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Marsha V. Krotseng

*College of William & Mary - School of Education*

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Krotseng, Marsha Van Dyke

TO BE OR MERELY TO SEEM?: INVESTIGATING THE IMAGE OF THE  
MODERN "EDUCATION GOVERNOR"

*The College of William and Mary*

Ed.D. 1987

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TO BE OR MERELY TO SEEM?:  
INVESTIGATING THE IMAGE OF THE MODERN "EDUCATION GOVERNOR"

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A Dissertation  
Presented To  
The Faculty of the School of Education  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

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In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Education

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by  
Marsha Van Dyke Krotseng  
May 1987



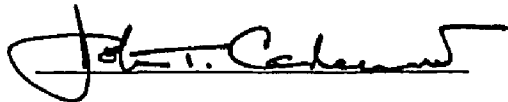
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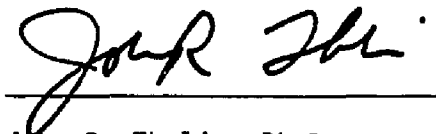
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Chairman of Doctoral Committee

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## PROLOGUE

Had Virginia O'Hanlon, author of the now classic inquiry to the New York Sun, been born fifty years later and grown intrigued with the state political climate of the 1980s, she might well have written:

Dear Editor,

I am 48 years old. Some of my scholarly colleagues say there is no "Education Governor." The Director of Institutional Research says, "If you see it in the Chronicle it's so." Please tell me the truth, is there really such a thing as an "Education Governor?"

The story that unfolds will shed some light on this heretofore untackled question.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

The Governors are ready to provide the leadership needed to get results on the hard issues that confront the better schools movement. We are ready to lead the second wave of reform in American public education.

Lamar Alexander, 1986  
Former Governor of Tennessee

All of us, particularly those who participate actively in ECS [the Education Commission of the States] and a number of other educational organizations, like to think of ourselves as "Education Governors."

Charles S. Robb, 1985  
Former Governor of Virginia

This introductory chapter highlights gubernatorial involvement in education reform throughout America's history and examines the antecedents of the modern-day "Education Governor" image -- background which sets the stage for this study comparing the political rhetoric of twenty modern-day "Education Governors" with the substance of their actions.

Governors: Transforming Educational Reform

From the New York Times to the Los Angeles Times, front page

headlines on Sunday morning 24 August 1986 boldly proclaimed, "Governors Asking Greater Control Over the Schools". . ."Governors Offer Five-Year Plan for Upgrading Schools". . ."Governors Seek More School Reform." Just three years earlier the presidentially-appointed National Commission on Excellence in Education had warned the United States that a mediocre educational system placed the nation at tremendous risk; now that the nation -- more specifically, the states -- had responded by implementing comprehensive educational reforms and passing hundreds of laws, governors across the country publicly declared it was "Time for Results."

A year-long study initiated in 1985 by the National Governors' Association (NGA) under the leadership of then-Chairman Governor Lamar Alexander of Tennessee culminated in a 171-page document bearing that title. Released on 23 August 1986, the eve of the NGA's annual convention, the widely publicized report compiled findings and recommendations from task forces representing "seven of the toughest obstacles standing between Americans and better schools: Teaching, Leadership and Management, Parent Involvement and Choice, Readiness, Technology, School Facilities, and College Quality. Heralded by U.S. Secretary of Education William Bennett as the "most important [educational] event of the last five years," the report proved to be a unique element in the ever-expanding array of critiques of elementary/secondary and higher education; in addition to the conclusions of the National Commission on Excellence (1983), its predecessors included commentary by the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Elementary and Secondary Education Policy (1983), the Education Commission of the

States Task Force on Education for Economic Growth (1983), the National Science Board's Commission on Precollege Education (1983), the National Institute of Education (1984) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (1984). But the NGA report was different. As former Governor Lamar Alexander explained in his introduction, for the first time:

\* The Governors themselves [were] doing it.

\* [The Governors were] tackling seven tough issues that professional educators usually skirt.

\* [The Governors were] setting up a way to keep up with results for five years. (NGA, 1986, p. 4)

To add one further distinction, at least some educators, noteworthy among them National Education Association President Mary Hatwood Futrell (1986), responded to the governors "with gratitude." Echoing Alexander's assertion of gubernatorial resolve and commitment, Futrell observed,

Our nation's governors are committed to action. They're ready to make tough decisions. They have elevated the people's mandate for fundamental reform above all political posturing. They have vowed to subordinate making headlines to making progress. (Futrell, 1986)

Why this seemingly sudden shift from a passive to an active stance? "Because," Governor Alexander elaborated, "without the Governors'

leadership, most of what needs to be done won't get done" (NGA, 1986, p. 4).

To acknowledge one rough indicator of the general interest aroused by the Governors' report, some 4,000 copies were requested during the first month following its publication -- these in addition to the 1,000 or so furnished to the press in advance (Linda Dove, personal communication, September 22, 1986). Whether or not the governors actually were making headway with their own state education programs, they undeniably were making headlines.

Increasingly since 1983, governors have become directly involved in constructing their state's educational policies. As expressed by a lead article in the 6 February 1985 issue of Education Week, "Governors [are] No Longer Simply Patrons, They are [Educational] Policy Chiefs" (p. 1). However, the NGA document acknowledges that such has not always been the case:

. . . [B]efore 1982, Governors were less involved. Most states had moved their top education officials away from the Governor's direct control. The federal government, the federal courts, and the teachers' unions increased their say about policy and management of public schools.  
(NGA, 1986, p. 5)

Indeed, the Kennedy and Johnson Task Forces of the 1960s suggest that when educators of that era spoke, politicians listened -- at least ostensibly so (Graham, 1984). And, into the 1970s,

A longstanding belief that politicians should not interfere with matters best left in the hands of professional educators continued to deter most legislatures from mandating the specifics -- what was taught, how it was taught, and who taught it. This fine-grained detail remained the province of local boards and superintendents. But, as the quality of education declined, so too did the willingness of elected officials to let educators have the final word on these matters. (Doyle and Hartle, 1984, p. 9)

Thus, a decade or so later the traditional tables turned; the 1980s found the politicians -- principally the governors -- doing most of the talking. "That's a reversal of real significance," remarked a Washington Post editorial, "from the days, not very long ago, when all state governments desperately fought shy of any comparisons among schools because of the political reactions that they generated" ("The Schools and the Governors," 1986).

Certainly the magnitude and intensity of active gubernatorial involvement in shaping education policy of the 1980s appears unparalleled in United States history. "No self-respecting governor is without his or her commission on economic growth, technology, and education" (O'Keefe, 1984). And, education figured prominently in the successful 1985 gubernatorial campaigns of Thomas Kean (New Jersey) and Gerald Baliles (Virginia) as well as in the 1986 governor's races in Arkansas, Idaho, New York, Ohio, and Texas. Indeed, the normally "apple pie" issue became the central focus of a heated controversy in this last rematch of incumbent Democrat Mark White with Republican challenger (and former governor) Bill Clements. A commercial for

White (who gained nationwide notoriety through his "no pass-no play" and "no pass-no teach" education reforms) contended:

After voters rejected Bill Clements [in 1982], Texans took bold steps to dramatically improve education. Now Clements is back with a secret plan of devastating cuts. If he wants to run for governor to get even that's his business. But if he takes it out on education, that's your business. ("Ad Outrages," 1986, p. A8)

And the Clements camp contested:

Clements in four years as governor did not once propose any cuts in public or higher education. There is one candidate in this race who has proposed cuts in education, and his name is Mark White. ("Ad Outrages," p. A8)

Nonetheless, looking back across 210 years of the nation's past and beyond that into the Colonial Period clearly demonstrates that gubernatorial concern for education is not a new phenomenon; the study of any particular period will reveal individual governors who have played strikingly visible and vital roles in their state's system of education.

Ceremonial occasions pay homage to this longstanding relationship: Governors frequently are coveted commencement or charter day speakers and candidates for honorary degrees (Illustration 1); and at some institutions of higher education one day each year



Illustration 1. Virginia Governor Charles S. Robb prepares to address the Charter Day audience at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, 6 February 1983. (Left to right) Governor Charles S. Robb; Herbert V. Kelly, Rector of the Board of Visitors; and William and Mary President Thomas A. Graves, Jr.

(Courtesy of the College Archives, Swem Library, the College of William and Mary)

traditionally is set aside in their honor. In the Commonwealth of Virginia, for example, The College of William and Mary celebrates Burgesses' Day in commemoration of "the historic bonds between the state's lawmakers and the university, recalling the periods 1700-1704 and 1747-1754 when Virginia's legislature, then the House of Burgesses, made the Wren Building its temporary headquarters" ("College honors officials," 1986, p. C3). The College's 1984 Burgesses' Day rituals paid special tribute to Governor Charles Robb and all five living ex-Governors of Virginia. (See Illustration 2). Robb's successor, Gerald Baliles was honored by William and Mary President Paul R. Verkuil on Burgesses' Day 1986:

The College is very proud of the relationships we have had with the Commonwealth's highest office over the centuries. . .Some of the greatest men ever to receive a William and Mary education went on to serve in that office, a total of 21 of your predecessors, more than from any other university, took their first steps on the road to statesmanship across this campus. ("Over 400 attend," 1986, pp. 1;8)

Later, during half-time ceremonies at the William and Mary-Harvard football game, commentators again seized the opportunity to reaffirm the College's support, commitment, and long relationship to Virginia's chief executive. Similar sentiments inspired William and Mary's younger siblings, the University of Virginia and Virginia Polytechnic Institute, to initiate their own respective traditions -- Commonwealth Day and Governor's Day. Baliles returned to the College





Illustration 2. Burgesses' Day ceremonies at the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA, on 12 October 1984 honored (Left to right) former Virginia Governor Linwood Holton; then-Governor Charles S. Robb; and former Governors Lindsay Almond (represented by his wife); Albertis Harrison; Mills Godwin; and John Dalton.

(Courtesy of University Relations, the College of William and Mary)

of William and Mary in February 1987 as a principal speaker and honorary degree recipient during Charter Day festivities; the College customarily has awarded honorary degrees to Virginia governors since the late eighteenth century -- the days of Thomas Jefferson.

### Historical Precedents

Colonial-era governors sat on the Board of Overseers or Trustees at such institutions as Harvard, the College of New Jersey (Princeton), Queen's College (Rutgers), and Dartmouth. In addition, colonial governors signed the charters for Harvard, Yale, King's College (Columbia), Queen's, the College of Rhode Island (Brown), and Dartmouth during this turbulent period when some colleges went through more charters and proposed charters than presidents (Herbst, 1982). In the 1720s, resolution of a dispute over the composition of Harvard's Corporation evidenced still more intimate gubernatorial involvement:

Only Governor Shute's added proviso that the current three nonresident fellows and Overseers -- all liberal supporters of [President] Leverett -- remain as fellows of the Corporation saved the fellows from embarrassment and protected the president and his friends from their opponents. The changes desired by the Court would go into effect only after the current fellows' terms expired. In the face of repeated requests by the lower house to reconsider, Governor Shute held fast to his proviso, relying on what he called the "desire and intention" of his Council and the Overseers. (Herbst, 1982, p. 51)

Several of these early governors went further; in 1755 Sir Charles Hardy, new governor of the colony of New York, pledged 500 pounds in a drive for subscriptions at King's College. King's President Samuel Johnson optimistically concluded this to signify "the governor's intentions toward the college, even though [Hardy] and the Assembly were preoccupied with the French and Indian Wars" at the time (Herbst, 1982, p. 109). Looking to the South, Virginia's Governor Francis Nicholson also provided the sum of 500 pounds in the form of scholarship funds and other monetary gifts to the College of William and Mary at the turn of the eighteenth century. Both Nicholson and Alexander Spotswood, his successor, displayed a "genuine and energetic" interest in the College's Indian School. Almost forty years later, in 1769, another newly-arrived governor, Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, vigorously plunged into William and Mary affairs -- not only through his position as political leader but also as Rector of the College.

Botetourt's intervention in the academic life of the College was immediately more surprising and even more significant [than his concern for the condition of the buildings]. So that scholarship might be encouraged he offered two gold medals annually, one for classical learning and the other for achievement in the physical or metaphysical sciences. These medals were to be awarded after a most thorough competition. . .

Botetourt's interest in the students was so real and so intense that on occasion

he even took part in their viva voce examinations, but the impression of the Governor that remained for many years with Edmund Randolph (who may well have been among those examined) as one who "inspired the youth of William and Mary with ardour and emulation" remains clear even two centuries later. During the few months when he was Rector, Botetourt magicked a new spirit of hopefulness into the College and if not all of the renascent activities can be ascribed directly to his intervention it is at least fair to assume that all owed something to his beneficent [sic] influence. (Morpurgo, 1976, pp. 148-149)

Botetourt's influence and legacies continue to pervade the present-day campus. Although the criteria have changed since Botetourt's time, William and Mary still awards a prestigious medal in his name to the graduating senior who has attained the greatest distinction in scholarship. The beloved Botetourt also was immortalized in the form of a marble statue which stood before the College's Wren Building until the 1960s when it was relegated to safer quarters in the library. And, to this day, his now-empty tomb remains a source of intrigue and favorite site of students' surreptitious escapades.

With America's independence came an even greater need for education -- a necessity acknowledged by several early governors, chief among them, Thomas Jefferson. One of the "giants" from whose shoulders Governor Robb addressed the 1984 Burgesses' Day audience, Jefferson "moved to translate his [educational] theories into practice" after his election as governor of Virginia in 1779

(Morpurgo, 1976, p. 189). Desiring to reform the College of William and Mary, Jefferson, who also sat on the Board of Visitors, recorded in his Autobiography,

. . .I effected, during my residence at Williamsburg that year, a change in the organization of that institution by abolishing the Grammar school, and the two professorships of Divinity & Oriental languages, and substituting a professorship of Law & Police, one of Anatomy, Medicine and Chemistry, and one of Modern languages; and the charter confining us to six professorships, we added the law of Nature & Nation, & the Fine Arts to the duties of the Moral professor, and Natural history to those of the professor of Mathematics and Natural philosophy. (Morpurgo, 1976, p. 189)

Rebuffed in his attempts to create a coordinated system of public education throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia with the College of William and Mary as its capstone, Jefferson eventually channeled his energies toward designing the campus and curriculum of the University of Virginia in the 1820s.

As originally planned, Mr. Jefferson's University was a brilliant manifestation of the state university which had dawned in the preceding three to four decades. Tales of the two institutions which jealously vie for the title "first state university" -- the University of Georgia (chartered 1785; opened 1801) and the University of North Carolina (chartered 1789; opened 1795) -- afford yet another glimpse of governors in action. Governor Lyman Hall, a Yale graduate, enthusiastically encouraged the Georgia legislature to provide for

schools and academies.

In 1784, at Hall's urging, the assembly broadened the scope of the state's commitment to education to include "a college or seminary of learning." Support for the school would derive from a grant of forty thousand acres of land in two new counties carved out of northeast Georgia. (Dyer, 1985, p. 8)

However, for the next fifteen years, the university would exist only on paper and in the imaginations of the few who truly cared about its development. Ultimately another governor, James Jackson, ended this hiatus when he convened the *Senatus Academicus* (a bicameral body composed of a Board of Trustees for the university and a Board of Visitors) in 1799 to consider locations for the university.

In the meantime, Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina "strongly urged passage" of a bill in 1784 that would establish the University of North Carolina (Powell, 1972, p. 7). Martin, first president of the UNC Board of Trustees and a member of that body from 1790 until his death in 1807, also was governor from 1789 until 1792 "when he urged the policy of public support for the university (Powell, 1972, p. 7).

Most of these early governors who doubled as university trustees did so by virtue of their office. Kentucky Governor Garrard provides one notable exception. While in 1799 Garrard became a member of the Board for newly-chartered Transylvania University, Herbst (1982) stresses that the Governor "did not serve in an ex officio capacity"

(p. 193). The conscious choice of Kentucky's legislature not to involve ex officio participation of public officials in its system of preparatory and collegiate education distinguished this design from the state systems implemented in Georgia and New York (Herbst, 1982, p. 193).

The powerful impact that a governor may have on the Board of Trustees of a college or university, whether or not the chief executive actually sits on this body, is graphically illustrated by the intervention of New Hampshire's Republican Governor William Plumer into affairs at Dartmouth College -- a prelude to the United States Supreme Court's landmark decision in 1819. Plumer's Inaugural Address of 6 June 1816 attacked the provision in Dartmouth's royal charter permitting the self-perpetuation of trustees. As the Governor saw it,

This last principle is hostile to the spirit and genius of a free government. Sound policy therefore requires that the mode of election should be changed, and that trustees, in future should be elected by some other body of men. To increase the number of trustees would not only increase the security of the college, but be a means of interesting more men in its prosperity. If it should be made in future the duty of the President annually in May, to report to the Governor a full and particular account of the state of the funds, their receipts and expenditures, the number of students and their progress, and generally the state and condition of the college; and the Governor to communicate this statement to the Legislature in their June session; this would form a check upon the proceedings of the trustees, excite a spirit of attention in the officers and students of the college, and give to the Legislature such

information as would enable them to act with greater propriety upon whatever may relate to that institution. (Shirley, 1895/1971, pp. 105-106)

Governor Plumer quickly turned from words to action. On 27 June he "signed a bill transforming the Trustees of Dartmouth College into the Trustees of Dartmouth University, increased their number to twenty-one, and added a board of twenty-five Overseers with the power to confirm, disapprove or veto proceedings of the trustees" (Herbst, 1982, p. 236). In the ensuing contest between Dartmouth's President Wheelock and the trustees, apparently "neither side to the controversy was concerned by or about state control. Clearly, on the other hand, this was an issue that did interest the governor, for [after all] it had won the election for the Republicans" (Rudolph, 1965, p. 208).

The cause of higher education -- specifically, the creation of a true state university -- also figured in California's November 1867 elections. Governor Frederick Low, chairman of the Board of Trustees for the state's newly-formed Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Arts College "wanted very much to be the governor of California when her state university was founded" (Stadtman, 1970, p. 29). Experiencing misgivings that the Agricultural, Mining and Mechanical Arts College alone would fulfill that desire, Low began to negotiate a more substantial deal which would merge the Agricultural College with the already-existing College of California in Berkeley. The Governor proposed:



We will get a University of the State organized. We will get that created. And we will have the agricultural school a department of the University, and we will have the College of California a department of the University as the College of Letters; and so we will really bring into existence a University. You can reach all the ends you propose in that way. The College of California can accomplish all its ends a great deal better than it could alone. (Stadtman, 1970, p. 30)

In fact, for many years there had been talk about building a state university, including references to the Berkeley grounds as "our university site." After months of deliberation, the College of California Trustees concluded:

To make that promise good to the people of California would require more than modest philanthropic support. To make it good with a state college competing for friends and students and funds -- possibly next door -- would require commitment to a long, tedious, and perilous effort. To make it good by following Governor Low's advice was the only responsible alternative. (Stadtman, 1970, p. 31)

Ironically, Governor Low was denied the privilege of signing the bill which established the long-awaited university in March 1868. Instead, that honor went to the man who had quelled Low's bid for reelection, Henry Haight, "a Democrat who had not been prominently identified with California's higher-education efforts before, but who had supported the University bill from the first" (Stadtman, 1970, p. 34).

About thirty years into its life, the University of California found itself operating with a deficit. Although aware that something had to be done, Governor Henry T. Gage stood staunchly opposed to the notion of balancing the budget through imposing student registration fees:

I do not believe that if the tax [on students] stands the University will ever rally from the effects of the blow. The tax will, in my opinion, inure to the advantage of other institutions. I am decidedly in favor of free schools, from kindergartens to the graduating class of the State University, and I will never countenance any proposition that will compel an admission tax to schools which should be free and open. (Gage, quoted in Stadtman, 1970, p. 122)

In lieu of the so-called "student tax" and in line with his position that "standing taxes for [the University's] support are not as productive of benefit to that splendid crown of the common schools as appropriations passed by each Legislature, according to its increased or diminished necessities," Governor Gage offered a unique solution: that the University's financial burdens be lightened by the use of funds earlier appropriated for a governor's mansion (Stadtman, 1970, p. 124).

Finances also proved uncertain for Virginia education in the late 1870s. However, "these financial difficulties did not result from a lack of commitment" on the part of [Governor James] Kemper's administration, which gave strong support to public education despite

the problems of the day" (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 77). Indeed,

The \$443,000 appropriated in 1875-76 was Virginia's largest disbursement for schools up to that time, and more children attended the schools in 1876-77 than ever before. Reflecting his concern for the future of public education, the governor recommended in his farewell message that a constitutional amendment be adopted to put the schools on a more dependable financial basis. (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 77)

The Governor also consistently advocated support for the Commonwealth's institutions of higher learning, and upon leaving office, "Kemper could honestly say that he had supported the school system 'fairly, efficiently, and in the spirit of its founders'" (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 77).

The advent of the present century brought enthusiastic gubernatorial involvement in education by such colorful -- and disparate -- figures as Wisconsin's Robert M. LaFollette and Louisiana's legendary Huey Long. During the early 1900s, LaFollette relied heavily upon the expert counsel of his University of Wisconsin advisors and encouraged the development of extension services to reach citizens throughout all sections of the state. As the Governor recorded in his autobiography,

I have always felt that the political reformer, like the engineer or the architect must know that his foundations are right. To build the superstructure in advance of that is likely to be disastrous

to the whole thing. He must not put the roof on before he gets the underpinning in. And the underpinning is the education of the people. (LaFollette, 1911, pp. 240-241)

While LaFollette thus sent a state to university, Huey Long was concocting schemes to send "his university" across state lines to witness a crucial football game. Indeed, newspaper accounts of the period relate Long's grandiose plan to send a delegation of no fewer than 3000 students and citizens (LSU enrollment was 2800) in five special trains to support his Tigers in their crucial intersectional game against the West Point Cadets (Williams, 1969). Adopting Louisiana State University as his own, Long took more than passing interest in the team's plays and on occasion directed the marching band. In a more academic vein, he supervised the addition of a medical school and general expansion of the physical plant, including a Huey P. Long Field House. Naturally,

As the school widened the scope of its services, it enlarged the size of its teaching staff. New faculty members were added every year, and from the total of 168 employed when Huey became governor, the figure grew to 245 by 1935 (or 394, if the medical faculty is included). The improvement was qualitative as well as quantitative. Many of the new professors were brought in from Northern schools and were already scholars of some reputation. The LSU faculty for the first time attracted national attention, and Louisianians glowed with pride. "The psychological effect was tremendous," an administrator recalled. "We were no longer a little college stuck off down here but a

first-class school or on the way to it." The accrediting association now rated LSU as an A instead of a C institution.

But what most impressed the people of the state was the increase in student enrollment. The number of students shot up each year until by 1935 the total reached approximately forty-three hundred, and with the medical school included, fifty-two hundred. From eighty-eighth in size among the country's universities LSU rose to twentieth and among state universities to eleventh. . . . LSU charged practically no tuition and provided a generous number of scholarships to needy students. It was well on the way to achieving the goal Huey had set for it -- to make its facilities available to every poor boy and girl in the state. (Williams, 1970, p. 520)

Nor did the Governor neglect Louisiana's public schools:

With the creation of an ample equalization fund, the state began to exercise greater control over the local school authorities. It insisted, for example, that it would not pay out money to schools unless their teachers met certification requirements, proving they had advanced training. As a result many teachers went back to college or resigned their jobs. Within two years the state department of education could report that ninety-two per cent of the teachers had received two years or more of professional education beyond high school. The state also demanded that parishes drawing benefits from the fund establish a minimum salary scale for their teachers, higher than the existing one, and lengthen the school year.

Huey was not content to stop with the creation of the equalization fund. Between 1932 and 1934 he secured the enactment of additional legislation that shifted to the

state the responsibility for collecting most of the taxes to support education. As a result of his efforts, the state pledged to pay into the school fund a minimum of ten million dollars a year, twice the amount of state support in 1928, and by 1935 it was bearing sixty per cent of the total cost of public education. (Williams, 1970, p. 522).

Another governor adroit at extracting commitments from his legislature (although in a far different manner) was Virginia's Governor Colgate W. Darden. "Unflagging" in his devotion to public education, Darden remained dissatisfied with merely increasing the school budget. Consequently,

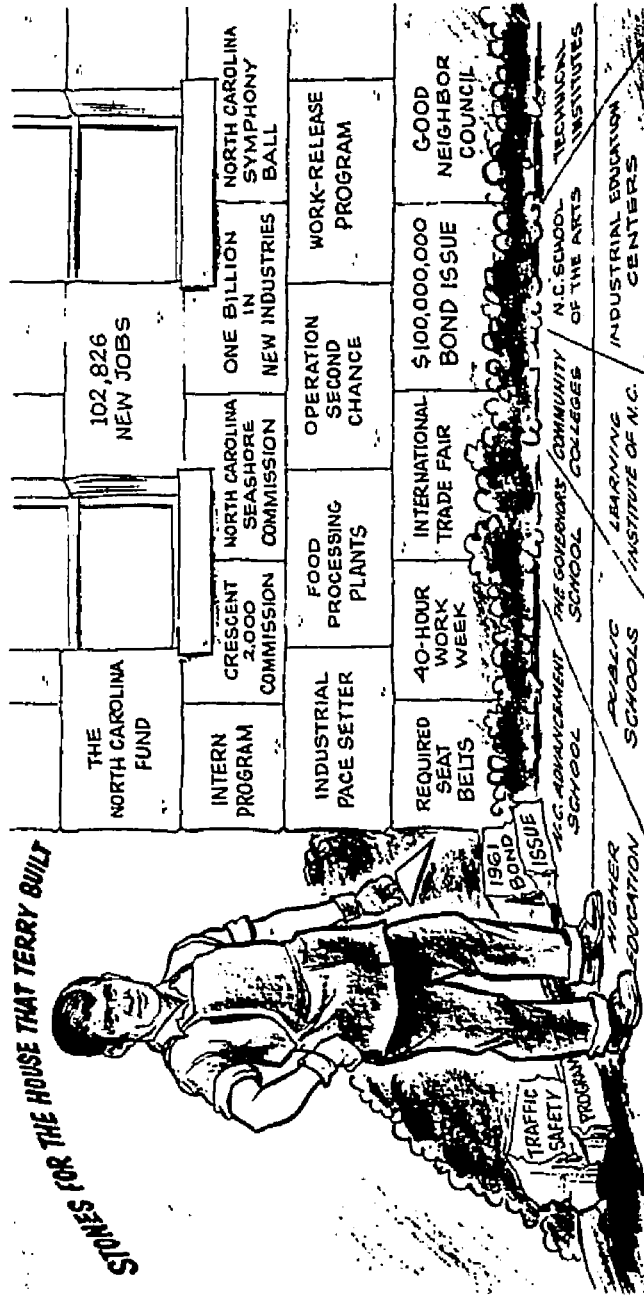
he appointed a commission headed by George H. Denny, a Virginian who had retired as president of the University of Alabama, to examine the deficiencies in Virginia's educational system and recommend changes. Denny's group spotlighted weaknesses in vocational education and small rural school districts. Darden brought these findings before a special session of the General Assembly in 1945, wringing from the legislators, among other concessions, expanded funds for school busing in outlying areas and a million dollars for audiovisual aids (the largest appropriation for such materials anywhere in the nation). The Denny Commission also identified problem areas in higher education. Darden responded with supplemental appropriations for the Medical College of Virginia, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, the Virginia State College for Negroes, and \$3 million for a massive building program at the University of Virginia. (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 300)

In 1947, Darden would be inaugurated president of that venerable University in Charlottesville.

Throughout the late 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s, a number of governors continued to provide special "assistance and leadership [to the educational community] on critical occasions" (Bailey, Frost, Marsh, and Wood, 1970, p. 228). Considering the eight Northeastern states, Bailey, et al., suggested a "schoolmen's honor roll" would comprise the following noteworthy chief executives: Chester Bowles (Connecticut); Dennis Roberts (Rhode Island); Edmund Muskie (Maine); Robert Bradford (Massachusetts); and Al Smith, Averell Harriman, and Nelson Rockefeller (New York).

#### Emergence of the "Education Governor"

However, governors in other regions of the nation displayed equal leadership and inspiration. While Rockefeller revealed his "edifice complex" and routed millions of dollars of state funds toward expansion of the State University of New York during the early 1960s, Governor Terry Sanford was constructing his own edifice of social and economic advances in North Carolina. In taking office as Governor on 5 January 1961, Sanford pledged to make quality education "the rock upon which I will build the house of my administration (Sanford, 1961). Indeed, the illustration "Stones for the House that Terry Built" (Illustration 3) graphically depicts this structure -- Sanford, dressed in work clothes, alongside -- securely resting on a solid foundation of educational opportunities afforded by the "Tar Heel



"Stones for the House that Terry Built" illustrates vividly the tremendous impact of the Sanford administration on the state of North Carolina.

Illustration 3.

(Courtesy of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History)



State's" public schools, community colleges, and institutions of higher education. "Quality education," stressed Sanford, "is no mean goal! For all other goals we seek for North Carolina can be measured by the quality, the scope, the reach of our educational efforts" (Mitchell, 1966, p. 93). This obvious commitment to quality education as the key to all his programs and, hence, as the "number-one goal" of his four-year term of office (Jones, 1966) earned Sanford widespread recognition as "the Education Governor" (Caldwell, 1985).

Twenty-five years after making his gubernatorial promise, Sanford remains the epitome of this elusive entity, the "Education Governor." However, as excitement over the recent Time for Results report implies, many governors of the mid-1980s are determined to follow in Sanford's footsteps. Irrefutably, "It is the rare governor who has not, in the past two years, devoted a large portion of his or her time, energy, and political capital. . .to nuts-and-bolts questions of educational policy" (Caldwell, 1985, p. 1). Among those chief executives singled out for recognition at the annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States (ECS) in July 1985 were incoming ECS Chairman Thomas Kean of New Jersey, "one of the leaders among many 'Education Governors'" (Robb, 1985) and Chairman-Elect William Clinton, "the young 'Education Governor' from Arkansas" (Bares, 1985).

Indeed, the "Education Governor" label portrays a popular political image of the eighties, increasingly prominent in statehouses, the Denver and Washington, D.C., offices of the Education Commission of the States, Education Week, and the Chronicle of Higher Education, as well as among teachers' union officials (Shanker, 1986).

However, while this apparently pervasive gubernatorial interest in education may be unprecedented in the history of the American states, the "Education Governor" label and accompanying notion of education reform actually date back to turn of the century North Carolina. "People who think that it's brand new," remarks University of Connecticut President John T. Casteen, III, "have not read their history very carefully" (Caldwell, 1985, p. 34). Sanford's own speeches and imagery consciously invoked the legacy of Charles Brantley Aycock, North Carolina's legendary "Educational Governor" of 1900-1904. One of Sanford's favorite photographs shows this modern-day "Education Governor" seated at his desk where Aycock's portrait dominates the background (Illustration 4), a conspicuous reminder of the influence an individual governor can exert if he so chooses. Aycock's tenure witnessed the construction of approximately one new schoolhouse each day as a result of the governor's personal crusade to rebuild his state's dismal educational system (Orr, 1961).

Undoubtedly observing this progress in North Carolina, several of Aycock's contemporaries undertook similar initiatives to strengthen education in their respective states. Governors Braxton Bragg Comer of Alabama, N. B. Broward of Florida, Joseph M. Terrell and Hoke Smith of Georgia, N. C. Blanchard of Louisiana, Duncan C. Heyward of South Carolina, James B. Frazier of Tennessee, and Andrew J. Montague and Claude A. Swanson of Virginia all emulated Aycock to some extent and, consequently, shared in the "Educational Governor" aura (Eggleston, 1907; Orr, 1961; Woodward, 1951). Not only were these early twentieth



Illustration 4. Former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford draws inspiration from the portrait of his predecessor and spiritual mentor, Charles B. Aycock.

(Courtesy of the North Carolina Division of Archives and History)

century governors recognized within their respective states; they "gained national reputation as 'educational governors'. . .for the definite service they rendered to popular education" (Heatwole, 1916, p. 306). Their educational campaigns were enhanced by the efforts of Robert Curtis Ogden's Southern Education Board which first united Southern educators and Northern philanthropists in 1901 "to promote a comprehensive program for educational improvement" throughout the South (Larsen, 1965, p. 151).

This proliferation of governors dedicated to the enhancement of public education led Virginia State Superintendent of Public Instruction J. D. Eggleston to comment in 1907, "The term 'Educational Governor' in the South has been overworked for some years" (p. 5). Caldwell (1985) has echoed this refrain by suggesting that it is difficult to name a governor of the mid-1980s who has not sought public recognition through education reform. Thus, for the second time in the twentieth century the phenomenon of the "Educational (now shortened to "Education") Governor" has come into vogue. The formation of ECS in the mid-1960s as a national forum for governors, state legislators, and other state officials and policymakers concerned about educational quality coincides with the beginning of this more recent era and, perhaps, has contributed to the emergence of leadership among modern "Education Governors" not just in the South but throughout all regions of the United States.

Since its first application in the early 1900s, the term "Education(al) Governor" has become enmeshed in political liturgy and oral tradition. The implied image commanded public attention during

the first decades of this century when it appeared in a 1933 Founder's Day Address at the University of North Carolina revering Aycock's genius as "North Carolina's Educational Governor" (Winston, 1933). Several years earlier a Loudon County, Virginia, newspaper editorial had commended the accomplishments of the Swanson administration: "When Governor Swanson's critics are forgotten he will be remembered in Virginia as the great 'Educational Governor,' whose administration carried to the rural sections educational advantages and facilities never before enjoyed" (Issued in Behalf, 1911, p. 6).

#### The "Education Governor": Image or Reality?

As the foregoing examples suggest, the "Education Governor" title gradually has worked its way into the printed media, initially through historical accounts and biographies of such early "Education Governors" as Aycock, Swanson, Montague, and Comer. The image lay dormant, unchanged until the 1960s when Sanford's educational programs erupted in North Carolina. With the advent of the 1980s, identification as an "Education Governor" acquired increasing popularity among politicians, and the image transcended the South, emerging in the nationally recognized education publications Education Week, Chronicle of Higher Education, and Phi Delta Kappan. Yet, to quote F. Scott Fitzgerald, the phrase still suffers "the usual muddled connotation of all popular words" for nowhere is its meaning clarified.

Daniel Boorstin (1962) has pointed out that in twentieth century America "[f]act or fantasy, the image becomes the thing" (p. 197). And, the "Education Governor" certainly has become "the thing" of the 1980s. But is it fact or fantasy which lies behind this image? Like impressionist painting viewed from a distance, a powerful image will appear distinct; yet upon close inspection, the seeming substance dissolves into shadow. How firmly will the "Education Governor" image hold up under sharper scrutiny? After all, many governors who have intervened in education including Jefferson, Low, LaFollette, and Long did not earn the "Education Governor" title.

To probe this intangible image through more tangible means the following chapters will examine: (1) the extent to which the specific education measures proposed in inaugural and state of the state addresses of twenty "Education Governors" of the 1960s through 1980s correspond with the subsequent actions of these governors on educational issues and (2) the special personal attributes, professional goals and activities, and actual involvement in education which characterize these "Education Governors" of the 1960s through the 1980s.

Centuries ago Niccolo Machiavelli philosophized, "Everybody sees what you appear to be, few feel what you are. . . A certain prince of the present time, whom it is not well to name, never does anything but preach peace and good faith, but he is really a great enemy to both." (Machiavelli, 1513/1940, p. 66). Similarly, while "Nobody runs against education," more indicative of his true sympathies are the successful candidate's actions once in office. How faithfully the

twenty so-called "Education Governors" have followed through on their rhetoric, will suggest whether they, like Machiavelli's Prince and Hans Christian Andersen's infamous emperor, are clothed in a carefully cultivated -- but penetrable -- image.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

An ounce of image is worth a pound of performance.  
Laurence J. Peter

The governor's prestige and his power to move  
people and ideas within his state are the  
strongest weapons in each state's arsenal.  
Terry Sanford  
Former Governor of North Carolina

#### Image: The Promise of Power and Potential

Hans Christian Andersen's tale of "The Emperor's New Clothes" plainly illustrates the power of image: Together with his courtiers and subjects, a vain emperor chooses to believe in the existence of an allegedly magical, beautiful fabric rather than be judged stupid or incompetent. Once commonly accepted, the image of a splendidly clothed emperor adamantly persists until a child ultimately sees through the sham perpetrated by a pair of conniving weavers. Ironically, the emperor's new robes enjoy great success prior to this revelation. Images, thus, can become tenacious to the point of shaping or even superseding reality. Explaining this phenomenon, Daniel Boorstin (1962) declares, "[I]mages -- however planned, contrived, or distorted -- [are] more vivid, more attractive, more



impressive, and more persuasive than reality itself" (p. 36).

This is particularly true when the image envelops a highly visible public figure. In most instances, those who are capable of piercing the image "will not dare oppose themselves to the many, who have the majesty of the state to defend them. . .[and] are isolated when the many have a rallying point in the prince" (Machiavelli, 1513/1940, p. 66). Andersen's perceptive young child proves an anomaly; only utter naivety or sheer audacity will dare contradict a firmly entrenched image.

As Walter Lippmann noted in his now classic work, Public Opinion, images originate because

. . .modern life is hurried and multifarious, above all physical distance separates men who are often in vital contact with each other such as employer and employee, official and voter. There is neither time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance. (Lippmann, 1922, p. 59)

The latter half of the twentieth century has witnessed technological innovations affording an increased number of voters the opportunity for first-hand contact with candidates for public office. Candidates can cover hundreds of miles in a single exhausting day; in the Commonwealth of Virginia, for example, a gubernatorial nominee might schedule a breakfast in Northern Virginia's Fairfax County, head several hundred miles southeast for an afternoon along the Chesapeake Bay, and a short time later enjoy a reception in Richmond, one hundred miles to the west. However, given so much territory and so little

time the pace of life described as "hurried" in 1922 has quickened still further. Campaign functions necessarily endure as mere eclectic encounters. Hence, while the modern candidate can tangentially touch a greater percentage of the population, intimate acquaintance remains out of the question. Instead, continues Lippmann,

we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads. He is an agitator. . . He is an intellectual. He is a plutocrat. He is a foreigner. He is a "South European." He is from Back Bay. He is a Harvard Man. How different from the statement: He is a Yale Man. (Lippmann, 1922, p. 59)

"And," state capitol observers of the 1980s might add, "He is an 'Education Governor'; how very different from the statement: He is a 'Transportation,' a 'Reorganization,' or a 'High Tech' Governor."

Just as in 1922, image is all-powerful and all-important to present-day public officials. For, "the right 'image' will elect a president" -- or a governor (Boorstin, 1962, p. 183). The astute politician thus seeks identification with potent imagery, exactly as Terry Sanford did when he evoked the Aycock legacy in North Carolina. Machiavelli commends this centuries-old strategy, advising,

the prince ought to read history and study the actions of eminent men. . . and above all do as some men have done in the past, who have imitated some one, who has been much praised and glorified, and have always kept his deeds and actions before them, as they say Alexander the Great imitated Achilles, Caesar Alexander, and Scipio

Cyrus" (Machiavelli, 1513/1940, p. 55).

Carrying the parallel one step further, Sanford's intentional use of Aycock's portrait suggests that while the "moment is gone. . . somehow the photograph [or painting] still lives" (Boorstin, 1962, p. 170). Sanford saw this portrait as symbolic of the educational goals he sought to fulfill during his four-year stay in the North Carolina governor's mansion. Evaluating the significance of such symbols, Lippmann writes,

Because of their transcendent practical importance, no successful leader has ever been too busy to cultivate the symbols which organize his following. What privileges do within the hierarchy, symbols do for the rank and file. They conserve unity. From the totem pole to the national flag. . . from the magic word to some diluted version of Adam Smith or Bentham, symbols have been cherished by leaders, many of whom were themselves unbelievers, because they were focal points where differences merged. . . But the leader knows by experience that only when symbols have done their work is there a handle he can use to move a crowd. (Lippmann, 1922, p. 150)

Charles Brantley Aycock's name as well as his face loomed familiar and symbolic to Sanford and thousands of native "Tar Heels." However, as Lippmann (1922) has pointed out, "words [or, in this case, names and faces] themselves do not crystallize random feeling. The words must be spoken by people who are strategically placed, and they must be spoken at the opportune moment. Otherwise, they are mere

wind." (p. 141). When cited in Sanford's 1961 Inaugural Address, Aycock -- the symbol -- effectively conjured the image of a great "Educational Governor" of the turn of the twentieth century. But just what does such an image entail?

By the time Boorstin undertook his analysis published in 1962, image had ceased to be simply a trademark, a design, a slogan, or an easily remembered picture," but rather it had emerged as "a studiously crafted personality profile of an individual..." (p. 186). His book launches into a detailed description of the image-profile as characteristically synthetic or planned, believable, passive, vivid, simplified, and ambiguous (p. 185). Like other public figures surrounded by the sacred shroud of image, effective political leaders often prudently plan and cultivate a preferred profile, carving out an image in terms of a distinctive policy niche which enhances public recognition and support for their favorite programs. And, "the prince [or governor] who creates such [a positive] opinion of himself gets a great reputation" (Machiavelli, 1513/1940, p. 67).

The import of this mass appeal cannot be overstated; "public opinion is the governor's wealthy, jealous mistress -- demanding of his attention, critical of his shortcomings, potentially dangerous to his position, but a necessary component for achieving many of his objectives" (Lehnen, 1972, p. 269). Somewhat less graphically, a former governor concurs that "image, which is filtered through or created by the media, is all-important -- not only in reelection but in the ability to govern (Beyle and Muchmore, 1983, p. 52). Identical words emphasizing the predominance of image appear in Governing the

American States (1978), a handbook designed specifically "to assist the new Governor with the many key decisions and actions of the first year of the administration" (p. xi):

The right kind of media coverage can help convince the electorate that a Governor is doing a good job, that his programs should be supported, and that he should be reelected. It also can improve a Governor's ability to deal with the legislature and with personnel within state government, and thus improve his ability to govern." (National Governors' Association, 1978, p. 143)

However, the handbook cautions, a governor "cannot create the image of an administration that is quick to identify and solve problems if the problems persist" (p. 143).

An image must be believable, convincing, standing "for the institution or the person imaged" (Boorstin, 1962, p. 188). Although image has the potential to overwhelm reality, changing in that act to substance from shadow, any successful image finds its origins in fact. Otherwise it will prove a double-edged sword: the politician who lives by an insubstantial image can easily perish by that same image. Witness the memorable case of former United States Vice President (and former Maryland Governor) Spiro T. Agnew, once referred to as "Mr. Law and Order." Agnew, the supposed "scourge of crime and license and permissiveness in American life" fell victim to his own flamboyant oratory after being accused of accepting illegal payoffs while in office ("The fall of Mr. law and order," 1973, p. 26).

Boorstin (1962) views image as an essentially passive framework conveniently surrounding the producer. As just noted, "image is already supposed to be congruent with reality;" hence, "projection' of an image is itself a way of touting reputed virtues" such as a political candidate's long history of support for a particular issue (p. 188).

Following this same logical vein, Boorstin (1962) characterizes images as both vivid and simplified, clearly accentuating one or a few of an individual's exceptional qualities. "Education Governor," for instance, highlights the chief executive's interest in and reputed commitment to the cause of education. Applied in this context, education is "simpler than the object it represents" (p. 193), never further delimited as "elementary/secondary," "higher," "public," or "private" education.

Ambiguity, the final component Boorstin (1962) attaches to image, ensures that an image "floats somewhere between the imagination and the senses, between expectation and reality" (p. 193). Deliberately leaving room for individual interpretation, this ambiguity surfaces in "fuzzy outlines. . .designed to make it easier for the viewer to see whatever he wishe[s] to see" (p. 194). Or, expressed in the form of a semantic debate postulated by Lewis Carroll,

"When I use a word. . .it means just what I choose it to mean -- neither more nor less."

"The question is," said Alice, whether you can make words mean so many different things."

"The question is," said Humpty Dumpty,  
"which is to be master -- that's all."  
(Carroll, 1871/1960, p. 269)

Image has gradually yet effectively become master over reality,  
testifies Boorstin:

More and more accustomed to testing reality  
by the image, we will find it hard to  
retrain ourselves so we may once again test  
the image by reality. (Boorstin, 1962, p.  
258)

Testing the image could prove especially confounding when, as Lippmann (1922) noted, strong leaders will employ symbols as focal points for action even though they are themselves unbelievers. True personal convictions notwithstanding, American presidential or vice presidential candidates have "to mention God or risk losing votes" suggests sociologist Robert Bellah (1968, p. 408) in explaining the phenomenon of America's "civil religion." Likewise, education issues may prove a necessary component in major gubernatorial addresses whatever the candidate's concealed beliefs. As one candidate of the early 1900s attested, "[My opponent] is for good schools; so is everybody on earth" ("The people," 1911, p. 4). In the 1980s, campaigning against public schools would prove as politically unpalatable as taking a stand in favor of drug abuse; embracing such a campaign issue, elaborates Garry Trudeau's "Doonesbury," "seems to have one drawback: everyone's on the same side." The issue is not

**whether** to support education, but, rather, to what degree?

Political leaders are especially prone to adopting a popular or fashionable issue as they search for an identifiable public image. At the turn of the century, the number of Southern governors portrayed as "Education Governors" led Virginia Superintendent of Public Instruction J. D. Eggleston (1907) to comment on the overuse of this term. And, as mentioned earlier, Terry Sanford remains the "Education Governor" of modern times, his ideas having influenced many later governors, including protege and compatriot James B. Hunt.

#### Political Images

Perhaps best described as a hybrid phrase, "Education Governor" exemplifies political language applied in the educational sphere. Political language, writes Edelman (1977), is symbolic, an attempt to fashion reality rather than to depict it. In fact, "thousands of subtle, unrecognized symbols embedded in everyday political language and gestures do the real work of evoking beliefs and perceptions;" categorizations and figures of speech which are not recognized as symbolic imply devotion to some greater public good (Edelman, 1977, p. 154). On first hearing, "Education Governor" appears to convey a pragmatic impression -- that of a chief executive who staunchly supports the greater public good through education. The supposed yet elusive connotations of this support suggest a tempting -- as well as politically expedient -- image to the action-oriented governor. Meanwhile, many nuances surround the adaptation of this phrase by the



media and political officeholders, inviting varied, although intersecting, interpretations. Thus emerging as the product of individual impressions, the real "Education Governor" may be in the eye of the beholder.

Lippmann (1922) writes that "great men" have "at least two distinct selves," the public and the private. In his view, such individuals, "even during their lifetime, are usually known to the public only through a fictitious personality" (p. 5). From this arises the question of how to penetrate that comfortable veneer and reveal the reality behind the public image. "For too long already we have had the specious power to shape 'reality.' How can we rediscover the world of the uncontrived?" asks Boorstin (1962, p. 259). Given his assertion that the roots of image are harbored in fact, what portion of the political leader's overt commitment springs from the authentic convictions of his or her hidden, private self? While "[s]trictly speaking, there is no way to unmask an image (Boorstin, 1962, p. 194), a comparison of political promises with subsequent accomplishments does indicate the issues or programs for which the politician is willing to spend hard-earned chips. Therefore, probing the tangible actions of so-called "Education Governors" becomes crucial if the label is to be properly understood and applied with any measure of consistency.

## Gubernatorial Images

"Governors can make a difference" asserts New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean, "[and] I think that is a very positive sign that the window of opportunity for improving our schools is still wide open" (Barham, 1986, p. 32). However, the gubernatorial image has not always been that of a potential change agent; governors' stature has risen together with the states' transformation in the past two decades from "weak links" -- "indecisive. . .antiquated. . .timid and ineffective" (Sanford, 1967, p. 1) to modern, effective entities. To glimpse the forces which have encouraged governors (as Clark Kerr said of university presidents) to make a difference -- for education or whatever the issue -- the following discussion focuses on the structure and functions of the states' highest elected office. A variety of potent and overlapping gubernatorial images emerges throughout.

"The center of the state system, and its chief proponent in the eyes of the people, is the governor. The governor's prestige and his power to move people and ideas within his state are the strongest weapons in each state's arsenal" (Sanford, 1967, p. 184). As chief executive, the governor is the most widely known political figure in his or her state, and to many citizens the individual occupying that office actually personifies the state (Beyle and Muchmore, 1983). Among a variety of political figures, only the President of the United States enjoyed greater name recognition than the governor in a 1981 poll of Virginia residents. In fact, then Governor John Dalton was

better known than the Vice President of the United States, U.S. senators, local congressmen, and state legislators (Sabato, 1982). Consequently, the governor tends to be "the public official to whom most people look for accurate information and sound advice" (Sabato, 1982, p. 74). Holding ultimate responsibility for the budget, "governors represent the dominant voice in state government" (Budig, 1970, p. 107).

As related in Chapter I, that dominant voice has been raised in the name of education throughout the twentieth century by such diverse and colorful personalities as Charles B. Aycock, Robert M. LaFollette, Huey Long, Terry Sanford, and Thomas Kean. Indeed, the involvement of governors in education is not a new phenomenon although it has become more pervasive during the past several years. This intense interest has come partially in response to the recent proliferation of national commission reports (e.g., A Nation At Risk) lamenting the declining quality of American education. However, by 1983 many states such as California and Florida had already taken actions toward improving their schools and would very likely have done so even without the external stimuli (Doyle and Hartle, 1985). Suddenly, with the advent of the eighties, it behooved all governors to reexamine their education policies and priorities and, as state leaders, to promote excellence in the schools as a means of fostering continued economic development.

#### The Governor As State Leader

"Political leadership in the governor's office is no idle phrase but. . .the very stuff of which state government can be made"

(Ransone, 1964, p. 198). However, as Muchmore (1983) has observed, such has not always been the case. The powers of state governors were sharply circumscribed under the first state constitutions, and the chief executive was held in close check by the legislature (Budig, 1970). Nearly a half century ago Lipson (1939) alluded to the governor as a mere "figurehead" who would become a leader only as state constitutions and statutes were amended to bring gubernatorial powers into line with the needs of a true executive.

Hence, until quite recently "a substantial gap existed between the level of authority that governors enjoyed in practice and the much more expansive authority needed to control and direct the state bureaucracies" (Muchmore, 1983, p. 78). This chasm has narrowed during the past two decades with the reorganization of the executive branch in twenty-two states and a concomitant "consolidation of power in the hands of the governor" (Muchmore, 1983, p. 78). The executive budget, planning and management tools, and an expanded veto power have served as the vehicles of such consolidation (Sabato, 1978).

Currently, Muchmore (1983) depicts the governor as

an active and superior force who imposes upon the far-flung bureaucracy a coherent fabric of goals and objectives and then guides the executive machinery toward these. He is more than a problem solver concerned that government functions smoothly and without corruption; he is a policy maker who sets the agenda for executive action and shapes priorities that affect decision making at every level. (p. 82)

### The Governor As Key Legislator

Beyle and Dalton (1983), Budig (1970), and Jewell (1972) are among those authors who have portrayed the development of the governor as "legislative leader," in fact the single most powerful legislative force in the state. According to the latter, "A governor is judged today largely on the success of his legislative programs. . . , by the legislative promises he has kept or broken, and this often means he is judged by his success or failure as a legislative leader" (p. 127). Recent interviews and surveys of a sample of governors, former governors, and their staffs likewise indicate that "governors generally perceive themselves as the key legislator, with legislative relations at the heart of their administration" (Beyle and Dalton, 1983, p. 129). Perhaps more telling are the remarks of one Tennessee state legislator: "[W]hen a governor hiccups, it becomes a statewide issue; he has the capacity to focus attention. And that gives me and my colleagues in the legislature a chance to do our things. . ." ("Let's reward quality," 1985, p. 44).

Despite inherent political risks, these state chief executives usually have exerted the greatest leadership in proposing reform bills in areas such as education and subsequently pushing them through the legislature (Pipho, 1984). For instance, California's Governor George Deukmejian was instrumental in obtaining legislative approval of an eighty-initiative, \$800 million school reform bill, "the broadest and most expensive" in the state's history (Cuban, 1984).

The outcome, then, of any governor's administration frequently is determined by "his relationship and success in dealing with the

legislature" (Beyle and Muchmore, 1983, p. 6). In turn, a governor's success or failure in this role as state political leader may be affected by the strength of his legal position (e.g., veto power, powers of appointment and control over the budget), the electoral base providing the strongest support, the "tenor of the times," and the governor's personality and political philosophy (Ransone, 1964). McLaughlin (1982) suggests that in states such as Kansas, Oregon, and Maine local control traditionally has dominated state-level policy making and thereby constrained the central role of the state. In contrast, the strong and more aggressive state governments of New York and California engender greater leadership from the capitol.

#### The Governor As Repository Of Power and Policy

In a now dated but nonetheless classic study, Schlesinger (1965) rated the strength of governors according to four formal measures of administrative control: tenure potential (maximum number of terms permitted by the state constitution), budgetary powers, appointive powers, and veto powers. Judged by the resulting composite index, the governors of New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania enjoyed the greatest formal strength while the chief executives of Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas, and North Dakota ranked lowest. Also exploring this characterization of the "strong governor," Gove (1964) remarks,

...on a political basis we can hardly equate the governor of New York with the governor of Florida. Changing the structure of the governor's office in New

York will not change the image of the New York governor as a potent force on the national political scene. The governor in New York, no matter who he is, what party he belongs to, or under what governmental structure he serves, will undoubtedly continue to speak out, and will be expected to, on national and international affairs. (pp. 131-132)

To reconsider this statement in the context of the 1980s, Governor Mario Cuomo has maintained this New York tradition, having won widespread recognition with his rousing speech to the 1984 Democratic National Convention.

Commenting on Schlesinger's research, Ransone (1979) cautions that such formal powers measured on a comparative, interstate basis do not provide an accurate determination of a governor's actual power or influence within the state itself. "Measuring the governor's actual power (what Schlesinger calls his 'influence') is difficult, but it is through influence that bills are passed and vetoes upheld" (p. 118). Moreover, the "governor's role as a molder of public opinion is inseparable from his role as legislative leader. The likelihood of legislative success is enhanced by documenting to the public the desirability of policy proposals" (Gove, 1964, p. 136). For, as Michigan's Former Governor G. Mennen Williams advances, "the ultimate source of power is the people. If the people are not with you, you cannot, or can only with the greatest difficulty, exercise many of the powers that are yours under law" (Sabato, 1982, p. 74).

Beyle's (1968) research comparing governors' written responses to Schlesinger's rankings confirms the latter's findings although again

raising a question as to whether the indices "go far enough in determining the relative power of the governors and how they might comparatively rank" (p. 541).

Rather than attempting to rank governors across states, Sabato (1978) compiled a list of 117 "outstanding governors" who served between 1950 and 1975. He took great care "to rate governors in terms of their political milieu as well as specific accomplishments. Each state was considered primarily as a self-contained unit. The governors of South Dakota were compared to one another far more than to the governors of New York" (p. 51). Sabato based his judgments on his extensive study of each governor's background, personal characteristics, and political achievements as well as on interviews with these governors, their former aides, and journalists. In evaluating the governors' records, Sabato followed Kallenbach's (1966) criteria for a chief executive: (1) Ability as a judge of men; (2) Ability to make hard decisions and assume responsibility; (3) Political sensitivity and timing; (4) Political audacity and zest for combat; (5) Ability to inspire confidence and loyalty; (6) Sense of proportion and perspective; and (7) Ability to withstand unfair criticism.

Turning from the individual in office to his or her specific agenda, Beyle (1983) has identified three different strategies which may be used to ascertain the primary issues of concern to governors as state leaders: (1) Analyzing the issues raised in gubernatorial campaigns (which tends to produce a biased view aimed at the political consciousness of voters); (2) Analyzing the issues raised in a major



address to the legislature and citizens (e.g., a State of the State Address); or (3) Surveying governors and their executive assistants, press secretaries, budget directors, and planning directors as to gubernatorial concerns at a specific point in time.

Employing this last methodology, Beyle (1983) found education among the top five issues confronting the states' chief executives. Despite a low response rate from within states and a tendency for the governors and their aides to submit a composite rather than an independent list, forty-four states were represented. These results showed education as a predominant issue only in the southern states. However, respondents from the Northeast, Midwest, and South all ranked education as a fourth or fifth major concern for the future. In a later National Governors' Association survey, education appeared as the most frequently cited major issue for 1985 although it was rarely mentioned for 1989 (Doyle and Hartle, 1985, p. 55). Still more recently, Gilley (1986) found that forty-seven percent of the thirty-five governors responding to his survey placed educational improvement at all levels at the top of their agenda; another forty-six percent listed education among their administration's three highest priorities.

Following the second strategy delineated by Beyle, Herzik (1983) examined policy-oriented items from State of the State, Inaugural, and Budget Addresses over the thirteen-year period from 1970 through 1983. He then categorized resulting concerns as perennial, cyclical (showing growth followed by a decline in interest), or temporal (of immediate interest). "Education issues ranked second in five of the six time

periods examined and garnered amazingly consistent 'percentage of governors' totals for all five time periods" (p. 62). During the final year of that study, North Carolina's Governor James B. Hunt, Jr., depicted a "sweeping and unprecedented" move "to give all levels of education the highest priority as a means both of shoring up the economy now and creating job opportunities for the future" (Hechinger, 1983, p. C7). And, in his 1985 State of the State Address, Governor George Deukmejian of California vowed that education will continue to command the "highest budget priority" throughout his term of office (Evangelauf, 1985, p. 12).

Knapp's review of 1984 and 1985 gubernatorial addresses similarly finds education reform a top priority, "with many supporting comprehensive and fundamental changes" planned (1984b, p. 5):

Teacher pay raises were called for by the governors of Arizona, Georgia, Idaho, Iowa, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, New Jersey, South Carolina, Tennessee, Vermont and Virginia.

Higher taxes for education were asked by the governors of Kentucky, South Carolina and Tennessee. (1984b, p. 5)

#### The Governor As Educational Leader

Although perhaps the most prominent example, the National Governors' Association Report of August 1986, is just one indicator of the numerous ways Governors are exercising their state leadership role in the creation and implementation of education policy.

It is the rare governor who has not, in the past two years, devoted a large portion of his or her time, energy, and political capital, not just to the school finance issues that have long been the purview of the executive branch in most states, but to nuts and bolts questions of educational policy. (Caldwell, 1985, p. 1)

Gubernatorial influence even has reached into the realm of school athletic policy. While deliberately overstating the case, one critic contends, with "no pass-no play in the Texas schools," the "next thing you know, they won't let the third-graders play tag at recess unless they can spell 'governor'" (Fowler, 1986, p. 2).

This growing involvement appears likely to continue in the coming years since states have begun to assume a more central role in forming and executing national policies (Knapp, 1984b). No longer the "weak links," states have become "more effective and decisive elements in the federal system" (Hartle and Holland, 1983). Such developments could further strengthen the governor's position as the single leader holding overall responsibility for the condition of education within each state. In the words of former Governor Lamar Alexander, the governors see themselves "in this for the long haul" (NGA, 1986, p. 6)

"Fostering quality in . . . education is a proper concern of governors" attests Missouri Governor John Ashcroft (1986). With particular regard to higher education, he elaborates,

Higher education institutions must be accountable to parents, students and taxpayers. The public has the right to know what it is getting for its expenditure

of tax resources; the public has a right to know and understand the quality of undergraduate education that young people receive from publicly funded colleges and universities. (Ashcroft, 1986)

Inherent in this observation are basic assumptions concerning a desired level of quality in education. Former governors Charles Robb of Virginia and Lamar Alexander of Tennessee as well as New Jersey Governor Thomas Kean are three other leaders who, in the past several years, have echoed Terry Sanford's earlier emphasis on quality.

Ultimately, "A state educational system is only as good as state political leaders will let it be" (Compact, 1966, p. 8). Those who have taken certain risks in the name of educational excellence generally have witnessed rewards. For instance, Terry Sanford dared to propose during his gubernatorial campaign that funds for his education program would come from taxes (although, as one advisor quipped, the people may have thought he said "Texas"). Recounting the highlights of Sanford's administration, Graham Jones (1966) lists first the Quality Education Program called by Frank Porter Graham "the greatest advance in education throughout North Carolina's history" (p. xxxvi). In his forward to Sanford's book But What About the People? (1966) James Bryant Conant acknowledges, "[T]he financial structure of education in [North Carolina] gives to the legislature and to the governor, as the political leader, crucial roles in education" (p. xii). Thus, "the traditional posture in the state toward education" (i.e., the value placed on good schools by state leaders and the general public) can have a significant effect on the total

appropriations awarded education at all levels (Salisbury, 1965, p. 364). An Oklahoma State University professor recently confirmed this relationship:

'Oklahoma has underfunded education for years, because it's never understood the difference between a college and a university. We've tended to stop where real research and quality graduate education start.' (Broder, 1985, p. A4)

In research based in part on Schlesinger's typology of "strong" and "weak" governors, Dye (1972) initially discovered that "'strong' governor states spend more per pupil for education, pay higher teachers' salaries, [and] have lower drop-out rates" than do their weaker counterparts (p. 253). However, closer inspection revealed that such relationships between the governor's powers and public policy disappear when economic development of the state is controlled. Therefore, Dye concludes that "economic development levels are more influential determinants of policy outcomes than structural variables" although within any particular state the governor's role in policy formation still is "vitaly affected by the formal powers at his disposal" (p. 255).

Paralleling the already noted general enhancement of gubernatorial powers over the past two decades, a 1979 Education Commission of the States (ECS) report reveals the greatly expanded role of the state in all levels of education throughout this same time period. "As a result of increasing public concern about the

effectiveness of education, governors and legislatures are becoming more active in education oversight" (Folger, 1979, p. 30). In fact, these actors have originated most of the recent education policy initiatives (Gideonse, 1984; Kirst, 1984).

However, the 1979 ECS study again points out "substantial differences among the states in the relationship between governors' offices and the formal structure for education policy making and for the governance of education" (p. 30). Governors may exercise formal roles in education through their power to recommend and execute the budget, make appointments to boards, recommend legislation, and establish policies and regulations for state agencies, including schools (Muller, McGuinness, Meyers, Burnau, and Bussey, 1979).

In addition, "[n]o self-respecting governor [currently] is without his or her commission on economic growth, technology, and education" (O'Keefe, 1984). For example, former Texas Governor Mark White appointed a select committee chaired by businessman H. Ross Perot to examine the issue of teacher salaries, while South Carolina Governor Richard Riley convened two blue-ribbon education committees comprising educators, business leaders, industrialists, and citizens. For day-to-day advice on education issues, governors increasingly are turning to their own hand-picked staff aides (Gilley 1986).

Observing the "energizing influence" which governors may offer education, Bailey, et al. (1970) cite a number of chief executives:

Maine's success story is dominated by  
Republican State President Robert Haskell  
and Democratic Governor Edmund Muskie. The

Massachusetts school victory of a decade earlier got a decisive initial boost from Republican Governor Robert Bradford...[T]he movement which created [Rhode Island's] Department of Education was set in motion by Democrat Governor Dennis Roberts in 1951. (p. 228)

Although emphasizing the importance of gubernatorial leadership in education, a more recent ECS publication contends, "When budget questions are not at issue, governors in most states have little direct influence except in their appointment of some elements of the education governance structure" (Burnes, Palaich, McGuinness, and Flakus-Mosqueda, 1983, p. 20). However, this need not imply a complete lack of influence for, by virtue of his broad powers as chief executive, the governor can call upon a "sometimes subtle interplay of formal and informal power bases" in order to achieve a particular educational objective (Beyle, 1983, p. 143). The vital question as to how this interplay can be detected and examined remains unanswered.

The creation of ECS in 1965-1966 crystallized another set of relationships in order to "[e]stablish and maintain close cooperation" among governors, state legislators, professional educators, and lay leaders both within and among the separate states (Compact for Education, Article I). Each of the forty-eight member states as well as the District of Columbia and territories of American Samoa, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands is represented by seven Commissioners: the governor, two legislators selected by their respective houses (unless state law prohibits such service), and four additional members appointed by the governor. As its primary purpose, the Commission

seeks to help these delegates "develop policies to improve the quality of education at all levels" (ECS, 1986, p. ii). However, Former Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina who, together with Harvard President Emeritus James Bryant Conant, was instrumental in the Commission's inception always portrayed the governor as the pivotal figure in this enterprise, that individual who could "pick up the standard and move the state forward" (Pipho, 1980, p. C-3). Indeed, the ECS Compact specifies that the Chairman be elected annually from among the member governors.

#### The Governor As A Leader In Higher Education

Devoting particular attention to higher education, Moos and Rourke (1959) and Millett (1970) identify the governor as the key figure in policy development.

If a state has a governor who by reason of experience, conviction, or predisposition is inclined to make higher education a major interest, then legislation and appropriations for the development of higher education are likely to be enacted. (Millett, 1970, p. 105)

However, this impact and leadership are likely to become manifest not "through the organizational hierarchy by itself, but rather through the executive budget process" (Lederle, 1972, p. 233).

In 1976 Gove and Floyd perceived the role of governors in the politics of public higher education to be a "woefully" understudied theme, the last significant article having been published by Lederle in 1972. However, the March 1985 Wingspread Conference on "Governors



and Higher Education" sponsored by Duke University's Center for the Study of Governors, the Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois, and the Johnson Foundation hinted at a possible change in this status. Follow-up reports in the April 3, 1985, Chronicle of Higher Education, research undertaken by ECS President Frank Newman, and publications of George Mason University's Center for Policy Studies in Education all suggest a growing momentum toward the scholarly study of higher education-gubernatorial relationships.

Governors of the 1980s decidedly "are spending more time on higher education's role in the economy, are appointing more faculty members to state panels, and pushing for more educational improvements. . .But they've had to hire their own aides to help them" (Jaschik, 1987, p. 26). The growing tendency for governors to designate members of their personal staffs to advise them on education matters "shows that governors think higher education is important" relates J. Wade Gilley, senior vice-president of George Mason University (Jaschik, 1987, p. 17). And, contends University of Connecticut President John T. Casteen, III, it also indicates the governors' desire "to gain more control over higher education" (Jaschik, 1987, p. 26).

Early stirrings of this desire were detected long before the heightened reform efforts of the 1980s. Budig's (1970) survey of twenty-one public college and university presidents yielded unanimous agreement that gubernatorial influence had reached "a new high in state educational matters" and that this influence generally had been

used for the betterment of higher education (p. 110). Moreover, these academic administrators acknowledged the importance of strong gubernatorial support as they attempted to move their educational programs forward. However, the extremely small sample size may render some of these conclusions suspect; further, it would be interesting to learn whether the survey included any California administrators given then-Governor Ronald Reagan's involvement in the dismissal of University of California President Clark Kerr.

In a later work, Budig (1973) argues that governors of the 1960s and early 1970s proved more receptive to the legitimate needs of higher education than did state legislators.

Collegiate administrators find it easier to educate one governor than to reach sometimes hundreds of legislators with varying degrees of interest and receptivity. Thus, they have devoted appreciably more time to cultivating governors than legislators in recent years...[S]tate legislators, as a group tend to be more cautious or conservative than governors because they have to go home or back to their constituents at regular intervals. (p. 65)

Employing data gathered through interviewing selected public officials, including governors, Eulau and Quinley (1970) argue that individual (gubernatorial) leadership "can be as much of a factor in the states' successes in higher education as their social, economic, or political 'givens'" (p. 32). "Energetic and capable" governors such as Nelson Rockefeller, John Connally, and Harold Hughes have been

credited with "large-scale innovations and improvements in higher education" (p. 32) in their respective states of New York, Texas, and Iowa. In contrast, the authors cite another state (presumably California) in which the governor was attempting to reduce the university's budget and influence.

Eulau and Quinley single out Kentucky as an example of a relatively poor state which has invested heavily in higher education primarily as the result of gubernatorial initiatives. The growth of the University of Kentucky since 1959 is attributable in part to the favorable attitude of the state's governors. With the governor as the dominant force in the budgetary process, executive budgets consistently have been accepted by the state legislature with little or no change. Governor Louie B. Nunn, who won support for an increased sales tax in 1968, is described as having "maintained, though probably not accelerated the pace of expansion of higher education in the state" (p. 14).

Yet, not all commentators have appeared pleased with this growing dominance of governors in the higher education sphere. As Gove anxiously queried in 1964, "Will the unshackled strong governor 'stay within bounds and not stray to such off-limit places as the university gates?'" (p. 131). At that time, concludes Kerr (1985), many political leaders still "believed that just as there was separation of church and state, so should there be a separation of higher education and state, but with the student revolts, higher education lost church status in the late 60's and entered the world of politics" (Evangelauf, 1985, p. 1). In its 1971 report, The Capitol and the

Campus, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education also expressed concern over this noteworthy development. Going beyond all formal statutory powers of his or her office, the governor, as the report documents, has become the leader who "most decisively affects public attitudes toward higher education" (p. 19). Such potential for either positive or negative influence over higher education within a state strongly suggests a need to critically probe this gubernatorial connection. Conversely, "the successes and failures of the higher educational system invariably brighten or darken the public image of the governor" (Lederle, 1972, p. 233). This assertion may especially prove true when that projected image has publicly proclaimed, "Education Governor."

#### The "Education Governor" Image

Despite sometimes strong feelings among educators that their profession must remain insulated from the political realm (Gove, 1985), "politics does seep into education and occasionally governors exert much influence in this costly and vital area" (Gove, 1964, p. 135). Clearly, many governors of the 1980s have exercised their political influence more than occasionally. Denis Doyle (1983) concurs, taking Gove's assessment one step further, "[N]o nation is more 'political' than the U.S. -- and this is nowhere more true than in the field of education (p. 644). Indeed, as Jack Schuster (1982) explains, education politics and policy are "inseparable. They are not coterminous but rather inextricably linked phenomena, two heads of a single organism. Policy is the product of politics; politics swirls around and permeates policy" (p. 583). And, policy is perhaps most

readily revealed in the pages of state budget documents. "[S]ince education funds make up the single greatest state expenditure [frequently over fifty percent of total state appropriations], no governor can afford not to participate in the pie-dividing process" (Ransone, 1979, p. 119).

A state sales tax often is included as an essential ingredient of that pie. As the popular expressions, "A penny for the Governor" and "We can't forget the Governor" imply, the public shares a perception that the extra bit of change added at the cash register is destined for the governor's coffers and, ultimately, for a favored program. For example, an increased sales tax was integral to the \$421 million package approved by a special session of Virginia's General Assembly in 1986. Those funds would be earmarked for road construction and other state transportation needs as urged by Governor Gerald Baliles who convened the session and who later was "soundly praised. . .for his courage in 'sticking his neck out' for an unpopular issue" (Cook and Baab, 1986, p. A4). At the close of the session, one Delegate ventured, "I think the governor would like to go down as the transportation governor. I think he'd like to be called the King of the Road" (Cook and Baab, 1986, p. A4).

By analogy, "Education Governors" also may win their reputation through unflagging support of substantially increased appropriations for public schools and/or colleges and universities. Bill Clinton, the so-called "young 'Education Governor' from Arkansas" (Bares, 1985), has, indeed, "pour[ed] millions more into education" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25). By explicitly relating education and economic growth,

## Governor Clinton

was able to persuade Arkansas voters to raise the sales tax, which in turn enabled the state to pour millions of new dollars into education. In the first 18 months of the tax, higher education received \$32-million for new science and engineering facilities, a \$2.2-million increase in the state's student-loan fund, \$3.4-million for selected college-improvement programs, and \$800,000 to create a merit scholarship program to encourage the brightest high-school seniors in Arkansas to attend colleges in the state. (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25)

Does the "Education Governor" image, thus, become that of a political Santa Claus, filling school and university accounts with additional funds? Initially, this appears to be a logical conclusion -- and one that would prove temptingly easy to verify. Certainly, the image entails fiscal support, but, stresses Governor Clinton, "[i]ncreasing financial support without making increased demands on [schools and] colleges does little good for anyone" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25). From Clinton's viewpoint, the governor must follow through on what happens to these dollars; education can "take the money and run" -- but only toward the agreed-upon yardline.

Others also see the "Education Governor" image as comprising more than monetary considerations. During the early years of the twentieth century, "Education Governors" were variously portrayed as "progressive" and "'very pronounced in their public utterances' in behalf of education. . . spokesmen for a large group of middle-class

reformers" (Larsen, 1965, pp. 151-152). All adherents of liberal educational policies (Knight, 1922), they gained national repute for the "definite service they rendered to popular education in their respective states" (Heatwole, 1916). More recently, John T. Casteen, III, would characterize "Education Governors" as exerting their power over the legislature and leaving a tangible effect on education through new programs, higher standards, or some other means (John T. Casteen, personal communication, November 1984). Cindy Currence (1985) envisions "Education Governors" as "actively involved in school reform and education-financing issues." And, writing in Education Week, Peggy Caldwell (1985) depicts the image as embracing governors who have devoted not only money but their time, energy, and political capital -- three precious assets -- to educational policy issues. Thus, like Baliles, these individuals are willing to "go to bat" for the crucial issue they have endorsed, no matter how high the personal stakes.

Synthesizing the above elements of the common wisdom, public impression, and expert observation, a model "Education Governor" might stand as a recognized spokesman for school reform, backing up his rhetoric with a zealous commitment of time, energy, and political capital to education and the legislative leadership necessary to obtain increased education funding and implement more rigorous standards. Through such widely-publicized efforts, the model governor would gain national visibility and acclaim.

How closely do the supposed modern-day "Education Governors" (those who have held office since 1960) match this image? After

reviewing the records of several well-known early twentieth century "Education Governors," the following chapters will compare the public promises of twenty more recent governors with their subsequent actions on education issues. If these "Education Governors" exist in fact as well as in image, their promises and performance should be congruent. Otherwise, these political leaders might be branded as taking a "'motherhood-and-apple-pie' approach to . . . education," Governor Clinton's description of those "who seek more funds for education -- 'because it sounds good' -- but don't follow through on what happens to the dollars" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25). Moving beyond the fugitive image to substance, a genuine "Education Governor" would, in the words of North Carolina's state motto (Esse Quam Videri), "Be Rather Than. . . Seem" a staunch proponent of education.



## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

We know what a person thinks not when he tells us what he thinks, but by his actions.

Isaac Bashevis Singer

Watch the political candidate's feet -- not his mouth.  
19th Century Political Adage

#### The "Education Governor": A Collective Image?

Who are these "Education Governors," these supposed proponents of educational progress? Like the image, their identity, too, proves elusive. At various times, the phrase might appear to describe all governors or none of them. Lippmann's (1922) writings offer a plausible explanation of this muddle:

On many subjects of great public importance...the threads of memory and emotion are in a snarl. The same word will connote any number of different ideas: emotions are displaced from the images to which they belong to names which resemble the names of these images. (p. 254)

Thus it is with the "Education Governors;" as individual conceptions of the image vary so, also, do the names to which that label becomes

attached. In the ensuing intellectual ping pong match, public impressions bounce from the image to names of specific individuals who seem to fit that picture and then rebound to the image and its attendant characteristics. Yet, until wide acknowledgment of a clear set of traits yields a more cohesive group of governors, the collective identity of the "Education Governor" remains comparatively hazy.

From Lippmann's (1922) vantage point, America's penchant to collectively identify and christen such prominent figures possibly stems from a love "of the superlative and the 'peerless'" (p. 72). When, in the eyes of the public, apparently distinctive individuals or institutions merge into a collective image, the resulting "group acquires an entity of its own -- the whole becomes more than its parts" (Barrow, 1949, p. 20). Such was the case with, for example, the New England College of the 1880s and the Ivy League of the 1980s -- illustrations of two commonly accepted collective images. Following continual popular exposure, the labels associated with these collective identities appeared self-explanatory and, hence, rarely, were subjected to rigorous analysis. As Patton and Field (1927) portrayed,

the New England colleges are the quintessence of New England character and life. Having emerged as a fairly distinct type of educational institution, they took a laudable pride in maintaining the prestige arising from that fact. There is such a thing -- a composite thing, to be sure, but none the less real -- as the New England College. It suggests a certain

type and arrangement of buildings, a certain educational and religious tradition, a certain atmosphere of culture, a certain charm of student days. (p. 10)

However, placed under the microscope for closer inspection, this collective image blurs at the edges. "Despite Patton and Field's campaign for cooperation among the New England colleges, institutional rivalries and tensions prevented formalization of a group identity" (Thelin, 1976, p. 25). Similar differences surfaced in early attempts to delimit the institutions composing the Ivy League; in fact, the formal Ivy League association taken for granted in the 1980s has not "always been old and tight" (Thelin, 1976, p. 6). Although the term "had become a fixture in the popular press and in advertisements by 1934," there was no clear or official designation as to whom that label referred (Thelin, 1976, p. 25). While the contemporary Ivy League comprises Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Brown, Dartmouth, Penn, Columbia, and Cornell, Knapp (1964) omitted Princeton, Brown, Penn, Columbia, and Cornell from his list, including instead Chicago, UCLA, North Carolina, Duke, and the State University of Iowa. Some twenty years later, however, just as the "Big 10" and "PAC 10" schools evoke well-defined images for the college football fan, little question remains as to the identity of the popularly recognized and perhaps more indicative Ivy League.

Yet, with uncertainty masking even the venerable Ivy League image, how much greater becomes the task of unraveling a concept like "Education Governor" which draws from a population subject to change

after each November's election. Like the Ivy League institutions, "Education Governors" should "fall naturally together by reason of their common interest and similar general standards and by dint of their national reputations" (Thelin, 1973, p. 200). But, the two groups differ in at least one crucial respect: while not all universities aspired to the sometimes-controversial Ivy League status, education is a one-sided issue -- no one seriously opposes it. Hence, the "Education Governor" label tends, at times, to appear inclusive rather than exclusive. Suddenly the "peerless" discover they have attracted plenty of company.

In the case of "Ivy League," sportswriters coined and immediately applied the term in the popular press (Thelin, 1976); "Education Governor" has emerged only belatedly in Education Week, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and Phi Delta Kappan, having worked its way into the printed media through political oral tradition and liturgy. Despite this facile application in political and education policy circles, no accord exists as to the unique characteristics of "Education Governors," let alone their identity.

#### In Search of the "Education Governor"

Historians and biographers can agree more readily on the names of early twentieth century "Education Governors" than on the composition of a later group limited to those individuals who have held office since 1960. Virtually all sources which consider the "Education Governor" in an historical context revere North Carolina's Governor

Charles Brantley Aycock (1901-1905) as the archetype. Governor Andrew Jackson Montague of Virginia (1902-1906) receives almost as frequent accolade. Others who shared the "Education(al) Governor" spotlight around the turn of the century include: N. C. Blanchard of Louisiana (1904-1908), Napoleon B. Broward of Florida (1905-1909), Braxton Bragg Comer of Alabama (1907-1911), James B. Frazier of Tennessee (1903-1905), Duncan C. Heyward of South Carolina (1903-1907), Hoke Smith of Georgia (1907-1909; 1911), Claude A. Swanson of Virginia (1906-1910), and Joseph M. Terrell of Georgia (1902-1907). The label was further complicated when several newspapers of the period applied it to Aycock with less than laudatory intent: "It would be a blessing to the State if our 'Educational Governor' should be stricken with lockjaw" (Connor and Poe, 1912, p. 131).

The term was projected from the early 1900s into modern times largely through Terry Sanford's popular and frequent invocation of Aycock as North Carolina's "great Educational Governor." This recent era beginning around 1960 finds still less consensus among experts identifying specific governors seemingly devoted to education. For example, Temple University political scientist Ellis Katz (1980) cites former Governors Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California), Jimmy Carter (Georgia), Daniel Evans (Washington), William Milliken (Michigan), and Nelson Rockefeller (New York) as traditional "Education Governors" of the 1960s who established their reputations primarily as political sponsors of educational growth. However, University of Virginia political analyst and gubernatorial scholar Larry Sabato (1985) regards this as an "arbitrary list." Rockefeller, Sabato points out,

is remembered for a number of things, among them his "edifice complex." And, Carter's right to recognition as an "Education Governor" also is questionable; Sabato describes him as more deserving of credit for the total reorganization of Georgia's state government. Conspicuous by omission from this group of five is Terry Sanford, perceived by Katz (personal communication, February 1985) to be "much more selective as a promoter of education growth" with his focus on modernizing North Carolina and high technology industries. Sabato, on the other hand, does submit Sanford's name together with that of his own nominee, Mills Godwin of Virginia. While Caldwell (1985) views Sanford as the epitome of the "Education Governor," Currence (1985) commends Tennessee's Lamar Alexander. Education Commission of the States staff members also would suggest such other recent officeholders as Charles Robb (Virginia), James Hunt (North Carolina), and John Ashcroft (Missouri).

Ultimately, perhaps the clearest revelation comes from one of the proposed candidates himself, former Virginia Governor Charles S. Robb, who associates the term with those governors who have been actively involved in the Education Commission of the States (Robb, 1985). Sanford, Michigan's William Milliken, Rhode Island's John Chafee, North Carolina's James Hunt, New Jersey's Thomas Kean, and Arkansas' Bill Clinton provide prime examples of such participation throughout the past two decades.

A glance at Sabato's (1978) list of "Outstanding Governors, 1950-1975" (the updated version of which appears in Appendix A) reveals some very familiar names; Brown, Evans, Milliken, Rockefeller,

Sanford, Godwin, and Chafee -- in fact, all those mentioned as potential "modern Education Governors" who had held office by 1975 -- are judged to have been chief executives "of conspicuous ability and competence whose [terms were] characterized by personal hard work and firm dedication and who diligently attempted (even if unsuccessful in part) to meet the needs of the people" of their state (Sabato, 1978, p. 51). In carrying out their responsibilities they exhibited exceptional ability to assess men, ability to make hard decisions and assume responsibility, political sensitivity and timing, political audacity and zest for combat, ability to inspire confidence and loyalty, sense of proportion and perspective, and ability to weather unfair criticism (Sabato, 1978; Kallenbach, 1966). Evans, Rockefeller, and Sanford withstood still closer scrutiny, numbering among Sabato's "top dozen" outstanding governors of the quarter century encompassing 1950 through 1975.

Recalling that the earlier "Education Governors" also had gained national prominence (Heatwole, 1916) and that Aycock's "brilliant work gave him a wide reputation throughout the country" (Dabney, 1936, p. 345), Sabato's roll of outstanding governors thus offers one reasonable resolution to the persistent question of identifying Aycock's modern counterparts: Governors appearing on this list who have actively participated in ECS (Robb, 1985; Rexford Brown, personal communication, February 1985) might fairly be designated "modern Education Governors." Appendix B reveals the names of the co-founder, interim steering committee members, and chairmen of the

Education Commission of the States -- the organization's most energetic gubernatorial participants -- from its inception in 1965. Not only should these so-called "modern Education Governors" have demonstrated a genuine commitment to state leadership in education; they will have received substantial public recognition of their efforts as well.

Sabato's original compilation of "Outstanding Governors" (contained in the 1978 edition of his book, Goodbye to Good-Time Charlie) considered only those governors in office through 1975. Consequently, he updated this list for this study in May 1985 to incorporate more recently-elected governors and to take advantage of valuable historical hindsight. This revised edition constitutes Appendix A.

Citing Sabato's "formidable array of different information sources and viewpoints," Sigelman and Smith (1981, p. 170) built their study of predictors of gubernatorial performance around his classification. They found "no reason to suspect that the list of outstanding governors [was] systematically biased in any partisan, temporal, or regional direction" (Sigelman and Smith, 1981, p. 170). Nonetheless, the present analysis incorporated five expert judges (See Appendix C) to validate Sabato's updated list on the basis of their own research. In reviewing the "outstanding governors," these political scientists and gubernatorial scholars recorded their rationale for adding or deleting any names (Appendix D); due to the inclusiveness of Sabato's initial list (37.5% of all governors holding office between 1950 and 1975), any governor deleted by three or more



scholars was omitted from the final list while a governor recommended by at least two of the five was added. Taking these judgments into account, the final validated list of "outstanding governors" (Appendix E) bears marked consistency with Sabato's updated list of 130 individuals -- just two additions and three deletions ensued.

A comparison of this final roster of "outstanding governors" with that of the "co-founder, interim steering committee members, and chairmen of the Education Commission of the States" revealed twenty mutual names: Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico, 1975-1979); Reubin Askew (Florida, 1971-1979); Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California, 1959-1967); John Chafee (Rhode Island, 1963-1969); Bill Clinton (Arkansas, 1979-1981; 1983-present); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee, 1971-1975); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware, 1977-1985); Robert D. Graham (Florida, 1979-1987); Clifford T. Hansen (Wyoming, 1963-1967); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon, 1959-1967); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey, 1962-1970); James B. Hunt (North Carolina, 1977-1985); Thomas Kean (New Jersey, 1982-present); Tom McCall (Oregon, 1967-1975); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina, 1965-1971); William G. Milliken (Michigan, 1969-1983); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware, 1969-1973); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah, 1965-1977); Robert D. Ray (Iowa, 1969-1983); and Terry Sanford (North Carolina, 1961-1965).

#### Tracing the Roots

These twenty individuals -- given their visible commitment to education and exceptional records in office -- provide tangible

(although not necessarily the sole) representations of that heretofore elusive and symbolic figure, the "modern Education Governor." As such they constitute the very heart of this study.

However, as posed in Chapter II, will these governors share certain common qualities generally attributed to the hypothetical model "Education Governor?" Will they, in fact, stand as recognized spokesmen for school reform at all levels, backing up their rhetoric with substantial commitments of time, energy, and political capital to education and the legislative leadership required to obtain favored budget items and laws? Specifically, how well have they followed through on their political pledges? Do they really mean what they say, which, as the Mad Hatter chided Alice, is "not the same thing a bit" as saying what they mean (Carroll, 1865/1960, p. 95)?

Before probing these questions more deeply, it is imperative to inquire, "Whence the 'modern Education Governor?'" This, in turn, calls for consideration of their early twentieth century antecedents. For, understanding the image and reality of Aycock and his contemporaries promises not only to lend a more thorough historical perspective to the modern-day contingent but also to yield key insights into some of the characteristics which may link these recent governors. As suggested by Virginia's Governor Andrew J. Montague in his 1902 Inaugural Address, "Let us take the best of the old and give it to the conditions of the present." Left unspoken is the caveat that the different circumstances of the present may alter even the very best which can be brought forward.

A roll call of the states represented by the turn-of-the-century

"Education Governors" -- Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia -- resounds with a distinctly Southern accent. As Kuralt (1986) interprets this phenomenon,

I think education meant more to Southerners than to others. We were surely the poorest educated of all the regions, mainly because we were the poorest. Most Southern states felt they couldn't afford to pay teachers well, and they couldn't afford to build big beautiful schools.

In North Carolina there was a succession of what were termed "good-schools governors" -- men who preached how much we had to sacrifice to make our schools better. (These were as opposed to the "roads governors," who were a different bunch altogether.) A lot of people got elected on that platform -- "Our schools are rated forty-fourth in the nation, and we are sacrificing the future of our children." That rang a bell. (Kuralt, 1986, p. 243)

Indeed, the South was simply trying to catch up with the rest of the country:

...[P]ublic schools in the South before 1900 were poor beyond comparison. In that year the annual amount provided for each child of school age ranged from 50 cents in Alabama and North Carolina to \$1.46 in Florida and Texas, while the average for the United States was \$2.84...The school term in 1900 varied from seventy days in North Carolina to one hundred and nineteen days in Louisiana and Virginia. The average for the entire South was less than one hundred days, while the average for the

United States was approximately one hundred and forty-five days. The average monthly salary paid teachers in North Carolina and Alabama was only \$24, in Mississippi and Virginia it was \$32, and in Florida it was approximately \$34. Between 1860 and 1900 the average annual salary of teachers in the South decreased from \$175 to \$159. The average for the United States in the latter year was \$310.

No Southern State had provided compulsory school-attendance legislation before 1900...The schoolhouses (especially in the rural districts) were often log or dilapidated buildings without windows, desks, tables, maps, charts, or blackboards. Backless benches were frequently the only furniture or equipment found in most of them. The average value of rural school houses in the South as late as 1900 was only about \$100. In view of the poor conditions which surrounded the schools it was fortunate that the term was short. (Knight, 1922, pp. 419-421)

#### Early "Education Governors": The Best of the Old

##### Charles B. Aycock

One energetic governor who pledged to remedy these deplorable educational conditions was Charles Brantley Aycock, "leader of the State of North Carolina which was the leader of the entire South" (Dabney, 1936, p. 345) and "epic builder of education" (Alderman, 1925, p. 69). "As an agitator for schools and a creator of sentiment for education, Aycock perhaps has no peer among the governors in American history" -- at least among those who served prior to 1960. (Orr, 1961, p. 264). Clearly one of Kuralt's "good-schools governors," Aycock opened his campaign for that office in 1900 with

the promise, "If you vote for me, I want you to do so with the complete understanding that I shall devote the four years of my official time to upbuilding the public schools of North Carolina" (Orr, 1961, p. 168). Upon his election, the new Democratic governor devoted approximately half of his Inaugural Address (1901) to education, informing the General Assembly:

On a hundred platforms, to half the voters of the State I pledged the State, its strength, its heart, its wealth to universal education...Men of wealth, representatives of great corporations applauded eagerly my declaration...Then I knew that the task before us...was not an impossible one...Gentlemen of the Legislature, you will have aught to fear when you make ample provision for the education of the whole people...For my part I declare to you that it shall be my constant aim and effort during the four years that I shall endeavor to serve the people of this State to redeem this most solemn of all our pledges. (Connor and Poe, 1912, pp. 117-118)

And he went on to fully redeem his pledge. In fact, so great was his support and encouragement for education, that teachers from across North Carolina contributed to the purchase of an expensive silver service presented to Aycock in token of their gratitude shortly before he left office in January 1905.

Although as a child he had attended private academies, interest in public education was "no sudden caprice" for Governor Aycock (Connor and Poe, 1912, p. 112). According to a story generally confirmed by his family and friends, Aycock was deeply moved when, as a child, he

witnessed his mother's confession that she was unable to sign her name to a deed. Hearing her words, "I will have to make my mark," he later admitted, "I then and there made a vow that every man and woman in North Carolina should have a chance to read and write" (Orr, 1961, p. 18). Aycock took action on that vow as early as age sixteen; he taught public school, an experience which "undoubtedly strengthened Aycock's determination to support the public school movement," introducing him "to the inadequacy of public school facilities, as well as the need for teachers" (Orr, 1961, p. 64). As a young man at the University of North Carolina, he edited the Chapel Hill Ledger, frequently focusing his editorials on education issues. In addition, debates (e.g., "Should the State Adopt a Compulsory System of Education?" and "Ought the Public School System in North Carolina To Be Abolished?") and oratorical exercises presented Aycock an opportunity to hone the skills which would later make him one of the finest orators of his day. "The people heard him because he was governor; they listened because his earnestness and sincerity were unfeigned; they followed him because his eloquence was irresistible" (Connor and Poe, 1912, p. 117).

As Superintendent of Public Instruction for Wayne County, North Carolina, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Goldsboro Graded Schools, Aycock continued to remain in close touch with the most advanced educational thought. His former University of North Carolina classmates and friends Edwin A. Alderman, Charles D. McIver, and James Y. Joyner proved able advisors; all three would be known for their own contributions to education respectively as President of the

University of Virginia, President of the North Carolina Normal and Industrial College and Secretary of the Southern Education Board, and North Carolina State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Examining the accomplishments of Governor Aycock's administration, Orr (1961) concludes that he did, indeed, honor the campaign promise to dedicate his four-year term to "upbuilding the public schools of North Carolina" (p. 168). Between 1900 and 1904, the number of small school districts in North Carolina decreased while the number of white and black schools actually in operation increased by 400. One oft-quoted bit of lore associates Aycock's term of office with the construction of one new schoolhouse per day; although accurate figures are not available for his first two years as governor, 690 schools were erected in 1903 and 1904, a figure approximating that of the common wisdom. Enrollment rose from 61.5 per cent to 72.4 per cent of white school age children and from 59.1 per cent to 69.3 per cent of black school age children. The average school term rose above the four-month minimum, and average daily attendance of both whites and blacks increased to 59.5 per cent and 61 per cent, respectively. Teaching and supervisory personnel became better prepared, concurrently witnessing increased salaries -- double for county superintendents with smaller raises for teachers. Colleges were graduating enlarged classes of teachers, and county institutes for teachers were extended. All state institutions of special and higher education improved, and their appropriations generally remained stable or increased. The new normal school which would later become Appalachian State Teachers College was established as were 877

libraries (Orr, 1961, pp. 329-333).

As a result of Aycock's personal education "crusade," the public had learned to sacrifice for the sake of the schools. He "went to a tax-hating people and convinced them that ignorance is no remedy for anything" (Alderman, 1925, p. 77). His work laid the foundation for a dual system of state and local finance and preserved the "theoretical right" of blacks to equal public school facilities (Orr, 1961, p. 333). Sometimes promoting educational causes to the extreme, Aycock once commuted a prison sentence to a \$3000 fine paid to the school fund. Even party lines bowed to education: "When it comes to schools," declared Aycock, "I am neither a Democrat nor a Republican -- I am a North Carolinian and a father" (Orr, 1961, p. 84). Hence, for "the first time in the history of North Carolina politics yielded first place in public interest to education" (Connor and Poe, 1912, p. 122).

Aycock realized his purposes through employing the prestige of his office for "moulding public opinion and thus influencing legislation more potent than any 'big stick' could ever give" (Connor and Poe, 1912, p. 111). Orr (1961) rates him as "one of a small group of notably vigorous leaders of the legislature" (pp. 263-264). In short, Aycock "used his powers as chief administrator of the state; he urged the legislature to enact new educational measures; and he sought to enlighten and stimulate the public" (Orr, 1961, p. 299).

Ultimately, this "public" extended beyond the borders of North Carolina. Aycock's reputation as the "Educational Governor" owes much



to his enthusiastic speech and literature campaign for Robert Ogden's Southern Education Board, and he was invited to address audiences in Maine and Alabama. The latter speech in 1912 proved his last. Though the effect sounds histrionic, it is well documented that this "Educational Governor" expired on stage just after speaking the words, "I always talked about education --" (Orr, 1961, p. 362).

His most valuable legacy to succeeding generations was his inspiring vision of an enriched life for an educated people. When he was deprived, at the age of fifty-two, of an opportunity for further development, he was replaced in the minds of North Carolinians by an image which has exerted a powerful influence in the shaping of the state's destiny. (Orr, 1961, p. 363)

Evidence of this indomitable image appears in the November 1924 issue of World's Work which portrayed Aycock as

North Carolina's greatest dreamer, whose dreams have made inevitable all the wealth and education and contentment that make North Carolina to-day so fair a prospect...His words are carved in stone on monuments and school buildings, and they are truly graven upon the tablets of memory, for men quote them daily in the streets and school children recite them in the class-rooms. (Strother, 1924, p. 75)

#### Andrew J. Montague

Widely acknowledged as Virginia's first "Educational Governor," Andrew Jackson Montague assumed office in 1902, one year after

Aycock's inauguration (Larsen, 1965). Montague, a Democrat, "rose to power as a charismatic reformer" and vigorous advocate of good schools (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 159) who would help direct the educational campaign which ensconced the state shortly following his election (Larsen, 1965). An avid reader even in his youth, Montague attended Richmond College where he served as contributing editor of the literary magazine and participated in the Philogians, a literary and debating society. Like Aycock, he cultivated a splendid capacity for oratory which, in addition to medals, won him the right to address the commencement audience. Profiling "Our Progressive Age," the soon-to-be graduate argued that "contemporary progress was more shadow than substance" (Larsen, 1965, p. 11). Nineteen years later, Montague sought to flesh out that shadow in accepting his party's gubernatorial nomination: ". . .the upbuilding of popular education, the care of our eleemosynary institutions. . .demand the sacrifice of the first and best fruits of our citizenship" (Montague, 1901).

From his Richmond English professor and mentor, "the distinguished educator J. L. M. Curry, [Montague had] acquired an intense interest in the future of Southern education. Later, as governor, he attended Curry's funeral in 1902 and "in a sense inherited his former teacher's mantle as a crusader for Southern education" (Larsen, 1965, p. 11). "But what of education?" Montague queried in his Inaugural Address (1902). "This is a momentous question for the Southern States. Republican government founded upon an electorate without intelligence is a house whose foundation is sand." And, he upheld this Jeffersonian conviction; "just three days after

taking office, the new governor [and former tutor] met in Richmond with a group of educators to discuss ways to arouse public interest in the plight of the schools" (Younger and Moore, 1982, p. 164). Seven weeks later he urged the General Assembly,

...the tendency to multiply rural schools has greatly impaired the efficiency of the system. We need stronger schools with longer terms. Such schools will command better teachers and admit of the classification necessary to the best educational results. It is quality rather than quantity that counts in education. The State can better afford as respects cost and efficiency to transport its children to one good school than to put an indifferent school near the door of every patron. (Montague, 1902)

By 1904 he could optimistically report,

The condition of our public free schools gives some encouragement. The increased interest taken by the people during the past two years in the free schools is a decided step toward the solution of our educational problem. The consolidation of schools for the past year adds to the length of the school term and increases the pay of the teachers. (Montague, "State of the State," 1904)

Undaunted by the conservative legislature's rejection of an increased tax rate, Montague carried his cause directly to the people. Rewarded for his efforts, local sources contributed an additional \$300,000 by 1905 to bring total local education funds to \$1,214,973

while state funds increased only \$100,000 for a total of \$1,128,262 (Larsen, 1965). Further, Montague corresponded with Wallace Buttrick, Secretary of John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board: "The condition of the [State Female] Normal School is far from satisfactory. . .if possible, aid these schools; and if so, advise me to what extent, in order that I may use your statement as a leverage to ensure. . .appropriations'" (Larsen, 1965, pp. 163-164).

University of Virginia President Edwin A. Alderman shared his expertise with Montague as well as with his friend Aycock; together, Montague and Alderman led a series of tremendously successful education rallies known as the "May Campaign of 1905." Skeptics like Senator Thomas Martin denounced the education reform movement as so much "hot air;" ultimately, however, even he consented to making several addresses, and public fervor reached "such a pitch that legislative candidates were forced either to endorse the movement publicly or risk possible defeat" (Larsen, 1965, p. 166). "The politicians now came on the run, begging that they might be permitted to take part in. . .meetings and make speeches in behalf of public education" (Dabney, 1936, p. 327). Consequently, just before stepping down from office, Montague could report to the 1906 General Assembly,

There has been greater popular interest taken in public education in the past four years than, perhaps, in the history of the State. During this time the welfare and progress of our free schools have elicited as never before the concern of the best character and talent of our Commonwealth. (Montague, 1906)

A more amenable Assembly enacted "several progressive pieces of legislation," including the Mann high school bill which provided \$50,000 in state funds on a matching basis to any county desiring to establish a high school (Larsen, 1965, p. 167). Still, the legislature failed to heed Montague's assertion, "Public education is a public necessity," by-passing his appeal for compulsory attendance regulations until 1908.

Montague's renown, like Aycock's, transcended state -- and even sectional -- boundaries with invitations to speak in New York and Alabama. Dr. Hollis B. Frissell, principal of Hampton Institute remarked to the Richmond, Virginia, News Leader: Montague "is rightly called the educational governor, for, in every possible way, by word and deed, he has made himself felt in the struggle for better schools'" (Larsen, 1965, p. 162). As the Governor himself expressed, "When I first spoke for a better public school system. . .I was as one crying in the wilderness, and now I hear voices of sympathy and support all about me'" (Larsen, 1965, p. 169).

#### Claude A. Swanson

Succeeding Montague in early 1906 was his sometimes uneasy political ally and more frequent adversary Claude Augustus Swanson. Swanson's Inaugural Address of 1 February 1906 stressed,

The first great need of this State, the one requiring our most serious thoughts and earnest efforts, is the improvement of our primary schools. Virginia needs a more thorough, progressive and efficient system of public schools in the country districts. Our rural sections require better

schoolhouses, better paid and, in many cases, more efficient teachers, and longer terms...During the recent primaries and election we all pledged ourselves for better schools and high schools in the rural sections of our State. I, for one, am prepared to approve substantial appropriations for the fulfillment of this promise. (Swanson, 1906)

Seeking this fulfillment, Swanson immediately embarked on a systematic program of legislation designed to enhance education in the Old Dominion from its primary school foundation to the capstone at the University of Virginia. Then, by securing the legislature through appointment of favorable committee chairmen, the Democratic Swanson positioned himself for the "translation [of these] campaign pledges into concrete accomplishments" (Ferrell, 1964, p. 190). With his gubernatorial prestige, Swanson also proved a highly influential, albeit ex officio member of the State Board of Education, another of his chief instruments of school reform. Thus, Governor Swanson adeptly advanced his programs through personality and political experience while simultaneously using his authority to shape and lead public opinion (Ferrell, 1964). Like Aycock, he considered the need for educational progress above all factional differences.

Speaking eloquently on behalf of the conditions then common in Virginia's public schools, Swanson painted a near-tangible portrait:

One of our urgent needs is better schoolhouses. Many of our present schoolhouses are a disgrace to the State. Ungainly, uncomfortable, poorly ventilated and lighted, and built contrary to all

hygienic rules, they are a menace to the health of teacher and scholar. I can never forget the wretched building in which I taught public school. I shall never forget how I was scorched by the summer suns and shivered by the winter winds. I have never been able to determine which created the more noise in that schoolhouse, the whistle of the wind as it came through the logs or the whirl of the switch as I belabored the bad boys. All such schoolhouses should now disappear in Virginia. (Eggleston, 1907, p. 4)

By 1908 Swanson could boast of a "phenomenal advance" in Virginia's public schools. Local taxes had been raised, school terms lengthened, teacher salaries increased, attendance multiplied, and 412 new schoolhouses constructed at a cost of \$1,136,701 (Swanson, "State of the State," 1908). He applauded the General Assembly of 1906 which "did more to promote public education in this State and passed more beneficial legislation for the public schools than had been enacted in the previous decade" (Swanson, 1908). Some of those enthusiastically acclaimed actions included increased aid to primary schools, appropriations of \$890,000 over and above the regular state constitutional fund, summer institutes for teachers, and the realization of Jefferson's dream -- a state system of high schools (Swanson, 1908).

Soon-to-be preeminent among those schools would be Richmond, Virginia's, new John Marshall High School, that city's premier school and, indeed, "the grandest, most expensive schoolhouse" in all the South (Yankovich, 1986, p. 10). Swanson himself delivered the dedication address for this unique \$550,000 building in December 1909,

emphasizing, "No state official, from the governor down, has ever rendered, in proportion to the salary paid, better, more valuable or more lasting service than the school teacher" ("New John Marshall...", 1909, p. 1)

Swanson's sincerity toward education was rarely questioned; he left office in early 1910, "a man who had kept his pledges and who had earned the popularity he received" (Ferrell, 1964, p. 217). Singled out as the "man who [had] turned the deep, undirected energy of the better schools movement into a well-defined, ordered advance toward educational achievement" (Ferrell, 1964, p. 198), Swanson earned high praise from Dr. Henry S. Pritchett of the Carnegie Foundation:

Probably no educational development in any State in the Union is more marked than that which is represented in the Old Commonwealth of Virginia. ("Secretary Swanson," 1939, p. 3)

Edwin A. Alderman and State Superintendent of Public Instruction J. D. Eggleston similarly voiced their accolades: "[O]ne of the greatest factors in the progress which has been made in the public school system in the past four years is Governor Claude A. Swanson" (Record of Claude A. Swanson, 1922, p. 13).

The man who once had edited the Randolph-Macon College newspaper, impressed audiences with his oratory, taught in public schools, and as governor become their most powerful advocate, moved on to the United States Senate. He subsequently served as Franklin D. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Navy. Upon Swanson's death in 1939, the Richmond,



Virginia, Times Dispatch recorded:

...When his administration ended there were 405 high schools instead of 75 in operation when he took office.

It was during his administration, too, that school authorities were authorized to borrow from [sic] the literary fund of the State at 4 per cent and payable in 15 years for the construction of school buildings. The Legislature also accepted his recommendation for an appropriation for traveling and circulating libraries. Fredericksburg and Harrisonburg Teachers' Colleges were established during his administration. ("Secretary Swanson," 1939, p. 3)

In addition, the College of William and Mary became a state institution of higher education during Swanson's tenure; teachers gained a retirement system; the state-funded Virginia Journal of Education began publication; demonstration education was initiated; the State Board of Education adopted a single, less expensive, textbook list; and a Board of Examiners was created to ensure quality (Younger and Moore, 1982).

In reflecting upon Swanson's gubernatorial record, the editors of the Loudon County, Virginia, Enterprise concluded:

No one can foretell the future prosperity and greatness that lie in store for Virginia on account of this great educational advance. It will bring to the State in wealth and future greatness untold blessings. When Governor Swanson's critics are forgotten he will be remembered as the great "Educational Governor," whose

administration carried to the rural sections educational advantages and facilities never before enjoyed. (Issued in Behalf, 1911, p. 6)

### Braxton B. Comer

Braxton Bragg Comer, fondly revered as "the father of Alabama's educational system," assumed his state's highest elected office in 1907. The Democratic Comer "found the state treasury to contain a vast amount of money which had accumulated during the administration of his predecessor" and quickly persuaded the legislature to appropriate funds for the advancement of education. "When he left office there was little money in the treasury but the state's educational institutions had grown and were among the best in the South" (Walker, 1947, p. 330). Indeed,

The record of the Comer administration stood out as probably the greatest in Alabama's history. He built a county high school in every county of the State. He erected new buildings and increased the appropriations of the higher institutions. He told his legislature that a 'good government is not necessarily a cheap government.' He insisted that money lying in the treasury be put to work, and he built school houses with it. (Walker, 1947, pp. 188-189)

Each of these educational goals had occupied a prominent place in Comer's Inaugural Message. In that first official address, "he made it clearly understood that the mandates embraced in the platform adopted by the Democratic convention of September 10, 1906, and all

pre-election pledges made by him and by the legislators, were to be scrupulously kept and enacted into law" (Walker, 1947, p. 181).

To avert what, in the latter half of the century, would be termed a "brain drain," Comer insisted on "creating an adequate alma mater in our own midst," thereby

creating a great alumni of citizenship bound to the State by that principle of early association and [infused with] that great principle of love of the old school grounds, love of the old college mate, love of the old faculty, and twice hallowed, the love of the State that furnished these great opportunities. (Walker, 1947, p. 194)

The University of Alabama, he insisted in a statement anticipating the so-called "golden years" of the 1960s, "should be built and built and built, no limit now or ever as far as the economy of the State will allow" (Walker, 1947, p. 195). And built it was. By 1911, "all the old buildings [had] been repaired and restored and a number of new modern buildings added," including the Smith Biological Building, the Mine and Mechanical Building and the Academic Building. (Walker, 1947, p. 198). The dormitories and Mobile Medical College also were reconstructed, and the law school moved into new quarters. Comer Hall, among the new buildings erected, became a monument to the Governor's educational efforts.

Comer Halls appeared on the campuses of Alabama College at Montevallo and of the Polytechnic Institute (Auburn) as well. When the Governor was invited to deliver Auburn's commencement address he

personally endowed a medal to be awarded each year to the outstanding student in the natural sciences. As Comer had observed in his first message to the Alabama legislature, "No State can build higher than its school system, and any State that fails to satisfy the aspirations of its young people for even the highest education, and fails to take such young people into its commensurate care. . .has failed in its duty" (Walker, 1947, p. 194).

Meanwhile, Comer did not neglect the basics. Increased property taxes provided sustenance for the public schools; by the time Comer retired from office in 1911, they were realizing nearly half of the total state fund. Over his four-year tenure, the rural schools received a total of \$8,435,688.64 as compared with \$5,050,157.44 in the four years preceding 1907 (Walker, 1947). According to Comer's final address, 616 new schoolhouses were constructed and 368 repaired. High schools were authorized in every county and appropriated \$2,000 per year for maintenance; a committee comprising the Governor, Auditor, and Superintendent of Education set high standards before these schools could be awarded state aid since they were expected to "be the pride of each county and an incentive to higher education, being semi-collegiate in character" (Walker, 1947, p. 196). Thirty-three high schools, valued at half a million dollars, were established. (Recall that Richmond, Virginia's, John Marshall High School alone cost over \$550,000.) And, by order of the State Superintendent of Education, Comer's photograph adorned every one. Comer attributed to these schools Alabama's awakened interest in higher education. In sum, the "curriculum of the entire educational

system was raised and the State placed in the forefront of its sisters" (Walker, 1947, p. 184).

Blessed with a sympathetic legislature committed to his leadership, Comer could

not imagine the Legislature of Alabama adopting a measure appropriating moneys for education that he [would] refuse to sign. Whoever knows the history of education in Alabama, knows how well and faithfully he kept that commitment. Alabama's educational renaissance...began with Governor Comer's administration. (Walker, 1947, p. 338)

Energetic and politically courageous, Comer "believed in himself and did not hesitate to carry his views into action or have them enacted into law. He was [acclaimed as] a great governor". . .an "Educational Governor" (Walker, 1947, p. 330).

#### James B. Frazier

Reputedly a "silver-tongued orator," James Beriah Frazier employed his rare forensic talents on behalf of the public schools of Tennessee. In accepting the Democratic gubernatorial nomination in 1902, he pledged,

the time has come...when we can do more for the education of the 800,000 brightfaced boys and girls of Tennessee, who are its richest heritage and who will make the future history and determine the destiny of the old Volunteer State...Let us...provide for better schools and longer school terms wherever needed. (White, 1972, pp. 183-184).

Following his inauguration in 1903, Frazier quoted enrollment, attendance, and teacher salary statistics to the legislature, adding

it must be clear to any thoughtful citizen that if the masses of our people are to be properly educated, if they are to keep pace in intelligence and progress with their neighbors in other States, if they are to be equipped to meet the demands of good citizenship and to develop and utilize the natural wealth with which our State is so richly blessed, we must broaden and extend our public school system, especially in the country districts. (White, 1972, p. 214)

Having taught for a brief period himself, Frazier understood through first-hand experience the less than ideal circumstances facing teachers and students. Of course, the sine qua non was money; with greater funding, Frazier envisioned a scholastic "snowball effect": the increased revenues would bring "longer school terms, more modern equipment, better pay for teachers, and hence more efficient and intelligent instruction." These improvements would, in turn, create "a demand and a necessity for county high schools, which must ultimately form the connecting link between the primary school and the college, and thus complete our system of popular education" (White, 1972, p. 216).

Frazier's first legislative address also described the need for greater county taxation for school purposes, consolidation of the numerous small and weak school districts, teacher's institutes, aid to the Peabody College for Teachers and the University of Tennessee, and continuance of the uniform textbook law.

Looking back on his first term in 1905, Frazier could claim the consolidation and strengthening of small, weak schools; lengthening of the average school term from ninety-five to 103 days; provision of \$5,000 per year for teachers' institutes held throughout the state; and, most significantly, creation of a new school fund which already had distributed a surplus of \$271,000 to the public schools. In addition, 248 schoolhouses had been constructed and others underwent improvements to accommodate an enrollment which had increased by 17,667 since 1902.

Before the incoming legislature, Frazier advocated the preparation of a pamphlet for county superintendents "giving plans and specifications for several different grades of modern school houses, varying in cost from \$300 to \$5,000" (White, 1972, p. 286). Not only would this brochure "materially improve the character of school houses erected in the future, but [it also] would save vast sums of money to the people of the various school districts" (White, 1972, p. 287). Furthermore, given continued surpluses, Frazier foresaw extension of the state's school term to six months.

Legislative achievements of 1905 included increased appropriations to the public school system and ninety special acts dealing with the creation or altering of school districts (White, 1972). However, the newly-re-elected governor did not remain in office long enough to personally bring any further unfulfilled hopes to fruition; two months into his second term, Frazier was chosen to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. Nevertheless, in an impressive two years he had maintained "the first and highest duty of

a State, after the establishment of law and the maintenance of orderly government" -- "the education of those who are to make its manhood and womanhood, to develop its resources, produce its wealth, administer its affairs, and determine its destiny" (White, 1972, p. 282)

#### **Other Early "Education Governors"**

Other turn-of-the-century Southern governors who followed Aycock's lead and likewise acquired his popular "Education Governor" appeal include N.C. Blanchard (Louisiana, 1904-1908); Napoleon B. Broward (Florida, 1905-1909); Duncan C. Heyward (South Carolina, 1903-1907); Hoke Smith (Georgia, 1907-1909; 1911); and Joseph M. Terrell (Georgia, 1902-1907). Although details differ, their stories trace the recurring themes recognized in the careers of Aycock, Montague, Swanson, Comer, and Frazier: early interest in education, eloquent educational rhetoric, vigorous involvement, and a legacy of substantive accomplishments and increased appropriations. Perhaps any variations among the ten arise more from intensity than contrast. All Democrats espousing progressive reforms, Governors Blanchard, Broward, Heyward, Smith, and Terrell made their most enduring mark on the educational systems of their respective states.

Blanchard's term proved noteworthy for the introduction of laws related to the professional certification of Louisiana's superintendents and teachers. A United States Senator prior to his election as governor, Blanchard also was active on the Board of Trustees of Sewanee's University of the South. Under Broward's administration Florida adopted compulsory attendance laws and accomplished the consolidation of seven state institutions of higher



education into four.

In Georgia, Terrell sought to combat the "evils of illiteracy" through generous financial support of educational institutions and by ensuring that teachers were paid in accordance with their contracts. Persevering over a conservative legislature, Terrell's greatest triumphs came with the appropriation of \$100,000 to develop the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts at Athens and the authorization of an agricultural and mechanical school in each congressional district. Within four years eleven such schools enrolling a total of 1,500 students had been established. Later "retiring" to the United States Senate, Terrell was succeeded by Hoke Smith. Smith, the son of a distinguished educator and former University of North Carolina faculty member, could cite experience as both teacher and president of the Atlanta school board prior to his term in office. As governor, Smith increased public school appropriations and served on the Board of Directors of the Peabody Education Fund. Education remained Smith's primary interest after he assumed Terrell's Senate seat in 1911, easily evidenced by the two major national education reforms bearing his name -- the Smith-Lever Act and the Smith-Hughes Act.

#### Modern "Education Governors": Applying the Image in the Present

Their distinctive and colorful personalities aside, these ten early "Education Governors" begin to meld into a profile which --

while not absolute -- suggests some key attributes of that hypothetical model "Education Governor." True to their word, these governors could boast of administrations characterized by not only the sound but also the flurry of heightened educational effort.

With their impressive and enduring records, Aycock and his contemporaries served as spiritual mentors for Terry Sanford and a new (and apparently growing) cohort of "Education Governors" in the late 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Projecting the pattern of these early "Education Governors" forward some seventy-five to eighty-five years thus captures some of the qualities which might reasonably be expected of their latter-day counterparts and strips a veneer of elusiveness from the image.

Will the twenty modern "Education Governors," like their forebears, stand staunchly behind their educational promises and devote the enhanced power and prestige of the modern gubernatorial role to turning those pledges into reality? To answer this question, the following chapter compares "public utterances" of the modern "Education Governors" (See Appendix F) with the tangible educational achievements of their administration. Since policy often is articulated through public speeches and implemented through the budget process, specific attention is accorded Inaugural Addresses, State of the State Addresses, Special Messages on Education, Budget Messages, and the actual state budget documents (Beyle and Dalton, 1983). United States Bureau of the Census publications on state government finance, the Council of State Government's Book of the States series, and state Statutes and Codes proved instrumental in filling in some

gaps.

Considering their historical lineage, it would not be surprising to find that the modern "Education Governors" are, in fact, men of their word. As the characteristics of their predecessors imply, these governors might be expected to emphasize the importance of "high standards," "quality," and "excellence" in improving their state's educational system. While this pursuit of excellence would pervade all levels of education from kindergarten through graduate school, the balance might shift toward one end or the other depending on a state's particular circumstances and, perhaps, the individual governor's interests.

It also seems likely that the modern "Education Governors" would substantially increase state appropriations for both elementary/secondary and higher education and oversee the legislature's passage of, at least, their most crucial educational measures. This qualitative approach to legislative outcomes appears more appropriate in the present context than the quantitative calculation of gubernatorial "batting averages"; the governor could win a number of minor skirmishes and still lose a major educational battle to the legislature. But, even then, all may not be in vain; remember that Montague succeeded in turning the agony of legislative defeat into constructive action -- and eventually victory -- by seeking creative solutions elsewhere.

On a more personal level, tales of their antecedents suggest that the modern "Education Governors" might have developed a strong commitment to education through early family or professional

experiences. In addition, they possibly enjoy a natural charisma combined with a sometimes "crusade-like" oratorical ability to arouse the public in support of their cause. This talent could draw the modern "Education Governors" beyond their home state with invitations to deliver speeches and to assume prominent roles in national or regional education organizations as well as on special presidential commissions. And, following their heritage, the modern "Education Governors" would remain linked to education after leaving office through teaching, serving on special commissions or boards, speaking at school or college ceremonies, or providing special endowments. Biographies, professional journals, popular magazine and newspaper accounts, and college alumni bulletins all would be excellent sources for confirming or disproving such speculation.

Yet, the question persists: Are the modern "Education Governors" really as good as their word? The ensuing analysis will further penetrate their veneer, revealing whether each governor (fashioned in Aycock's image) can rightfully claim: "From a man of honour, his word is as good as his bond. . . You see, Gentlemen, I am not a meer [sic] court friend, who professes every thing and will do nothing" (Gay, 1728/1923, p. 61).

## CHAPTER IV

### RESULTS OF THE STUDY

Higher education, and education generally, would benefit most from an acknowledgment in fact and not in rhetoric that education is critical to every facet of our national life.

John Brademas, 1985

#### Modern "Education Governors": Personal and Political Characteristics

Actions, according to the adage, speak louder than words. And, in fact, Aycock, Montague, Swanson, Comer, Frazier, and their fellow turn-of-the-century "Education Governors" all are celebrated more for what they did than for what they said. Had he not followed through on his rhetoric, it is doubtful whether Aycock would be quoted by schoolchildren or that he would be known for expressing "the equal right of every child born on earth to have the opportunity to burgeon out all that there is within him." (Orr, 1961, p. 325). Similarly, the actions of Aycock's twenty modern counterparts should speak for themselves -- if these individuals are, indeed, "Education Governors."

As determined from the intersection of Sabato's validated list of "Outstanding Governors" (Appendix E) with the names of the co-founder, interim steering committee members, and chairmen of the Education Commission of the States (Appendix B), these so-called

modern "Education Governors" (Appendix F) comprise: Terry Sanford (North Carolina, 1961-1965); Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown (California, 1959-1967); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon, 1959-1967); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey, 1962-1970); John Chafee (Rhode Island, 1963-1969); Clifford P. Hansen (Wyoming, 1963-1967); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina, 1965-1971); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah, 1965-1977); Tom McCall (Oregon, 1967-1975); William G. Milliken (Michigan, 1969-1983); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware, 1969-1973); Robert D. Ray (Iowa, 1969-1983); Reubin Askew (Florida, 1971-1979); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee; 1971-1975); Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico, 1975-1979); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware, 1977-1985); James B. Hunt (North Carolina, 1977-1985); William Clinton (Arkansas, 1979-1981; 1983-present); Robert D. Graham (Florida, 1979-1987); and Thomas Kean (New Jersey, 1982-present).

Unlike their forerunners who hailed from the South, these modern "Education Governors" display broad geographic diversity, representing a total of fifteen different states. Using Neal Peirce and Jerry Hagstrom's classification from The Book of America (1983), four each come from the Mid-Atlantic states (duPont, Hughes, Kean, Peterson) and the Deep South (Askew, Clinton, Graham, McNair); three each from the Border South (Dunn, Hunt, Sanford), the Mountain states (Apodaca, Hansen, Rampton), and the Pacific states (Brown, Hatfield, McCall); and one each from New England (Chafee), the Great Lakes (Milliken), and the Great Plains (Ray). After all, the President's Commission on Excellence in Education (1983) warned of an entire nation -- not the South or any other single region -- "at risk." Illustrating this point in a slightly different manner, a Phi Delta Kappan cartoon

depicts United States Secretary of Education William Bennett observing that the latter half of the 1980s finds "fifty separate states at risk."

Although the collective face of America's governors changed with the election of Ella Grasso (Connecticut) and Dixy Lee Ray (Washington) to gubernatorial seats in the 1970s and, more recently, following the successful campaigns of Madeleine Kunin (Vermont) and Kay Orr (Nebraska), men hold the vast majority of governorships. Thus, the fact that all twenty modern "Education Governors" are males -- and that nineteen of these twenty are white, non-Hispanics -- simply proves indicative of the larger gubernatorial population. Jerry Apodaca, as an Hispanic, represents the sole minority.

These modern "Education Governors" have served an average of 7.7 years in the executive office, with actual terms varying from four years (Jerry Apodaca, Winfield Dunn, Clifford Hansen, Russell Peterson, and Terry Sanford) to the fourteen years of William Milliken and Robert Ray. Again, in marked contrast with their Democratic predecessors, ten were elected as Republicans (Chafee, Dunn, duPont, Hansen, Hatfield, Kean, McCall, Milliken, Peterson, and Ray) and ten as Democrats (Apodaca, Askew, Brown, Clinton, Graham, Hughes, Hunt, McNair, Rampton, and Sanford). Nine of these governors enjoyed the perceived advantage of having the same party affiliation as the majority in both houses of their state legislature (Apodaca, Askew, Brown, Clinton, Graham, Hunt, McNair, Peterson, and Sanford); the remaining eleven experienced several years in which the opposing party controlled at least one house of the state legislature (Chafee, Dunn,

duPont, Hansen, Hatfield, Hughes, Kean, McCall, Milliken, Rampton, and Ray). Throughout their terms, Chafee and Dunn -- both Republicans -- continually faced legislatures dominated by Democrats.

#### The Modern "Education Governor": Rhetoric or Reality?

From this brief overview of their characteristics, it becomes obvious that the latter-day "Education Governors" do not constitute such a homogeneous group as their historical mentors. However, will these modern "Education Governors" prove equally adept at translating their rhetoric into reality? Or, rather, do they "talk of dreams. . . begot of nothing but vain fantasy. . . thin of substance as the air, and more inconstant than the wind" (Shakespeare, 1597/1940, p. 22)? As the governors themselves emphasized in their August 1986 report, it is "time [to look] for results."

The following section will seek those results in light of specific objectives the twenty individual governors set for elementary/secondary and higher education primarily through their Inaugural and State of the State Addresses. Portrayed first is former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford, widely considered the epitome of the modern "Education Governor" (Ingalls, 1985) and perhaps Aycock's closest contemporary likeness. Attention then shifts to promises and policies of the remaining nineteen governors who are profiled in chronological order of their first term in office.

#### **Terry Sanford**

As North Carolina's newly-inaugurated Democratic Governor in



January 1961, Terry Sanford proclaimed, "There is a new day in North Carolina! . . . It is here because Charles Brantley Aycock had a great heart and dauntless vision, and because he made North Carolina believe in universal education in an uncertain, uneasy, and difficult day" (Mitchell, 1966, p. 3). This would be the first of numerous times Sanford would invoke the name and spirit of Aycock during his four-year gubernatorial term. Indeed, Aycock's portrait found a prominent place in Sanford's office; some constituents even received autographed copies of a favorite Sanford photograph which displays this Aycock painting in the background. North Carolina's youngest governor since Aycock, Sanford, like his predecessor, has been praised as a progressive and as a "leader of the 'New South'" (Orr, 1961; Sobel and Raimo, 1978). Before a group of South Carolina educators, he claimed, "The South can rise again -- not with bayonets but with textbooks. . . . We will be firing on the dungeons of ignorance" (Jones, 1966, p. xxxiii)

"Throughout his campaigns for Governor and throughout his administration, Sanford spoke for education as a whole, 'from the first grade through the graduate school'" (Jones, 1966, p. xxviii). His 1961 Inaugural Message stressed,

We must give our children the **quality** of education which they need to keep up in this rapidly advancing, scientific, complex world. They must be prepared to compete with the best in the nation, and I dedicate my public life to the proposition that their education must be of a quality which is second to none...[Q]uality education is the rock upon which I will build the house

of my administration. (Sanford, 1961)

Sanford had already detailed his plans for achieving this lofty goal; just two weeks after his election the previous November, he presented the specifics of his Quality Education Program to a group of educators gathered on the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Reacting to what would be one of the longest addresses of Sanford's gubernatorial career, an elderly professor sitting at the back of the large auditorium exclaimed, "Good Lord! He meant what he said during the campaign" (Jones, 1966, p. xxi).

During his campaign, Sanford candidly told voters the money for school improvement would come from taxes. He later recounted an amusing conversation with his campaign manager, Bert Bennett:

'Do you realize what we experienced tonight? Voters applauded when I said we would get new school money from taxes. That's remarkable.'

Bert laughed. 'Yes, but I wouldn't be too sure. They thought you said you'd get the money from Texas.' (Sanford, 1966, p. 16)

However, two months after his inauguration, Sanford dared to propose that the \$100 million needed to fund this Quality Education Program be raised through removing hundreds of sales tax exemptions -- including that on food. "Any achievement by man," he told a joint session of the General Assembly, "requires sacrifice -- and tonight we must look together at a small measure of sacrifice. I do not come to you

expecting popular acclaim for what I have to say. I do come to do my duty in full confidence that you in turn will do your duty" (Sanford, 1961). Sanford's prediction proved correct; the taxes were generally unpopular although supporters expressed wholehearted appreciation "for the foresight you have for children and the future of our state" and acknowledged that "every ounce of your aggressiveness and determination will be required before your proposals are adopted by the legislators" (Mitchell, 1966, p. 26).

Ultimately, Sanford's strategic planning -- and Education -- prevailed. The Quality Education Program brought: (1) salary increases averaging twenty-two per cent for teachers; (2) increased salaries for college personnel and an additional \$70,100 for television teaching; (3) the addition of 2,826 teachers, 44 assistant superintendents, and 25 supervisors; (4) the establishment of the Department of Curriculum and Research; (5) the doubling of library allotments; (6) in-service courses for the professional improvement of teachers and 300 additional teacher-training scholarships; and (7) increased funds for industrial education centers and a strengthened Department of Public Instruction (Mitchell, 1966). Meanwhile, Sanford had carried his crusade for quality education across the state in a series of education rallies, often making ten or twelve speeches in a single day. He also visited schools and classrooms where, for many of the children, seeing a governor was "something like seeing a big brown bear in the zoo" (Sanford, 1966, p. 38).

And, in his 1963 Biennial Message to the General Assembly, Sanford could happily report that this investment in education had

begun to pay dividends.

Teachers are working harder, stretching for new ideas, doing a better job day by day, exhibiting a high morale and a higher sense of duty and dedication. More smart and dedicated young people than ever before are choosing teaching as a career. More new teachers, graduating from our colleges are staying in North Carolina to teach. More consolidation, more improvement in courses of study, fewer dropouts, more dedication from principals, greater interest by parents, are positive signs of progress...Students, the key and purpose of all your efforts, are showing that they realize studying is important... (Sanford, 1963).

Still, he cautioned:

When we first decided to accelerate our school efforts, I pointed out that there is no magic button, there is no easy way, that our sustained efforts for about ten years would be required to reach the top, and then full steam would be necessary to keep us there. All over this nation, North Carolina is recognized as a foremost leader in new effort for better schools. Other states are looking, asking, following, and maybe getting ahead of us. (Sanford, 1963)

With North Carolina making headway toward improved -- even exemplary -- elementary and secondary education, Governor Sanford shifted the weight of his administration to ensure the 1963 General Assembly's adoption of his Higher Education Act. Viewed as ranking in importance with the Revolutionary Constitutional provision for a

university, this act (1) established a network of comprehensive community colleges across the state to place higher education within the economic and geographic grasp of all North Carolinians; (2) established three new senior colleges at Wilmington, Charlotte, and Asheville; and (3) stipulated that North Carolina would have one university with campuses at Chapel Hill, Raleigh, Greensboro, and any future sites deemed advisable (Jones, 1966, pp. xxviii-xxix). Thus, North Carolina State College and Greensboro Women's College were elevated to university status. Sanford also urged extended cooperation with the private colleges to assure that "the influence of this great resource is not diminished" (Sanford, 1963).

Throughout his administration Sanford made it plain that no individual was to be deprived of the opportunity to receive a quality education. His initiatives touched both the college-bound and the "hardcore dropout," the severely disadvantaged and the average student, and the gifted as well as the mentally retarded -- once, North Carolina's "forgotten children." Among the unique programs he implemented to serve these divergent groups are the Governor's School for gifted children at Winston-Salem, the North Carolina School of the Arts, the Advancement School which offered under-achievers the chance to catch up while concurrently providing teacher training, Operation Second Chance for drop-outs, the research- and improvement-oriented Learning Institute of North Carolina, and the Center for Mental Retardation (Mitchell, 1966).

Sanford even tackled the tough issue of college finance. The man Duke University students would one day affectionately call "Uncle

Terry" sounded a bit avuncular when, as governor, he recorded the following radio and television announcement: "If you want to go to college, and you have the will and the skill, but not the money, write to me. Maybe I can help you find a loan" (Sanford, 1966, p. 78). And he did, courtesy of a loan program financed by the North Carolina Bankers Association.

During Sanford's four-year term, total direct expenditures for education rose from \$86,697,000 to \$152,721,000, an increase of over seventy-six per cent. Examining the figures more closely, direct expenditures for higher education in 1965 amounted to \$125,225,000 (an increase of seventy-four percent) while direct expenditures for elementary/secondary education and other education (state educational administration and services, tuition grants, fellowships, aid to private schools, and special programs) rose eighty-seven per cent to \$27,496,000. By comparison, total general expenditures grew only forty-two per cent over this period when the rate of inflation was 5.47 per cent.

Sanford relates the story of both the Tar Heel state's and his personal quest for educational excellence in But What About the People? (1966), a book he dedicated to his mother, "who heightened my interest in education," and his father, "who heightened my interest in politics." In the Foreword, Harvard President Emeritus James Bryant Conant (1966) writes, "Governor Sanford, through his actions, has already put all who believe in public education in his debt. His recounting of these actions. . . adds to our indebtedness" (p. xii). Conant respected Sanford's "imaginative leadership that made possible

the changes which were not only significant for his state but in many instances useful as models in other states as well" (Conant, 1966, p. xi). Sanford's partner in organizing the Education Commission of the States in 1965, Conant referred to the Quality Education Program as "a landmark in American education" (Jones, 1966, p. xxi).

The influence of this program crossed the North Carolina line. "When the Governor and a team of other North Carolinians visited Cincinnati on a travel mission in May 1961, they were shown an Ohio education journal urging action in the Buckeye state comparable to that which Sanford had begun" (Jones, 1966, p. xxviii). During his administration, Sanford spoke on quality education in thirty other states, traveling "from Columbia, South Carolina, to Los Angeles and Seattle; and from Biloxi, Mississippi, and Dallas, Texas, to Harvard and Yale universities" (Jones, 1966, p. xxviii). Sanford also chaired the Southern Regional Education Board; was a member of the Advisory Board of Higher Education of the former Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and served as a trustee of Methodist College.

After leaving office in 1965, Sanford directed A Study of the American States at Duke University, the institution he would lead as president from 1969 through 1985. He unsuccessfully sought the Democratic party's United States presidential nod in 1972 and 1976, but came back to defeat James T. Broyhill in the 1986 U.S. Senate race. In March 1985 he delivered a keynote address at the Wingspread Conference on Governors and Higher Education. Throughout the years, Sanford has remained in close touch with his offspring, ECS. A featured speaker at the Education Commission's twentieth anniversary

meeting in 1985, he also has been honored with its James B. Conant award for his "lasting impact on American education" (Sanford, 1981, p. 4). Columnist Jonathan Yardley (1985) described this enduring impact in the context of Sanford's retirement from the presidency of Duke:

Sanford has worked -- perhaps more successfully than any other individual in the country -- to improve education at every level from kindergarten through graduate school. He lifted North Carolina's public schools off the bottom of the heap, then guided Duke into the elite of higher education; more important than either, perhaps, he set an example that has been widely emulated in many other states and the federal government as well. (p. D2)

Not exactly an orator in the Aycock style, Sanford is portrayed as soft-spoken and mild-mannered -- but inwardly composed of steel. "[A]fter you see him in action for a while, you realize that this is a practical man of some force" with the innate ability to get things accomplished (Ingalls, 1985, p. 3). Of those achievements,

The lasting monument to Terry Sanford will rise in the minds of the boys and girls who went to school during the Sanford years and in the minds of their children and their grandchildren.

He said that education was the rock on which he would build the house of his administration. Education also was the rock on which his stature rose. (Jones, 1966, p. xxxvii)



**Edmund G. Brown, Sr.**

California's Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown, Sr., earned his nickname following a particularly rousing World War I-era speech reminiscent of Patrick Henry's familiar cry, "Give me Liberty, or give me Death." Perhaps less dramatic but nonetheless intent, Governor Brown invoked the spirit of "responsible liberalism" as exemplified by Wisconsin's LaFollette and others in his 1959 Inaugural Address. Calling for 18,000 new teachers; 5,000 new classrooms; and facilities for 400,000 college and university students to meet the "challenge of growth," Brown boldly proclaimed,

Every child deserves the chance to grow in fundamental knowledge, in special and technical skills, and in insight. I am determined that California will have the best public schools in the United States. (Brown, 1959)

Toward this goal, Brown's Budget Message recommended continuation of the 1957 legislature's higher level of state support per pupil in average daily attendance plus an additional \$23,453,000 to further improve the quality of education. Incorporated in this figure was a substantial increase for special education. "No activity we support," said Brown (1959), "is of greater importance than public education."

Most of the Governor's subsequent legislative addresses would echo his apparently favorite themes of "education as first priority" and "California schools as the best in the nation." By 1961, Brown would count the adoption of the Master Plan for Higher Education among

his six major accomplishments. Hailed in the Governor's State of the State Address that year as a "signal achievement" and discussed throughout the country, the Master Plan established California's three-tiered system of public higher education -- the university, the state colleges, and the community or junior colleges. Considering education before turning to other state services, Brown also highlighted enhanced aid to school districts, state loans for school construction, and a 12.5 per cent salary increase for university and state college faculty. He urged curriculum changes to "emphasize 'solid' subjects and minimize the wasteful fringe courses," school district reorganization, equalization of state aid in relation to a county-wide tax base, and additional aid for the gifted as well as the emotionally handicapped.

And, in his second Inaugural Address (1963), Brown would boast, "Our public schools have begun shoring up their curricula to meet the stern demands of an age in which the only public cost greater than education is ignorance." As for the state colleges and university system, the Governor reported, "We are on schedule with a bold program to duplicate in ten short years a tuition-free system of higher education which already is the best in the world" (no longer just the nation!).

Brown's 1965 State of the State Address noted the establishment of six new colleges and three new campuses of the University of California, improvements in teacher training, greater emphasis on basic subjects and foreign languages, and, finally, progress toward unified school districts "with broader tax bases." However, he cited

James B. Conant's conviction that the California legislature exercised too much control over school curricula: "[Conant] suggests the Legislature set broad goals and permit the State Board of Education to implement those goals with regulations. I agree with his proposal and I will support legislation to achieve that end in this session" (Brown, 1965). Consequently, the legislature modified the State Curriculum Commission.

Educational victories the ensuing year included financing of a new reading bill, saluted as "an historic effort to make sure that every student who has the capacity will be able to read adequately by the time he leaves the third grade" (Brown, "State of the State," 1966); funding of 1,280 additional scholarships; and legislation providing for preschool programs for the disadvantaged together with additional compensatory education efforts.

Between 1959 and Brown's departure from office in 1967, total direct expenditures for education rose from \$452,921,000 to \$876,483,000 or ninety-four per cent. Direct expenditures for higher education grew to \$769,680,000 (an eighty-five per cent increase); however, elementary/secondary and other education direct expenditures showed the greater increase, rising 197 per cent to \$106,803,000. Throughout this time, total general expenditures grew 134 per cent while the rate of inflation was 14.58 per cent.

The former Democratic Governor reappeared in educational circles in 1985 when he gained special recognition at Charter Day for his one million dollar donation to the University of California. The November 1985 California Monthly alumni magazine pictures Brown on that

occasion in full academic regalia.

**Mark O. Hatfield**

Mark Hatfield took an educational as well as political route to the Oregon Governor's Mansion. From 1949 through 1956 he served as Associate Professor of political science and Dean of Students at Willamette University, his undergraduate alma mater, while concurrently performing his duties as an Oregon state legislator.

Upon his inauguration as governor in 1959, Hatfield emphasized, "Few services a government can provide are as important as education. Oregon traditionally has done an excellent job in this field. The number one problem in education is how to finance our programs." He went on to propose a comprehensive study of school financing, and, in addition, called for strengthening the curriculum for the gifted student and the establishment of a state scholarship fund to allow "deserving students, selected on the basis of need and examination," to attend the public or private Oregon institution of their choice. He also urged that the position of superintendent of public instruction be changed from an elected to an appointed office to "assure continued professional administration" and recommended enlarging both the Board of Education and the State Board of Higher Education.

In his State of the State Message two years later, Hatfield (1961) boasted, "We have every right to be proud of our outstanding school system. In virtually every national ranking that attempts to measure quality, Oregon is listed in the top five." Yet, he warned, "The preservation of this quality in terms of the expanding school

population is becoming increasingly difficult for our local school districts," and thus iterated the need to enhance state basic school support.

Hatfield's second Inaugural Address (1963) and 1965 State of the State Message expressed concern over the "gigantic enrollment challenge" (Hatfield, 1965); his budget proposals anticipated expanded enrollments in the community colleges and senior institutions of higher education, increased support for local schools, and improved programs for the mentally retarded as well as for vocational rehabilitation. "Vocational training and rehabilitation measures and graduate research programs are all needed. . .[T]he backward and the gifted who compete for the teacher's time are equally worthy of your time and action" (Hatfield, 1965). One recommendation which seemed to enjoy Hatfield's particular favor involved creation of a Graduate Research Center "financed initially from non-state sources. . .[to] provide opportunities for those in industry to keep abreast of scientific developments, earn advanced degrees, and do original research" (Hatfield, 1963). The Governor continued,

Not only can the Center assist existing industry, but also it can attract new job opportunities to our state. The intellectual capacities developed by the high quality of our educational system will have increased opportunity for full utilization in **Oregon** -- to the benefit of the graduate students, our economy, and our whole society. The loss to other states of brain power educated here is an investment lost. (Hatfield, 1963)

Despite the financial setback precipitated when voters rejected a revenue program which had been passed by the state legislature in 1963, Hatfield's educational record remained solid. As he summarized in his 1967 Farewell Speech to the legislature,

During the last eight years we have created our Community College system [with 11 institutions now enrolling 18,000 students], consolidated school districts for greater efficiency, substantially increased the quality of our teaching staff and decreased the percentage of student dropouts. We have created a Graduate Research Center and have advanced the use of educational television. Provisions for educating the physically and mentally handicapped children have been dramatically improved. . . This year facilities and staff are meeting the demands of 44,030 students. This has required an increase in teaching staff from 1,277 in 1959 to 2,218 this year. The increase has also affected the need for new buildings. New construction exclusive of expenditures for community colleges in the state has required the outlay of \$114,375,000. (Hatfield, 1967)

Moreover, a formal Education Coordinating Council was working to dispel the duplication and ambiguity enveloping the Board of Education and the Board of Higher Education. Hatfield also could have mentioned the establishment and funding of his proposed State Scholarship Commission; the statutory change permitting the State Board of Education to appoint the Superintendent of Public Instruction; the improvement in statewide curricula for elementary/secondary schools in mathematics, science, and modern foreign languages; and the development of a new graduate school of social work at Portland State

University.

During Hatfield's Republican administration, Oregon's total general expenditures increased ninety-five per cent to \$666,613,000. However, total direct expenditures for education rose over 224 per cent -- from \$46,839,000 in 1959 to \$151,818,000 in 1967. Direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education increased to \$13,886,000 (219 per cent) while direct expenditures for higher education grew 225 per cent to \$137,932,000. The rate of inflation over this period was 14.58 per cent.

Shortly after leaving office in 1967, Hatfield successfully campaigned for the United States Senate, where he has continued to serve his state for some two decades.

#### **Richard J. Hughes**

When Richard Hughes took New Jersey's gubernatorial oath of office in 1962, his Inaugural Address previewed some of the prominent educational issues his administration would be asked to resolve:

The surest measure of government's concern for the development of a State, as well as the personal growth of each individual citizen, is the support of its educational institutions. We have seen the enormous rise in the cost of education. Not only must we face this financial burden, but also provide for its more equitable distribution. . .

A new emphasis must be given to higher education. There is a pressing need for additional facilities, a pressure which fortunately has sparked a renewed quest for excellence. Our youth should be encouraged to seek the best education from which they, as individuals, can profit. And this

profit not only accrues to the individual,  
but also to the State and to the Nation.  
(Hughes, 1962)

These twin themes of assuring state aid to school districts and meeting the capital construction needs of New Jersey's public institutions of higher education would recur throughout a number of Hughes' speeches during the subsequent eight years. Indeed, his 1964 annual message referred to the proposed college construction program as "urgent."

Unless these facilities of education are provided we will be turning our backs upon the more than 23,000 additional students who will be seeking college accommodations in our public institutions, for instance, in the scholastic year 1970. Demonstrating the immediacy of this problem is the fact that we will require facilities for 12,000 more students than our public institutions handled in 1961 by as early as September, 1965. (Hughes, 1964)

By 1965 the Democratic Governor had witnessed the triumph of many of his proposals and, thus, would remind the Republican legislature, "We are united in the determination to build a first class educational system." Among the victories he counted in an unusually long annual address were increased funds for capital construction on college and university campuses; improved physical facilities of the public schools; availability of a larger and better-prepared cadre of teachers; special programs for the physically and mentally handicapped; improved vocational education; higher appropriations for



state scholarships; the completion of three education studies undertaken by the state; enhanced college curricula; and the establishment of two-year "county colleges" which Hughes called "one of the most exciting developments during my administration" (Hughes, 1965). He then recommended a new program of incentive grants to provide further financial assistance to college students based on need and the cost of the institution they chose to attend.

In his second Inaugural Address (1966) Hughes boldly asserted:

I want this Legislature to be remembered for generations to come as the "Education Legislature"--the Legislature that built the foundation of New Jersey's greatness, the Legislature that bespoke New Jersey's conscience and compassion, a Legislature of achievement unmatched in New Jersey history. (Hughes, 1966)

And so it was, despite (or perhaps as a result of) the pendulum swing in Hughes' Annual Message that year pointing to education as "an area in which we are obviously deficient" (Hughes, 1966). His 1967 Message would look back upon the accomplishments of that legislature as "unparalleled in education, from the grade school through the community college to the university and the new Department of Higher Education" (Hughes, 1967). Possibly even more remarkable, on these "overriding issues of paramount public concern, many Democrats stood with many Republicans for joint action -- and we are proud of those instances when the public interest overrode partisan interests" (Hughes, 1967). However, the Governor combined his commendation with

a caveat,

New Jersey is committed, and you have shown your commitment, to the goal of providing each individual with an education which will insure his development as an effective and productive member of society.

The attainment of this goal is a formidable task. New programs must be designed and present programs expanded to meet the needs of the pre-school child, the child in school and the school dropout; the handicapped and the disadvantaged; the underemployed and the unemployed; the college-bound child and he who will become a technician; the adult illiterate and the unskilled person who has no hope without education. (Hughes, 1967).

The headings of the Education sections in Hughes' State of the State Addresses from 1967 through 1969 are indicative of the more detailed story: "Our Commitment to Excellence," "The Continuing Quest for Excellence," and "The Need to Press On." In pressing on, Hughes requested additional scholarship appropriations, supplementary loans to provide a second chance for the educationally or culturally deprived to attend college, development of additional medical facilities, emergency school building aid, continued strengthening of those programs already in place, ratification of the Education Commission of the States Compact, and the establishment of regional research and demonstration centers. All but the last had been realized when he stepped down from office in 1970. By that time, New Jersey held a total of thirteen community colleges enrolling some 30,000 students; authorization for two new state colleges; and two new

medical schools.

Although Hughes never obtained the income tax he advocated as a means of generating funds for these programs, the dollars nonetheless were raised through increased commodities' taxes and fees. And,

When some sought to divest the State of its interest in more than \$1 billion of tidelands constitutionally dedicated to the School Fund, the school children of our State were not able to walk the corridors of the Legislature in their own defense. This Administration spoke for them. (Hughes, 1970)

In his efforts to guide policy in a state he described as "active" and "progressive," Hughes saw himself -- and the legislators -- bound by the same pledge: "[We] went to the people with the claim that we could make New Jersey a great state, and with the promise that we would do so. The people believed our claim and accepted our promise" (Hughes, 1966).

While Hughes served as Governor, total general state expenditures increased 216 per cent to \$2,176,425,000. Total direct expenditures for education rose even faster -- from \$95,686,000 to \$319,821,000 (234 per cent). Due to a phenomenal increase in state aid, expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew 867 per cent to \$90,601,000. Direct expenditures for higher education, on the other hand, increased a more modest 166 per cent to \$229,220,000. Throughout the period inflation grew by 28.37 per cent.

**John H. Chafee**

Somewhat of a political anomaly, Republican Governor John Chafee enjoyed enormous popularity in heavily Democratic Rhode Island. When he assumed office in 1963, the state was already showing some signs of educational progress:

We now have in effect an education program under which the State makes annual contributions to local communities for both the construction and operation of their elementary and secondary schools. Our scholarship program for college students is a national model and functions effectively. We are making annually greater appropriations for the operation of our State College and University.

Progress in all these areas will be continued under your new administration. But this is not enough. (Chafee, 1963)

Thus, the new Governor's Inaugural Message assigned high priority to the expansion of Rhode Island's vocational training program and facilities, to the establishment of a two-year community college, and to the provision (within constitutional limitations) of modern textbooks to students in private and parochial schools.

Given the rapidly burgeoning enrollments of that era, Chafee's 1965 Inaugural Address singles out education as "one of our most challenging responsibilities." After citing enrollment statistics, including a class of 300 at the fledgling Junior College, the Governor turned to a more concrete description -- that of a "vigorous [higher education] building program" undertaken to accommodate the anticipated

influx of students.

Just in the past two years we dedicated the Adams Library at Rhode Island College, the Fogarty Pharmacy Building at the University of Rhode Island, the new Alton W. Jones Campus at the University of Rhode Island, broke ground for new dormitories at the College, a new Memorial Union and a Fine Arts Building at the University. (Chafee, 1965)

In his 1967 Inaugural Address, Chafee pledged, "We will continue to devote high priority to the improvement of our educational system with the goal of making ours one of the finest in the nation." The ensuing year's Annual Message affirmed,

Education has received top priority attention from this administration since coming to office five years ago. State contributions for support of local schools have doubled. . .

The same outstanding support has been given to our state colleges and University. State appropriations for these institutions have gone up two and one-half times over what they were when this administration came to office, a record matched by only six other states in the nation! We are now providing undergraduate education for more than eleven thousand young people, compared with five thousand in 1963. (Chafee, 1968)

Chafee would depart the governor's mansion in 1969, proud of what his administration had accomplished in education (Chafee, 1967). In spite of a sometimes-hostile, Democratic-controlled legislature, he

could point to a number of tangible achievements: establishment of the state's first Junior College in Providence and its second in Warwick; unprecedented construction of new higher education facilities; dedication of a College of Business Administration at the University of Rhode Island; greatly improved vocational training; a Department of State Library Services; ratification of the Education Commission of the States Compact; implementation of an educational television station; and passage of the controversial law providing textbook aid to non-public schools. One proposal -- regarding the consolidation of small school systems -- fared less well. According to statistics available in the Council of State Government's biennial series, The Book of the States, the total number of Rhode Island school districts decreased by only one during Chafee's term of office.

Between 1963 and 1969, Rhode Island's total direct expenditures for education rose from \$23,541,000 to \$72,517,000 (208 per cent). Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education increased some 376 per cent to \$26,703,000, while total direct expenditures for higher education grew 156 per cent to \$45,814,000. By comparison, total general state expenditures rose 127 per cent to \$366,969,000. The rate of inflation across the period was 19.68 per cent.

Chafee moved on to become President Richard Nixon's Secretary of the Navy and then to the United States Senate where he has served since 1976. As a Senator, he voted in favor of establishing the new cabinet-level United States Department of Education. In the realm of education, he has been active on the Board of Trustees of Yale

University, his undergraduate alma mater.

#### Clifford P. Hansen

Clifford Hansen brought experience as a University of Wyoming trustee to the Wyoming governor's office in 1963 and, in turn, lent that body the prestige of his new position. Hansen's administration saw the initiation of a number of social reforms, including heightened support for the public schools. As he indicated to the 1963 legislature, "We have demonstrated time after time that we place education in the uppermost position in our considerations. This is amply shown by the fact that on the average, we have allocated 65 per cent of our taxes for educational purposes" (Hansen, 1963). Soon thereafter, Hansen appointed a bi-partisan Governor's Committee on Education to review specific facets of the public school system.

During the next four years the Governor would advocate a Constitutional amendment requiring all school districts to levy a minimum twelve mill tax; changes in the state's basic Foundation Program and in the computation of classroom units; greater provision for local school resources; repeal of a prohibition against accepting federal funds tied to matching state funds; increased salaries to aid in the recruitment and retention of University faculty; a "good," high quality community college system; and, concomitantly, improved vocational education. "[J]unior colleges," observed Hansen, "can make a most significant contribution toward full-time employment -- one of the key objectives of this Administration" (Hansen, "State of the State," 1963).

Ever emphasizing the excellence of the State University, the

Governor (who, from 1946 through 1966, doubled as a trustee) urged construction and remodeling of dormitories as well as the addition of a modern Science Center and classroom building. In his words,

Our State University, like others in the nation, has experienced a pattern of rapid growth. In the past two years, enrollment has increased by 18 per cent...Predictions are that enrollment will increase by 50 per cent between now [1965] and 1970.

The University must move quickly to accommodate these increases in students through the addition of new faculty and physical facilities, and it must also prepare to move ahead during the next decade when unprecedented demands will be made upon it. (Hansen, "State of the State," 1965)

Consequently, Hansen's successor, Stanley K. Hathaway, would report to the 1967 legislature that the then-existing University facilities would adequately handle anticipated enrollment increases.

Hansen obtained approval of the majority of his initiatives as outlined above; perhaps most significantly, the resolution implementing the twelve mill school tax was incorporated as Article 15, Section 17 of the Wyoming State Constitution. However, crucial legislation establishing community college districts and providing for vocational training through Cooperative Educational Services between school districts and the community colleges would wait until after Governor Hathaway's inauguration in 1967. And, the uniform school districts Hansen had commended in 1965 were not enacted into law until 1969.



Nevertheless, Governor Hansen's Republican administration generated tremendous increases in spending for education. While total general expenditures rose forty-one per cent, total direct expenditures for education grew from \$12,318,000 in 1963 to \$32,989,000 in 1967 (168 per cent). Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education increased to \$4,474,000 (201 per cent), and total direct expenditures for higher education rose 163 per cent to \$28,515,000. Meanwhile, the inflation rate grew nine per cent across the period.

#### **Robert E. McNair**

The South Carolina Governor's mantle was thrust suddenly upon then-Lieutenant Governor Robert McNair in 1965 when his predecessor Donald Russell moved to fill a vacancy in the United States Senate. Predictably, McNair pledged to fulfill the programs inaugurated by his forerunner; however, nine months later, the new Democratic Governor injected traces of his own priorities into the 1966 State of the State Address:

No amount of optimism about the expected benefits of our continuing economic growth can be justified without plans for substantial improvement in our overall program of publicly-supported education.  
(McNair, 1966)

On that occasion he sounded several special leitmotifs which would echo throughout his elected term beginning in 1967: increased teacher salaries, comprehensive vocational education, greater

coordination of higher education, and expansion of graduate and research programs in the colleges and universities since "industries looking to the future are gravitating toward those states which recognize" the importance of generating modern research (McNair, "Inaugural," 1967).

When McNair spoke of commitment in his 1967 Inaugural Address, he alluded to efforts by "my father and others to put as much quality as their resources would allow in a three-teacher schoolhouse near Jamestown [South Carolina, which] gave me opportunities for which I have had many reasons to be grateful" (McNair, 1967). During the ensuing four years McNair would display his own commitment through encouraging a number of educational initiatives. Two-thirds of the 1967 budget increase was earmarked for such educational purposes as state aid for teachers' salaries, reduction of the pupil-teacher ratio, free textbooks for children in public schools, and expansion of technical education.

Other measures which the Governor articulated and led through the Assembly from 1968 to 1971 include: a compulsory attendance law for children sixteen and under (although McNair had favored the higher age limit of seventeen); kindergarten programs; increased construction entitlements to alleviate the problem of overcrowded schools; in-service programs for teachers; a certification plan offering higher pay to "more qualified" teachers; provision for more counseling and guidance; an Adult Education Program; supplemental allocations to institutions providing more expensive graduate study; creation of a State Commission of Higher Education; an Advisory Committee on

Education; a State College Board to supervise the newly-organized four-year college system; state scholarships for students attending non-public institutions of higher education; and tax-free bond authority for private colleges.

In 1968 McNair reminded the legislature,

When I became Governor, I made a commitment to the improvement of teacher pay, as the quality of education is closely linked to the quantity of compensation teachers receive. I renew that commitment today and assure all that every effort will be made to bring the level of teachers' salaries to a more competitive position in the Southeast by 1971. This also applies to faculties in our colleges and universities. (McNair, "State of the State," 1968)

In fact, teachers' salaries rose 20.7 per cent between 1966 and 1968, and, on average, they received an additional \$1,000 increment by 1970.

McNair recommended financing his proposals through raising corporation taxes as well the tax on cigarettes and beer. Still, he felt many worthy budget requests remained unfunded or under-funded. As of 1970, he lamented, "South Carolina is far behind in providing total higher educational opportunities for all its qualified young people. There is no more serious education problem facing us today than the fact that only one out of every four college-age young people in South Carolina are [sic] actually enrolled" (McNair, "State of the State," 1970). However, his dream of a statewide junior college system coordinated by the Board for Four-Year Colleges would not be

realized for several more years, and then it would be placed under the Department of Education.

On the other hand, the Governor expressed optimism before leaving office in 1971: "Exciting things are happening in education in South Carolina" (McNair, "State of the State," 1970). Indeed, during McNair's six years as his state's highest elected official, total direct expenditures for education increased from \$72,271,000 to \$190,640,000 or 164 per cent. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education rose 186 per cent to \$76,601,000 and total direct expenditures for higher education grew to \$114,039,000 (a 151 per cent increase). By comparison, total general state expenditures rose somewhat less steeply -- 116 per cent. The rate of inflation during this time was 28.36 per cent.

McNair also chaired the Southern Regional Education Board in 1967-1968 and has served as a member of the Board of Visitors of Presbyterian College and as a trustee of Baptist College, both in South Carolina. Affiliated with several groups at the University of South Carolina, he became a founding member of the state's Education Television Endowment Foundation in 1978.

#### **Calvin L. Rampton**

As Governor of Utah from 1965 through 1977, Calvin L. Rampton led the population of one of "the best educated and most literate states in the nation" (Rampton, "State of the State," 1973). Reviewing the record of his first four years in office as he embarked upon a second term in 1969, Rampton recalled in his Inaugural Address,

We pledged [in 1965] to provide better education, job opportunities, civil equality, and more efficient government. I can assure you that there has been no retreat from these commitments -- I pledge today that these commitments will be expanded. (Rampton, 1969)

Perhaps the sharpest indicator of Rampton's dedication to that public promise came when he persuaded the legislature to raise the personal income and corporate franchise taxes in 1966, thus eliminating a \$3,003,000 deficit in the Uniform School Fund.

One year later, the Governor presented the lawmakers with a slightly revised version of the education challenge:

...We have made good strides in bringing our elementary and secondary schools up to a competitive standard with the states around us. Support for our primary and secondary schools must be continued at a high level. We must not allow new problems to develop in this field while we turn our attention elsewhere.

However, tremendous pressures are building in our publicly owned institutions of higher learning. We are facing an increasing demand by a greater percentage of a growing population for higher educational opportunity...Beyond providing for the sheer weight of numbers, our institutions must also provide a higher **quality** of education if our graduates are to be able to compete with their contemporaries from other states and institutions. As it was obvious two years ago that Utah must increase her support to the public schools, it is now obvious that we must accelerate our support for our colleges and universities. (Rampton, "State of the State," 1967)

And, by 1969, progress had appeared on the higher education front. Enormous efforts were underway to accommodate postsecondary education enrollments which had burgeoned forty-one per cent in the preceding five years. Rampton's 1969 State of the State Message revealed

the greatest college building program in the history of our state as we moved to build facilities to meet this surge of students. So far, we have built about 60 new buildings, and made extensive improvements to others, using the 65 million dollars available from the bond program. (Rampton, 1969)

Yet, Rampton pointed to the irony of being "first in the nation in terms of the percentage of students who attend and graduate from high schools, and in terms of the percent of students who attend college": Due to a lower-than-national-average personal income, Utah ranked poorly in state contribution per student -- despite ranking near the top in terms of percentage of personal income devoted to higher education (Rampton, "State of the State," 1969). The Governor acclaimed the elevation in per student funding from sixty to seventy per cent of the national average. However, he stressed, "[W]e obviously still have far to go. While our citizens deserve commendation for the efforts made, the fact remains that it is Utah's financial contribution to the system, not our good intentions, that has the impact upon educational quality" (Rampton, 1969). At the same time, Rampton expressed determination that each educational dollar yield maximum results since education costs had multiplied in

disproportionate relation to the state economy.

During his twelve-year tenure, Rampton -- and Utah -- advanced toward the goal of enhanced education through a number of specific measures. Undoubtedly, this proposed (and enacted) legislation benefitted from the expertise of Chief State School Officer and, later, State Higher Education Officer, Terrell Bell, better known as President Ronald Reagan's first U.S. Secretary of Education. Among the successful recommendations were: salary increases for public school teachers and college faculty; an improved teacher retirement system; salary supplements for teachers with additional training and a leadership incentive program; creation of a State Board of Higher Education; adoption of a higher education Master Plan; elevation of the College of Southern Utah to a four-year institution and of the two-year trade-technical institutes to Technical Colleges; strengthened technical and vocational programs across the board ("a high priority"); over \$100,000 for scholarships for the economically disadvantaged at the University of Utah; special programs and counseling for the educationally disadvantaged; modification of the school funding formula; incentives for reducing some of the nation's highest classroom loads (particularly in grades one through three); elimination of the state school levy on property; free public education for adults enrolled in a diploma program; research and pilot programs in early childhood development; and funding for symphony and ballet programs in the public schools.

Rampton's proposal to eliminate textbook fees for minority and low-income students found its way into law after he left office.

Circumstances seemingly prevailed against the Governor's repeated calls for a teacher negotiation act.

As he exited the gubernatorial stage in 1977, Rampton would take pride in the educational progress he saw throughout his state. "In the field of education," he proclaimed, "Utah continues to be a national leader" (Rampton, "State of the State," 1975). His efforts to cultivate this leadership had emphasized the subservience of political party to public interest: "If any of us sacrifices the public good to political expediency, we are false to the trust we hold" (Rampton, "State of the State," 1969).

While Rampton's Democratic administration increased total general expenditures by 245 per cent, total direct expenditures for education rose 340 per cent -- from \$65,493,000 to \$287,874,000. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education increased to \$30,639,000 (445 per cent), and total direct expenditures for higher education grew 330 per cent to \$257,235,000. The rate of inflation across the twelve-year span was 92.06 per cent.

Active in national as well as state affairs, Rampton chaired the National Governors' Conference and served as president of the Council of State Governments. According to Education Commission of the States staff members, he also retained interest in that organization after completing his year as chairman.

#### **Tom McCall**

In 1967, Tom McCall followed fellow Republican Mark Hatfield as Oregon's highest elected official. Acknowledging Hatfield's deep imprint on numerous state actions, policies, and programs, McCall



expected to be "equal to the challenges of the four years stretching ahead" (McCall, 1967). As the fledgling Governor observed in his 1967 Inaugural Address, "The pledges of the candidates in last year's hard-fought election led our citizens to expect more than ever of the process we shift into high gear today" (McCall, 1967). The educational system constituted one major area of anticipated further development.

Toward that end, McCall advocated and subsequently obtained state grants for expansion of kindergartens on a non-compulsory basis, broadened vocational education at the high school and postsecondary levels, expansion of community colleges to provide education within reasonable commuting distance of ninety-five per cent of the state's population, and the elevation of Portland State College to university status with concomitant attention to a widened research agenda.

However, he insisted in a key proposal,

...for too many years Oregon educators, citizens and politicians have given lip service to the goal of 50 per cent state support of primary and secondary education.

For too many years no significant progress has been made toward that objective and the burden has fallen more heavily on the property taxpayer.

It is time to act. (McCall, "Inaugural," 1967)

Thus, the Governor recommended modifying the basic school support formula to allow for greater state appropriations derived from an

increased income tax in lieu of property tax levies.

Adverse state and national economic conditions brought budget reductions at a special session of the legislature in October 1967. Still, McCall searched for ways to continue financing the higher education capital needs (particularly for community college buildings) which had been "compressed in a relatively short period of time" (McCall, 1967). Proposing a constitutional amendment to establish a new tax base for the school districts, McCall renewed his objective of raising state support for primary and secondary education to the fifty per cent level.

Yet, in his 1971 legislative address, the Governor conceded,

For two decades we have talked of dramatically increasing basic school support in Oregon. Unfortunately for the schools -- doubly unfortunate for the property taxpayer -- talk has been the limit of our accomplishment. In each of the ten previous opening sessions of the Legislature I have attended, hopes have been voiced for increasing state support to 50 percent of local school operating costs.

Twice as governor I succumbed to the allure of this easy-to-express, elusive-to-attain goal. Speaking to the opening joint session in 1967, I laid out an income tax-based program designed to reach the 50 percent goal. Again in 1969 I urged renewed efforts to climb to that level. In basic school support, we have called for the best, but we have moved steadily toward the worst. Despite a doubling of state dollars per child, the downslide already has taken us from 40 percent to 22 percent -- and 17 percent looms in the biennium ahead..

Likewise, the financial bind on post-high

school education is serious. We must look hard for means to reduce costs and yet maintain the quality of education programs. We should consider recommendations in the Carnegie Commission report for ways higher education degrees can be earned in less time and with more options. (McCall, 1971)

During that fifty-sixth legislative session, McCall urged a critical reassessment of state position and strategy, including the exploration of fresh -- and possibly innovative -- sources of revenue for education. This appeal would pave the way for action by the succeeding assembly, for, according to the adopted budget for 1973 through 1975,

The Fifty-seventh Legislative Assembly, in response to the Governor's recommendation to increase the Basic School Support, did increase support from the previous level of 22 percent of current operating costs to 30 percent during the first year of the 1973-75 biennium and 34 percent during the second year. (Oregon State Budget, 1973-75)

At that time, the legislature also approved McCall's recommendations for additional support of institutions within the Department of Higher Education, construction of a plant research facility at Oregon State University, additional funds for the Scholarship Commission, and assistance to the state's private colleges and universities.

Through McCall's quest to maintain Oregon's reputation as a "quality education state" (McCall interview, 1967), total direct

expenditures for education rose from \$151,818,000 to \$263,451,000. This seventy-four per cent increase exceeded the inflation rate of 61.20 per cent over the eight-year period. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew 221 per cent to \$44,505,000 while total direct expenditures for higher education increased a less rapid fifty-nine per cent to \$218,946,000. Total general state expenditures in Oregon rose 125 per cent between 1967 and 1975.

Upon leaving the governorship in 1975, McCall entered the realm of higher education as a professor of journalism at Oregon State University in Corvallis.

#### **William G. Milliken**

William Milliken assumed Michigan's gubernatorial seat in 1969 when his predecessor George Romney was summoned to Washington, D.C., as President Richard Nixon's Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. Quickly turning his attention to education, Milliken declared in his first Inaugural Address that the "Governor must take a leading role in developing the proper total approach to education" (Milliken, 1969). In charting Michigan's educational course, Milliken stated,

Our pursuit of excellence will be futile if concern for education stops with the demand for more money. We must be as vigorous in our insistence on responsible innovation from our educators as we are steadfast in providing financial support. Money alone is not enough. We must critically re-examine our educational practices, patterns, organization,

structure, and objectives from top to bottom. The vast possibilities of modern technology must be applied to the educational process. In too many instances, we have modernized our school buildings, but not the systems they house.

We must develop a vastly improved state aid formula to help equalize educational opportunity, and we must do it as quickly and as effectively as possible. (Milliken, 1969)

Ten weeks later, the new Governor delivered a televised Special Message on Education in which he spelled out his proposals in greater depth. "It is not merely a question of revitalizing and improving our schools," he stressed. "It is a question of saving them" (Milliken, 1969). Milliken announced the establishment of a Governor's Commission on Educational Reform, charging that body to review Michigan's educational system in its entirety and thus assist in devising a "clear blueprint for the future." For instance, he asked, "Have we inspired the gifted child, encouraged the backward child, drawn the full measure of performance from the average child? . . . I pledge that I will give everything I can to the search for answers. And I call on each of you to help me in that search" (Milliken, 1969).

Armed with some potential solutions to the educational conundrum, Milliken went back to the legislature and his constituents on 30 September 1969:

I am absolutely determined not to pull any punches, nor in any way evade my responsibility as Governor of this state in fighting for necessary reforms -- no matter

how controversial they may be...

I intend to submit to the Legislature a far-reaching set of recommendations which will completely revamp this state's educational system. I believe it will be the boldest, most imaginative, and most innovative educational plan ever placed before the Legislature. It cannot be otherwise. We can't have total reform with timid proposals...

There are those who say I am risking my own political future on this package. I say that this is not a partisan issue and that failure to enact educational reform would jeopardize our children's future. (Milliken, 1969)

Ultimately, Milliken would be compelled to battle for "the highest priority" of his administration -- the intertwined packages of educational reform and property tax relief. In 1972, the Governor failed to secure popular approval of a constitutional amendment "which would have reduced property taxes and opened the door to a more equitable system of school financing" (Milliken, "State of the State," 1973). Consequently, his 1973 State of the State Message challenged Michigan's lawmakers to find a legislative response to the persistent problem of inequitable financing across the state's numerous school districts. Happily for Milliken, the legislature proved equal to his challenge. His State of the State Message the following year cited an "outstanding" record of progress, including "a milestone in school finance reform, an historic step forward in achieving equity in educational finance and equality in educational opportunity" (Milliken, 1974). From the ashes of failure had risen the

Equalization Act of 1973.

However, the uneasy economic climate of Michigan and of the nation as a whole caused Milliken to demand on more than one occasion that these appropriated moneys be employed effectively by all school districts. Nor were colleges and universities immune to this prescription; Milliken asked the higher education community to accept the "significant increases" which had been provided and "to use these funds to the maximum potential" (Milliken, "Special Message," 1969).

In conjunction with the foremost aim of school finance reform, the Governor shepherded a variety of additional measures through the legislature during his fourteen years in office. Calling "quality education not only our highest goal but also our best investment" (Milliken, "Inaugural," 1969), Milliken promoted a portfolio including teachers' salary increases, aid to community colleges, a statewide testing program for students in grades four and seven (Milliken had urged extending this to grade ten), experimental schools, vocational education demonstration programs, provisions for bilingual instruction, special programs for the gifted and handicapped, efforts to create an atmosphere conducive to learning through controlling school violence, and neighborhood education centers.

Figures offered by the Book of the States affirm yet another attainment -- school district consolidation. Between 1969 and 1981, the number of school districts in Michigan decreased from 654 to 575, a reduction of twelve per cent. Although Milliken often expressed sympathy for the plight of the non-public schools, enabling legislation for state aid to private institutions apparently gained

approval in 1970 but almost immediately was rescinded by a constitutional amendment ratified during the general election that year. Also less successful were Milliken's more nebulous proposals involving teacher qualifications and incentives.

Urging that government "not sacrifice sound public policy to political expediency," (Milliken, "State of the State," 1974), the Republican Governor periodically cautioned the legislature (and perhaps himself) to make no promises that would not be kept. As he observed in his Inaugural Address of 1971, "It is more essential now than it ever was before that we close the gap that divides the two worlds of politics -- the world of promise and the world of reality" (Milliken, 1971).

During Milliken's unprecedented fourteen-year tenure, total direct expenditures for education increased from \$739,815,000 to \$1,895,771,000 (156 per cent). Expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education rose 131 per cent, totalling \$244,268,000 in 1983 while expenditures for higher education grew at the somewhat faster pace of 161 per cent to \$1,651,503,000. On the other hand, total general expenditures increased 285 per cent across this interval, and the inflation rate rose 171.77 per cent.

#### **Russell W. Peterson**

Inaugurated as Delaware's Governor in 1969, Republican Russell Peterson immediately called for restoration of vital funds cut by the outgoing Terry administration -- funds which included a mandatory appropriation for school equalization. Peterson's first legislative message projected heightened commitment to education as "the secret



weapon of America's unparalleled economic growth" (Peterson, 1969). Declaring that education, "without doubt is where the state's major needs lie," the Governor explained:

Delaware has a good educational system for our top academic students. But we have been behind most progressive states in pre-school training and post-high-school two-year educational opportunities. Our commitment to higher education is lower than the nation's average -- we were 29th in 1968. Adult and occupational education have been underemphasized. Delaware can have an excellent educational system. But we must begin now... (Peterson, 1969)

Peterson wasted little time in establishing this educational emphasis. During those initial weeks in office, he won legislative approval of the reinstated equalization measure; support for an Institute for Medical Education and Research; increased teachers' salaries; sick leave credits, a duty-free lunch and other improved working conditions for teachers; two new technical and community college campuses; special programs for deprived children and for those with special needs; and "catch-up" funds for historically black Delaware State College.

Peterson's "Future of the State" Messages in ensuing years proved preludes to progress in implementing a statewide kindergarten program, establishing occupational-vocational programs in all high schools, providing for additional vocational high schools, funding education for children with learning disabilities, creating a Bureau of Child Development, and, generally, mobilizing Delaware as a "career

education state" for the young as well as for those adults seeking to change careers. Imbedded in these initiatives, however, was the notion that Delaware must have an educational system that "gets more results for the dollar" (Peterson, 1970).

In higher education, the Governor noted expansion of both programs and facilities (including a new library) at Delaware State College by 1972. With "virtually exploding" college-level enrollments, that institution had become, in Peterson's words, "well-integrated" (Peterson, 1972). As for the University of Delaware, it could claim

much more than the nation's number one small college football team; it is a quality institution of higher learning of which we can be very proud. (Peterson, 1972)

However, the Delaware Code contains no evidence which would indicate fulfillment of Peterson's desire to obtain sea-grant status for the University. The laws also remain silent regarding mandated pre-kindergarten programs and provisions for institutional accountability during his term of office.

As he stepped down from the governorship in 1973, Peterson remarked, "I have tried to be faithful to the pledges of substance and spirit which I gave upon assuming office four years ago. . . This administration would much rather have [historians] see a government that tried too hard, rather than one that didn't try hard enough" (Peterson, 1973).

Peterson's administration yielded a 100 per cent increase in total direct expenditures for education -- from \$55,584,000 in 1969 to \$111,085,000 in 1973. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education rose sixty-six per cent to \$30,494,000; higher education experienced the larger increase of 117 per cent, bringing total direct expenditures for that area to \$80,591,000. Total general expenditures for the state rose seventy-one per cent, and the inflation rate across the period increased 21.22 per cent.

A chemist by training, Peterson holds membership in the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

#### **Robert D. Ray**

Republican Robert Ray took Iowa's gubernatorial oath on 16 January 1969. In delivering his first Inaugural Message, Ray set a tone for advancement during the lengthy fourteen-year tenure that would follow. And, from the outset, the Governor marked education as one of the areas destined for such reawakened activity:

The surest underpinning of public order, human rights, better government, material prosperity and all other benefits prized by human beings is adequate, effective education. It was one of the two chief concerns of my first predecessor -- Ansel Briggs -- and it has remained a chief concern ever since. Education has top priority in my mind and heart, as I know it has in the thinking of every legislator. Education is Iowa's prime resource, and a prerequisite to the state's continuing progress. We must attend zealously to every kind, every level, and every geographical location of Iowa's education needs. There can be no doubt about our commitment to this goal. . . (Ray, 1969)

One of Ray's initial acts was to appoint a Governor's Educational Advisory Committee directed to critically examine Iowa's entire range of educational programs from the nursery school through graduate and professional education. Like other state leaders during the traumatic economic times ahead, Ray reinforced the need for effective investment of the educational dollar. However, without waiting for his Committee to convene, the Governor urged the 1969 legislature to increase appropriations for local public education -- "no matter how tight the budget" (Ray, 1969).

Despite sometimes less than propitious circumstances, Ray wrested a number of his State of the State proposals into law over the course of fourteen years. Foremost among these were a "sweeping new school foundation program" (Ray, "State of the State," 1975) which shifted millions of dollars in school aid from property taxes to a more progressive personal income tax and a long-range bonding program for classroom construction at the three state universities. Ray was particularly proud of his "novel" tuition grant program for students at private higher education institutions and called for its continuance or expansion in virtually every legislative address.

Ray's administration also convinced lawmakers to raise the salaries of teachers and college faculty, meet the costs of larger university enrollments, substantially increase assistance to the area or community colleges (especially for vocational training), provide for modern special education services, establish Iowa student loans, offer transportation and other assistance to students attending non-public schools, fund a Child Development Task Force, and continue to

expand the state's educational television. In addition, the Governor sponsored Iowa's first statewide conference on education in 1969.

Ray's messages often mentioned Iowa's "educational leadership role," and he acclaimed the "worldwide reputation for academic excellence which our state universities deservedly enjoy" (Ray, "Inaugural," 1969). Persuaded that constituents are "turned off by inflated rhetoric" (Ray, "State of the State," 1972), Ray invited the members of the 1975 General Assembly:

Re-read the speeches you made during the last campaign, and take another look at all the promises you might have made. If you can see now that you promised more than you can deliver, then say so. Our people will appreciate the candor a lot more than unkept promises. (Ray, "Inaugural," 1975)

Ray completed his fifth and final term in 1983 after having consistently maintained "the highest approval ratings as a Governor in the nation" (Milliken, Republican Governors' Association Address, 1978).

Between 1969 and 1983, Iowa's total general expenditures increased 259 per cent as compared with an inflation rate of 171.77 per cent. During those same years, total direct expenditures for education rose from \$215,813,000 to \$673,999,000 (212 per cent). While direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education totalled \$90,561,000 in 1983 (an increase of 274 per cent), total direct expenditures for higher education had risen 205 per cent to \$583,438,000.

Ray served on President Richard Nixon's National Reading Council and, in 1974, earned recognition by Time magazine as one of America's 200 rising young leaders.

#### **Reubin O'D. Askew**

Assuming Florida's executive office in 1971, Democrat Reubin Askew stressed early in his Inaugural Address "We are . . . committed to action. Talk alone will not be sufficient" (Askew, 1971). Citing reform of education as perhaps "our most difficult assignment," the newly-inaugurated Governor expressed resolve "to build a system capable of producing quality education." "And yet," he stated, we must encourage and work toward that reform without making education a scapegoat for political gain" (Askew, 1971).

Like his counterparts in other sections of the country, Askew urged creation of a Citizens' Committee on Education to conduct an in-depth review of the state's educational structure. Meanwhile, he injected some of his own opinions as to the meaning of "quality education." According to Askew's 1971 State of the State Address, the school system

must respond to the extremes of talent among us. It must reflect programs of accountability and techniques of assessment. It must more fully predict the needs and prescribe the programs for each individual as an individual. The system must consider not only the needs of the average student, but also the needs of the disadvantaged child or the slow learner who cannot keep up, and the superior student who is frequently not challenged to do his best. We want to be certain that our system is broad enough in its concepts to

respond to the unique nature of every child, every teenager and every adult.  
(Askew, 1971)

Further, Askew encouraged a strong vocational education program, support for community colleges, priority to undergraduate education, and a major student financial assistance program. The ensuing year, he seconded the Citizen's Committee recommendations for an appointed -- rather than popularly elected -- Chief State School Officer and for a lay board of education appointed by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. The constitutionally-set State Board of Education comprised state officials, with the Governor as its Chair and the Commissioner of Education as Secretary and Executive Officer.

Although the last two proposals remained unenacted (perhaps because they affected constitutional officers), the other initiatives met with greater success. During Askew's eight-year administration, Florida's lawmakers approved enhanced funding for education at all levels; support for higher teachers' salaries; school construction; salary increases for university and community college faculty and administrators (although economic conditions deprived them of raises in 1975); funding for additional faculty in lieu of graduate teaching assistants; student assistance programs; improvements to the university libraries; the Accountability Act of 1976; special education legislation; and a comprehensive compensatory education program. Regarding the compensatory measure, Askew reinforced the commitment that "administrative costs [be] minimized and the maximum benefit from program dollars. . .realized by the school children"

(Askew, "State of the State," 1977).

In 1973, Askew's State of the State Message asserted, "Florida can and should continue to lead the way in assuming a greater share of school costs." And, his administration deserves credit for a more equitable public school funding formula which shared state revenue with the schools and thus decreased local taxes. While complete -- one hundred per cent -- equalization did not materialize, the eighty per cent level achieved did exceed original expectations. Highlighting his state's efforts, the Governor observed,

[I]t has been the policy of this State to move toward equal educational opportunities for all the school children in Florida, wherever they may live and regardless of the relative wealth of the property tax base in their respective counties. No state in the Nation which has a local school system has gone as far to assure equal educational opportunities for all its school children. (Askew, "State of the State," 1976)

In his final appearance before the legislature in regular session, Askew reflected,

During this decade Florida can be proud of the progress made in providing an equal educational opportunity for each child... but we should keep this matter in proper perspective as we strive to continue to improve the educational opportunities for our people. We must continue to monitor our progress, improve our management, and address specific educational objectives. (Askew, 1978)



After spending an unprecedented eight years in the Florida Governor's Mansion, Askew left office in 1979. Two years earlier he had affirmed, "For those of us in public life, the true measure of success is our record of accomplishment on behalf of the people" (Askew, "State of the State," 1977). And, "the people of Florida have demonstrated their ability to reject for re-election governors who do not to live up to their expectations" (Askew, "State of the State," 1972). Askew clearly was aware he would be judged by his deeds.

During Askew's tenure, total direct expenditures for education increased from \$335,202,000 to \$737,981,000 (120 per cent). Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew fifty-eight per cent to \$133,784,000 while total direct expenditures for higher education rose to \$604,197,000 (an increase of 141 per cent). By comparison, total general expenditures across the period rose 154 per cent, and the rate of inflation was 79.23 per cent.

A liberal, Askew has been "hailed as one of the progressives of the 'New South'" (Raimo, 1985, p. 55). In 1974, the year of his re-election, Time magazine acknowledged Askew among its 200 leaders of the future; "virtually no other governor in the nation could match" his accomplishments (Raimo, 1985, p. 55). In addition, Askew's name appeared on a list of ten outstanding governors of the twentieth century -- those "considered to have made a difference not only in their states but also on behalf of states in the federal system, those who were successful at home and influential beyond" (Raimo, 1985, pp. 55-56). Askew chaired the National Governors' Association and entered the 1984 presidential race although he eventually withdrew his

candidacy.

### **Winfield Dunn**

Unique as a newcomer to the political arena, Republican Winfield Dunn moved from his dental practice to Tennessee's gubernatorial seat in 1971. Unprejudiced by prior experience as an elected official, Dunn could readily look at issues through the private citizen's eyes. For instance, he expressed concern over "the quality of education available to my children" (Dunn, 1971). He pledged to the inaugural crowd an active administration. "My presence as your governor will be felt, not only on capitol hill, but in the courthouses. . .[and] in the schools" (Dunn, 1971).

Thus, Dunn shifted from extracting teeth to extracting programs from a Democratic-led legislature. Chief among these was the significant statewide expansion of kindergartens. In addition, Dunn increased the dollar commitment to public education, provided for higher teacher salaries, improved opportunities for children with special education needs, advocated construction of new vocational-technical schools and the expansion of existing facilities, broadened the vocational-technical program, reorganized the State Department of Education for "greater efficiency and effectiveness" (Dunn, "State of the State," 1974), recorded progress in early childhood education, provided the university medical units with "long overdue" assistance, supported a system of medical training centers, and expanded financial aid opportunities for medical students.

In response to the advice of a Citizen's Committee on the Governance of Higher Education, a new Board of Regents was

established. And, in 1974, for the first time, the Governor could report "funding public higher education at the formula level developed by the Higher Education Commission. We have opened the doors of three new community colleges, while another is being created to place special emphasis on technical education needs" (Dunn, "State of the State," 1974).

However, as if to dispel any thoughts of complacency in the legislature, Dunn admonished,

Despite these and many other improvements, we have not reached our goals in public education. We have appropriated record numbers of dollars for education, yet the gaps still exist. There still are massive efforts to be made to provide education services to thousands of handicapped children with special needs... Much remains to be done. (Dunn, 1974)

Although in 1973 Dunn had recommended reduced pupil-teacher ratios and increased textbook support, the Tennessee Code suggests these measures were addressed in 1977, two years after he left office. Dunn proved one of the few governors in the present study whose State of the State Messages tackled the touchy topic of busing; he described the dedication of students, their teachers, and their parents to the neighborhood school concept as "completely justified" (Dunn, 1974).

By the close of Dunn's four-year term in 1975, total direct expenditures for education had risen ninety-two per cent -- from \$261,496,000 to \$502,474,000. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education were \$121,503,000 (an

increase of 161 per cent), and total direct expenditures for higher education had grown seventy-seven per cent to \$380,971,000. Across the period, total general state expenditures increased fifty-nine per cent, accelerating more rapidly than inflation at 32.89 per cent.

Dunn's 1973 State of the State Address insisted, "You have an involved Governor." Indeed, he cultivated this reputation through participation on the Executive Committee of the National Governors' Conference and by chairing the Republican Governors' Association. He also had served as chairman of the University of Tennessee's Board of Trustees. Nevertheless, in 1986, Dunn lost his second bid for the governorship to Democratic House Speaker Ned Ray McWherter in a campaign which focused on continuation of then-Governor Lamar Alexander's highly popular pro-education agenda.

#### **Jerry Apodaca**

The path which led Jerry Apodaca to the New Mexico Capitol in 1975 wound through Albuquerque's Valley High School where he taught history and coached football. Although Apodaca had left the teaching profession in 1961, he devoted a major portion of his first State of the State Address (1975) to the theme of education. The recently-installed Governor challenged his legislature:

The 1974 legislature provided a dramatic improvement in our public school financing...No longer are New Mexico children penalized because of where they were born or where they happen to reside. New Mexico is in the vanguard of equalization...and we can be proud of this fact. But we cannot rest on the achievements of previous legislative

bodies...or of previous administrations.

For I believe, and I hope you believe,  
that education is our first public  
responsibility. (Apodaca, 1975)

In his Inaugural Address three weeks before, Apodaca had echoed sentiments expressed by Virginia's Governor Andrew J. Montague three-quarters of a century earlier, "In building a better future let us not fail to recall our past" (Apodaca, 1975). Apodaca took his own words to heart in preparing his gubernatorial proposals for New Mexico education. By setting a "comprehensive plan for educational excellence. . .from kindergarten through graduate school" as the keynote of his administration, the Governor committed himself to creation of a statewide kindergarten program. As an Hispanic, Apodaca had been retained in first grade to improve his English -- an experience that inevitably made a lasting impression; implementation of the mandatory statewide kindergartens would afford a younger generation of Hispanic children the chance to become bilingual at an earlier age.

Likewise, the Governor could personally relate to his proposal of substantially higher (on the average, 10.9 per cent) salaries for teachers and all school employees. Apodaca had enjoyed teaching -- "every bit of it except the pay" (Tryk, 1975). A teacher by day, he had worked at odd jobs (for instance, sorting mail) in the evenings, and served as a lifeguard in the summer in order to make ends meet. Finally in a position to help lift the educator's lifestyle, Governor Apodaca further recommended that increased appropriations enhance the

salaries of university faculty, professional employees, graduate assistants, and non-certified employees. Thus, Apodaca vowed, "I will work as hard as I can" for approval of this "largest increase in the educational budget in the history of New Mexico" (Apodaca, "State of the State," 1975).

In addition, Apodaca assembled a study group charged with setting goals for the educational system and assigned the chief of the public school finance division to be his educational advisor -- "directly responsible to me" (Apodaca, "State of the State," 1975). Other legislative victories of Apodaca's constitutionally-limited four-year term included significantly expanded postsecondary vocational programs, funding for renovation and construction of technical education facilities, provision for capital improvements at public schools and institutions of higher education, and more readily available student financial assistance in the form of loans. The New Mexico Code also contains an array of statutes establishing basic levels of student attainment through graduation requirements and statewide testing; compiled in 1978, these laws eventually were enacted in 1986.

As a result of these accomplishments, Apodaca's 1977 State of the State Address could inform the legislature, "We have a successful administration" (Apodaca, 1977). Yet, offering a budget pointing toward a "more progressive state," he urged the legislators not to remain content with the status quo. For, he reminded them, "[w]e are in a challenging time. . . .A time when our public schools and institutions of higher learning are on the verge of having the

financial resources necessary for excellence in their academic programs" (Apodaca, 1977). While calling for significantly increased resources for the public schools, Apodaca acknowledged,

Money is not the total answer in education. That is why we have probed parental and community concerns about our schools, the lack of discipline, the basic skills and quality of teaching. The People's Forum on Education confronts these anxieties and points out issues that need attention...But in the meantime, we cannot retreat from our responsibility to provide adequate funding for our educational system. This administration will never call a retreat in education, for a quality education is one resource we can never squander. It will defend our citizens from the whims of a changing environment, a fluctuating economy, or a complicated society. In education, excellence is the only path we can safely follow. (Apodaca, 1977)

Throughout Governor Apodaca's administration, total general state expenditures increased seventy-six per cent while total direct expenditures for education rose from \$168,890,000 to \$297,769,000 -- slightly over seventy-six per cent. Direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education increased at a faster rate of eighty-five per cent to a total of \$44,229,000. Total direct expenditures for higher education grew to \$253,540,000 (a seventy-five per cent increase). The inflation rate across the four-year span was 34.86 per cent.

While serving in the New Mexico State Senate in the late 1960s and early 1970s, Apodaca chaired the Legislative School Study

Committee. He acquired a national reputation as co-chairman of the Democratic National Convention in 1976 but was defeated in his 1982 quest to become the Democratic nominee for a seat in the United States Senate. Since that time, the former Governor has been active in education as chair of the Regents of the University of New Mexico.

#### **Pierre S. duPont, IV**

Inaugurated as Delaware's new Republican Governor in 1977, Pierre S. ("Pete") duPont talked of politicians who "have preached priorities as candidates, but ignored them as officials" (duPont, 1977). Determined not to be held in such disreputable company, duPont inserted a progress report in his State of the State Address the following year:

I made 95 specific pledges to you during my campaign for the Governorship. At the end of my first year in office, 30 have been accomplished, or have had legislation to accomplish them sent to the General Assembly, and another 16 are partially completed. That adds up to action on 48% of my pledges. (duPont, 1978)

DuPont's 1978 Budget Message focused on five specific gubernatorial initiatives in education: establishment of a Competency Based Education Program, provision for adult education, development of Delaware's first state-supported program for the gifted and talented, improvement of education for the handicapped, and substantially increased funding for school-related youth organizations.

By 1979, duPont could inscribe yet another notch on his register of



achievements, noting in his State of the State Address

[T]he seeds of competency based education...have taken root, and today, education is better. Promotion standards are in effect for most grades, social promotion is on its way out. Statewide testing has begun, as recommended by my Commission on the Future of Education. Parents can now follow the progress of their children through school from year to year. (duPont, 1979)

Obviously encouraged by survey results indicating that sixty-five per cent of Delaware parents believed the schools were providing quality education (at a time when only fifty-one per cent of parents in a nationwide Gallup Poll gave the schools "A" or "B" ratings), the Governor stressed that the state still could do much better. Having visited both first grade reading classes and tenth grade remedial laboratories, he had seen the "crying need for better basic education" (duPont, "State of the State," 1979). Thus, he recommended creation of alternative fundamental or "Basics Plus" schools. At the other end of the spectrum, he strongly advocated a summer Governor's School for Excellence to serve Delaware's "best and brightest."

Together with the above proposals, duPont proved successful in implementing comprehensive job placement counseling (the "Jobs for Delaware Graduates" Program), an eighty-one per cent increase in public school per pupil expenditures, higher teacher salaries, enhanced teacher standards, and alternative programs for disruptive students.

In his 1983 State of the State Address duPont claimed, "I believe we are leading the nation in improving our public education system" (duPont, 1983). However, his final message the following year urged a renewed commitment to excellence in education, "[f]or only through a continuing commitment to excellence can we address the changing needs of our children and assure the best possible education and economic opportunity for future generations of Delawareans" (duPont, 1984).

Higher education earned scant attention in duPont's addresses. His 1978 State of the State Message called for creation of a Board of Regents to ensure "the wise utilization of our educational resources -- both financial and academic" (duPont, 1978). However, despite proposals to convert Delaware's higher education advisory board to a coordinating board on a statutory basis, opposition from the three public institutions doomed such legislation to defeat (Millett, 1984). DuPont did recommend an initiative allowing the University of Delaware to offer merit scholarships to Delaware high school graduates; however, his 1984 Budget Message confirmed:

For our institutions of higher education increases will be limited to funding our commitments under the Title VI agreement and for additional operating expenses for newly opened facilities. While I am very much aware of the real needs of Delaware's three higher education institutions, until the economy improves we have little choice but to try to maintain our current commitments. (duPont, 1984)

Early in his eight-year tenure, duPont confronted a federally-

mandated reorganization of the New Castle County schools to achieve racial integration. In a recurring appeal, his State of the State Addresses called for personal suppression of rancor and violence.

Between 1977 and the conclusion of duPont's term in 1985, Delaware's total general expenditures increased 102 per cent. By comparison, total direct expenditures for education rose ninety per cent -- from \$141,226,000 to \$268,910,000. While total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew to \$48,201,000 (seventy-two per cent), total direct expenditures for higher education rose ninety-five percent to \$220,709,000. The rate of inflation across this period was 77.52 per cent.

Since stepping down as Governor, duPont has chaired the national nonprofit organization, "Jobs for America's Graduates, Inc.," an offshoot of his Delaware program and is cited as a possible contender for the 1988 Republican Presidential nomination.

#### **James B. Hunt, Jr.**

The 8 January 1977 inaugural ceremony of North Carolina's Governor James Baxter Hunt, Jr., invoked the presence of an unseen yet welcome guest; as the new Democratic Governor called upon his fellow Tar Heels to "burgeon out the best that is within us" (Hunt, 1977), Hunt summoned the spirit of his venerated predecessor Charles Brantley Aycock. Nine days later, Hunt's State of the State Address echoed Aycock's top priority: education. "We [in North Carolina]," maintained Hunt, "believe deeply in education; we know it is the door to a better future. . .The money we spend on education is the best money we spend" (Hunt, 1977).

This message effectively established Hunt's agenda and foreshadowed the attainments with which his eight-year administration would be credited. In working toward his ideal of a North Carolina educational system which taught every child to read and which, consequently, inspired the citizens' confidence, Hunt ardently championed a Primary Reading Program; a rigorous standardized testing program; the minimum competency test required for graduation; and a Community Schools Act which opened facilities to the general public.

In addition, Hunt convinced his legislature to support basic skills instruction; programs for exceptional children; remedial instruction; the nation's first residential school for the gifted in science and mathematics; a Governor's School for students gifted in the arts; and stricter high school graduation standards.

By 1981 Hunt could proclaim that these programs were producing tangible results. According to his State of the State Address,

North Carolina has made great strides in its public schools the last four years. Our teachers, principals, superintendents and all educators deserve tremendous credit. We are focusing on the basic skills and developing competency for life. For years, North Carolina has been way down in the national education scores. But now, for the first time ever, our students in grades one through six have scored at or above the national average in reading, language, spelling and math. Our students' SAT scores are up, while they are dropping in other parts of the nation. (Hunt, 1981)

Not only did the School of Science and Mathematics lead the

nation in the percentage of national merit scholarship semi-finalists; it also stimulated better instruction in those subjects throughout the state's public schools. And, across North Carolina, the drop-out rate decreased.

The Governor helped public school teachers receive salary increases (including longevity increments); provided for both teachers' and principals' training institutes; raised funding for instructional supplies; and added vocational education positions.

"But," Hunt insisted in 1981, "our schools and our students need more than tax dollars. My goal during the next four years will be to get more people helping to make their schools excellent" (Hunt, "State of the State," 1981). "Will you help teach a child to read?" he asked the public. And, to set the example, Hunt himself took time from a hectic gubernatorial schedule to tutor students (Rexford Brown, personal communication, February 1985). Further, the Governor spent a number of hours visiting schools and classrooms, figuratively following in the footsteps of his mother who had been a teacher. In 1983, he applauded the successful "adopt-a-school" program as well as the establishment of the North Carolina Business Council on Science and Mathematics Education.

During Hunt's administration, the community and technical colleges gained new leadership under their own governing board composed heavily of industry leaders and experienced a major change in their funding formula. Praised by Hunt as among the finest in the country, the community college system prepared to retrain adults and, at the Governor's direction, pursued joint programs with the public

schools. "The state of Charles Brantley Aycock and Terry Sanford should not rest until we help every single North Carolina youngster to graduate" (Hunt, "State of the State," 1983).

Hunt repeatedly referred to the state's "proud tradition of support for its excellent University of North Carolina system under the leadership of Dr. Bill Friday" (Hunt, "State of the State," 1979). However, he also dramatically enhanced investments in North Carolina's predominantly black universities and substantially increased aid to students in the private institutions of higher education.

Urging continued progress in his 1981 Inaugural Address, Hunt affirmed, "We believe in our state motto, "Esse Quam Videri -- To Be Rather Than To Seem" (Hunt, 1981). Two years later, he framed an even stronger appeal,

All of North Carolina led by its Governor and General Assembly, must make a new commitment to excellence in education. We ought to hold up good teachers and good principals and good schools as examples. We ought to recognize their accomplishments and issue a challenge for excellence.

This is why I have proclaimed 1983 as "The Year of the Public School" in North Carolina. The time has come to rally around the public schools, the time has come to get more personally involved in them, and the time has come to mobilize the forces for education across our state.

The key to economic growth is education -- the public schools, the community colleges and the universities. (Hunt, "State of the State," 1983)

North Carolina's first governor under a constitution allowing two consecutive four-year terms, Hunt departed the executive office in 1985, having "brought about the most extensive changes in the public schools since the days of [his mentor,] Governor Terry Sanford" (Pearce, 1982, p. xxi). The one change he failed to effect would have made the State Superintendent of Public Instruction an appointive rather than an elective officer.

Throughout Hunt's administration, total general state expenditures rose ninety-seven per cent as compared with a 131 per cent increase in total direct educational expenditures -- from \$653,087,000 to \$1,505,893,000. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew to \$205,531,000 (seventy-nine per cent). Demonstrating a more rapid rise of 142 per cent, total direct expenditures for higher education reached \$1,300,362,000 by 1985. Meanwhile, the rate of inflation was 77.52 per cent.

As the Tar Heel State's Lieutenant Governor in the early 1970s, Hunt actively participated on the Board of Education. Later, he won national recognition through chairing the Democratic Governors' Conference. Enthusiastically involved in regional and national education organizations, Hunt led the Southern Regional Education Board, participated on the Business Advisory Council of the Education Commission of the States (following his term as ECS chairman), and served on the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession. In 1985 he lost an acrimonious race for the United States Senate to conservative Republican Jesse Helms.

**William Clinton**

A former Rhodes Scholar, lawyer, and faculty member at the University of Arkansas Law School, William Clinton became Arkansas' -- and the nation's -- youngest governor in 1979 at the age of 32. Holding out the promise of substantive educational reform in his first Inaugural Address, Clinton stressed,

In education, we have lingered too long on or near the bottom of the heap in spending per student and in teacher salaries. We must try to reverse that. However, we must be mindful that higher quality education will not come from money alone. The money must be but part of a plan which includes better accountability and assessment for students and teachers, a fairer distribution of aid, more efficient organization of school districts, and recognition of work still to be done in programs for kindergarten, special education, and gifted and talented children. (Clinton, 1979)

In his 1980-1981 budget, Clinton further recommended funding for reading specialists and enhanced vocational education. And, from 1979 through the close of his two-year term in 1981 the Democratic Governor took measurable steps toward achieving these expressed priorities.

However, Arkansas' educational explosion would wait until Clinton gained reelection in 1982. His Inaugural and State of the State Addresses in 1983 iterated the demands for better basic education, higher teacher salaries, and diversified vocational and high technology programs. In the fall of that year, the Governor called a special session of the legislature which enacted new standards for the



public schools and increased the sales tax to foster improvements in higher and vocational education. Among those new standards, the one which brought Clinton the greatest note -- as well as "the most notoriety" -- was his insistence that all teachers pass a basic competency test to retain their certification (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25). The legislature also approved an Educational Excellence Fund, cultivating Clinton's reputation as the governor who "pour[ed] millions into education" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25). As Clinton had promised in his 1983 State of the State Address, there was not "a lot of rhetoric" that year.

Higher education profited from \$32 million invested in new science and engineering facilities, a \$2.2 million increase in the student loan fund, \$3.4 million for selected college improvement programs, and \$800,000 for creation of a merit scholarship program designed to reverse the outward flow of Arkansas' most able students. "Ultimately," he insists, "every governor should be able to say that high-school seniors need not leave their state or attend an expensive private institution to receive an 'absolutely first-rate education'" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25).

Thus, within a remarkably short span, Clinton carried Arkansas to the brink of major educational reform. Yet, his 1985 Inaugural Message contained a caveat,

We must be prepared to pay the price of time. The process of reforming our education system...cannot occur overnight. We will need a decade to reap the full benefits of our efforts. (Clinton, 1985)

The Governor also successfully advocated basic skill improvement programs for teachers unable to pass the competency test, testing programs for administrators, improved job training opportunities for unemployed adults and vocational students, and heightened involvement in education by the business community -- all in the name of excellence with accountability. With these educational victories came "general praise and approval, [not only] within our borders but far beyond this state" (Clinton, 1985).

Perhaps indicative of popular approval of his agenda, Clinton won reelection to an expanded four-year term in 1986 by defeating former Governor Frank White. (White's administration from 1981 through 1983 intervened between Clinton's first and second terms.) Nonetheless, Clinton warns less-than-altruistic political leaders that education is not a one-sided or "unambiguously positive" issue: "If you asked the people who voted for me why they did, 'education' would probably be the top answer. And, if you asked the people who voted against me why they did, you'd probably get the same answer" (Jaschik, 1986, p. 25).

During Clinton's first administration (1979 through 1981) total general expenditures in Arkansas rose twenty-two per cent, less than the inflation rate of 25.30 per cent. Total direct expenditures for education increased from \$305,351,000 to \$399,401,000 (thirty-one per cent). Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education grew to \$97,009,000 (thirty-six per cent) while total direct expenditures for higher education increased twenty-nine per cent to \$302,392,000. Between 1983 and 1985 (the latest year for which these figures are available), total general expenditures increased twenty-

four percent as compared with an inflation rate of 7.98 per cent. Total direct expenditures for education increased twenty-six percent -- from \$435,200,000 to \$547,909,000. By 1985 direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education totalled \$117,684,000 (a fourteen per cent increase), and total direct expenditures for higher education had risen thirty per cent to \$430,225,000.

According to Raimo (1985), Clinton's activist programs and leadership style enabled him to regain power for the Arkansas Governor's Office which former legislatures had usurped. Time magazine counted Clinton among one of America's outstanding young leaders in 1979, one of "fifty faces to watch" in the future. Apparently living up to expectations, Clinton became the first state chief executive to simultaneously hold chairmanships of the Education Commission of the States and the National Governors' Association in 1986. He also led the National Governors' Association Task Force on School Leadership and Management which contributed to the August 1986 Time For Results report and subsequently authored an article asking, "Who Will Manage the Schools?" for the November 1986 Phi Delta Kappan.

Consequently, Clinton often finds himself in the speaker's spotlight -- particularly before audiences of educators. For instance, he addressed the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. However, not only did he speak to that Association; after returning to Little Rock, Arkansas, Clinton followed up with a personalized letter to participants which read in part:

I believe that more programs must be created to assure the continued education of students of all ages and much broader efforts must be made to link education with economic development. These achievements are crucial if we are to succeed in our efforts to keep our people working and raise the productivity levels of our workers and industries. Your role in achieving this goal will be an important one, and I earnestly solicit your help and support. (William Clinton, personal communication, March 17, 1987)

#### Robert D. Graham

A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Florida, Robert Graham followed fellow Democrat Reubin Askew's footsteps into the Florida Governor's Mansion in 1979. Quickly establishing his priorities, Graham emphasized in his Inaugural Message,

...[W]hatever the issues, whatever the demands of the moment, whatever our other concerns, we must never hesitate to fulfill our greatest obligation -- that of teaching our children. We must educate them and prepare them as best we can to participate in the continuing community of Florida -- and of the world. (Graham, 1979)

The new Governor paid homage to Askew's achievements, then set out to forge his own.

In his initial State of the State Address that year, Graham encouraged state government to assume a greater share of the tax burden for public schools; at the same time he maintained that the proper state role in education should be that of concentrating on

student performance, setting statewide standards, and monitoring those standards closely. "We must be prepared to make a commitment to excellence in education in Florida," he declared. "We must not settle for less than the best in public education at any level. For we will do so at the cost of our children's future -- and of the future of our state" (Graham, 1979).

In addition to the increased per pupil funding for public schools and community colleges, the Governor earmarked a special appropriation for "improving the excellence of the programs in our state universities. One goal of higher education should be a program of national distinction in each major academic discipline somewhere in Florida" (Graham, 1979). The succeeding year, Graham acknowledged the approval of the requested moneys with the assertion, "We must have a university system that will attract top scholars and students from all over the world." Furthermore, he said, "**We must have a public school system where teachers are paid what they're worth**, and we must have school programs that challenge young minds" (Graham, "State of the State," 1980).

As a tangible goal and standard by which to judge progress, Graham resolved to place Florida among the top twelve states in the nation in educational quality by 1986; "quality," it appears from his speeches, would be measured in terms of teacher and college and university faculty salaries. His 1985 State of the State report showed progress toward that objective although perhaps not quite matching the original intent:

And, in enacting our budget, we will take the fourth and fifth steps in our five-year plan to raise our community colleges and state universities to the level of the top 12 states in America -- and we will move forward toward the goal of bringing our public schools into the upper quartile. (Graham, 1985)

The exact figures Graham was using to evaluate his progress remain unclear; National Education Association statistics reveal that by 1985-1986 Florida ranked fourteenth in the "per cent increase in average salaries of public school teachers 1975-76 to 1985-86" -- a tremendous jump from the previous year's ranking of thirty-second. However, Florida still ranked thirty-third among the states in "estimated average salaries of public school teachers" (NEA, 1986).

Other successful recommendations of Graham's first term included: funding for additional classroom space to alleviate the need for double sessions in some school districts and reduction of the pupil-teacher ratio. As the Governor happily informed the 1982 legislature, "Florida's public school system is progressing toward the excellence we seek, with students scoring higher on basic skills and scholastic aptitude tests. We are proud of our children and teachers" (Graham, 1982). Even as Graham called for prudent retrenchment that year, he increased the education budget by \$271 million.

But the major educational impetus was yet to come, heralded by Graham's second Inaugural Address (1983):

What some may call our obsession with education goes beyond economic objectives. The degree of excellence we are striving for goes beyond dollars and cents to more intangible and enduring dividends. The power of choice that comes from learning, infuses lives with purposeful meaning. (Graham, 1983)

However, Graham also recognized the persuasive value of a sound economic argument -- especially when dealing with legislators. His 1983 State of the State Message affirmed, "By improving our schools, community colleges and state universities, you can help Florida attract the new high-technology businesses that will dominate the economy of the United States into the 21st century" (Graham, 1983). He went on to devote over half of that speech to education, demanding greater accountability of students, teachers, and administrators; more rigorous academic standards; enhanced instruction in mathematics, science, and foreign languages; and scholarships for mathematics and science teachers. Moreover, he stated, "[W]e must pay what it costs to reduce the class sizes so more learning can take place" (Graham, 1983) and recommended tax increases to fund the desired excellence.

Graham's strategy succeeded; that legislative session enacted the nation's highest graduation standards, provided for a Master Teacher Program, expanded the school day, and supported local district implementation of merit pay plans. Graham also noted the greater number of citizens volunteering their time to schools as well as the productive partnership of education, government, and business exemplified by a program linking American Transtech Company, Florida

Junior College, and the Florida Department of Education. And, in Dade County, "Miami-Dade Community College is internationally known -- not only as one of America's largest post-secondary institutions -- but also, as America's finest" (Graham, "State of the State," 1985).

However, echoing several of his peers, Graham urged the legislature to continue to support these reforms with resources. For,

Excellence is not a bill we can pass and sign into law in a single session. Excellence requires years of continuous concerted effort...Within the past two days, our state's largest newspaper published a survey showing that two of every three Floridians think the public schools are getting better -- and two of every three Floridians want them to keep on getting better. And two of every three say they are willing to pay higher taxes if it means better schools.

In demonstrating their confidence in our work, and by volunteering to work in hundreds of our schools, Floridians are showing they take education seriously. (Graham, "State of the State," 1984)

On a prior occasion, the Governor had reminded the lawmakers that they, too, must be serious. Quoting some of their campaign promises which had emphasized education as a top priority, Graham admonished, "Those are words upon which you were elected. Your actions here in the legislature are what you go home with. Take back to your constituents. . .evidence that you have lived up to your contract" (Graham, "State of the State," 1983).

As of the latest available statistics in 1985, total direct



expenditures for education in the Sunshine State had risen to \$1,651,413,000 as compared with \$737,981,000 in 1979 -- an increase of 124 per cent. Total direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education reached \$471,708,000 (a 253 per cent increase) while total direct expenditures for higher education grew a lesser ninety-five per cent to \$1,179,705,000. Total general expenditures increased by ninety-eight per cent across this period when the rate of inflation was 48.21 per cent.

Throughout his administration Graham sought to broaden his perspective by stepping into an unfamiliar role -- such as that of a teacher -- one day each month. In other educational endeavors, he was a member of the Southern Regional Education Board, the National Commission on Reforming Secondary Education, and the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education. Graham also contributed to the Time For Results effort by serving as Vice Chairman of the National Governors' Association's College Quality Task Force. From a governorship which garnered national recognition for leadership in school reform, Graham moved directly to a seat in the United States Senate in January 1987.

#### **Thomas H. Kean**

Snared by the political lure in 1964, Thomas Kean abandoned his aspirations to a Ph.D. Degree after supporting William Scranton's unsuccessful bid for the Republican Presidential nomination. Thus, Kean exchanged a career in the groves of academe for one on the political stump and found himself enroute to the New Jersey governorship. However, the former American history and English

teacher and political science professor did not completely divest his roots; Kean's 1982 Inaugural Address proved a harbinger of his gubernatorial agenda:

We must strengthen our commitment to the basics of education: Reading, writing, and arithmetic. At the same time, children and teachers must never be inhibited from striving for excellence, or searching out new horizons of intellectual growth. (Kean, 1982)

And, Kean immediately moved to shift the emphasis in his state's educational system "from the maintenance of mediocrity to the attainment of excellence" (Kean, "State of the State," 1983). He reorganized the New Jersey Department of Education; involved top state higher education, business, labor, and government leaders on a Commission of Science and Technology; and donated the proceeds from his inaugural ball to initiate the Governor's School at Monmouth College. (Legitimate offspring of the North Carolina School, the New Jersey proposal was brought to Kean's attention by Monmouth College president Sam Magill who had been acquainted with Terry Sanford's efforts.) Like his North Carolina contemporary, Jim Hunt, Kean officially designated 1983 as the "Year of the School" to "bring into sharp focus the compelling need to develop ideas and techniques to improve our system of education, public as well as private" (Kean, 1983).

The New Jersey Governor's succeeding State of the State Addresses called for raising the minimum teacher salary to \$18,500 (the nation's

highest) coupled with a Master Teacher Plan of incentives, grants to teachers for developing program proposals to improve student learning, a controversial alternative certification program for liberal arts graduates wishing to teach, increased professional standards, scholarships for top students agreeing to teach in New Jersey upon graduation, enhancement of education in the humanities and foreign languages, alternative education for disruptive students, improvements in technical and high technology programs, and an increase in the Educational Opportunity Fund to encourage continued minority enrollments at state colleges and universities. Increased taxes subsidized these -- and other -- education reforms.

In a 1985 interview with Frank Newman, Kean conceded that he had concentrated more attention on secondary schools than on higher education. However, he acknowledged,

...you can't work just to improve schools. You've got to move on to undergraduate education, for a number of reasons. One is obvious: if something is going wrong in higher education, you are not going to get the teachers you want for secondary schools. In other words, the quality of teachers depends on the quality of colleges. Furthermore, a state's higher education system is often a measure of its quality of life. The state that ignores its public colleges is going to suffer in the long run. It's going to suffer economically, and its image is going to suffer. The best and brightest students may go elsewhere, and stay. ("Rising expectations," 1985)

Hence, in addition to the above legislative triumphs, Kean

challenged Rutgers University and the state colleges -- institutions "poised on the edge of real distinction" -- to fulfill their potential. Then, the Governor backed up his challenges with new legislation and millions of state dollars. Securing passage of an autonomy bill which severed bureaucratic ties binding the state capitol and the nine state colleges, Kean urged these institutions to "join this nation's very best" (Kean, "State of the State," 1985). The presidents of these institutions, Kean's special guests for the 1985 State of the State Address, heard the Governor offer Challenge Grant Awards to "colleges that charted a course of excellence and stuck to it" (Kean, 1985). Regarding Rutgers, Kean said,

...It should be the jewel of our system. It should reflect New Jersey's overall drive for excellence, our improving image, our status as a national leader in education.

I therefore challenge Rutgers to become a nationally renowned research university by attracting a number of world class scholars to New Jersey...The attraction of world class scholars to the Rutgers faculty can turn already excellent departments into outstanding ones. In turn, these scholars will attract other talented faculty and students. So the presence of top-flight talent multiplies itself once that talent is attracted. (Kean, 1985)

By October 1986 Kean informed the Council for Financial Aid to Education meeting in Cleveland, Ohio: "Within a year, I was able to introduce five world class scholars to the legislature. These people have two things in common: They are the best in their field and now

they teach in New Jersey" (Kean, 1986). Moreover, the previous pattern of young people seeking their future elsewhere had been broken (Coleman, 1985).

During his 1985 reelection campaign, Kean portrayed his first term (1982 through 1986) as prelude to the "educational renaissance" he envisioned for New Jersey. Evidence of his appeal to educators lies in his endorsement that year by the New Jersey Education Association -- the first time that organization had ever supported a Republican gubernatorial candidate. On election day, "Mr. Kean did no last-minute campaigning after voting near his home in Livingston. Instead, he visited the second grade at the Mount Pleasant School, resuming the school visits he liked to make before he began his campaign" (Sullivan, 1985). And, his reelection by 700,000 votes riveted the nation's attention.

Between 1982 and 1985 (the latest year for which figures are available) total general state expenditures in New Jersey climbed twenty-nine per cent as compared with an inflation rate of 11.45 per cent. Total direct expenditures for education rose from \$931,705,000 to \$1,122,279,000 -- twenty-one per cent. However, an increase in direct expenditures for higher education to \$922,800,000 (twenty-nine per cent) accounts for this rise; direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education decreased by seven per cent to \$199,479,000. A drop in "other" education expenditures was the principal cause of this decline; these statistics do not indicate that Kean lowered public school spending.

When Kean's term of office expires in 1990, he may "find himself

heading some conservation group or doing something in education or going to a small-town newspaper with no axes to grind and writing columns and articles" (Norman, 1985). Meanwhile, he has repeatedly denied intentions of running for any national office. Although described as "a not particularly charismatic moderate," Kean has established a presence, taking advantage of media techniques to enhance his image (Coleman, 1985). A sought-after speaker, Kean has addressed audiences from Atlantic City to San Francisco, including the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education and the Council for Financial Aid to Education. He chaired the National Governors' Association's Task Force on Teaching, served as a member of the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, and, since concluding his year as ECS Chairman, has continued to direct that organization's three-year national initiative on effective state action to improve undergraduate education.

At the 1985 annual meeting of the Education Commission of the States, Kean received high praise from his Virginia colleague, Governor Charles S. Robb:

In Tom Kean we have a Governor who is in every aspect [an "Education Governor"]. All of us, particularly those who participate actively in ECS and a number of other educational organizations, like to think of ourselves as "Education Governors." But not many of us can claim to be an "Education Governor" in the sense that he has been an active participant in education virtually all of his life. He has been a teacher both in high school and in Rutgers at the college level. He has been a reporter on educational issues. He

has run a summer camp for disadvantaged youth. He's done all kinds of things that relate directly to education. (Robb, 1985)

Using a public forum to spur other governors on to similar initiatives, Kean writes in the November 1986 Phi Delta Kappan that state chief executives

should develop incentives to encourage more professional school environments. They should challenge the higher education community to rebuild teacher education and support those who take up that challenge. They should listen to teachers, principals, and board members and focus the energy of those people on what must be done. Above all, governors must emphasize that it isn't the teacher recruitment program they are interested in, but the people -- the people who teach children.

...Without the support of governors, there will be no progress on the emerging agenda for the reform of teaching. (Kean, 1986, p. 205)

#### Focusing the Image

Twenty distinct portraits. . .twenty unique gubernatorial administrations spanning a quarter century. Yet, like the institutions of the Ivy League, these individuals clearly are bound by many common elements. All have been recognized as "Outstanding Governors." All have chaired the Education Commission of the States. And, most significantly, all twenty governors -- Republicans as well as Democrats -- share a solid commitment to education. The final

chapter will take a closer look at the collective characteristics which have emerged through these personal profiles. In evaluating whether the gubernatorial rhetoric has been congruent with reality, the chapter also will address the more basic question posed in the prologue, "Is there really such a thing as an 'Education Governor'-- specifically, a modern 'Education Governor?'" If, indeed, there is, the special qualities culled from these twenty individuals will distill into the essence of that image.



## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSION

Trusted men in a familiar role subscribing to the accepted symbols can go a very long way on their own initiative without explaining the substance of their actions. But wise leaders are not content to do that.

Walter Lippmann, 1922

Action -- not words. That's how you make a name for yourself.  
Banking Advertisement, 1987

#### Beyond Illusion: They Meant What They Said

From Terry Sanford to Thomas Kean, each of the twenty state chief executives at the heart of this study recognized that unfulfilled promises litter the political wasteland. Aiming for more fertile territory, they vowed to bring their pledges to fruition. Indeed, William Milliken and Robert Graham even exhorted members of the Michigan and Florida legislatures to honor the words on which they were elected. All twenty governors worked -- some of them tirelessly -- to forge their education pledges into substantive action. Clearly, they have proven true to the spirit of Alabama Governor Braxton Bragg Comer who intensely insisted that "all pre-election pledges made by him and by the legislators, were to be scrupulously kept and enacted

into law" (Walker, 1947, p. 181). Thus, the tradition and legacy of such turn-of-the-century governors as Comer, Charles B. Aycock, Andrew J. Montague, and Claude A. Swanson live on through these modern-day chief executives. By their words -- as well as their actions -- the latter twentieth century governors have created an image for themselves. And the name of that image is the "Education Governor."

In moving from words to action, these governors have defied the common wisdom. State political officeholders ranked just above the much-maligned car salespeople in a December 1985 U.S. News and World Report survey of professional honesty and ethical standards. Seventy-nine per cent of those questioned described state politicians' standards as "Average" or "Low" while only twelve per cent perceived their honesty and ethics as "High" or "Very high" ("Morality," 1985, p. 53). Perhaps the public's surprise at politicians who actually live up to their promises is best expressed by the North Carolina professor who, upon hearing Terry Sanford's comprehensive quality education outline, exclaimed, "Good Lord! He meant what he said during the campaign" (Jones, 1966, p. xxi).

These modern "Education Governors" generally have persisted in their commitments; encountering an obstacle in the path to educational improvement, they either removed the impediment or carved out an alternate course. For example, New Jersey's Thomas Kean pursued college autonomy legislation for four years before securing its enactment. And, in Michigan, William Milliken achieved a legislative solution in the Equalization Act of 1973 after voters rejected his proposed constitutional amendment which would have altered the state's

property tax and education financing structure.

The ardent attention of these twenty governors to their educational ambitions is most readily discernible through such tangible products as legislation, the establishment of programs, and the construction of new buildings. Very few of their objectives took absolutely quantifiable form. Aside from recommended budgetary figures, the most statistically measurable expressions were Winfield Dunn's goal of providing kindergartens for 100 per cent (rather than just twenty-six per cent) of Tennessee school districts and Robert Graham's push to move Florida into the top twelve states in educational quality. Even this last objective -- although sounding straightforward -- proves difficult to pin down given the wide variety of statistics available from such agencies as the National Education Association and the United States Department of Education. The governors also engaged in a certain amount of provocative political hyperbole such as Edmund G. ("Pat") Brown's portrayal of California public education as the "best in the world."

#### Distilling the Image from Reality

Indeed, all twenty modern "Education Governors" subscribed to the gospel of "high standards," "quality," and "excellence" in education -- words which continuously recur throughout their legislative addresses. And, virtually all of them supported this affirmation with generous contributions from state coffers. As would be expected, the actual dollars and cents appropriation for education increased in

every case. More significantly, direct state expenditures for education (including capital outlay) rose at a substantially higher rate than inflation during all but one of the twenty administrations. The exception was William Milliken's unusually long (fourteen-year) tenure in Michigan which weathered several periods of severe economic hardship. Throughout thirteen of the twenty governorships (excluding the anomaly of spending under Kean), direct state expenditures for education climbed more rapidly than total general state expenditures. Of the remaining six administrations, four were Republican (McCall, Milliken, Ray, and duPont) and two were Democratic (Brown and Askew).

The percentage increase in direct expenditures for higher education was greater than that for elementary/secondary and other education during the gubernatorial terms of Hatfield, Milliken, Peterson, Askew, duPont, Hunt and Kean (thirty-five per cent). Under twelve of the governors (sixty per cent), elementary/secondary and other education received the higher percentage increase. While direct expenditures for elementary/secondary and other education rose by a greater percentage under William Clinton's first term, this pattern has been reversed throughout his subsequent administrations.

Many of the governors, including Sanford, Clinton, and Kean, obtained these funds through the politically unpopular move of raising taxes. Also noteworthy among such risk-takers is Milliken, who had been cautioned that he might be placing his political future on the line for education. The Michigan "Education Governor," however, continued undaunted, emphasizing, like a number of his fellows, that quality education is not a partisan issue. Furthermore, Milliken

joined Apodaca, Hunt, Clinton, and Graham in insisting that the pursuit of educational excellence should not stop "with the demand for more money" (Milliken, 1969). The other fifteen silently expressed this belief through their actions. With Sanford and Clinton, those actions included the exertion of particular influence over the state legislature.

Forty per cent of the modern "Education Governors" had been directly concerned with education prior to their election through teaching or trusteeship (Hatfield, Hansen, Apodaca, Clinton, and Kean) or indirectly involved in education through strong parental influence (Sanford, McNair, and Hunt). And, at least one-quarter of the governors -- Sanford, duPont, Hunt, Graham, and Kean -- regularly visited the schools throughout their term of office.

Two-thirds (thirteen) of these chief executives proved active participants in a variety of regional and national education endeavors. In addition to chairing ECS, the governors have been intimately linked with the Southern Regional Education Board, the ECS Business Advisory Council, the National Commission on Reforming Secondary Education, the National Foundation for the Improvement of Education, the National Reading Council, the Carnegie Forum Task Force on Teaching as a Profession, and the National Governors' Association's "1991 Report on Education" (Time for Results). Moreover, many have held college and university trusteeships. Over the years, Sanford, Hunt, Clinton, and Kean have found themselves frequently-demanded speakers on educational concerns.

Apparently cultivating a more cosmopolitan than local or regional

orientation, forty per cent of the modern "Education Governors" have evidenced aspirations to national political office. As of January 1987, the United States Senate included Sanford, Hatfield, Chafee, and Graham among its members. Hunt and Apodaca lost in earlier attempts to join that body. In addition, Askew initially entered the 1984 race for the United States presidency, and duPont is considered a potential presidential contender for the 1988 election.

Thus, as with the "Education Governors" of the early 1900s, differences among the modern-day "Education Governors" arise more in intensity than from contrast. They all successfully translated their educational pledges into reality -- although some, like Sanford, promised and, therefore, attained more far-reaching results. In the final analysis, the most revealing inquiry may be: "Did the states have better educational systems as a result of their "Education Governors" terms of office?" While any answer to that question is necessarily subjective, the collective response would appear to be "Yes."

#### Coping With Crises

Not only have these "Education Governors" stimulated education in their own states; they have heightened the consciousness of their colleagues from other states as well. Andrew J. Montague's words are as applicable to the 1980s as they were in the early twentieth century:

"When I first spoke for a better public school system...I was as one crying in the wilderness, and now I hear voices of sympathy and support all about me."  
(Larsen, 1965, p. 169)

Perhaps the "Education Governors" have sounded as voices crying in the wilderness because they were speaking at the first signs of an impending educational crisis. Montague, for example, had seen the stagnation of Virginia's public school system -- a condition fueling fears that the state was "rearing a generation of illiterates" (Larsen, 1965, p. 151). Those governors of the 1960s -- Sanford, Brown, Hatfield, Hughes, Chafee, Hansen, McNair, Rampton, and McCall -- faced unprecedented leaps in public school and higher education enrollments and the accompanying facilities shortages. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Milliken, Peterson, Ray, Askew, and Dunn contended with public school financing, specifically the equalization issue which stemmed from the California Supreme Court's Serrano decision in 1971. And, from the latter half of the 1970s into the 1980s, Apodaca, duPont, Hunt, Clinton, Graham, and Kean have worked toward strengthened basic education and accountability, presaging the crisis identified by the Presidential Commission in A Nation At Risk (1983).

As Lippmann (1922) aptly illustrates:

There is no time during mutiny at sea to make each sailor [author's insert: or legislator] an expert judge of experts. There is no time for the pilot [author's insert: or governor] to consult

his crew [author's insert: the legislature] and find out whether he is really as wise as he thinks he is...In the crisis, the only advice is to use a gun, or make a speech, utter a stirring slogan, offer a compromise, employ any quick means available to quell the mutiny, the sense of evidence being what it is. It is only on shore where men plan for many voyages, that they can afford to, and must for their own salvation, deal with those causes that take a long time to remove. (pp. 259-260)

In many ways, then, the "Education Governors" also have been educational captains in times of crisis, navigating their ship of state through turbulent waters. Through speeches and stirring slogans they have taken immediate action to resolve the pressing crises of expanded enrollments, finance, or diluted curricula and then turned to more long-range demands as did Brown with the preparation of California's Master Plan. Meanwhile, other governors, witnessing an exemplary response, will emulate it once they perceive the crisis. However, by assuming this central leadership role, have the governors intruded on sacred educational ground? From Terry Sanford's perspective, "More universities have suffered from political indifference than have ever been upset by political interference" (Sanford, 1967, p. 200).

#### Future Stock

While a major study directed by ECS President Frank Newman has been grappling with this question of political intrusion, the



possibilities for further research into education's gubernatorial connection remain virtually unlimited. For instance, future studies might focus on the governors of one particular state or region; the efforts of various governors to enact legislation on one particular issue; other "outstanding governors" who have not chaired ECS (e.g., Lamar Alexander and Richard Riley); other ECS Chairmen not cited as "outstanding governors" (e.g., John Ashcroft and Charles Robb); individuals such as Woodrow Wilson and Lee Sherman Dreyfus who have moved from a university presidency to the governorship; and the "Education Governors" link to the Southern Regional Education Board. Additional work might consider the rhetoric and actions of governors who preceded or followed the administrations of the "Education Governors." As one governor observed, a succeeding administration often reaps the harvest sown by earlier officeholders. A particularly intriguing case might be that of Ronald Reagan who followed Edmund G. Brown, Sr., as Governor of California.

One further interesting question to ponder if not to pursue: Although the "Education Governors" certainly have risen to national prominence, is that image ultimately relative to each governor's home state? Might it require greater effort to be recognized as an "Education Governor" in a state such as Utah where education lies firmly embedded in the culture or in North Carolina with its history of governors deeply devoted to educational improvement than in, for example, Wyoming?

The present study has examined governors' educational rhetoric and their subsequent success at converting promises into tangible

policies. However, it has stopped short of analyzing the actual implementation, effectiveness, or outcomes of these policies. As expressed by T.S. Eliot, "Between the idea and the reality, Between the motion and the act, Falls the Shadow." All the "Education Governor's" good intentions and fulfilled pledges are for naught if the resulting legislation is only partially implemented, proves unworkable, or fails to achieve its original purpose. And, unfortunately, in "states that have adopted reform legislation or regulations for the public schools, educational leaders have rarely or never proposed the reforms. Nor have educational leaders supported reforms politically. . . Yet the states have acted vigorously in these areas (Casteen, 1985, p. 7). The publication of the Time for Results report in August 1986 finally sent a signal which spurred educators to more energetic participation as "partners in reform." Hence, the greater the likelihood that sound proposals, enacted into law, will be appropriately implemented.

#### The "Education Governor": To Be, Not Merely To Seem

Yes, there is an "Education Governor." He exists as certainly as the Ivy League and the New England College exist. And, although he does not always take the same form, the manifestations of his presence are very real. The "Education Governor" lives in spirit and will continue to live through the legacy of those who choose to follow in his footsteps. To capture the essence of that spirit, a governor must "not only act, but also dream, not only plan, but also believe, not

only follow but also lead" (Anatole France, quoted in Askew, 1973).

Then he will leave a tangible mark on education.

APPENDIX A  
OUTSTANDING GOVERNORS, 1950-1984

## APPENDIX A

## OUTSTANDING GOVERNORS, 1950-1984

Alabama

James Folsom (D) 1947-1951,  
1955-1959

Alaska

William Egan (D) 1959-1966,  
1970-1974  
Walter J. Hickey (R) 1966-1969  
Jay Hammond (R) 1974-1982

Arizona

Bruce Babbitt (D) 1978-1987

Arkansas

Sid McMath (D) 1949-1953  
Winthrop Rockefeller (R) 1967-1971  
Dale Bumpers (D) 1971-1975  
David Pryor (D) 1975-1979  
Bill Clinton (D) 1979-1981,  
1983-present

California

Earl Warren (R) 1943-1953  
Edmund Brown, Sr. (D) 1959-1967

Colorado

Steven McNichols (D) 1957-1963  
John A. Love (R) 1963-1973  
Richard D. Lamm (D) 1975-1987

Connecticut

Chester Bowles (D) 1949-1951  
Abraham Ribicoff (D) 1955-1961  
Ella Grasso (D) 1975-1980

Delaware

Russell W. Peterson (R) 1969-1973  
Pierre S. "Pete" duPont (R) 1977-1985

Florida

Le Roy Collins (D) 1955-1961  
Reubin Askew (D) 1971-1979  
Robert D. Graham (D) 1979-1987

Georgia

Herman Talmadge (D) 1949-1955  
 Carl E. Sanders (D) 1963-1967  
 Jimmy Carter (D) 1971-1975  
 George Busbee (D) 1975-1983

Hawaii

William F. Quinn (R) 1959-1962  
 John A. Burns (D) 1962-1975

Idaho

Robert E. Smylie (R) 1955-1967  
 Cecil D. Andrus (D) 1971-1977

Illinois

Adlai E. Stevenson (D) 1949-1953  
 Richard B. Ogilvie (R) 1969-1973

Indiana

Matthew Welsh (D) 1961-1965  
 Edgar Whitcomb (R) 1969-1973

Iowa

Harold Hughes (D) 1963-1969  
 Robert D. Ray (R) 1969-1983

Kansas

Frank Carlson (R) 1947-1951  
 John Anderson, Jr. (R) 1961-1965

Kentucky

Earle C. Clements (D) 1948-1950  
 Bert Combs (D) 1959-1963  
 Edward Breathitt (D) 1963-1967

Louisiana

Earl K. Long (D) 1948-1952,  
 1956-1960  
 Edwin W. Edwards (D) 1972-1980,  
 1984-present

Maine

Burton Cross (R) 1952-1955  
 Edmund Muskie (D) 1955-1959  
 Ken Curtis (D) 1967-1975  
 James B. Longley (I) 1975-1979

Maryland

Theodore R. McKeldin (R) 1951-1959  
 Marvin Mandel (D) 1969-1977, 1979

Massachusetts

Christian Herter (R) 1953-1957  
 John A. Volpe (R) 1961-1963,  
 1965-1969  
 Francis W. Sargent (R) 1969-1975  
 Michael Dukakis (D) 1975-1979,  
 1983-present

Michigan

G. Mennen Williams (D) 1949-1961  
 George Romney (R) 1963-1969  
 William G. Milliken (R) 1969-1983

Minnesota

Orville Freeman (D) 1955-1961  
 Wendell R. Anderson (D) 1971-1977

Mississippi

William Winter (D) 1980-1984

Missouri

Warren E. Hearnes (D) 1965-1973  
 Christopher Bond (R) 1973-1977,  
 1981-1985

Montana

Thomas L. Judge (D) 1973-1981

Nebraska

Norbert T. Tiemann (R) 1967-1971

Nevada

Grant Sawyer (D) 1959-1967  
 Mike O'Callaghan (D) 1971-1979

New Hampshire

Sherman Adams (R) 1949-1953

New Jersey

Alfred E. Driscoll (R) 1947-1954  
 Robert B. Meyner (D) 1954-1962  
 Richard J. Hughes (D) 1962-1970  
 William T. Cahill (R) 1970-1974  
 Thomas Kean (R) 1982-present

New Mexico

Edwin Mechem (R) 1951-1955,  
 1957-1959,  
 1961-1962  
 David F. Cargo (R) 1967-1971  
 Jerry Apodaca (D) 1975-1979

New York

Thomas E. Dewey (R) 1942-1955  
Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) 1959-1973  
Hugh Carey (D) 1975-1983  
Mario M. Cuomo (D) 1983-present

North Carolina

W. Kerr Scott (D) 1949-1953  
Luther Hodges, Sr. (D) 1954-1961  
Terry Sanford (D) 1961-1965  
James E. Holshouser (R) 1973-1977  
James B. Hunt, Jr. (D) 1977-1985

North Dakota

William L. Guy (D) 1961-1973  
Arthur A. Link (D) 1973-1981

Ohio

Michael V. DiSalle (D) 1959-1963  
John J. Gilligan (D) 1971-1975

Oklahoma

J. Howard Edmondson (D) 1959-1963  
Henry Bellmon (R) 1963-1967

Oregon

Mark O. Hatfield (R) 1959-1967  
Tom McCall (R) 1967-1975

Pennsylvania

James H. Duff (R) 1947-1951  
George M. Leader (D) 1955-1959  
William W. Scranton (R) 1963-1967  
Richard L. Thornburgh (R) 1979-1987

Rhode Island

John O. Pastore (D) 1945-1951  
Dennis J. Roberts (D) 1951-1959  
John H. Chafee (R) 1963-1969  
Philip W. Noel (D) 1973-1977

South Carolina

J. Strom Thurmond (D) 1947-1951  
Ernest Hollings (D) 1959-1963  
Robert McNair (D) 1965-1971  
John C. West (D) 1971-1975  
Richard W. Riley (D) 1979-1987

South Dakota

Joe J. Foss (R) 1955-1959  
Richard F. Kneip (D) 1971-1978



Tennessee

Gordon Browning (D) 1949-1953  
 Frank G. Clement (D) 1953-1959,  
 1963-1967  
 Winfield Dunn (R) 1971-1975  
 Lamar Alexander (D) 1979-1987

Texas

John B. Connally (D) 1963-1969

Utah

Calvin L. Rampton (D) 1965-1977  
 Scott M. Matheson (D) 1977-1985

Vermont

Philip H. Hoff (D) 1963-1969  
 Deane C. Davis (R) 1969-1973  
 Thomas P. Salmon (D) 1973-1977  
 Richard A. Snelling (R) 1977-1985

Virginia

Mills E. Godwin, Jr. (D) 1966-1970,  
 (R) 1974-1978  
 Linwood Holton (R) 1970-1974

Washington

Daniel J. Evans (R) 1965-1977

West Virginia

William C. Marland (D) 1953-1957  
 Cecil H. Underwood (R) 1957-1961

Wisconsin

Gaylord A. Nelson (D) 1959-1963  
 Warren P. Knowles (R) 1965-1971  
 Patrick J. Lucey (D) 1971-1977  
 Anthony S. Earl (D) 1983-1987

Wyoming

Millward L. Simpson (R) 1955-1959  
 Clifford P. Hansen (R) 1963-1967  
 Stanley K. Hathaway (R) 1967-1975

APPENDIX B

EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES:

CO-FOUNDER, INTERIM STEERING COMMITTEE, AND CHAIRMEN, 1965-1986

APPENDIX B

ECS: CO-FOUNDER, INTERIM STEERING COMMITTEE, AND CHAIRMEN  
1965-1986

Co-Founder

Terry Sanford, North Carolina, 1965-1966

Interim Steering Committee

Edmund G. Brown, Sr., California, 1965-1966

Jack M. Campbell, New Mexico, 1965-1966

John H. Chafee, Rhode Island, 1965-1966

Clifford P. Hansen, Wyoming, 1965-1966

Mark O. Hatfield, Oregon, 1965-1966

Richard J. Hughes, New Jersey, 1965-1966

Otto Kerner, Illinois, 1965-1966

John J. McKeithen, Louisiana, 1965-1966

Robert E. McNair, South Carolina, 1965-1966

Karl F. Rolvaag, Minnesota, 1965-1966

Chairmen

John H. Chafee, Rhode Island, 1965-1966

Charles L. Terry, Jr, Delaware, 1966-1967

Calvin L. Rampton, Utah, 1967-1968

Robert E. McNair, South Carolina, 1968-1969

Tom McCall, Oregon, 1969-1970

Russell W. Peterson, Delaware, 1970-1971

Robert W. Scott, North Carolina, 1971-1972  
Winfield Dunn, Tennessee, 1972-1973  
Reubin Askew, Florida, 1973-1974  
David Hall, Oklahoma, 1974-1975  
Arch A. Moore, Jr., West Virginia 1975-1976  
Jerry Apodaca, New Mexico, 1976-1977  
Otis R. Bowen, Indiana, 1977-1978  
Dixy Lee Ray, Washington, 1978-1979  
William G. Milliken, Michigan, 1979-1980  
Robert Graham, Florida, 1980-1981  
Robert D. Ray, Iowa, 1981-1982  
James B. Hunt, Jr., North Carolina, 1982-1983  
Pierre S. duPont, IV, Delaware, 1983-1984  
Charles S. Robb, Virginia, 1984-1985  
Thomas Kean, New Jersey, 1985-1986  
William Clinton, Arkansas, 1986-1987

APPENDIX C  
EXPERT JUDGES

APPENDIX C

EXPERT JUDGES

Thad Beyle  
University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

Samuel K. Gove  
Institute of Government and Public Affairs  
University of Illinois

E. B. Herzik  
Texas A & M University

Ellis Katz  
Temple University

Richard Zollinger  
Illinois Resource Network

APPENDIX D  
LETTER TO EXPERT JUDGES



CHARTERED 1693  
COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY  
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION  
WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA 23185

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APPENDIX D

June 3, 1985

Dear :

I appreciate your willingness to assist me in my dissertation research. As we discussed in our May 28 telephone conversation I am seeking to validate a list of "outstanding governors" who held office between 1950 and 1984. (Some are still in office.) These governors have been judged to be "outstanding" as a result of their exceptional ability and overall accomplishments for the people of their state while chief executive.

Please consider the enclosed list on the basis of your own extensive reading and research on governors and state government. I wish to identify those governors you would judge to be "outstanding" in general--not solely for achievements in one special area (e.g., transportation, education, or technology). Would you cross out the names of any governors you do not consider to have been "outstanding" during their official tenure. Also, please add any names which you believe should have been included on such a list. I would appreciate brief comments beside the governor's name so that I may understand your rationale for these additions or deletions.

I have attached a self-addressed, stamped envelope for your convenience. If you should desire further information or have any questions about my project please feel free to contact me at the above address or by calling (804) 253-4434.

Again, I thank you for your assistance and look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Sincerely,

Marsha V. Krotseng



APPENDIX E  
VALIDATED LIST:  
OUTSTANDING GOVERNORS, 1950-1984

## APPENDIX E

## VALIDATED LIST:

## OUTSTANDING GOVERNORS, 1950-1984

(\* indicates those added to Sabato's original list)

AlabamaJames Folsom (D) 1947-1951,  
1955-1959AlaskaWilliam Egan (D) 1959-1966,  
1970-1974  
Walter J. Hickel (R) 1966-1969  
Jay Hammond (R) 1974-1982Arizona

Bruce Babbitt (D) 1978-1987

ArkansasSid McMath (D) 1949-1953  
Winthrop Rockefeller (R) 1967-1971  
Dale Bumpers (D) 1971-1975  
David Pryor (D) 1975-1979  
Bill Clinton (D) 1979-1981,  
1983-presentCaliforniaEarl Warren (R) 1943-1953  
Edmund Brown, Sr. (D) 1959-1967  
\*Ronald Reagan (R) 1967-1975ColoradoSteven McNichols (D) 1957-1963  
John A. Love (R) 1963-1973  
Richard D. Lamm (D) 1975-1987ConnecticutChester Bowles (D) 1949-1951  
Abraham Ribicoff (D) 1955-1961  
Ella Grasso (D) 1975-1980DelawareRussell W. Peterson (R) 1969-1973  
Pierre S. "Pete" duPont (R) 1977-1985

Florida

Le Roy Collins (D) 1955-1961  
 Reubin Askew (D) 1971-1979  
 Robert D. Graham (D) 1979-1987

Georgia

Herman Talmadge (D) 1949-1955  
 Carl E. Sanders (D) 1963-1967  
 Jimmy Carter (D) 1971-1975  
 George Busbee (D) 1975-1983

Hawaii

William F. Quinn (R) 1959-1962  
 John A. Burns (D) 1962-1975

Idaho

Robert E. Smylie (R) 1955-1967  
 Cecil D. Andrus (D) 1971-1977

Illinois

Adlai E. Stevenson (D) 1949-1953  
 Richard B. Ogilvie (R) 1969-1973  
 \*Jim Thompson (R) 1977-present

Indiana

Matthew Welsh (D) 1961-1965  
 Edgar Whitcomb (R) 1969-1973

Iowa

Harold Hughes (D) 1963-1969  
 Robert D. Ray (R) 1969-1983

Kansas

Frank Carlson (R) 1947-1951  
 John Anderson, Jr. (R) 1961-1965

Kentucky

Earle C. Clements (D) 1948-1950  
 Bert Combs (D) 1959-1963  
 Edward Breathitt (D) 1963-1967

Maine

Burton Cross (R) 1952-1955  
 Edmund Muskie (D) 1955-1959  
 Ken Curtis (D) 1967-1975  
 James B. Longley (I) 1975-1979

Maryland

Theodore R. McKeldin (R) 1951-1959  
 Marvin Mandel (D) 1969-1977, 1979

Massachusetts

Christian Herter (R) 1953-1957  
 John A. Volpe (R) 1961-1963,  
 1965-1969  
 Francis W. Sargent (R) 1969-1975  
 Michael Dukakis (D) 1975-1979,  
 1983-present

Michigan

G. Mennen Williams (D) 1949-1961  
 George Romney (R) 1963-1969  
 William G. Milliken (R) 1969-1983

Minnesota

Orville Freeman (D) 1955-1961  
 Wendell R. Anderson (D) 1971-1977

Mississippi

William Winter (D) 1980-1984

Missouri

Warren E. Hearnes (D) 1965-1973  
 Christopher Bond (R) 1973-1977,  
 1981-1985

Montana

Thomas L. Judge (D) 1973-1981

Nebraska

Norbert T. Tiemann (R) 1967-1971

Nevada

Grant Sawyer (D) 1959-1967  
 Mike O'Callaghan (D) 1971-1979

New Hampshire

Sherman Adams (R) 1949-1953

New Jersey

Alfred E. Driscoll (R) 1947-1954  
 Robert B. Meyner (D) 1954-1962  
 Richard J. Hughes (D) 1962-1970  
 William T. Cahill (R) 1970-1974  
 Thomas Kean (R) 1982-present

New Mexico

Edwin Mechem (R) 1951-1955,  
 1957-1959,  
 1961-1962  
 David F. Cargo (R) 1967-1971  
 Jerry Apodaca (D) 1975-1979

New York

Thomas E. Dewey (R) 1942-1955  
 Nelson A. Rockefeller (R) 1959-1973  
 Mario M. Cuomo (D) 1983-present

North Carolina

W. Kerr Scott (D) 1949-1953  
 Luther Hodges, Sr. (D) 1954-1961  
 Terry Sanford (D) 1961-1965  
 James E. Holshouser (R) 1973-1977  
 James B. Hunt, Jr. (D) 1977-1985

North Dakota

William L. Guy (D) 1961-1973  
 Arthur A. Link (D) 1973-1981

Ohio

Michael V. DiSalle (D) 1959-1963  
 John J. Gilligan (D) 1971-1975

Oklahoma

J. Howard Edmondson (D) 1959-1963  
 Henry Bellmon (R) 1963-1967

Oregon

Mark O. Hatfield (R) 1959-1967  
 Tom McCall (R) 1967-1975

Pennsylvania

James H. Duff (R) 1947-1951  
 George M. Leader (D) 1955-1959  
 William W. Scranton (R) 1963-1967  
 Richard L. Thornburgh (R) 1979-1987

Rhode Island

John O. Pastore (D) 1945-1951  
 Dennis J. Roberts (D) 1951-1959  
 John H. Chafee (R) 1963-1969  
 Philip W. Noel (D) 1973-1977

South Carolina

J. Strom Thurmond (D) 1947-1951  
 Ernest Hollings (D) 1959-1963  
 Robert McNair (D) 1965-1971  
 John C. West (D) 1971-1975  
 Richard W. Riley (D) 1979-1987

South Dakota

Joe J. Foss (R) 1955-1959  
 Richard F. Kneip (D) 1971-1978

Tennessee

Gordon Browning (D) 1949-1953  
 Frank G. Clement (D) 1953-1959,  
 1963-1967  
 Winfield Dunn (R) 1971-1975  
 Lamar Alexander (D) 1979-1987

Texas

John B. Connally (D) 1963-1969

Utah

Calvin L. Rampton (D) 1965-1977  
 Scott M. Matheson (D) 1977-1985

Vermont

Philip H. Hoff (D) 1963-1969  
 Deane C. Davis (R) 1969-1973  
 Thomas P. Salmon (D) 1973-1977  
 Richard A. Snelling (R) 1977-1985

Virginia

Mills E. Godwin, Jr. (D) 1966-1970,  
 (R) 1974-1978  
 Linwood Holton (R) 1970-1974

Washington

Daniel J. Evans (R) 1965-1977

West Virginia

William C. Marland (D) 1953-1957  
 Cecil H. Underwood (R) 1957-1961

Wisconsin

Gaylord A. Nelson (D) 1959-1963  
 Warren P. Knowles (R) 1965-1971  
 Patrick J. Lucey (D) 1971-1977  
 Anthony S. Earl (D) 1983-1987

Wyoming

Milward L. Simpson (R) 1955-1959  
 Clifford P. Hansen (R) 1963-1967  
 Stanley K. Hathaway (R) 1967-1975

APPENDIX F  
MODERN "EDUCATION GOVERNORS"  
1960-1986

## APPENDIX F

## MODERN "EDUCATION GOVERNORS": 1960-1986

Jerry Apodaca (D, New Mexico)	1975-1979
Reubin Askew (D, Florida)	1971-1979
Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (D, California)	1959-1967
John Chafee (R, Rhode Island)	1963-1969
Bill Clinton (D, Arkansas)	1979-1981, 1983-present
Winfield Dunn (R, Tennessee)	1971-1975
Pierre S. duPont, IV (R, Delaware)	1977-1985
Robert D. Graham (D, Florida)	1979-1987
Clifford P. Hansen (R, Wyoming)	1963-1967
Mark O. Hatfield (R, Oregon)	1959-1967
Richard J. Hughes (D, New Jersey)	1962-1970
James B. Hunt (D, North Carolina)	1977-1985
Thomas Kean (R, New Jersey)	1982-present
Tom McCall (R, Oregon)	1967-1975
Robert E. McNair (D, South Carolina)	1965-1971
William G. Milliken (R, Michigan)	1969-1983
Russell W. Peterson (R, Delaware)	1969-1973
Calvin L. Rampton (D, Utah)	1965-1977
Robert D. Ray (R, Iowa)	1969-1983
Terry Sanford (D, North Carolina)	1961-1965



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#### Political Addresses and Documents

In addition to the above sources, well over three hundred political addresses and government documents played a crucial role in this research. State archives, state libraries, and governor's offices graciously provided copies of all Inaugural and State of the State Addresses delivered by each of the following twenty governors: Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico); Reubin Askew (Florida); Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California); John Chafee (Rhode Island); William Clinton (Arkansas); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware); Robert D. Graham (Florida); Clifford P. Hansen (Wyoming); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey); James B. Hunt (North Carolina); Thomas Kean (New Jersey); Tom McCall (Oregon); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina); William G. Milliken (Michigan); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah); Robert D. Ray (Iowa); and Terry Sanford (North Carolina)

Budget Messages contributed to the profiles of Governors Edmund G. Brown, Sr.; Pierre S. duPont, IV; Calvin Rampton; and Robert Ray while special legislative messages enhanced the portraits of Governors Mark Hatfield; Tom McCall; William Milliken; and Terry Sanford.

For each of the fifteen states, financial data were extracted from the actual budget documents housed in the Library of Congress as well as from the State Government Finances reports published annually by the United States Bureau of the Census. Of the latter series, all volumes from 1958 through the latest available compilation in 1985 proved essential, particularly the tables of "State Government Expenditure, by Type and Function."

Beginning with the 1958-1959 edition, the Council of State Government's biennial Book of the States series also yielded valuable information; the Statutes and Codes of all fifteen states represented in the study offered insights on the technical and legal questions raised by the governors' addresses.

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1982-1987 Research Assistant  
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## Abstract

### TO BE OR MERELY TO SEEM?: INVESTIGATING THE IMAGE OF THE MODERN "EDUCATION GOVERNOR"

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Chairman: Professor John R. Thelin

Daniel Boorstin claimed in 1962 that for twentieth-century Americans, "fact or fantasy, the image becomes the thing." Political circles of the 1980s abound with governors promising substantial education reform in their states, activities underscored by the August 1986 National Governors' Association education report, Time for Results. Thus, the image of the "Education Governor" has become the currently fashionable "thing." But is it fact or fantasy that lies beneath the surface of this image? This research probes that question through considering (1) the extent to which specific educational measures proposed in the Inaugural and State of the State Addresses of twenty modern-day "Education Governors" correspond with the subsequent actions of these officials and (2) the special personal attributes, professional ties, and actual involvement in education which characterize these "Education Governors" of the 1960s through the 1980s.

However, as the historical record reveals, the "Education Governor" is not, in fact, a new phenomenon but rather an echo of earlier times. During the first decade of the twentieth century, a number of governors gained state and regional as well as national prominence for their outspoken efforts to promote public education. Preeminent among these individuals is Charles Brantley Aycock, still revered as North Carolina's great "Education(al) Governor." Witnessing the marked advancement of schools in the "Tar Heel" state, several of Aycock's contemporaries followed his path to educational improvement. A roster of these other early "Education Governors" comprises N. C. Blanchard (Louisiana), Napoleon B. Broward (Florida), Braxton Bragg Comer (Alabama), James B. Frazier (Tennessee), Duncan C. Heyward (South Carolina), Andrew Jackson Montague (Virginia), Hoke Smith (Georgia), Claude A. Swanson (Virginia), and Joseph M. Terrell (Georgia).

The "Education Governor" image was projected into modern times largely through former North Carolina Governor Terry Sanford's invocation of Aycock's legacy. While it is difficult to elicit consensus as to a distinct group of modern "Education Governors," the characteristics of their early twentieth century predecessors suggest that such individuals would unabashedly espouse educational reform and, consequently, have earned national renown. These qualities should be evident in governors judged to have been outstanding and who have

participated actively in the Education Commission of the States. Twenty governors of the 1960s through the 1980s who share such attributes -- and, hence became the focus of this study -- include Jerry Apodaca (New Mexico); Reubin Askew (Florida); Edmund G. Brown, Sr. (California); John Chafee (Rhode Island); William Clinton (Arkansas); Winfield Dunn (Tennessee); Pierre S. duPont, IV (Delaware); Robert D. Graham (Florida); Clifford P. Hansen (Wyoming); Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon); Richard J. Hughes (New Jersey); James B. Hunt (North Carolina); Thomas Kean (New Jersey); Tom McCall (Oregon); Robert E. McNair (South Carolina); William G. Milliken (Michigan); Russell W. Peterson (Delaware); Calvin L. Rampton (Utah); Robert D. Ray (Iowa); and Terry Sanford (North Carolina).

Ultimately, the rhetoric of these so-called modern "Education Governors" proved congruent with the reality of their actions. All emphasized "quality" and "excellence" in education, and nineteen of the twenty increased direct state expenditures for education at a rate substantially higher than inflation. Thirteen participated in a variety of educational organizations, and eight had been involved with education prior to their election.