceptionally well,
several headmasters stated, they should continue to emphasize that pur-
pose. But, at the same time, secondary education in the 1970's is no
longer simply an automatic transition between primary school and higher
education, and it may well be that boarding schools will survive

successfully or not because of their value as residential institutions capable of providing a rich and diverse learning environment.

Null Hypotheses #3 and #4

3. There is no relationship between the degree to which a head-master favors change and the degree to which his school inter-acts with the outside community.

4. There is no relationship between the degree to which a head-master relies on traditional assumptions and the degree to which his school interacts with the outside community.

a)	OUTCOM-UNIQUE	.409	c)	OUTCOM-2 CHANGE	.357
	OUTCOM-PURPOSE	.558		OUTCOM-2 TRADIT-2	.458
b)	OUTCOM-UNIP	.492	d)	OUTCOM-INTERVS	.389

These two hypotheses are exploring a similar idea through terms which anticipated the definition of separate variables measuring change orientation and adherence to traditional assumptions. CHANGE provides a continuum indicating the degree to which a headmaster favors change, as do all the eight cluster variables within different contexts. As such, an independent variable identifying traditional reliance was not defined in this study.

In its original form, OUTCOM correlates positively with both UNIQUE and PURPOSE and their concentrated form, UNIP. In addition, when OUTCOM is modified into OUTCOM-2, it correlates positively with TRADIT-2 and CHANGE, although slightly below the critical value of .388 with the

latter. The correlation matrix (Appendix B) shows that var044 corre-
lates negatively with three of the four variables in OUTCOM and that
its replacement, var063, correlates positively with all four. The con-
tent of var063--a question exploring the need to alter the minority com-
position within boarding schools--apparently relates favorably to the
concept of the cluster.

As tested by these variables, the null hypothesis can be rejected.
In the sample, there is a positive relationship between the degree to
which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he favors in-
teraction with the outside community.

As suggested by the correlation between OUTCOM and INTERVS, the
interviews supported this relationship. Many headmasters expressed the
belief that a more active expansion of opportunities for students away
from the school proper and of activities aimed at stimulating members
of the local community to participate in the life of the school are cru-
cial objectives for a responsive boarding school. No longer is it suf-
ficient or appropriate in educating young people to isolate them from
important influences and experiences available off campus; student in-
volvement, ranging from apprenticeships in business, public service,
and tutoring to attending neighboring educational institutions for courses
not available at their school, is now widely accepted as necessary and
enriching experience to supplement the boarding school program.

The interviews suggested that the geographical location of a
school was important; those schools situated near or in a populated area
tend to have more ambitious interaction away from the school, as trans-
portation presents less of a problem than it does for the relatively

isolated school, and students can be engaged away from the school without disrupting the continuity of the school experience. In the sample, the desire for increased involvement outside the school was as pronounced, if not more so, among those headmasters for whom the school's location made it difficult; this probably explains why the importance of a school's proximity to a town or city was not indicated by a high correlation between OUTCOM and SETTING. Although the terms of this hypothesis, particularly "outside community," are imprecise and subject to local interpretation, the general sentiment among the headmasters interviewed was that greater participation outside the school should be vigorously pursued and supported.

Null Hypotheses #5 and #6

5. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he perceives his school's environment as supportive.

6. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster relies on traditional assumptions and the degree to which he perceives his school's environment as supportive.

a)	SCHCOM-IDEAL/ACTUAL	.354	c)	SCHCOM-TYPESCH	.443
b)	SCHCOM-CAPABIL	.472	d)	SCHCOM-STUDENT DEC	-.362
	SCHCOM-CAPA	.686			

Because the study did not define an independent variable measuring adherence to traditional assumptions, the relationship expressed

in the sixth hypothesis can only be examined in terms of the variables indicating a degree of change orientation.

SCHCOM correlates positively with CAPABIL, with its reduced form, CAPA, and slightly below the .388 level, with IDEAL/ACTUAL. As such, an initial indication exists that, within the sample, headmasters who perceive their schools as supportive tend to be confident of their capability and change-oriented. IDEAL/ACTUAL, however, as explained in the analysis of the component variables in CHANGE, owes much of its strength as a measurement of change orientation to its relationship with TRADIT.

SCHCOM's positive relationship with TYPESCH, which is supported by t-test analysis, and its negative correlation with STUDENT DEC (-.362) strongly contradict the interview impressions. These two relationships suggest that a headmaster who perceives his school's environment as supportive de-emphasizes student involvement in influencing its direction and that single sex school headmasters perceive their schools as more supportive than do headmasters of coeducational schools. Since SCHCOM does not correlate highly with either TRADIT or CHANGE, as well, the null hypothesis, as measured by these variables, cannot be rejected; a significant relationship was not determined between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he perceives his school's environment as supportive.

The validity of these variable relationships, it appears, is weakened by two possibilities. A headmaster's perception of his school's environment may be favorable when examined directly by interview questions relating to that concept, but may not retain that consistency when examined indirectly through less obvious measurements. Also, the

questions in SCHCOM may be measuring a headmaster's perception of characteristics about his school's environment, but not necessarily determining whether or not he believes the environment itself is supportive and student-centered.

Within the group of headmasters interviewed, there was strong agreement that a student-centered environment is characterized by important opportunities for students to affect the school's tone and direction. The degree to which students actually participated in decision-making and the definition of what was important, however, varied widely. Within a distinguishable sub-set of the sample--those headmasters of schools which have become coeducational recently or will change in the near future--was a common belief that providing an atmosphere conducive to the total development of a young adult necessitated the recognition of the social and academic value of regular exposure to and interaction with the opposite sex. This belief did not seem to be related to whether or not a headmaster was confident of his capability of introducing or sustaining a coeducational environment, necessarily, but more to an educational philosophy. In both traditional single sex schools and more progressive coeducational institutions there were headmasters firmly convinced that the environment of their schools was appropriate to the positive and productive education of their students; this attitude did not appear to be related to the degree to which a headmaster favored change.

Null Hypothesis #7

7. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster perceives the changing needs of the students in the 1970's and the degree to which he perceives his school's environment as supportive.

a)	STUDENTS-IDEAL/ACTUAL	.401	c)	STUDENTS-TYPESCH	-.410
b)	STUDENTS-UNIQUE	.371	d)	STUDENTS-DECVAR	.406
	STUDENTS-PURPOSE	.422			
	STUDENTS-UNIP	.418			

STUDENTS correlates positively above the critical value with IDEAL/ACTUAL, the concept tested by UNIQUE and PURPOSE (as explained in the examination of the first null hypothesis), and DECVAR; the t-test analysis of TYPESCH failed to support a significant difference between headmasters of single sex schools and coeducational schools in relation to STUDENTS.

The accuracy with which STUDENTS measures a headmaster's perception of the changing needs of contemporary students, however, is suspect. The variable was weakly supported by the initial factor solution and its correlation with UNIQUE and PURPOSE reflects a commonality it shares with them. Since the preceeding null hypotheses examination indicated that SCHCOM does not afford a dependable measure of the supportive nature of a school's environment, the variables necessary to evaluate the relationship defined in this hypothesis simply were not determined in this study. The null hypothesis is accepted.

It is, as a result, probable that the relationship between STUDENTS and DECVAR indicates that change-oriented headmasters, as measured by STUDENTS, feel that the school community as a whole, not

specifically students, should be involved in decisions which affect the school's future direction. But it is unlikely that the interpretation of this correlation should be any more specific than this. The relationship between STUDENTS and IDEAL/ACTUAL, in much the same way, allows a general conclusion that the positions of the headmasters on these two continua suggesting change orientation are comparable.

The interviews substantiated the difficulty of examining the relationship in this hypothesis. The ability of a headmaster to perceive the changing needs of his students seemed to vary widely throughout the sample and to defy attempts to categorize or group those who seem more sensitive and those who seem less sensitive on this basis. The hypothesis in question, apparently, requires a different form of measurement, probably an extended observation of the headmaster and his school, before a statistically significant conclusion can be determined.

Null Hypothesis #8

8. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he possesses the following characteristics: self-confidence, openness to criticism, concern with personal status, professional competency.

The objective of this hypothesis was to examine personal characteristics of those headmasters who favor change and those who seem to favor a more conservative direction for their schools. Because of the nature of this hypothesis and the qualities it defines, the examination rests on the interview impressions; the null hypothesis is accepted for each characteristic.

Older headmasters within the sample did, as a group, evince a stotic determination to justify their schools' programs to a much

greater degree than did the younger headmasters; the latter were more comfortable with a sense of uncertainty about the direction of their schools, often acknowledging an uneasiness about the future of their schools which seldom emerged in interviews with their older counterparts. The interviews suggested, but in no way substantiated, a suspicion that the older headmasters, having committed themselves for a longer period to a particular educational philosophy and purpose, were adamantly clinging to these despite an underlying fear that their ideas were becoming less tenable at this juncture in the evolution of the independent boarding school.

Related to this phenomenon was a similar impression in the interviews that an openness to criticism emerged more frequently among both younger and less experienced headmasters, and that a concern with personal status was more pronounced among the older, more experienced headmasters. But, again, this did not seem to be related to whether or not a headmaster favored change.

Perhaps the characteristic which was most obvious, but not demonstrably related to change orientation, was professional competency. With a few exceptions, the headmasters were impressive in their knowledge, understanding and professional commitment to their positions. While diverse in their educational philosophies, their ideas about how a school operates effectively, their attitudes about students in the 1970's, and their opinions on whether boarding schools are able and obligated to serve the larger society, the sample of headmasters was articulate and persuasive that this form of secondary education is important and workable within the structure of American education today.

Null Hypotheses #9 and #10

9. There is no relationship between the degree to which a head-
    master favors change and the degree to which he uses a group
    decision-making process.

10. There is no relationship between the degree to which a head-
    master favors change and the degree to which he recognizes
    the power inherent in a headmastership.

a)	CAPABIL-STUDENT DEC	-.464	d)	STUDENT DEC-TRADIT	.440
	CAPABIL-DECVAR	-.487		STUDENT DEC-UNIQUE	-.527
	CAPABIL-TRAST	-.370		STUDENT DEC-DECVAR	.670
				STUDENT DEC-INTERVS	.579
b)	CAPA-STUDENT DEC	-.489	e)	STUDENT DEC-TOTEXPER	.428
	CAPA-DECVAR	-.490			
c)	CAPABIL-2 STUDENT DEC	-.515	f)	DECVAR-CHANGE	.604
	CAPABIL-2 DECVAR	-.619		DECVAR-TRADIT	.653
			g)	DECVAR-STUDENTS	.406
				DECVAR-UNIQUE	-.552
				DECVAR-PURPOSE	-.489
			h)	DECVAR-TRAST	.579
				DECVAR-UNIP	-.440

Even a cursory check of how the sample of headmasters responded
to questions on Form III relating to the power inherent in their position

clearly indicates their general recognition that the headmaster is the fundamental and most powerful influence within a boarding school. Questions #6, #14 and #38 (the variable replacement in CAPABIL-2), in particular, attest emphatically to this. It is much less clear whether any trend exists between a recognition of this power and a propensity toward change.

Although TRAST correlates negatively with CAPABIL, it does so below the .388 level and it lacks the reliability as an indication of change orientation which CHANGE and TRADIT possess. As measured by the variables defined in this study, the tenth null hypothesis is accepted; a relationship was not determined between the degree to which a head-master favors change and the degree to which he recognizes the power in-herent in the headmastership.

The positive correlation of STUDENT DEC with TRADIT and DECVAR, and DECVAR with CHANGE and TRADIT strongly suggests that headmasters who favor change encourage the participation of students in decision-making to a greater degree than do those who are less change-oriented. The negative correlation of STUDENT DEC with UNIQUE, and DECVAR with UNIQUE, PURPOSE, and UNIP, at the same time, indicates that those head-masters who encourage broad participation in decision-making within the school do not feel this relates to the uniqueness of the school. The ninth hypothesis is rejected; there is a positive relationship between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and the degree to which he uses a group decision-making process.

The negative correlation of CAPABIL, its reduced form, CAPA, and its modified form, CAPABIL-2 with STUDENT DEC and DECVAR offers an

interesting, perhaps significant, extension to the relationships explored
in these two hypotheses which had not been anticipated in their formula-
tion. Headmasters who are aware of the importance and power of their
position do not necessarily feel that a wide participation by various
constituencies in decision-making is essential, but, if they favor change,
they do; i.e. a change-oriented headmaster, cognizant of his impact and
influence, favors participatory decision-making in his school more than
does his more static counterpart.

The interviews indicated that the technique of decision-making
varied widely within the sample, ranging from complete autocratic control
to extended involvement of students, faculty and administration in all
major areas of decision-making. A particular headmaster's style is pe-
culiarly and significantly individual. Although in larger schools more
decisions tend to be delegated to faculty, administrative and student groups,
this phenomenon relates more to the dynamics of running a large school, it
appears, than it does to the particular attitude which the headmaster has
about participatory decision-making. A secure headmaster apparently does
not run his school by controlling the decision-making himself any more
than he does by involving as many constituencies as possible. What is
right and appropriate for one headmaster clearly is not right or appro-
priate for another. Probably the success or failure of a headmaster rests
more with his ability to match his personality and leadership with the
suitable school than it does with any particular leadership style being
more appropriate within the independent boarding school.

Both the interviews (STUDENT DEC-INTERVS) and the positive corre-
lation between STUDENT DEC and TOTEXPER suggest a trend among newer head-
masters who favor change to encourage the participation of students in

decision-making to a greater degree than do those who are more experienced in the position, but less change-oriented. As explained in the analysis of Form II, the raw score totals confirmed that many headmasters rely on a small nucleus of individuals in making decisions; the interviews indicated that this frequently characterized headmasters of relatively longer service. Less experienced headmasters tend to make a concerted effort to involve a more inclusive representation in making decisions. Traditional assumptions about the responsibility and technique for running a boarding school, often supported by the more experienced headmaster, are clearly related to the degree to which other groups, particularly students, are encouraged and given the opportunity to share in decisions which affect a school's future direction.

Null Hypothesis #11

11. There is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster perceives change potential within his school and the following school characteristics: size, type, location, age.

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a) TYPESCH-STUDENTS   -.410

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b) SETTING-TRADIT-2   .406

   SETTING-IDEAL/ACTUAL   .371

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c) SCHENROL-STATQUO   Kendall level of significance: .018

   SCHENROL-STATQUO   Spearman level of significance: .032

A variable indicating a headmaster's perception of his school's change potential was not defined within the study. While certain variables do indicate relationships between several of the statistics cited in the hypothesis, there is insufficient quantitative evidence to reject the hypothesis as expressed; <u>as examined by the variables in this study, there is no relationship between the degree to which a headmaster perceives change potential within his school and its size, type, location, or age</u>.

STATQUO, a variable designed to indicate a headmaster's degree of satisfaction with the <u>status quo</u> of his school, correlated negatively by Kendall and Spearman analysis with SCHENROL, the total number of students enrolled in a school. This relationship suggests that greater change orientation is exhibited by headmasters of small schools than of larger schools. Factor analysis consistently indicated a high degree of commonality between STATQUO and TRADIT, and STATQUO is probably measuring less the specific idea of complacency with the <u>status quo</u> than it is the degree of a headmaster's commitment to sustaining existing objectives and purposes of his school. Although the interviews did not define a clear relationship between the size of a school and the degree to which a headmaster favors change, the reality and logistics of changing a large institution probably are being reflected in this correlation.

The possibility that headmasters of single sex schools are relatively less aware of the needs of contemporary students than are coeducational school headmasters, suggested by the positive correlation between TYPESCH and STUDENTS was not supported by t-test analysis; the level of significance was slightly above the .05 level. In addition, examination

of the seventh null hypothesis revealed that STUDENTS is less a measurement of the headmaster's perception of the supportive nature of his school's environment and more an indication of his change orientation within this general context.

When TRADIT is modified by replacing variable 062 with variable 056, it correlates positively with SETTING. Since SETTING is divided into two quite general categories--(1) near or in a town or city and (2) not near or in a town or city--it is important not to overemphasize the implications of this relationship. In addition, however, SETTING correlates positively with IDEAL/ACTUAL, although a t-test analysis indicated a level of significance slightly above the .05 level. Within the imprecise boundaries of these variables, there is evidence that headmasters of schools situated in or within easy access of a populated area are more positively disposed toward change. This is not to suggest that rural headmasters favor change to a lesser degree, but that these measurements of change orientation correlate positively with a school's setting. As explained in the examination of the third and fourth hypotheses, a wide-spread belief existed among the headmasters that a contemporary boarding school should offer, as much as possible, experiences and exposure to educational opportunities away from the school.

When the rank order of headmasters by CHANGE (from higher degree of change orientation to lower) is examined with respect to these two characteristics--setting and type of school--only four of the first thirteen headmasters run schools which are both located near or in a town or city and coeducational. All except two of the schools, however, are either located near a populated area or coeducational, and the two exceptions are committed to becoming coeducational within three years. The

sample responses suggest a positive, although highly tenuous, correlation between a headmaster's change orientation and either the location or type of his school.

Null Hypothesis #12

12. There is no relationship between the degree to which a head-master favors change and his length of service at the school.

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a)	TOTEXPER–CHANGE	.564
	TOTEXPER–TRADIT	.562
	TOTEXPER–TRADIT–2	.517

The high positive correlation of TOTEXPER, the total number of years a headmaster has served in that capacity both at his current school and previously, with CHANGE, TRADIT, and its modified form, TRADIT-2, indicates that, although not necessarily younger, the individual who has been headmaster for a relatively shorter length of time seems to be more change-oriented than his more experienced counterpart. The hypothesis is rejected; a negative relationship exists within the sample of headmasters tested between the degree to which a headmaster favors change and his length of service.

As was explained briefly in the examination of the eighth hypothesis, the older headmasters emerged in the interviews as less susceptible to alternatives regarding the direction and function of their schools than their younger colleagues. Specifically, the newer headmaster seems to approach his position with less commitment to previous assumptions or

objectives about running a boarding school than does the more experienced headmaster. Several interviews determined, in fact, that the reason for a new appointment was, primarily, to rectify a stagnation which was jeopardizing the development and future of the school. As such, many of the newer headmasters bring to their positions a commitment to change greater than that possessed by the more experienced headmaster.

Study Weaknesses

The statistical analysis utilized in this study may be more sophisticated than the numerical data can tolerate. It appears that the questionnaires and especially the interview evaluations lack the precision necessary to support meaningful correlation and factor analysis. Or, viewed from another perspective, it may be that the research topic rests to a much greater degree than anticipated on subjective impressions and opinions, and that it does not lend itself to definitive responses which are easily evaluated numerically.

The questionnaires have not revealed accurately the desired information for this level of investigation, in part because the questions are not sufficiently refined, but, to a greater degree, because the sample of twenty-six is not large enough to identify patterns despite the interference of individual variation. Because there are more questions than headmasters, the size of the matrix is disproportionate, which probably accounts for the equivocal factor analysis results. In retrospect, fewer, more precise questions would have been preferable for this sized sample.

Form I

The results of this questionnaire may provide a general indication of the dissonance a headmaster experiences in running a school, but the attempt in this study to incorporate the ideal-actual dichotomies into an overall change-orientation/tradition relationship proved ineffective.

Form II

This questionnaire was too long and it failed to specify either unlimited choices or a limited number of choices; the resulting scores did not provide for stable comparison. The number of possible participants in the decision-making should be reduced to students, faculty, administration, headmaster, and trustees. Several headmasters, as well, found it difficult to make a distinction between faculty and administration when an individual was a member of both.

Form III

The questions need further revision and greater precision to avoid ambiguous interpretation. Those questions which did not support the cluster concepts or which only correlate slightly with other questions should be deleted. Statistical interpretation would be easier if the variable numbering corresponded with the question numbering.

Interviews

The value of the interviews was the subjective information they revealed; the interview emphasis should be on defining general patterns and impressions rather than on attempting precise numerical evaluation.

Change-Orientation Variable

The variable developed to test the concept of change orientation in the hypotheses (CHANGE), although it included a standardized variable from each questionnaire, was only partially successful. Because it is not entirely independent from the other major variables in the study, and because the nature of the individual questionnaires did not facilitate direct interpretation of change orientation, the final variable lacks an inclusive and self-sustaining quality which would support more clearly the examination of the hypotheses.

Suggestions For Further Study

1. By choosing a genuinely random sample, the unnecessary limitation on interpreting the results and on generalizing to a larger population, which the selection procedures in this study imposed, could be avoided.

2. By devising or utilizing an instrument which would allow a comparison of the headmasters' perceptions with those of other major constituencies within a school, especially the students and faculty, an important breadth and perspective to this study could be attained.

3. By introducing a more precise correspondence between the hypotheses and the questionnaires, the difficulty of determining variables which accurately test the major concepts being investigated would be reduced. Also, several hypotheses used general terms which made it difficult to ascertain clearly whether or not the hypotheses could be accepted or rejected.

4. By expanding the sample to include day schools, either in a re-
lated study of this type or in a revised study including both
boarding and day schools, patterns of change in a wider, per-
haps more significant spectrum of independent secondary educa-
tion could be defined.

Glossary Of Technical Terms

The more complex computer terminology and processes which require an explanation of interrelationships are defined in the section entitled Statistical Analysis.

Crosstabulation

a table of the frequencies of data cases among values of two or more variables, i.e. income according to age group

Descriptive Statistics

numbers which summarize a body of data

Frequency Distribution

a mathematical or empirical curve which summarizes the frequency with which a variable assumes various values

Likert Scale

questionnaire format in which subjects are asked to respond in terms of agreement or disagreement, usually according to five categories

Null Hypothesis

The hypothesis that the difference between samples is due to chance. The .05 level of significance used to accept or reject the null hypotheses in this study means that a difference as large or larger than the obtained one could occur by chance as frequently as five times out of one hundred.

Pearson Correlation Coefficient

a numerical value expressing the degree of relationship between variables

Spearman and Kendall Correlation Coefficient

adaptation of Pearson correlation coefficient for use with ranked data

Statistically Significant

A statistic is said to be statistically significant at a specified confidence level when certain tests based on assumptions about the nature of the statistic are met; in this study, a correlation coefficient of .388 or more was considered statistically significant within the sample of twenty-six cases.

T-Test

An indication of whether the difference of two sample means is significant, i.e. indicative of a true difference between the two populations tested; in this study, a relationship was accepted as significantly different at the .05 level.

Glossary Of Research Variables

ABDIS
total raw score of a headmaster's responses on both the ideal and actual scales in Form I, i.e. the absolute discrepancy

CAP
concentrated form of cluster variable CAPABIL, consisting of variables 041, 045, 057, and 065

CAPABIL
cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's uncertainty about his capability

CAPABIL-2
modified form of CAPABIL in which variable 065 replaces variable 064

CHANGE
inclusive variable measuring change orientation used in examining the null hypotheses, consisting of standardized variables from Form I (IDEAL/ACTUAL), Form II (STUDENT DEC), and Form III (TRADIT)

CHANGE ORIENTATION
general variable combining cluster variables TRADIT, STATQUO, STUDENTS, and CAPABIL from Form III

DECVAR
variable computed from responses to Form II by subtracting average of student, faculty and administration total scores from headmaster's total

IDEAL/ACTUAL
standardized variable from Form I incorporated in CHANGE; computed by subtracting the sample mean from the total of the sums of the ideal and actual scales and dividing by the standard deviation of the total

INTERV
interview variable numerically evaluating the degree to which a headmaster is change-oriented within the sample tested; computed by subtracting INTERVC from INTERVS

INTERVC
numerical evaluation of a headmaster's responses in the interview relating to the four concepts of change orientation as defined in the research proposal

INTERVS
numerical evaluation of a headmaster's responses in the interview relating to the four concepts indicative of static leadership as defined in the research proposal

OUTCOM
cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's perception of his school's relationship with the outside community

OUTCOM-2   modified form of OUTCOM in which variable 063 replaces variable 044

PURPOSE   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's perception of the essential purpose of his school

SCHCOM   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's perception of the nature of his school's environment

SETTING   variable indicating a school's proximity to a populated area simplified into two categories for t-test analysis: (1) near or in a town or city and (2) not near or in a town or city

STATIC   general variable combining cluster variables UNIQUE, PURPOSE, OUTCOM, and SCHCOM from Form III

STATQUO   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's satisfaction with the <u>status quo</u> of his school

STATQUO-2   modified form of STATQUO in which variable 063 is eliminated

STUDENTS   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's failure to perceive the changing needs of contemporary students

STUDENTS-2   modified form of STUDENTS in which variable 056 is eliminated

STUDENT DEC   standardized variable from Form II incorporated in CHANGE; computed by subtracting the student total from whichever total was highest among faculty, administration and headmaster

TOTEXPER   variable indicating the total number of years a headmaster has served in that capacity both at his current school and previously

TRADIT   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring a headmaster's adherence to traditional assumptions; TRADIT was the standardized variable from Form III incorporated in CHANGE

TRADIT-2   modified form of TRADIT in which variable 056 replaces variable 062

TRAST   concentrated form of cluster variables TRADIT and STATQUO,
             consisting of variables 031, 038, 039, 047, and 054

TYPESCH   variable indicating type of school simplified into two
             categories for t-test analysis: (1) single sex and
             (2) coeducational

UNIP   concentrated form of cluster variables UNIQUE and PURPOSE,
             consisting of variables 041, 045, 057, and 065

UNIQUE   cluster variable of five questions from Form III measuring
             a headmaster's perception of the uniqueness of his school

UNIQUE-2   modified form of UNIQUE in which variable 064 replaces
             variable 065

YRSCOED   variable indicating the number of years a school has been
             coeducational

If schools are going to respond in major
ways to the needs of the times, they are
probably going to emerge as quite differ-
ent institutions from those with which
many of their constituents are familiar.

-- Cary Potter, President

National Association of
Independent Schools

CHAPTER   XI

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Perhaps the wide variation among the sample schools and their
headmasters in response to pressures for change is an encouraging reaf-
firmation of the institutional diversity and independence of today's
boarding school. Perhaps, however, it reflects a basic uncertainty
within these schools about what their purpose is, what changes are
necessary, and, if necessary, how they can be accomplished.

Several trends emerged in the research which provide disturbing
evidence that today's headmaster and boarding school may not be reacting
to changes in society as effectively as did their predecessors. Whether
these patterns remain as prominent in the near future may well determine
the degree to which boarding schools will continue as viable and valuable
educational alternatives within American secondary education.

1. Confusion about the goals and purpose of the boarding school in
    today's society is widespread.

2. The degree to which boarding school students should actively
    participate in planning and implementing the form and direction
    of their education is unclear.

3. Indecisiveness and uncertainty about what constitutes effective
    and appropriate college preparation for today's boarding school
    student is evident.

4. The boarding school's interest in the outside community, while
    encouraging, is short-sighted and predominantly self-serving.

5. The value of residential education is neither well understood publicly nor generally agreed upon within the boarding school.

6. An unwillingness to give up traditional authority and structural assumptions still exists in contemporary boarding schools and resistance to extensive change is pronounced among more experienced headmasters.

The research indicated, as well, that although today's headmaster recognizes the power of his position, this awareness is not necessarily related to an interest in change. In other words, the autonomy which surrounds the headmaster's functioning does not guarantee that change will occur.

The primary research assumption--a headmaster's perception of his school is the key to its future direction--was substantiated within the sample studied. Twenty-five of the twenty-six headmasters agreed that, "The headmaster decisively influences the direction of his school." Seventeen felt that, "The single most important ingredient in determining the future direction of a boarding school is its headmaster"; six were undecided. It is the headmaster who must make the decisions that matter, decisions which are more complex and influenced by more varied input than those which confronted his predecessor. "His business still is with power, quotidian and substantive power, though power of an anxious mind. . . . In naked fact, he is the locus of authority in the school."[1]

Although it was not a central concern of this study, the involvement of the trustees and, in particular, their choice of a headmaster

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[1] Barr. Op. cit., pp. 90-91.

obviously have a major effect on how a school will change or resist change. Twenty headmasters felt, for example, that, "The choice of a new headmaster is a crucial decision which can make or break all but the strongest boarding schools within a decade." If the selection committee does not define precisely what they want their school to be, it is unlikely that the search for a new headmaster will be more than a general attempt to either confirm or correct the existing policies. As one headmaster said,

> The trustees have a responsibility, if they accept that job, to find out really what they're asking of the man who runs the school, to find out what the job really is, and then to support that man in as many ways as they possibly can until they're convinced he's the wrong man.

Another headmaster put it more succinctly. "If you don't know what the school ought to be, you don't know what kind of a person you want to be head of it."

A headmaster's ability to provide the necessary direction and leadership would be accentuated and perhaps decisively sustained by the continued, sensitive support of interested trustees. Yet, in most cases, their direct involvement diminishes sharply after his appointment. The trustees' selection of a new headmaster and their consequent support have a profound impact on a boarding school's future, and this important relationship deserves further, extended research.

Finding an individual capable of handling the demands of running a boarding school in 1973, however, may defy even the most informed attempt of an enlightened board of trustees. Otto Kraushaar describes both the complexity of the position and the versatility which it requires.

> He must be a competent administrator who can evoke cooperation from people who often have little taste for it and prefer "to think

otherwise;" he should have a good head for budget-making and running
a business enterprise; he should be himself a competent teacher and
a good judge of the teaching capacity in others; he should know how
to interpret the school to the community and win for it moral and
financial support; and above all else he should combine in his per-
son the philosopher of education who can think penetratingly about
ends, and the man of action who can translate a vision of what should
be into the means for its fulfillment. It is a tall order, and it is
small wonder, therefore, that there are many journeymen but few mas-
ters.[2]

As one headmaster concluded, "The question is to what extent one person

can pretend to do all these things? Well, he can't; and if he doesn't

succeed in doing these, he is vulnerable."

Almost all of the headmasters in the sample agreed that signifi-

cant modification of the assumptions underlying the headmaster's role

historically has occurred. When compared with his predecessor as recent-

ly as twenty years ago, today's headmaster:

1. has less absolute power and authority;

2. lives with greater ambiguity;

3. is expected to be more versatile;

4. can no longer isolate himself or his school from the larger society;

5. deals with less passive, more critical and demanding students;

6. faces greater financial uncertainty;

7. encounters a public attitude of greater scepticism about the

    boarding school's traditional superiority in college prepara-

    tion and scholarship.

The contemporary headmaster must determine the degree to which

he can and should modify his own leadership accordingly. An awareness

of both the trends outlined initially and the transition in the

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[2]Kraushaar. Op. cit., p. 182.

headmaster's role is the preliminary step to developing a more effective school and more effective leadership. But the difficulty of translating this awareness into meaningful and successful reality is exemplified by the pervasive inconsistency which characterized the data compiled from the three questionnaires and the interviews. An analysis of this disparity as it underlies the six trends will provide insight into why boarding schools are beset by uncertainty and indecisiveness.

The investigation of each trend will include examples from the research (designated by small letters) illustrating the inconsistency in the sample's responses, specific quotations from the headmaster interviews explaining different opinions, and an evaluation of the implications of the trend. Sometimes curious, sometimes logical, often unsettling, these inconsistencies relate in telling ways to why the trends exist and underscore the complexity and confusion which obstruct the movement from awareness to desired reality.

<div align="center">Research Trends</div>

1. Confusion about the goals and purpose of the boarding school in today's society is widespread.

    a) Acceptance of null hypotheses #1 and #2 indicated that a change-oriented headmaster does not feel that it is necessary to be able to define the essential purpose of his school or that his school be unique.

    a) On question #7 of Form III, twenty-three headmasters agreed that a boarding school should be distinguishable in some educationally significant way from other schools of its type.

    b) In the sample's response to question #26 of Form III, only eleven headmasters agreed that the basic goals of the school were clearly understood by their students!

One headmaster defined the implications of this confusion particularly well.

These are tough days for independent schools, both boarding and day, but especially boarding, and in the fight to survive, you have to be careful that you don't sell your soul just to stay in business. You have no right to be in business if just plain survival is the most sacred thing to you. There should be some purpose and if you're not accomplishing that purpose, then survival suddenly doesn't have any special significance.

The semantic distinction between the terms "unique" and "significantly distinguishable" cited in the examples of inconsistency may be confusing. Perhaps it is possible for a school to establish itself as distinguishable without defining its basic purpose or being unique. But if students in well over half of the sample schools are uncertain about what their school is attempting to accomplish, it suggests not only that the purpose of these schools has not been clearly defined but also that communication within them is ineffectual. While the latter is debilitating, a school's inability to define its purpose affects the functioning of every member of the community, regardless of how good or how poor the communication is. It represents, in essence, both the fundamental and most comprehensive obstacle to a boarding school's effectiveness and the key to realizing its potential.

The reexamination and explanation of a school's purpose, its distinctive characteristics, perhaps its uniqueness, must be the primary concern of today's headmaster. To compete successfully in the face of decreasing public interest, a school must know what it stands for, the value of the program it offers, and state these publicly and explicitly. The remarkable similarity in the catalogs of boarding schools illustrates their current inability to define and explain their special natures.

In essence, today's boarding school must determine what it can and cannot do well and implement these strengths in an educational program that is simultaneously congruent with society's needs, students'

expectations, and educators' concepts of their function. As one head-
master concluded,

> The issue is not so much that each school has to be different from
> the next. It is more that each school should be quite self-conscious
> about what it's doing and why it's doing it and articulate that
> clearly. What bothers me is that a lot of schools these days are
> still floating on early 1950's rhetoric which hasn't really been
> examined for a long time.

2. <u>The degree to which boarding school students should actively
    participate in planning and implementing the form and direction
    of their education is unclear.</u>

    a) Form I indicated the sample's
       preference for cooperation
       rather than competition to
       achieve institutional ob-
       jectives.

       On question #2 of Form III
       all but two headmasters
       agreed that students should
       participate in creating the
       rules which affect them.

    a) Form II demonstrated a
       wide difference in the
       degree to which head-
       masters solicit parti-
       cipation and involve the
       school community in deci-
       sion-making. The rejec-
       tion of null hypothesis
       #9, as well, indicated
       a positive relationship
       between the degree of a
       headmaster's change-ori-
       entation and the degree
       to which he encourages
       community participation
       in making decisions.

Although the research suggested a growing recognition among the
headmasters of the importance of student participation in running the
school, traditional assumptions about institutional authority still in-
fluence the definition of appropriate student responsibility. Some
schools continue to stress rather conventional, uninspired student in-
volvement.

> You cannot say to be honest about it that the students are running
> the school because they aren't; categorically and legally, the
> trustees are responsible. On the other hand, there are two areas
> in which (students) have a great deal of impact on things: the
> monitors, elected seniors, really have power--they handle class
> latenesses and phone calls made when they aren't supposed to be;
> and the Coordinate Council meets to talk about concerns of the
> school.

Other schools, however, are attempting to utilize their relatively small size by enlarging the number of advisory groups and sharing the responsibility of school governance. The rationale for this response is persuasive.

> To foster a sense of responsibility. . . boarding schools must allow themselves to develop into a community where students bear the brunt of responsibility, both academic and social; where students can experiment and learn about themselves and other people with professional guidance. . . . Every student should be given the opportunity to participate in shaping the community rules which effect himself and his peers.[3]

Limiting student participation in the functioning of a school is more secure and less threatening, but it is counter-productive to developing a contemporary adolescent's ability to interact successfully with people. As Richard Gaines explains,

> If we want to develop responsible students, we'd better be prepared for stormy weather. . . . In truth, much of our talk about "encouraging student responsibility" is sheer hypocrisy. What we mean is that we want students who can be depended upon to reflect our attitudes, to implement our decisions, to sell our programs to their fellows. . . . Without the freedom to make decisions (and suffer the consequences) there can be no true responsibility.[4]

Too many headmasters oversimplify the question into a choice between anarchy and passivity, adopting or sustaining the latter because it is less risky and more easily controlled. But if one of the goals of a boarding school is full personal development, as so often is stated in the catalog, it is hard not to accept Gaines's criticism as accurate and valid.

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[3]Andrew Saxe. "A Letter To The Traditional Boarding School," The Independent School Bulletin, 28:76, December, 1968.

[4]Gaines. Op. cit., pp. 114-115.

3. <u>Indecisiveness and uncertainty about what constitutes effective</u>
    <u>and appropriate college preparation for today's boarding school</u>
    <u>student is evident</u>.

a) A consensus of opinion expressed in the interviews was that college preparation remains an important, and in some schools the most important function of boarding schools today.

Question #5, Form III—twenty headmasters felt that a good student could obtain the necessary preparation for college in three years.

a) Question #18, Form III—only thirteen of the sample headmasters disagreed with the statement that the environment of today's boarding school does not adequately prepare students for the greater freedom they encounter in college.

Perhaps the most discouraging trend in boarding schools today is a willingness to attempt to survive on outmoded educational forms, assuming that a traditional image or an emphasis on college preparation will continue to appeal to contemporary students and their parents.

> Too often, instead of experiencing an atmosphere of openness in human relations, and the warmth and trust they crave, students experience. . . education as an impersonal academic rigmarole of grading, competition, tracking, certification, and status-conferring classifications.[5]

Yet many boarding schools still adhere to a prescribed college preparatory curriculum. As one headmaster said, "We really feel that our purpose is pre-collegiate education. We continue to do the job that I think the school has done right from its beginning which is essentially college preparation." Another headmaster acknowledged this objective from a different perspective.

> I think the function of this school is an academic preparation which is often precisely the same thing as college preparation, but it puts it on a different basis. You say college preparation and you say what do the colleges want and how do you prepare for that, and to me that's distorted.

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[5]Kraushaar. <u>Op. cit.</u>, p. 338.

To reject potential curricular diversity as lying outside an es-
tablished core of college preparatory courses suggests that higher edu-
cation is able to define what is necessary to prepare an adolescent for
living in the twenty-first century. No one is able to do this with any
certainty. Yet the conditions necessitating curricular modification
will be even greater in the future. Social, intellectual and technical
dimensions of human life will geometrically proliferate well beyond
definition into semester or year courses.

Assuming that the responsive boarding school of the future will
be more concerned with developing the total student than with narrow,
academic training for college, it has an opportunity to establish a cur-
riculum significantly different from the public school by shifting its
concentration from facts to values. The autonomy of the boarding school
offers unusual freedom to introduce imaginative content and teaching
methods which incorporate and reflect a teacher's personal values. In
addition, by involving para-professionals, college and university interns,
or professional members of the local community and by providing students
with learning experiences away from the school, the resulting curriculum
would be representative of a wide range of social values and uniquely
suited to educating today's young adult. Although teaching and exploring
values may fall outside a specific track of college preparation and can-
not be measured on college entrance examinations, it would be hard to
argue against the inculcation of a rational system of values and the
graduation of a sensitive, well-informed adolescent as the best possible
preparation for college and for life.

4. <u>The boarding school's interest in the outside community, while encouraging, is short-sighted and predominantly self-serving</u>.

a) Statistical rejection of null hypotheses #3 and #4 indicated that headmasters felt that their schools should emphasize greater interaction with the outside community, an attitude which was frequently expressed in the interviews.

a) Question #25, Form III-- only ten of the twenty-six headmasters agreed that their students should be encouraged to take courses at surrounding educational institutions.

On Form III, the headmasters strongly supported the idea of apprenticeships away from the school during the academic year (question #1), learning outside the school as a necessary objective (question #39), and the importance of the boarding school's serving as a resource for the local community (question #33). With the curious exception of a minimal interest in having students take courses at neighboring institutions, the sample generally agreed that the outside community could provide important experiences for their students which their schools could not and favored integration of the disciplinary skills they provided into a wider spectrum of experience. But few headmasters are ready to accept the logical extension of this attitude in which the school is ". . . transformed from a dispenser of learning into a home base from which students are set forth and to which they repair for guidance and help as they use the outside community as their learning laboratory."[6]

Although the public understanding of the boarding school suffers from stereotypical impressions and a general lack of information, boarding schools are, nevertheless, accepted as a logical and natural expression of a pluralistic society. They are, basically, privately controlled

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[6]Kraushaar. <u>Op. cit.</u>, pp. 241-242.

alternatives for fulfilling compulsory educational laws. This independence carries with it a responsibility to serve the larger society and truly becomes an asset when the boarding school provides richness and diversity within secondary education by:

1. continuing as an alternative to pressure for regionalization;

2. taking stands on controversial issues which the public school cannot;

3. providing the residential experience more readily to public school students;

4. offering the school's special curricular strengths to the public sector within a consortium of local schools;

5. utilizing its residential nature to implement social service programs in the surrounding community.

If the boarding school becomes more active in the community, public awareness of residential education will increase. In a period of tenuous financial stability, the implications of this greater understanding on the boarding school's future are significant. As land becomes increasingly scarce, it is probable that the current property tax exemption for non-profit schools will be challenged. In addition, legislation which would provide tax benefits for parents of private school children and which would create a voucher system has been recently proposed. Whether these issues are resolved favorably for the boarding school, obviously, will depend heavily on public support. Increasing public appreciation of the value and function of the boarding school, it appears, is not only important to the breadth of the educational experience it offers but also crucial to its economic survival.

5. <u>The value of residential education is neither well understood publicly nor generally agreed upon within the boarding school.</u>

a) In the interviews, the head-
    masters articulately and per-
    suasively defended residen-
    tial education as important
    and workable in the 1970's.

a) Question #12, Form III--
    over half of the head-
    masters were uncertain
    about or disagreed with
    the statement that there
    will always be enough
    students and parents who
    recognize the value of
    the residential experi-
    ence to sustain existing
    boarding schools.

Although a strong commitment to the idea of residential education permeated the headmaster interviews, their interpretation of its specific value was less consistent. As many parents today are asking, quite correctly, what is it about a boarding school education which justifies the continually rising tuition? The public no longer accepts the premise that small classes and a favorable student-teacher ratio automatically produce an education superior to the public school. In addition, boarding schools no longer enjoy their previous success in college placement; public schools, supported by government funds, are offering comparable instruction and superior equipment; and the policies and practices of public and nonpublic schools appear to be more and more similar. In the final analysis, the boarding school's ability to attract and to deserve public interest rests on the residential experience it provides.

One headmaster advocated an emphasis on flexibility.

People running boarding schools haven't thought through carefully enough the proper use of the flexibility they have. Most academic programs as they are construed could be in any high school; they begin and end at the same time. One of the most interesting things is to try and make the most interesting use of the time available, so people can really see how you are different.

Another headmaster expressed a more traditional opinion. "I think
parents are looking for the kinds of stability and academic soundness
and social demands that we make. We're providing, you might say, a
residential life of which they approve." But a third headmaster defined
the basic question when he said, "I think it comes down to whether or
not you have got something here in the way of a residential school that
involves a community life that is a seven day a week proposition." In
other words, is the value of a residential experience primarily internal?

The answer, at least in part, relates to the previous discussion
of the trend toward greater involvement outside the school.

> Having removed them from their homes, (a residential community) can
> deploy (adolescents) in the world. Not, therefore, as a sanctuary
> but rather as a strategy, it can organize and facilitate their
> learning in a manner beyond the means of any institution that has
> to send them home at the end of every day. . . . Only residential
> institutions can send their students somewhere else. They need only
> come to view their campuses as bases, not as bounds.[7]

Any school's function, in a general sense, is to teach individuals
to live with others. There is considerable evidence, however, that public
and nonpublic schools are failing as melting pots, as the social vehicles
capable of augmenting and facilitating meaningful patterns of integration
in our society. But that does not diminish the potential--perhaps obli-
gation--of the residential school to teach students to live together.
Ted Sizer has said,

> We should not homogenize ourselves into one pallid type; there is
> virtue in cultural variety. But among all must be understanding,
> accommodation, and, above all, justice; and these can only emerge
> if differing peoples learn about each other face to face, painful
> though that may occasionally be. There are many places appropriate
> for such confrontations, and the school is one of these--and a

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[7]The Four-School Study Committee. Op. cit., p. 41.

useful one, for the young are often more charitable and sensitive than their elders.[8]

The educational and moral obligation to expose students to rather than isolate them from the social and racial diversity of society touches directly the sensitive area of parental attitudes. Many parents still select a boarding school for precisely the same reason nineteenth century parents did--it represents a secure, detached academic world separated from the diverse, heterogeneous community of the public high school. As one headmaster explained, this fact has important ramifications.

> For a long time, everybody had two blacks so they could room to-gether and walk around campus when visitors came. But when you get twenty-five blacks and they're all getting into college and the white kids aren't, that's another matter.
>
> But this is an educational institution. We want to teach people and you're not teaching them anything if you just show them a black. You're teaching them something if they discover that it isn't all that easy for people to live together.

If a boarding school is to stand for basic values like justice, honesty and love, it can neither disguise nor compromise its moral commitment. The risk of losing students is a real one, but the alternative of attract-ing a clientele which seeks a sanctuary segregated from social reality should be morally unacceptable.

In the final analysis, the strength and value of the residential experience, while currently interpreted with different emphasis and un-derstanding, is its integrated environment--in the broadest sense of the word--an environment which complements its academic program with oppor-tunities for related experiences away from the school and which brings together a cross section of students representative of the larger society.

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[8]Sizer. *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

The contemporary boarding school must actuate and affirm that:

1. it provides an integrated environment based on diverse learning and living experiences;

2. it controls a student's education more than a non-residential school and that its educational philosophy is based on assumptions different from those of a student's home or local community;

3. its size generates a commonness of purpose and a sense of identity conducive to relationships not possible in non-residential schools;

4. its community serves as a base from which students embark to learn in the larger society and to which they return for guidance and assistance in assimilating their experiences.

6. <u>An unwillingness to give up traditional authority and structural assumptions still exists in contemporary boarding schools and resistance to extensive change is pronounced among more experienced headmasters.</u>

a) The fundamental conclusion reached in the historical analysis, the first part of this study, was that the key to the boarding school's survival has been its ability to adapt to the changing needs of society.

a) Question #8, Form III-- the sample indicated that preserving institutional traditions is more important than emphasizing innovation.

Question #2, Form I--a significant minority felt that the school's emphasis should be on supporting the existing structure rather than on flexibility.

b) The rejection of hypothesis #12 demonstrated a negative relationship between a headmaster's degree of change-orientation and his length of service.

Two important facts about institutional leadership directly affect a boarding school's flexibility and its climate for change. Firstly, after a certain length of time the vested interests of the headmaster will progressively impede change. Secondly, the individual or individuals who hold power in a school cannot trust themselves to be adequately self-critical. The contemporary headmaster must be concerned with more extensive and meaningful delegation of power and with establishing a community atmosphere in which anyone can speak out without fear of failure or reprisal. More people should be involved in running the school, not necessarily because a headmaster has only so much time and talent, but because wide ranging participation in decisions and implementation of ideas allows for better planning and less dependency on the direction of one individual.

Too many headmasters today are more concerned with their personal image, security and stature than they are with whether their school is changing as it should. Too many appear to need the recognition and control which typified headmasters earlier in the century. When a headmaster is overly concerned about his viability and hesitant to take chances or to accept mistakes by others, a similar attitude is fostered within the school community. Autonomous behavior is a special strength of the independent school, but it must be assiduously protected and cultivated. Change will only occur when student and faculty energies are released without fear.

Because the research was directed at discovering patterns of thinking among the entire sample, it did not clearly establish whether or not length of service was a primary factor in the inconsistency underlying the six trends. The statistical rejection of hypothesis #12,

however, does offer explicit support for this conclusion. In addition, the interviews indicated that the newer, less experienced headmasters were more comfortable with the ambiguity of their position and the uncertain direction of their schools. As a vaguely defined group, they seemed to encourage wider participation in determining major policy, they were more concerned about ambitious interaction with the outside community, and they were more interested in understanding adolescent opinions and the cultural influences affecting their students than were the more experienced headmasters.

It takes little imagination and courage to run an institution as it has been run, and it requires great imagination and courage to change an institution and to experiment in a time of uncertainty. Some headmasters tend to concentrate on myriad little things at the expense of major considerations and, as such, fail to define objectives and priorities. Others tend to ponder extensively, attempting to gather all possible information before reaching a decision. Often the result of this procrastination is replication rather than experimentation. Still others are too willing to retreat into a rigid stance against change, justifying their intransigence on the basis that others are changing without adequate planning or solid philosophical reasons. Genuine innovation, however, means taking chances, reaching out into uncertain, unfamiliar areas, experimenting--and failing--and it is crucial if the boarding school is to retain meaning and significance in secondary education in the future.

Summary

On the basis of this study, a serious redefinition of a board-
ing school's purpose should emphasize the following:

1. improving interaction with the public sector;

2. giving students substantial responsibility;

3. establishing a total learning environment with more permeable
    boundaries;

4. moving towards a curriculum based on values;

5. providing positive support within the school community and more
    opportunities for student success.

> That nonpublic schools face a crisis is
> obvious, but a world of difference exists
> in perceiving the crisis as a challenge
> to do better or as a prelude to inescap-
> able disaster.
>
> -- The President's Panel
>   On Nonpublic Education

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEW FORM

FORM I

Among the most difficult kinds of decisions we make as educa-
tional administrators are those that require us to choose between mutu-
ally desirable alternatives. Often the ideals or values that we and
our society revere in the abstract are found to contradict or severely
limit each other in practice. Some of those "value dilemmas" are sug-
gested by the concepts listed opposite each other below. As an educa-
tional administrator, indicate how you balance these paired concepts
when they conflict by checking the appropriate position on the two
scales between each pair; indicate both what you would consider to be
the ideal behavior and what you believe to be your actual behavior.

For instance, if you feel that, ideally, the need for freedom
must always be given priority over the need for order, but that, actu-
ally, it isn't always possible, you might answer this way:

      FREEDOM   ideal ●   0   0   0   0   ORDER
                       actual 0   ●   0   0   0

On the other hand, if you tend to attach slightly more importance to
order ideally and find this is possible in actuality as well, you might
answer:

      FREEDOM   ideal 0   0   0   ●   0   ORDER
                       actual 0   0   0   ●   0

Please respond in similar fashion in giving your personal judgments on
the items below.

var004 1. PARTICIPATION   ideal 0   0   0   0   0   EFFICIENCY
var005   actual 0   0   0   0   0

         In making decisions, is it better to seek wide participation
         and consensus within the school, or to save time and resources
         by sharing responsibility only with a few well-informed staff
         members?

var006 2. STRUCTURE   ideal 0   0   0   0   0   FLEXIBILITY
var007   actual 0   0   0   0   0

         In administering school policies, is it better to maintain
         the policies impartially or to be quite flexible in adjust-
         ing for individual cases?

var008 3. ACTION   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   CONTEMPLATION
var009   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

Is it better to act quickly and decisively in order not to
miss opportunities or to contemplate decisions at length so
as to be sure as possible of a wise choice?

var010 4. COOPERATION   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   COMPETITION
var011   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

Are institutional objectives served better by fostering an
atmosphere of cooperation in the school or of individual and
group competition for rewards?

var012 5. SELF-DISCIPLINE <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   CREATIVITY
var013   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

Is it better to develop in yourself self-discipline and per-
serverance or creativity and originality?

var014 6. RISK   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   SECURITY
var015   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

As a general rule, is it better for an administrator to take
risks in the hope of achieving greater progress or to seek
to maintain the school programs that are already producing
good results?

var016 7. FREEDOM   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   ORDER
var017   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

In a school, is it better to stress the need for freedom in
learning or the need for order and discipline?

var018 8. TRADITION   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   INNOVATION
var019   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

As a general rule, does the administrator have a greater respon-
sibility for preserving institutional traditions and values or
for making innovations and changes?

var020 9. INTUITION   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   REASON
var021   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

When making important administrative decisions, is it better
to rely more on intuition or more on reason?

var022   10. PLURALISM   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   UNITY
var023   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

In staffing a school, is it better to seek out and encourage
diversity or to build a unified and cohesive group?

var024   11. PRESENT   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   FUTURE
var025   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

As an administrator is it better to solve problems that
will relieve the present situation or to concentrate on
the prevention of future problems?

var026   12. IDEALISM   <u>ideal</u> 0   0   0   0   0   PRAGMATISM
var027   <u>actual</u> 0   0   0   0   0

Should an administrator strive after institutional ideals or
invest his energies toward realistic goals?

FORM II

Please indicate with a number, according to the scale below, the degree of participation of individuals and/or groups in the decision-making in the following areas of responsibility within your school.

3 -- Person or group who ultimately makes the decision

2 -- Person or group whose participation is necessary for making the decision

1 -- Person or group who is consulted, but whose participation is not necessary for making the decision

Each number may be used as many times as you feel it applies in each area of responsibility.

If you feel these categories are unsatisfactory, please indicate your qualifications below on this page.

FORM II

AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY	STUDENTS	FACULTY	ADMINIS- TRATION	HEAD- MASTER	TRUSTEES	PARENTS	ALUMNI	OTHERS (give title)
1. Faculty Selection	var068	var069	var070	var071	var072	var073	var074	
2. Curriculum Offerings	var075	var076	var077	var078				
3. Curriculum Requirements	var082	var083	var084	var085				
4. Long Range Planning	var089	var090	var091	var092				
5. Attendance Requirements --chapel, meals, etc.	var096	var097	var098	var099				
6. Admission Policies	var103	var104	var105	var106				
7. Budget Formulation	var110	var111	var112	var113				
8. Trustee Selection	var117	var118	var119	var120				
9. Fund Raising Policies	var124	var125	var126	var127				
10. Dress Code, Hair Regulations	var131	var132	var133	var134				
11. Required Athletic Partici- pation	var138	var139	var140	var141				
12. Minor Disciplinary Viola- tions--latenesses, absen- ces, etc.	var145	var146	var147	var148				
13. Major Disciplinary Viola- tions--drugs, theft, etc.	var152	var153	var154	var155				
14. Religious Program	var159	var160	var161	var162				
15. Dormitory Rules	var166	var167	var168	var169				
16. School Drug Policies	var173	var174	var175	var176				
17. Permissions To Leave School Grounds	var180	var181	var182	var183				
18. School Calendar	var187	var188	var189	var190				
19. Teacher Evaluation	var194	var195	var196	var197				
20. Student Dormitory Assign- ments	var201	var202	var203	var204				
21. Contents of School Newspaper	var208	var209	var210	var211				

FORM III

Please evaluate the following opinions about boarding schools by writing in the left hand margin the number of the statement which best describes what you believe rather than what you think you should believe.

1. I strongly agree

2. I agree

3. I am undecided

4. I disagree

5. I strongly disagree

var028   1.   Given the opportunity boarding school students could gain a valuable breadth to their education through apprenticeships away from school during the academic year.

var029   2.   Students should participate in creating the rules which affect them.

var030   3.   The concern of education should be the acquisition of knowledge rather than training the mind to utilize knowledge.

var031   4.   A student's secondary schooling should be, ideally, at only one school.

var032   5.   A well-motivated, capable student can obtain the necessary preparation for college in three years instead of the usual four year pattern of grades 9-12.

var033   6.   The headmaster decisively influences the direction of his school.

var034   7.   A boarding school should be distinguishable in some educationally significant way from other schools of its type.

var035   8.   The primary reason why parents choose boarding schools is the greater personal attention which they believe their children receive.

var036   9.   The different emphasis of a boarding school curriculum precludes meaningful student exchanges with local public schools.

var037   10.   Drugs are the most important cause of poor communication between faculty and students in most boarding schools.

var038   11.   Compulsory attendance at chapel should not be required.

var039   12.   There will always be enough students and parents who recognize the value of the residential experience to sustain the existing boarding schools.

var040   13.   I feel today's boarding school students have significantly different needs than their predecessors.

var041   14.   The choice of a new headmaster is a critical decision which can make or break all but the strongest boarding schools within a decade.

var042   15.   A headmaster should be able to define why his school is unique.

var043   16.   The emphasis in independent boarding school education should be shifted from an intellectual-academic preparation for college towards a concern for full human excellence--aesthetically, emotionally, ethically.

var044   17.   Most boarding schools are flexible enough for a quick turnabout in function when desirable.

var045   18.   The environment of most boarding schools today does not adequately prepare students for the greater freedom they encounter in college.

var046   19.   College board scores and college admission records are appropriate indications of a boarding school's success.

var047   20.   The boarding school has a responsibility to structure how students use their time outside of class.

var048   21.   It is impossible to eliminate drugs in boarding schools by making regulations against their use.

var049   22.   Without a working knowledge of all aspects of running a boarding school, a headmaster cannot be truly effective.

var050   23.   A boarding school should offer special opportunities to learn which are not available in other types of secondary schools.

var051 24. The primary emphasis of the boarding school is the individual growth of each student.

var052 25. I feel boarding school students should be encouraged to take more courses in surrounding educational institutions.

var053 26. The basic goals of my school are clearly understood by the students.

var054 27. The boarding school allows adolescents an important refuge from potential misdirection within the larger society.

var055 28. I feel individual teachers and students should be permitted to involve themselves in highly controversial issues within the larger community.

var056 29. I feel emotional and social development are less important criteria of student performance than is academic achievement.

var057 30. Without the clear support of his faculty, a headmaster is limited in the changes he can implement.

var058 31. Despite the rush to coeducation, I feel there remains an important place in secondary education for a single sex school.

var059 32. Boarding schools bring little influence to bear on an adolescent's achievement which is independent of his family and social background.

var060 33. Boarding schools should serve as a resource for the local community.

var061 34. Most boarding schools provide an environment which compares favorably with a good non-residential secondary school in developing social maturity.

var062 35. I feel students should be required to participate in athletics, either interscholastically or intramurally.

var063 36. I feel boarding schools must change the minority composition of their communities to respond meaningfully to racial problems in our society.

var064 37. Without external pressures boarding schools themselves rarely initiate change.

var065 38. The single most important ingredient in determining the
             future direction of a boarding school is its headmaster.

var066 39. Learning which takes place beyond the walls of the school
             is a necessary objective of boarding schools.

var067 40. Students do not leave their Constitutional rights "at the
             doorstep" of the boarding school.

If there are any additional comments you wish to make about
your school which were not covered adequately in the interview or on
the questionnaires, please do so below.

INTERVIEW FORM

School: _____ Urban: _____ Rural: _____

Headmaster: _____ Age: _____

Years At School: ____ Coed: ____ Boys: ____ Girls: ____ Day: ____

1. How long have you been a headmaster? Have there been basic changes during your headmastership here?

2. What are the important traditions you feel should be maintained?

   How do you define "independent" as it applies to boarding schools?

   Does the boarding school have a responsibility to experiment as a model for public schools?

3. What is the primary purpose of your school?

   What kinds of excellence are you seeking to develop in students?

   Moral values?

4. What limitations do you feel vis á vis the school's development?

   How would reduced financial pressure affect its future direction?

5. What distinguishes your school from other boarding schools?

6. How would you assess the atmosphere of your school?

   How are gripes aired by students and faculty?

7. Are students today really any different from their predecessors? (student backgrounds?)

8. Is the outside community utilized as a resource by your students? (exchange arrangement with high school?)

   Do you have any local, non-certified staff teaching?

9. Do you like your job?

APPENDIX B

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF FORM III VARIABLES

VAR028 TO VAR067

FORM III - CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF VARIABLES VAR028 TO VAR067   05/31/73   PAGE 10

FILE BOARDSCH (CREATION DATE = 05/31/73)   PERCEPTIONS OF 26 NEW ENGLAND BOARDING SCHOOL HEADS

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS:

	VAR028	VAR029	VAR030	VAR031	VAR032	VAR033	VAR034	VAR035	VAR036	VAR037
VAR028										
VAR029										
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FORM III - CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF VARIABLES VAR028 TO VAR067   05/31/73   PAGE 11

FILE   BOARDSCH (CREATION DATE = 05/31/73)   PERCEPTIONS OF 26 NEW ENGLAND BOARDING SCHOOL HEADS

VAR038   VAR039   VAR040   VAR041   VAR042   VAR043   VAR044   VAR045   VAR046   VAR047

VAR028
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VAR067

FORM 111 . CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF VARIABLES VAR028 TO VAR067   05/31/73   PAGE 12

FILE   BOARDSCH (CREATION DATE = 05/31/73)   PERCEPTIONS OF 26 NEW ENGLAND BOARDING SCHOOL HEADS

	VAR048	VAR049	VAR050	VAR051	VAR052	VAR053	VAR054	VAR055	VAR056	VAR057
VAR028										
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FILE BOARDSCH (CREATION DATE = 05/31/73)   PERCEPTIONS OF 26 NEW ENGLAND BOARDING SCHOOL HEADS

	VAR058	VAR059	VAR060	VAR061	VAR062	VAR063	VAR064	VAR065	VAR066	VAR067
VAR028										
VAR029										
VAR030										
VAR031										
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SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS CANNOT BE FOUND.
INITIAL ESTIMATE OF COMMUNALITIES IS MAXIMUM OFF-DIAGONAL ELEMENT OF CORRELATION MATRIX.

CONVERGENCE REQUIRED 10 ITERATIONS.

APPENDIX C

FACTOR ANALYSIS USING PRINCIPAL FACTOR WITH ITERATIONS
OF FORM III VARIABLES

VARIABLE	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
var028	.259	.400	-.021
var029	.175	.426	-.233
var030	.008	.320	.047
var031	-.040	.576	-.007
var032	.239	-.424	.514
var033	.446	-.103	-.325
var034	.141	-.214	.578
var035	.624	-.154	.305
var036	.088	.543	.349
var037	.179	-.068	-.346
var038	-.302	.462	-.113
var039	-.137	-.556	.315
var040	.182	.005	.456
var041	.558	-.223	-.411
var042	.558	.312	.189
var043	.043	.085	.234
var044	.301	-.583	.284
var045	.365	-.491	-.298
var046	.297	-.110	-.219
var047	-.199	.459	-.227
var048	-.223	-.006	-.120
var049	-.329	-.110	.294
var050	.159	.598	-.228
var051	.699	.201	.301
var052	.293	.073	.703
var053	.413	.133	-.221
var054	-.234	.261	.122
var055	.118	.026	.583
var056	.588	.189	.335
var057	.450	-.271	-.391
var058	.422	-.327	.039
var059	.656	-.159	-.106
var060	.577	.419	-.064
var061	.394	-.393	-.215
var062	-.099	.464	.148
var063	.460	.358	-.094
var064	.314	.056	-.239
var065	.711	-.149	-.270
var066	.382	.414	.155
var067	.495	.522	.136

APPENDIX D

FACTOR ANALYSIS WITH VARIMAX ROTATION
OF FORM III VARIABLES

VARIABLE	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
var028	.217	.067	.046	.086
var029	-.030	.151	-.013	-.178
var030	-.235	.256	-.045	-.224
var031	-.023	.020	.714	.167
var032	.168	.014	-.078	.113
var033	.283	.295	.076	-.093
var034	-.127	.335	-.295	.240
var035	.369	,390	-.449	.280
var036	-.215	.022	.297	.556
var037	.372	.114	.114	-.012
var038	-.031	.069	.892	.026
var039	-.005	-.428	-.480	.232
var040	-.386	.296	-.188	-.207
var041	.744	.073	-.030	-.063
var042	.071	.833	.059	.048
var043	-.116	-.026	-.083	.125
var044	.409	-.080	-.543	.302
var045	.514	-.116	-.129	.176
var046	.150	-.133	-.027	-.033
var047	-.509	-.065	.335	-.103
var048	-.177	-.059	.007	-.569
var049	-.421	.003	-.264	-.114
var050	.175	.234	.335	.140
var051	.087	.759	-.116	.115
var052	-.007	.189	-.015	.798
var053	.149	.159	-.009	.081
var054	-.259	-.168	.417	.332
var055	-.175	-.091	.051	.449
var056	.174	.286	-.028	.284
var057	.810	-.052	-.101	.081
var058	.167	-.010	-.023	.094
var059	.099	.229	-.230	.049
var060	-.049	.682	.002	.085
var061	.200	.228	.008	-.100
var062	-.137	-.015	.055	.273
var063	.145	.629	.265	.177
var064	-.023	.094	-.148	.044
var065	.858	.221	-.041	-.145
var066	.121	.269	.081	.026
var067	.101	.460	.232	-.298

APPENDIX E

FACTOR ANALYSIS WITH OBLIQUE ROTATION
OF FORM III VARIABLES

VARIABLE	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3
var028	.144	.100	.030
var029	.002	.033	-.098
var030	-.197	-.009	.354
var031	-.083	.744	.144
var032	.301	-.160	.922
var033	.243	.025	-.226
var034	-.047	-.326	.370
var035	.478	-.413	.308
var036	-.176	.371	.106
var037	.166	.132	-.020
var038	-.117	.895	-.125
var039	.047	-.506	.302
var040	-.240	-.223	.274
var041	.614	-.049	-.139
var042	.178	.107	.091
var043	-.062	-.047	.023
var044	.507	-.542	.303
var045	.422	-.151	-.054
var046	.089	-.077	.090
var047	-.646	.345	-.187
var048	-.094	-.027	-.197
var049	-.287	-.247	.111
var050	.009	.388	-.169
var051	.253	-.084	.082
var052	-.030	.035	.652
var053	.156	.066	.040
var054	-.382	.420	.230
var055	-.162	.026	.838
var056	.361	.011	.311
var057	.628	-.112	-.026
var058	.117	-.107	.174
var059	.077	-.255	.057
var060	.047	.079	.015
var061	.131	-.077	.147
var062	-.064	.196	.057
var063	.128	.318	.082
var064	.053	-.135	-.152
var065	.921	-.045	-.029
var066	.264	.150	-.017
var067	.377	.290	.128

APPENDIX F

PEARSON PRODUCT-MOMENT CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF EIGHT CLUSTER VARIABLES

	TRADIT	STATQUO	STUDENTS	CAPABIL	UNQIUE	PURPOSE	OUTCOM	SCHCOM
TRADIT		.480	-.045	-.286	-.356	-.269	.092	.080
STATQUO	.480		.188	-.195	-.086	-.066	.279	.021
STUDENTS	-.045	.188		-.049	.377	.422	.157	-.063
CAPABIL	-.286	-.195	-.049		.271	.083	.121	.472
UNQIUE	-.356	-.086	.377	.271		.564	.406	.129
PURPOSE	-.269	-.066	.422	.083	.564		.558	.099
OUTCOM	.092	.279	.157	.121	.406	.558		-.008
SCHCOM	.080	.021	-.063	.472	.129	.099	-.008	