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Dartmouth Outward Bound Center and the rise of experiential education 1957-1976

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Abstract

Purpose: The article discusses Outward Bound's participation in the human potential movement through its incorporation of T-group practices and the reform language of experiential education in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Design/methodology/approach: The article reports on original research conducted using materials from Dartmouth College and other Outward Bound collections from 1957-1976. It follows a case study approach to illustrate themes pertaining to Outward Bound's creation and evolution in the United States, and the establishment of experiential education more broadly.

Findings: Building on prior research (Freeman, 2011; Millikan, 2006), the present article elaborates on the conditions under which Outward Bound abandoned muscular Christianity in favor of humanistic psychology. Experiential education provided both a set of practices and a reform language that helped Outward Bound expand into the educational mainstream, which also helped to extend self-expressive pedagogies into formal and nonformal settings.

Research implications: The Dartmouth Outward Bound Center's tenure coincided with and reflected broader cultural changes, from the cold war motif of spiritual warfare, frontier masculinity, and national service to the rise of self-expression in education. Future scholars can situate specific curricular initiatives in the context of these paradigms, particularly in outdoor education.

Originality/value: The article draws attention to one of the forms that the human potential movement took in education – experiential education – and the reasons for its adoption. It also reinforces emerging understandings of post-WWII American outdoor education as a product of the cold war and reflective of subsequent changes in the wider culture to a narrower focus on the self.

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Dartmouth Outward Bound Center and the Rise of Experiential Education, 1957-1979

In a 1998 essay, David Roberts, the award-winning adventure writer and an early Outward Bound (OB) instructor in the U.S., observed:

OB got a huge boost toward credibility in the late 1960s from academic reformers and the human potential movement, with their emphasis on experiential education and interpersonal dynamics. And the school seemed willing to modify its objectives to suit the fashions of the times. (p. 116)

Roberts worked as an instructor in 1963, one year after Outward Bound opened its first U.S. base in Colorado's Rocky Mountains. The nascent program hired skilled outdoorsmen and veterans of the Army's famed 10th Mountain Division to staff its inaugural courses for 160 adolescent boys "divided into twelve-man 'patrols' named after American wilderness heroes like Boone, Crockett, Bridger, and Carson" (Roberts, p. 115). The patrols' rigorous, 26-day schedule consisted of a daily run followed by an icy swim, rock climbing, a six-mile foot race, a simulated mountain rescue, and a five-day, student-led backpacking trip. In 1964 Outward Bound received national exposure when *Life* magazine published a complimentary article entitled *Marshmallow becomes a man*, featuring a doughty teenager on one of its courses. The article's final photograph depicts him posing shirtless after the course, proudly flexing his biceps, captioned: "Family gets a streamlined son with muscles and a cowboy hat."¹

As Millikan (2006) observes, the *Life* article was something of a caricature but accurately captured how central masculinity was to the organization's identity at the time. This was Outward Bound as Roberts liked it: tough, hardening, befitting its motto: *To serve, to strive, and not to yield*. His complaint was that, just a few short years after opening, Outward Bound USA had itself gone soft, a consequence of its Faustian partnership with academics and human potentialists who introduced "experiential education" to the organization.

Many key details lie behind Roberts's lament. The transformation it glibly describes is extracted from the historical context of the early versus late 1960s – a critical period within Outward Bound that Freeman (2011) marked as being defined by the shift from *character training* to *personal growth*, an updated but morally underspecified term underwritten by humanistic psychology. Nonetheless, Roberts points to several elements critical to understanding the broader educational relevance of Outward Bound's transformation during this time: the mainstreaming of ideas and practices from the human potential movement through the spread of experiential education.

It is tempting to dismiss the human potential movement as a faddish brand of 1970s counterculture, however doing so risks overlooking its abiding educational legacy. The present article discusses the conditions under which experiential education rose to prominence in Outward Bound in the U.S. and contributed to the rise of self-expressive pedagogies more broadly (see Tobin, 1995). It focuses on Dartmouth College, an elite, Ivy League university in the northeastern U.S., which housed an Outward Bound center from 1968 to 1984. The Dartmouth Outward Bound Center (DOBC) was the only collegiate program ever to receive an official charter and served as a demonstration and training site for other American Outward Bound schools and reform-minded colleges in the 1970s. It thus occupied a unique position of influence within the organization and played a leading role in expanding experiential education, both as a reform language and a set of practices, in Outward Bound and beyond.

Dartmouth's story contributes to a historical perspective on outdoor education in several ways. First, it highlights the important but largely unacknowledged role the College played in Outward Bound's migration to the United States beginning in the 1950s. Second, it illustrates in finer detail how Outward Bound's establishment in the U.S. grew from an ideological convergence of religion, masculine symbology, and internationalism shared by educational and political elites during the cold war (Dean, 1998). Third, it extends prior research documenting Outward Bound's shift in emphasis from *character training* to *personal growth* (Freeman, 2011), a change that represented the broader displacement of muscular Christianity in favor of humanistic psychology as the organization's reigning ideological framework. Finally, it captures an important moment in North American outdoor education as *resident* outdoor education, which thrived in the U.S. between 1930-1970, was eclipsed by what William Hammerman (1980) called "The Period of Experiential Education." The article situates the origin of this period in the late 1960s when Outward Bound USA adopted and disseminated ideas, models, and practices from the human potential movement.

Studying the Human Potential Movement

Although the *human potential movement* phrase still appears in academic and popular outlets, it was less a coherent platform with explicit political aims and more a set of beliefs and practices that enjoyed widespread cultural circulation between 1950-1980, especially among the American middle class (Grogan, 2013). At its core was an ontology of the person as radically autonomous and a conviction that personal disclosure, sensory exploration, and emotional revelation provide evidence of human authenticity, and therefore create the basis for self-knowledge and so should be maximized (see Howard, 1976). Its most conspicuous artifact was the encounter group, retreat-style gatherings employing various procedures to help people "remove their social masks, get relief from overdoses of their culture, and search for alternatives to traditional roles, values, and behavior" (Glass, 1973, p. 50; see also Alderfer, 1970, Middleman and Goldberg, 1972). Humanistic psychologists like Abraham Maslow and Carl Rogers provided the movement's intellectual underwriting, and centers such as Esalen in the U.S. and the Tavistock Institute in England organized its consumption (Anderson, 2004). If a collective vision existed, it was of "Eupsychia," a psychological utopia populated by individuals free from culturally-imposed inhibitions. These beliefs established self-expression as a moral and pedagogical imperative (Maslow, 1961).

Studying the educational imprint left by the human potential movement is complicated by the twofold process of terminological and pedagogical diffusion it underwent throughout the 1960s and 1970s when it spawned a number of related reforms including *humanistic education*, *confluent education*, *psychological education*, *holistic education*, *affective education*, and *values education*. Each of these reforms adapted the aims and methods of adult encounter trainings for schools and other youth settings. For example, Alschuler and Ivey (1973) listed handbooks for school personnel wanting to experiment with simulation exercises, relaxation strategies, theater games, and behavioral therapy techniques (see also Margolis, 1977, Pfeiffer and Jones, 1974). The manualization of similar methods under different banners demonstrates how the boundaries separating various reforms were largely undefined, and as much as anything they offered techniques that could be decoupled from whatever parent reform initially inspired them. Educators could therefore be advancing the human potential movement's aims even if they didn't consciously identify as its agent. Understanding the human potential movement's

influence on education therefore requires examining the specific practical, terminological, and administrative forms it took in different locations.

Outward Bound: Unlikely Origins

Outward Bound began in 1941 in Aberdovey, Wales as a collaboration between German emigrant Kurt Hahn and British shipping magnate Lawrence Holt. They devised a four-week residential program for youth ages 15½ to 20 involving athletic trials, rescue training, cold showers, and brief sailing or hillwalking expeditions (Veevers and Allison, 2011). The program appealed to social reformers and industrialists like Holt who were anxious about a declining work ethic. As one 1949 promotional pamphlet stated, “many people are deploring the present lack of moral stamina; the desire to evade anything like hard work, and the general lack of initiative; and they are asking what is the remedy” (cited in Freeman, 2011, p. 29); Hahn and Holt envisioned Outward Bound as the remedy. In a 1942 letter to his friend Albert Mansbridge, Holt opined:

There is no doubt that a heterogenous civilization like ours is in great danger of collapse through dissipation of purpose + will. The ideal of infinite variety with unity of spirit is a hard paradox to live up to. You must meet me someday at the Outward Bound Sea school + see what I hope is our practical endeavor to help youth to face the problem in one practical vocation.²

Since Outward Bound initially catered to industrial firms and public agencies, it had to impress upon its enrollees the value of hard work. But, as Holt’s exhortation about societal collapse indicates, work also served a symbolic function, signifying fortitude, stamina, and *esprit de corps*, all central to the notions of individual character and common cause its leaders wished to inculcate. What distinguished Outward Bound from comparable programs, however, was its claim not to impose discipline from outside but to promote character from within (see Millikan, 2006, p. 842). As Hahn explained, “... I abominate the Spartans. The Spartans not only do violence to the individual but they also serve their own God, their own false God of the state very badly. By not bringing the young to do what they are really meant to do. According to their own in-made qualities.”³ Hahn succinctly expressed this principle in one of his favorite mottoes, *plus est en vous*, “there is more in you.”

Not coincidentally, the “more” manifested by Outward Bound’s early graduates resembled an athletic, enterprising, Christian, male subject whose disposition conformed to Victorian ideals of character (Millikan, 2006). One 1962 brochure explained, “Outward Bound training seeks to encourage a boy to discover that a clear head and commonsense approach will reduce formidable problems to reasonable proportions. It also accustoms him to hard effort; makes him physically fit, resilient, mentally and spiritually alert.”⁴ The models of self that Outward Bound cultivated from the 1940s to the early 1960s therefore corresponded with the attitudinal demands on British citizens in wartime and perceived needs in the postwar labor market, which, as Cook (2014) argued, entailed “valorizing emotional restraint and endurance” (p. 628).

Outward Bound also evaluated character using the rubric of leadership (Freeman, 2011; Veevers & Allison, 2011). Like hard work, which simultaneously had personal and spiritual significance, leadership had a dual meaning: it was both an individual quality and a status position in Hahn’s Platonic societal ideal. Hahn was fond of the phrase, “Aristocracy is the salt

wherewith democracy is salted” (Hahn, 1962/1967), which referenced his ideas about service: “We need conspicuous examples which will inspire others to do likewise and may well create a fashion of conduct” (p. 296). This was the function of rescue training in Outward Bound – for youth to realize their duty to serve. The leaders Outward Bound created would therefore ascend to become what Hahn called an “Aristocracy of Service” on the societal plane. Importantly, Hahn also meant aristocracy literally, imposing on the ruling class a particular obligation to demonstrate moral leadership through civil service (Bueb, 2008).

Despite Hahn’s claims about in-made qualities, from the 1940s to the mid-1960s Outward Bound essentially acted as a vehicle for internalizing universal moral precepts its founders saw as essential to achieving a desirable social order. Holt expressed this guiding ideology in his characteristic poetic style:

In these days, more than ever, true service can only come from putting self on the cross. Would that our politicians could do this and dedicate themselves to become faithful trustees for Britannia! Honest toil and humility of spirit will alone open the gates of Elysium for us.⁵

Outward Bound was thus initially created as a program of social reform that positioned the self as secondary to the needs of Christian society, a transcendent truth students were intended to discover through their own labors. It was an unlikely origin for the emphases on group dynamics, feelings, and self-expression it would later expound.

Outward Bound: European Expansion and Migration to the USA, 1949-1962

The American-British Foundation for European Education.

Hahn saw Outward Bound as only one example of a “short-term school” concept he could harness to serve purposes other than training industrial apprentices. In 1948 and 1949 he traveled to New York seeking financial backing to extend the concept into Germany, where he wanted to strengthen the Anglican Church’s role in social reconstruction. His trips were sponsored by the international banker Thomas McKittrick, who reputedly said about postwar Germany, “Re-education is the wrong word; restoration is the proper term. Let us build on the dependable element—the Christian resistance movement.”⁶

McKittrick amassed sufficient support in New York to establish *The American-British Foundation for European Education* in 1949, whose express purpose was to fund Hahn’s German youth initiatives.⁷ Over the next several years, the Foundation helped establish two German *kurzschule* modeled after Outward Bound: at Weissenhaus in 1952 and Baad in 1956.⁸ By the mid-1950s Hahn was campaigning full-time for his programs. In October, 1955 he lectured at the NATO Defense College (NDC) on “The Development of Character.”⁹ There he befriended NDC Commandant Sir Lawrence Darvall, who was nursing an idea for a “supranational” junior college for scions of suitable character from NATO countries.¹⁰ Hahn quickly endorsed Darvall’s idea, volunteered his educational methods, and convinced the Foundation of its merits. In 1958, the *American-British Foundation* changed its name to the *Atlantic Foundation for the Education of the Free* and adopted Darvall’s idea as its main priority.

Dartmouth Gets Involved.

Like Hahn, Dartmouth Sociology Professor H. Wentworth Eldredge lectured at the NDC in 1955 and again five more times through 1957 when the Atlantic Foundation’s chair, Ellen Z.

McCloy, invited him to join the Board.¹¹ Eldredge, who served as an intelligence officer in WWII, expressed views similar to Hahn's, especially that a muscular, liberal-minded elite was needed to manage postwar global affairs. Producing this cadre of leaders required "turning psychological weapons systems inward ... because if [a] coalition does not feel strong within itself, it cannot act externally in a forceful, coordinated, orchestrated way" (Eldredge, 1963, p. 6, see also 1964).

The Atlantic Foundation's priorities were outlined in a memorandum Darvall authored in January, 1958. In it, he argued the need to "do everything practicable to encourage the growth of a real feeling of community in the Atlantic world," calling for leaders to galvanize around "the spiritual struggle of the disunited Western peoples and the forcibly united Nations beyond the Curtain." Since "the best time to tackle prejudice and ignorance is in youth," his petition involved creating the two-year colleges and also expanding *kurzschnle* in order to provide "an opportunity for a much wider section of boys to experience the challenge of adventure, discipline, and community and Samaritan service."¹²

For the next three years the Foundation engaged in fundraising, promotion, and recruitment for Darvall's project. After the idea failed to gain traction in the U.S., the Foundation turned its attention to bringing Outward Bound across the Atlantic in 1961. Two other Board members, Phillips Academy (Andover) Headmaster John Kemper and admissions officer Joshua Miner, who interned at Hahn's Gordonstoun School in 1951, recruited two Andover teachers and six students to visit British Outward Bound schools that summer.¹³ Miner assumed leadership of the Outward Bound initiative and Eldredge quickly extended his support, recognizing he was "on the verge of launching an Outward Bound operation in the United States" (for Miner's account, see Miner, 1970; Miner and Boldt, 2002).¹⁴ Miner's efforts were buoyed by Foundation fundraising throughout 1961 and also by Outward Bound's acceptance that year as a preservice training program in Puerto Rico for Peace Corps volunteers (Miner and Boldt, 2002). In June, 1962, Outward Bound officially opened its Colorado base.¹⁵ Eldredge visited the German schools that same year at Hahn's personal invitation and began to develop concrete ideas about how to grow Outward Bound in the U.S. including sending Dartmouth Outing Club (DOC) members to Colorado as apprentices and using Dartmouth facilities to train Outward Bound leaders.¹⁶ Dartmouth's prestige and "the trained outdoor/ mountaineer types" from the DOC – then led by 10th Mountain Division veteran John Rand¹⁷ – were pitched by Eldredge as assets to the project. As he saw it, Dartmouth was "clearly getting 'cranked' into the operation" with him "fanning the flames" in Hanover.¹⁸

The Dartmouth Center: "A Sense of Duty to Advance the Good"

Dartmouth's president at the time was John Sloan Dickey, a Harvard Law School graduate and former State Department diplomat who served as a U.S. liaison during the drafting of the United Nations charter. Dickey shared with Atlantic Foundation principals their desire to build transatlantic alliances as well as their religious understanding of the cause. According to his biographer, "The idea of good and evil contending in the world ... was a recurring theme throughout [Dickey's presidency]. The concept of these opposing forces in life was the basis of his oft-stated belief that the liberal arts college must concern itself with morality" (Widmayer, 1991, p. 24). To this end Dickey invoked scripture (James 2:22) in his induction remarks: "I do want very much that this generation of educated men of Dartmouth should 'be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves.'" But he also understood that Dartmouth's founding mission, which in 1769 had been to educate Native American youth

alongside Protestant clergy, required updating. In order for the College to realize its “duty to advance the good” (Dickey, 1955) in the modern era, new approaches were needed to face contemporary social and political challenges.

Dickey’s diplomatic background and moral convictions warmed him to the Atlantic Foundation’s efforts, which Eldredge brokered.¹⁹ In 1966 Dickey appointed Charles “Doc” Dey as Dean of the Tucker Foundation, a special unit Dickey established in 1951 to act as “a tangible reminder to the students, teachers, alumni, presidents, and trustees of tomorrow that they are committed to the work of righteousness and that it is their task to fashion tools appropriate to their day” (Dickey, 1955, p. 35). Dey, another alum, had previously attended Outward Bound’s Peace Corps training program before decamping for his term in the Philippines. Inspired by that experience and Michael Harrington’s influential book, *The Other America* (1962), Dey focused the Tucker Foundation’s programs on addressing racism and poverty in the U.S.. Because Outward Bound’s potential for developing leadership in undergraduates and serving New Hampshire youth captured his interest, he absorbed the project into the Tucker Foundation, marrying it to the College’s spiritual mission rather than its outdoor identity.

A series of meetings throughout Fall 1966 culminated in a formal proposal for an Outward Bound Center. The program’s design involved leadership and service at multiple levels. First, Dartmouth students would receive Outward Bound training and then, in turn, run wilderness programs for high school students from around New Hampshire using Dartmouth facilities and equipment. These formative experiences were intended to orient Dartmouth graduates to several paths after college: obtaining employment at Outward Bound or other youth-focused agencies, leading VISTA or Peace Corps programs, or instructing in an Outward Bound-style boot camp for Vietnam draftees who fell short of the Army’s fitness standards. DOBC would send graduates “Outward Bound” to the world of national service, fulfilling what some believed was the point of the entire movement.²⁰

From the establishment of the *American-British Foundation* in 1949 to DOBC’s inception, the cold war supplied Outward Bound USA with an ideological backdrop that united muscularity, spiritual rhetoric, and American-led, liberal internationalism into one coherent frame. As Dianne Kirby (2017) has explained, religion served as “prism through which the nation viewed itself and its place in the world” (p. 2) among American institutional leaders in the 1950s. Dartmouth was no exception. Hahn’s concept of an Aristocracy of Service further supplied the College with a logic that justified its involvement and legitimized its place in the moral hierarchy of the Outward Bound movement.

The image of the Dartmouth man poised to serve not only embodied Hahn’s initial Aristocratic ideals and Dickey’s (1955) appeal to conscience, it reinforced Kennedy-era ideas of masculinity, foreign policy involvement, and domestic service circulating among Atlantic Foundation principals and students Dartmouth was likely to attract (Dean, 1998). Together these elements formed a “composite picture of the ideal ‘New Frontiersman’: one who had performed brilliantly as a scholar and athlete at an Ivy League university, who had been decorated for bravery during service as a junior officer in the Second World War, and who had gone on to serve the nation through brilliant ‘establishment’ careers in government, academia, law, and banking” (Dean, p. 31). At Dartmouth, Outward Bound conjured the “new frontiersman” ideal in two ways: first as a trial in nature that summons “an authentic masculinity tested and honed by strenuous and virtuous labor” (Anahita and Mix, 2006, p. 334), second as a career pathway befitting a Dartmouth graduate. The operant model of character animating DOBC in 1967 was therefore an American variation on muscular Christianity adapted to the period: the muscular

liberal (Millikan, 2006) whose conscience and motivation to serve were products of several metaphoric ordeals: “the ordeal of the boarding school, the ordeal of nature, and the ordeal of battle” (Dean, pp. 31-32).

“You have got to find some new ways to do Outward Bound.”

To test the concept Dey outlined in his proposal, the Tucker Foundation piloted a program in January, 1967 that largely followed Outward Bound’s standard curriculum. Five Dartmouth undergraduates led four weekend camping trips for a group of six 14-15 year-old boys identified as “low achievers with low motivation” by staff from a cooperating local hospital.²¹ The course was designed to

cause the boys to discover their own self-worth and to increase their self-esteem ... achieved by teaching the boys how to deal with difficult situations of winter camping and then presenting them with challenges which will test the boys as individuals. By being successful in the face of the difficult challenges, it is hoped that the boys will come to know a sense of achievement.²²

The program’s design hewed closely to Outward Bound’s then-extant belief in the self-evident value of outdoor adventures in revealing to boys their inner character; the program’s curriculum outline consisted entirely of skill requirements, equipment specifications, and course logistics. It also reflected Outward Bound’s two-tiered system of objectives, involving “the adoption of mainstream values and behaviours” for “socially marginal youth” and “a more generalized vision of ‘character development’ ... for its affluent participants” (Millikan, 2006, p. 845), in this case Dartmouth undergraduates.

A favorable summary report from the hospital liaison furnished Dey with the proof of concept he needed to justify seeking a director. He hired Willem Lange, a former instructor from the Hurricane Island Outward Bound School in Maine, in Fall 1967 and prepared DOBC’s opening in April, 1968.²³ The inaugural Outward Bound Term commenced the following January with a standard three- to four-week wilderness trip for participating undergraduates, followed by a period of study structured around an ad-hoc collection of syllabi assembled by faculty members willing to visit the cohort’s rugged, off campus site.²⁴ After additional wilderness training, DOBC students then served as assistant instructors in an Outward Bound course for New Hampshire high school students using a curriculum largely identical to the pilot experiment.²⁵ Students received a full credit load consisting of elective courses in psychology and education, plus one general education requirement.²⁶

Responding to an outside inquiry in Fall 1969, Lange enclosed his latest annual report and advised,

...you will note in the report that I give very short shrift to the questions which seem to be of primary interest to you; that is, considerations of motivation, self-awareness, personal development, et cetera. ... We run what is pretty much a ‘standard’ Outward Bound course here, with the added dimension of academic involvement and credit.”²⁷

The Outward Bound Term operated successfully in this fashion for two years with little modification. Despite the Center’s apparent accomplishments over this time,²⁸ by 1971 challenges also started accumulating; the standard course wouldn’t cut it for much longer. In

Lange's estimation, none of Dartmouth's facilities were ideal for Outward Bound activities. The College's remote landholding in northern New Hampshire was "not well adapted to the needs of the Outward Bound program" due to its "lack of varied terrain" and perceived conflicts with loggers, hunters, and the College's forestry manager. Lange regarded the nearby Moosilauke Ravine Lodge as "too large" and "a bit plush." He additionally felt that the DOC – whose involvement Eldredge had initially pledged – treated Mt. Moosilauke as their "private preserve" and viewed DOBC as an interloper.²⁹ It seemed the assets that originally joined Dartmouth with Outward Bound were not as easily exploitable as imagined, at least under Lange's direction.

Meanwhile Dartmouth's leadership and focus were also changing. John Dickey retired in 1970 and Dey departed a year later. The incoming administration introduced major changes including coeducation and a new academic calendar. Campus protests at the end of Dickey's tenure indicated waning confidence in his universalizing vision of benevolent, elite leadership (Widmayer, 1991). The Dartmouth protests were part of a larger trend among once-stalwart Protestant schools where students rejected long-standing institutional assumptions as "inappropriate for an urban, polyglot world of many different, non-Protestant groups" (Armstrong, 1990, pp. 18-19). Dickey and Dey's departures thus signaled a shift in the cultural winds and left DOBC without the philosophical and institutional cover it formerly enjoyed.

Beyond these ambient changes and the ordinary strains of running an Outward Bound school – recruiting participants, balancing expenses with revenue, and overseeing complex field operations – DOBC's position in a nonacademic unit also imposed barriers that were increasingly difficult to ignore. At Dartmouth, academic prestige was paramount. Outward Bound USA's original frontier image aligned closely enough with Dickey's religious idiom to launch the Center, but was insufficiently compelling to faculty who validated course credits and administrators who guarded Dartmouth's intellectual reputation (Sternick, 1976). In addition, Outward Bound's wilderness expedition format, which DOBC faithfully replicated, contained few affordances for service beyond reproducing the model itself with younger, ostensibly needier populations. The imagined pathway from outdoor activities to national service therefore wasn't materializing, especially with a growing number of undergraduates palpably distrustful of institutional authority, sensitive to racial unrest, and resentful of U.S. militarism.³⁰ A memo to Lange from his direct supervisor summarized DOBC's predicament in late 1971: "If DOBC is to last more than another three hundred days you have got to find some new ways to do Outward Bound that go far beyond the traditional classical survival course."³¹

The Rise of Experiential Education, 1969-1976

DOBC already contained the germ cells for its next phase, which Lange would not get the chance to cultivate; he stepped down as director in early 1972. Lange's successor was Robert MacArthur, a former standout on Dartmouth's baseball team who returned to campus as an Episcopal minister after finishing divinity school. In his letter of interest for the directorship, he confessed, "I do not see myself as the archetypal Outward Bound figure head," describing talents more suited to cultivating internal relationships than teaching wilderness skills. He was precisely the "administrative type" Eldredge and Miner privately hoped Dartmouth would find.³²

MacArthur keyed into two related aspects of DOBC programming that had been secondary to Lange's wilderness emphasis but were already embedded in the program's academic components: course content on human relations and the *laboratory experience* concept. Both of these areas reflected further contributions by Dartmouth's sociology faculty but from a member with radically different intellectual interests than Eldredge's. Where Eldredge's interests

were geopolitical in scale, Professor George Theriault concentrated on the microsociology of the primary group (see Shils, 1951). Theriault's courses had included content on group dynamics since 1951 when he and several other faculty attended a workshop at the National Training Laboratory (NTL), the country's leading center for human relations training at the time.³³ The NTL had pioneered the T-group only four years earlier, a training format in which

... participants find themselves in a relatively unstructured environment in which their responsibility is to build out of their interaction a group that can help them meet their needs for support, feedback, learning, etc. The behaviors exhibited by members as they play out their roles provide the material for analysis and learning. (Eddy and Lubin, 1971, p. 627; see also Benne, 1964)

When Theriault became involved in the Outward Bound Term in 1969, he delivered lessons "in which students engage in an actual sensitivity training session" and study "the principles and techniques of 'T-grouping' or leadership training."³⁴ Theriault's courses also included "laboratories," another term for T-group training but often with an additional focus on academic concepts (see Benne et al., 1964). Topics in Theriault's courses included "Basic concepts in Human Relations – Personality, Group Task and Process, Group Norms, Roles, Reference Groups. Basic Processes in Interaction – Perception, Communication, Leadership, Role Differentiation, Social Control." For T-groups and laboratories to function properly, Theriault instructed, "we all must feel absolutely free 'to be ourselves'."³⁵

Sensing the limitations of the Outward Bound Term, upon his hire MacArthur confided in Theriault his "concern that DOBC get away from the image of a rigorous outdoor program," maintaining "that the experiential process embodied in OB can use different media to achieve similar learning."³⁶ DOBC's pilot laboratory occurred in Fall 1971 when MacArthur, then assistant director, partnered with Chris Jernstedt, Professor of psychology, and designed a special lab for one of Jernstedt's classes. Twenty of Jernstedt's 200 students attended an abbreviated Outward Bound-style course involving backpacking, rock climbing, initiative tests, and orienteering in New Hampshire's White Mountains.³⁷ Like Theriault's classroom-based laboratories, outdoor activities were designed so students could use the "immediate data of experience" as a lens for subject matter understanding as well as personal insights. Students were informed that the "focus will not be that of a survival exercise, but rather the fullest and most creative use and interpretation of each event of the experience." The group split in two to provide "a matrix of dynamics for a) individual self-perceptions (through support, honesty, sharing of experiences, responsibility), and b) stress (through group living, leadership, decision-making, accountability)."³⁸

DOBC's pilot laboratory in *Learning* was by all accounts a success. Twice as many students volunteered than could attend. Students' academic comprehension exceeded Jernstedt's expectations. MacArthur concluded, "from all indications the experience was a best foot forward for Outward Bound."³⁹

The laboratory concept proved to be highly adaptable, lending new meaning and purpose to traditional outdoor activities and also broadening the range of activities qualifying as "Outward Bound." Over the next three years, laboratories proliferated. In Government 9 *Criminal Justice in Urban Areas*, students were temporarily imprisoned in a county jail, simulating Phillip Zimbardo's famous Stanford prison experiment. In Psychology 7 *Feeling in Control of One's Fate*, students completed a scavenger hunt during which they overnighted in a

tree and ended by discovering live chickens they were expected to slaughter, cook, and eat.⁴⁰ Students in Sociology 27 *Human Relations* were led blindfolded into a bomb shelter where they spent two days under deprived sensory conditions.⁴¹ MBA students in an *Interpersonal Behavior* seminar traveled to Hurricane Island for a 3½-day course involving classic Outward Bound activities, the “run and dip” and ocean rowing in cold, inclement weather. The professor applauded the experience for providing “a springboard into more intensive group work. People felt that they had seen one another at their worst and hence were much more willing to confront one another’s weaknesses, disclose their own faults and weaknesses, and build a more trusting, lasting relationship” (Lewicki, 1975, pp. 22-24). Students also responded favorably. One of Jernstedt’s students “mentioned that more communication and sharing had taken place in the week of Outward Bound than had so far occurred all term (four weeks) in a human relations course (T group) she was taking”.⁴² Another commented, “The philosophy of Outward Bound isn’t really survival, its learning more about yourself, working with other people in a small group under hostile conditions, under pressure” (Richards, 1977, p. 30).

The success of the early laboratories convinced faculty of their potential for addressing academic goals. The T-group had helped DOBC discover how Outward Bound was not only adaptable to various disciplinary subjects, it could use radically different activities to achieve its mainstreaming objectives. Outward Bound was at once freed from the wilderness’s limitations and also equipped with a new social technology adaptable to its standard courses: the T-group.

The Evolution of Service: The Living/Learning Term.

MacArthur shared Charles Dey’s desire to enlist students in helping address social problems, briefly working as a site coordinator for a nationwide, semester-long community service internship also administered by the Tucker Foundation.⁴³ When MacArthur returned to campus in 1970 as DOBC’s assistant director, the Center was gamely trying to fulfill its service objectives through the weekend programs for local youth. But, after Dey’s departure in 1971, the camping trips were viewed with increasing skepticism by Tucker Foundation administrators, who questioned using underserved rural and urban youth as “guinea pigs for the Dartmouth College undergraduates.”⁴⁴ As with academics, a different approach to service was required for DOBC to remain viable.

MacArthur’s assessment of campus in the early 1970s was of a community “characterized by transience, greater diversity, discontinuity, and fragmentation” (1979, p. 27). In 1972 Dartmouth enrolled its first female students and also instituted a year-round schedule requiring a term away from Hanover. Seeing an opportunity to “provide continuity and focus for social life” (p. 27), MacArthur approached Dartmouth’s housing department about sponsoring a dedicated Outward Bound dorm.

The Living/Learning Term opened in Spring, 1974 as a semester-long residential program “trying to incorporate OB within [students’] daily routine, rather than withdrawing totally to the woods” (MacArthur, 1979, p. 28). The term involved a multi-day wilderness trip prior to the semester followed by group living in a dedicated off-campus house, participation in ongoing community service projects, “a routine of physical conditioning” including weekend outings, and enrollment in a common course (pp. 32-41). Students were discouraged from pursuing extracurricular activities and assumed responsibility for all cooking, chores, budgeting, and social activities. MacArthur stressed “the necessity of the human relations course,” Psychology 27, as the term’s core course, as it would serve the dual function of satisfying the program’s academic obligations and taking “a disciplined approach to sorting out personal and

group dynamics” throughout the term.⁴⁵ Psychology 27 employed the T-group, to which students responded so keenly they “resisted the process of intellectualizing their group experience” (p. 35) when academic content was introduced.

Although community service was an important part of the Living/Learning Term, it wasn’t necessarily central to students’ experience; the overall program appealed to their social consciences but in a more localized and introspective manner, dealing mainly with their own group dynamics. This served Dartmouth’s needs to demonstrate some success with gender integration while also satisfying students’ desires for communal living. Still, it was a vastly modified version of the Atlantic Foundation’s initial vision of ivy-educated graduates channeling into civil service jobs after proving their mettle in Outward Bound.

DOBC was not the only U.S. site struggling to enact service in the grand fashion its founders imagined. As Thomas James, the author of several internal Outward Bound “issue papers” between 1978-1980, explained, when Outward Bound migrated from Britain it “evolved from a base camp to a mobile course operation, which does not lend itself well to serving populations in need” (1980, p. 2). Extensively training students for rescues which might never arise was practically unfeasible, since reaching an ambitious mountaineering or seafaring objective was critical to the sense of personal accomplishment Outward Bound also promised. Moreover, the “patrol” unit was too short-lived and transient to provide meaningful and reliable service to local communities. Service in the American schools had largely been reduced to performing rescue drills on base or picking up trash along the trail; this was hardly the stuff from which an Aristocracy of Service was made. The trivialization of service left the organization with a hole at its ideological center.

DOBC’s merger of service with the T-group thus solved two of Outward Bound’s major problems in the late 1960s: how to enact the Hahnian virtue of *compassion* without featuring service, and how to turn isolation, risk, and stress into constructive forces after the character training discourse had lost its persuasive power. The Living/Learning Term demonstrated that the group itself could be harnessed to address both of these issues so long as the right “experiential” structures were instituted (see e.g., Middleman and Goldberg, 1972). The Outward Bound group only had to look inward to generate compassion on its own.

James identified a moral hazard with its new “pluralistic” approach to service, however. Abandoning the traditional idea of service for a focus on group dynamics “may not always prod students beyond the personal experiences they are having” (p. 10). Compassion as a transcendent moral commitment risks being transformed into an object of self-reflection: “Environmental awareness is self-development; group cooperation is self-development; compassion and service are self-development” (p. 10). The reward inherent in the pluralistic view of service, James argued, “is service deeply felt instead of performed out of obligation,” but its danger, he cautioned, is “narcissism” (p. 11) – an endless process of self-rumination that involves others only as sources of personal feedback.

Diffusion: Outward Bound as Experiential Education.

Focusing on Dartmouth to such an extent risks overstating its role in the expansion of experiential education as a humanistic reform in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It is, however, impossible to disentangle Dartmouth from Outward Bound’s use of experiential education as a framework for its mainstreaming efforts in the U.S., or Outward Bound from the spread of human relations techniques in education. For example, Richard Katz, co-author of a 1968 evaluation of Outward Bound (Katz and Kolb, 1968), promoted the organization in his 1973 self-

help book, *Preludes to growth: An experiential approach*. Alfred Alschuler, a prominent advocate of “psychological education,” listed Outward Bound alongside other leading personal growth centers:

New centers of psychological education are emerging that offer [courses in affective education] to the general public. The most well known organizations are Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California; National Training Laboratories in Bethel, Maine; Western Behavioral Sciences Institute in La Jolla, California; and Outward Bound, Inc., in Andover, Massachusetts. (1969)

The influence was reciprocal. Alan Hale, director of Outward Bound’s Minnesota school (and a 1961 Dartmouth graduate) circulated Alschuler’s work internally, including to Dartmouth: in July 1969, Lange wrote Hale requesting the “little monograph describing affective education, by Al Shuler... Could I borrow a copy, please?”⁴⁶

What is clear is that between 1970 and 1976 DOBC was heavily promoted as an exemplar linking Outward Bound with experiential education in the landscape of contemporary reforms. Wentworth Eldredge advocated for Dartmouth’s ongoing role in the Outward Bound movement from his position on its national board, writing Outward Bound trustee Kent Rhodes in Fall, 1970:

Most colleges in the USA are experimenting with “experiential education” and ... the Dartmouth OB program is an important step ... into what may be termed laboratory experiments in human relations, learning theory and educational research. If the Dartmouth Center were to fold up, a magnificent chance to put a high-level academic stamp of approval on OB (with wide spin-off prospects) would be lost.⁴⁷

The organization apparently agreed. A 1971 report claimed, “The Dartmouth Outward Bound term has become a precedent for programs at other institutions wishing to incorporate experiential education into the curriculae.” The report listed teacher preparation programs in New York, Massachusetts, and North Carolina as followers. Outward Bound executive director Murray Durst claimed in the report that 20 colleges were influenced by Dartmouth.⁴⁸ A 1973 grant application seeking support for Outward Bound’s college outreach efforts showcased Dartmouth’s provision of “cooperative living, wilderness experience as a vehicle for self-discovery and for nurturing interpersonal relationships, and integration of these with courses of study offered in the regular curriculum” and claimed influence over 11 other college programs.⁴⁹ Outward Bound circulated a booklet citing a 1970 dissertation on the Dartmouth program that substantiated its goal “to provide experiential education to as many students as possible.”⁵⁰ Another influential, internally published manuscript (Walsh and Golins, 1976) boiled “the Outward Bound process” down to a seven-part schematic diagram so it could be easily implemented elsewhere. Notably, the document omits mention of Kurt Hahn, however, existential humanist Rollo May is cited in support of the model, along with Alschuler’s 1969 article.⁵¹

By 1976 Outward Bound USA had fully adopted experiential education as a means of understanding and presenting itself, which is one of the primary ways it became “inextricably intertwined” with humanistic psychology during this time (Millikan, 2006). An internal account titled *The evolution and adaptation of Outward Bound 1920-1976* (Templin and Baldwin, 1976)

compared the thriving American schools to their stagnant British counterparts. In the authors' assessment, the U.S. schools exhibited a "heathy agreement ... to keep Outward Bound at the cutting edge of affective education," (p. 32) which ensured its "continued leadership role in experiential education" (p. 36). DOBC's director became an early board member and later President of the Association for Experiential Education, launched by Outward Bound in 1975 at the third national conference on *Urban and Wilderness Activity as Experiential Learning*. The program featured human potential leaders Jack Gibb and Richard Katz as marquee speakers.⁵² A monograph published by Outward Bound's Australian branch in 1977 summarized Outward Bound's "educational implications and contributions" in a way that suggests ideas, models, and practices from the human potential movement had already spread overseas:

The Outward Bound environment, very like a T-group environment, compels individuals into social interaction, centres their thoughts on this interaction, and through de-briefings, interviews and careful control of grouping, maximises the opportunities for these individuals to gain clearer perceptions of responses to their behaviours and intensified inferences about themselves as people. ... Outward Bound has no reason for existence other than the facility it can provide for the personal growth of the individual. (Richards, p. 46)

For its part, by 1976 DOBC had reached the mature, stable form it would enjoy for the next four years until budget struggles and administrative changes at the College sparked discussions about collapsing it into the neighboring Hurricane Island site, which happened slowly between 1981 and 1984.

Discussion: Experiential Education and Expressive Individualism

Outward Bound's incorporation of what sociologist Robert Bellah called "expressive individualism" (Bellah et al., 2008) will probably always be incomplete, given its commitment to the Hahnian origin story, the persistence of masculinity as a frame for outdoor adventure (see e.g., Logan, 2006), and cultural influences in schools outside the USA. Nonetheless, its thoroughgoing identification with experiential education from the late 1960s to mid 1970s inveighed against other possible constructions. To some extent this shift was both necessary for organizational survival and beneficial to progressive reforms founded on Outward Bound's model. At Dartmouth, for instance, unification with the College's spiritual mission and alignment with other Tucker Foundation outreach programs acted as an important counterweight to the exclusive focus on the self, for which the broader human potential movement was notorious (see Tom Wolfe's famous article *The ME decade* (1976), Peter Marin's scathing essay, *The new narcissism* (1975), and Adam Curtis's documentary, *The century of the self* (2005)). The call in the 1960s to incorporate "more feminine concerns, such as, tenderness, caring about others, sensitivity to others' needs" (Katz and Kolb, 1968, p. 47) created space in the organization for women in the 1970s and has contributed to some degree of parity (Millikan, 2006). Outward Bound's mainstreaming initiative also spawned a successful public school reform program, *EL Education*, which drew on self-expressive practices developed in the T-group heyday and has produced meaningful educational gains in underserved communities.⁵³ Still, the merger of Outward Bound and experiential education was sufficient to generate anxiety within the organization about the abandonment of its original foundations (Freeman, 2011). What motivated these worries?

Contrary to Millikan's (2006) assertion that Outward Bound was originally "conceptualized without reference to religion" (p. 840), in fact Protestantism was ideologically foundational to the entire enterprise. Lawrence Holt's devoutness aside, Kurt Hahn explicitly promoted Anglicanism as a basis for postwar reconstruction in Europe, citing it as "the greatest force for good in the world."⁵⁴ In a memorandum he shared with potential donors during a 1948 visit to the U.S. – the document that became the basis of the American-British Foundation – Hahn wrote, "The Christian faith is the spiritual foundation" for his schools, "and is rooted in the daily practice of common worship."⁵⁵ (See Freeman, this issue.) He complained to Prince Philip in 1957 when the Duke's eponymous award program broadened the rescue training requirement to "public service": "I regard such a departure from your design as likely to destroy the spiritual basis of the whole award scheme. 'To do likewise as the good Samaritan has done' reveals God's purpose in a boy's inner life."⁵⁶ Hahn's maxim *plus et en vous* – there is more in you – should be interpreted in this light, as recognition of the individual's innate ability to make preferred moral choices, not to pursue personal growth without respect to moral conventions.

Moreover, Outward Bound's explicit Christian subtext was essential for its expansion to the USA. Members of the American-British Foundation were deeply subscribed to the religious framing of the west's ideological battle against communism, which Outward Bound principals skillfully exploited (and no doubt shared). In his 1960 lecture to the Outward Bound Trust, Hahn wrote:

Russia fears the verdict of youth like judgement day and Christianity is the weed in the well-ordered garden of the devil. ... with your help, we will be able to introduce among the masses of young people throughout the Free World, activities which will give them new spirit and vigor and prepare them to follow the lead given by the minority.⁵⁷

Hahn also sought the endorsement of Allen Dulles, CIA director and longtime Hahn supporter, for Darvall's junior college concept in 1958: "My hope is that with your help the condition of Western youth may be discussed at a high level as a matter of urgency affecting the safety of the realm."⁵⁸ By realm, Hahn meant Christendom. If not for this particular framing as major western powers actively forged transatlantic alliances, one struggles to imagine institutional leaders like John Dickey taking an interest; after all, Dartmouth already had a thriving outing club and robust outdoor identity.

As Kirby (2017) explains, ecumenicism and secularism didn't so much weaken the religious frame for the cold war as they broadened its reach. It is therefore no contradiction that Outward Bound's Christian observances diminished over time or that it adopted the more generic language of "spirituality" (see Freeman, this issue). Even as Christianity receded, two of its artifacts paved the way for Outward Bound's adoption of humanistic psychology: the belief in an inner self and the liberal commitment to individualism, both of which straddled traditional and progressive strains of Protestantism. On the one hand, Hahn intended for his programs to serve a conservative function in forestalling his oft-repeated "declines" (see Hahn, 1960a). On the other hand, he abhorred the idea of religious authoritarianism, both in principle and in practice, and remained committed to psychological self-determination. The ultimate victory of the latter over the former in the era of human potential might have been inevitable given changes in mainline Protestantism in the early 20th century:

Emphasizing the development of personality as the Christian's primary task meant assigning greater weight to individuals' internal dynamics and interpersonal relationships than to the social and political action of making a better world. It was taken for granted that the values born of these private, God-inspired 'person-person' and 'person-nature' relationships would become public virtues. (Warren, 1998, p. 544)

The ensuing focus on the self "diverted educators from content to method, from the truth to a *process* for seeking truth" (Warren, p. 546, emphasis in original). By assigning moral valuation to the process, the "scheme of the ethics of individual's existence did not spell out moral action beyond the interpersonal for the social aspects of life" (p. 555). As interpersonal relations at the group level replaced moral action at the societal level, the emphasis on personal growth also entailed the self as the object of moral focus.

Therapy culture.

Later in his essay, David Roberts (1998) comments, "every educational movement has its (perhaps hidden or unconscious) political platform. ... the popularity of Outward Bound must have its own covert significance" (p. 121, *parens* in original). Outward Bound's initial political platform was overt and conscious: "Character meant being strong and virtuous in a traditional sense, highly committed to organized social life, willing to sacrifice oneself for the collectivity. Manliness, honor, intrepidity, indifference to pain – these were the values in question" (James, 1980, p. 4). These values were seen as essential to cultural unity and western superiority in the hot and cold wars that bookended Outward Bound's first 25 years.

As experiential education spread with the T-group as its prototypical form in the 1960s, emotion began to triumph over reason. Hahn intended for his methods to be prophylactic in this very respect: "we are masters over our powers of memory, and have therefore the power to transform our innermost feelings at a moment's notice" (Hahn, 1960b, p. 29). Hahn's repudiation of his own emotions can be contrasted with David Kolb's (1984) experiential learning theory, which asserts the primacy of "humanistic values emphasizing that feelings as well as thoughts are facts" (p. 11). This position is no less ideological even if its expression at the level of politics and culture is less overt.

Outward Bound USA's transformation is understandable when viewed in light of the wider encroachment of "therapy culture" into education and other settings (Cook, 2014, Furedi, 2003). In Britain, Cook explains, "the stoical, emotionally contained ideal of Englishness was shifting to an emphasis on 'self-discovery' and 'personal growth.' Greater tolerance of the expression of feelings was central to these ideas" (p. 640). Promoters of human potentialism in the U.S. unapologetically described their methods as "therapy for normals" alongside other modes of self-help (e.g., Yalom, 1995, Maslow, 1961). It is therefore no coincidence that Outward Bound incorporated "'Counseling Techniques', 'Listening Skills' and 'Thoughts on Group Dynamics'" in their staff training manuals in the 1970s (Millikan, 2006, p. 850); by then, self-expression had become a pedagogical imperative and its obstruction a moral affront to personhood.

Critics of self-expressive pedagogies argue they are neither psychologically neutral nor socially benign. The irony of self-expression, Tobin (1995) maintains, is that it often requires extensive intervention to accomplish and then always follows typical conventions. Tobin further argues that the kinds of expressive precocity usually rewarded in school are specific to middle class white Americans, and prescribing them as an ideal exerts hegemony over other cultural

groups that prioritize, say, quietude and deference as signs of children's character and intelligence. Panofsky and Vadeboncoeur (2012) argue that middle-class parents' insistence on self-expression is designed to secure advantages since it reduces the "relational distance" between teachers and their children over others whose parents view it less favorably or spend less time in schools. Cook (2014) lodges a different complaint, but one that is gaining traction among commentators concerned with contemporary political divisions. In her account, the rise of therapy culture "has taken place in the context of a resurgence of the economic and political right, an exploitive media, and growing inequality, as well as the failure of the left to connect the successful assertion of personal dignity with effective political and economic action" (p. 641). Elizabeth Lasch-Quinn (2002), Francis Fukuyama (2019), and Mark Lilla (2017) all make similar points and source identity politics in the human potential movement, which they say has weakened leftist coalitions and aggravated a counter-response from the extreme right. To a large extent these arguments are newer variations on Phillip Rieff's *The triumph of the therapeutic* (1966/2006) and Christopher Lasch's *The culture of narcissism* (1979), leading polemics of their period. The extent to which "experiential education" contributes to or helps solve contemporary social problems depends on how far it has moved from its origins in 1970s-era human potentialism, an assessment that depends on situating it there in the first place.

Conclusion

In 1991, photographer Mark Zelinski published a book containing images from Outward Bound schools around the world, entitled *Outward Bound: The inward odyssey*. The inside jacket states, "This book will take readers to remote and unfamiliar experiences they have never known. At its core is the realization that the Outward Bound adventure is a deeply inward journey." Outward Bound's adoption of experiential education followed the trajectory of other traditionally Protestant institutions as they underwent a shift toward a "new character type" based on "other-directed expressiveness" rather than "inner-directed control" (Armstrong, 1990).

After the breakdown of muscular Christianity, Outward Bound lacked a coherent vocabulary for speaking internally about its aims and practices and externally about its value to mainstream settings. The collapsing of personal introspection, group dynamics, and academic content into the language of experiential education established a single, coherent rationale that provided the organization with the adaptability required for "entering the mainstream." Pragmatically, experiential education provided the ideological and administrative flexibility needed for Outward Bound to meet institutional requirements and adapt to changing cultural currents, particularly in the U.S. Its ambiguity also helped Outward Bound manage several internal contradictions before they evolved into crises, from the traditional masculinity embodied by the frontier ideal and the femininity embedded within the human relations approach, to the culturally conservative dimensions of cold war patriotism and the socially progressive liberalism exemplified by some involved in the movement. The full-throated but largely tacit absorption of expressive individualism has now created a different crisis: a crisis of relevance to contemporary social and educational problems outside the self.

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**Note: Materials sourced from Dartmouth College are noted with an asterisk below, and can be found in the Tucker Foundation Archives, Rouner Library, Hanover NH USA.*

¹ *Life Magazine*, August 7 1964, pp. 58-64.

² Letter from Lawrence Holt to Albert Mansbridge, 10 October 1942, British Library. Folder: Add MS 65260

³ Transcript of a 1962 radio interview with Hahn and Lawrence Darvall. British National Archives, Kew. Folder: ED 219/60.

⁴ 1962 Ullswater Mountain Center brochure. British National Archives, Kew. Folder: ED 74/46.

⁵ Letter from Lawrence Holt to Albert Mansbridge, 1 August 1951. British Library. Folder: Add MS 65260

⁶ Hahn, K. (c.1953). *Gordonstoun and a Europe Mission*. Available at: <http://www.kurthahn.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/gston.pdf>.

⁷ Allen Dulles papers, Princeton Library Archive. Filed under *American-British Foundation*.

⁸ 1958 file on renaming the *American-British Foundation*, Indiana University Foundation Archives, Box 4.

⁹ NATO Defense College records. Personal communication from NATO archivist Heather Empey, 15 October, 2019.

¹⁰ Undated memorandum on Atlantic Colleges. British National Archives, Kew. Folder: ED 121/1154.

¹¹ *Ellen McCloy letter to Eldredge, Dec. 17, 1957. Box 3867, folder: "Atlantic Foundation"

¹² *Report by Air Marshall Sir Lawrence Darvall, Jan. 19, 1958. Box 3768. Folder: "Atlantic Foundation"

¹³ *Joshua Miner letter to Kurt Hahn, Jan. 31, 1961. Box 3768. Folder: "Atlantic Foundation"

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- ¹⁴ *Eldredge letter to Joshua Miner, Feb. 3, 1961. Ibid.
- ¹⁵ *Minutes of the annual meeting of the Atlantic Foundation for the Education of the Free, June 20, 1962. Ibid.
- ¹⁶ *Eldredge letter to Eric Warburg, 8 October, 1962 & Minutes of the Atlantic Foundation for the Education of the Free, December 2, 1963. Ibid.
- ¹⁷ Dartmouth boasted the largest contingent of Ivy alums who served in the 10th Mountain Division at 119. See: <http://www.dartblog.com/data/2017/12/013607.php>
- ¹⁸ *Eldredge letter to John Kemper, Jan. 10, 1963; Eldredge letter to Ellen McCloy, June 16, 1963. Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Eldredge letter to Joshua Miner, June 23, 1988. Outward Bound papers, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, Box 3. Folder: E-EL.
- ²⁰ *Dyke Williams position paper: *The point of departure – national service summers*, Jan. 16, 1967. Box 3762. Folder: *O.B. National Service 1966-67*.
- ²¹ *Prospectus for an Experimental Experience in the Out-of-Doors, Winter 1967. Box 3762. Folder: *Experimental experience in the out of doors 1967*
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ *Charles Dey letter to Charles Bartlett, April 2, 1968. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound: Source Material*
- ²⁴ *Charles Dey memo, May 22, 1968. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound: Source Material*
- ²⁵ *Willem Lange letter to James A. Davis, Sept. 12, 1968. Box 8961. Folder: *Lange, Will*.
- ²⁶ *Memo by Willem Lange, Oct. 24, 1969, & Willem Lange letter to Donald Campbell, Sept. 17, 1969. Box 8961. Folder: *Chronological Will Lange 9-1-69 to 10-31-69*.
- ²⁷ *Will Lange letter to Rita Pougiales, Oct. 13, 1969. Box 8901. Folder: *Chronological Will Lange 9-1-69 to 10-31-69*
- ²⁸ **Development and Acceptance of a Center and Program at Dartmouth*, May 3, 1971, p. 2. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound: Source Material*
- ²⁹ *Lange letter to Gordon V. Dewitt, Oct. 20, 1969; Lange letter to Dey, 14 October 1969; Lange letter to Dey, Sept. 26, 1969. Box 8961. Folder: *Chronological Will Lange 9-1-69 to 10-31-69*.
- ³⁰ This topic was the focus of a feature article in the December, 1970 issue of Dartmouth's alumni magazine. See <http://archive.dartmouthalumnimagazine.com/issue/19701201#!&pid=C1>
- ³¹ *Richard K. Fox memo to Willem Lange, July 12, 1971. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound*.
- ³² *Robert MacArthur letter to Paul Rahmeier, April 18, 1972. Box 3768. Eldredge letter to Miner, March 23, 1972; Miner letter to Eldredge, April 5, 1972. Box 3867. Folder: *OB*.
- ³³ *Report on Human Relations Courses and Proposals for Future Development, Dated 1955. George Theriault Papers, Box 2. Folder: *H.R. Reports-Dev'ts 1951-1972*. See p. 7.
- ³⁴ Will Lange letter to Ralph Young, June 26, 1969; Will Lange letter to Kirk Thomas, May 23, 1969. Box 8901. Folder: *Chronological Willem Lange 5-1-69 – 6-25-69*;
- ³⁵ *This language appears verbatim in syllabi from 1954-1966. See Psychology 37-Sociology 37 course outline, winter 1962. George Theriault Papers, Box 2. Folder: *27 62-64 + LABS*, & Box 3. Folder: *H.R. REPORTS – DEV'TS 1951-1972*.
- ³⁶ *RSM memo to files re: meeting with George Theriault, July 21, 1972. Box 3762.
- ³⁷ *Preliminary report on pilot laboratory for Psychology 22, Nov. 5, 1971. Box 3762. Folder: *DOBC Living/Learning term history, 1971-74*.
- ³⁸ Ibid, p. 5.

³⁹ Ibid, p. 9. See also: Jernstedt, G. C. (1980). Experiential components in academic courses. *Journal of Experiential Education*, 3(2), 11-19. doi:<https://doi.org/10.1177/105382598000300203>

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 22, 24.

⁴¹ *Undated description of Sociology/Psychology 27 *Human Relations*. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound Soc/Psych 27*

⁴² *Preliminary report on pilot laboratory for Psychology 22, Nov. 5, 1971. Box 3762. Folder: *DOBC Living/Learning term history, 1971-74*. See p. 9; parentheses in original.

⁴³ For details on this program, see: Sternick, J. H. (1976). *The politics of conscience: a case study of the Tucker Intern Program at Dartmouth College*. (Ph.D.), University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA. Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umass.edu/dissertations_1/3094

⁴⁴ *Richard K. Fox memo to Willem Lange, July 12, 1971. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound*.

⁴⁵ RSM memo to files re: meeting with Roy Lewicki. April 16, 1974. Box 3762.

⁴⁶ *Will Lange letter to Alan Hale, July 10, 1969. Box 8901, *Lange chronological files*.

⁴⁷ H. Wentworth Eldredge letter to Kent Rhodes, November 5, 1970. Box 3768.

⁴⁸ *Report on the development and acceptance of DOBC. Box 3687. Folder: *Outward Bound - Source Material*

⁴⁹ Undated application to the Exxon foundation. Outward Bound papers, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA, Box 3. Folder: *Gordonstoun*.

⁵⁰ Lovett, R. A. (1971). *Outward Bound: A means of implementing guidance objectives*. Outward Bound Germany, Schwangau, GDR.

⁵¹ For a description of May's role in early 20th century Protestant reforms, see Warren, 1998.

⁵² *Program of the Third national Conference on Urban and Wilderness Activity as Experiential Learning, 1975. Box 3768. Folder: *OBI Mankato Conference 1975*.

⁵³ See: <https://eleducation.org/impact/school-design/research-studies>

⁵⁴ Kurt Hahn letter to Mrs. George Bell, Oct. 13, 1958. Lambeth Palace Archives. Folder: *Bell 367*

⁵⁵ A memorandum by Kurt Hahn, May, 1948. British Library File No. Wq5/3551

⁵⁶ Kurt Hahn letter to HRH Prince Philip, Oct. 24, 1957. Salem School archives, Salem, Germany. Folder: *Nr. 182*.

⁵⁷ Hahn, K. (1960). Address at the Annual Meeting of the Outward Bound Trust. Available at: www.kurthahn.org/writings/html

⁵⁸ Kurt Hahn letter to Allen Dulles, Nov. 19, 1958. CIA document #CIA-RDP80B01676R00080013-1.