AN ANALYSIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE 1945-1978

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PREFACE

This study is concerned with the development of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene from 1945 to 1978. The primary objective of the study was to determine the factors which led to changes in thought and practice in the denomination since the end of World War II.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

The evolutionary development of American higher education experienced substantial changes during the period from 1900 to 1945. The transition from the nineteenth-century collegiate ideal to the twentieth-century multipurpose university was being made. A greater elasticity in curricular offerings gave a new flexibility to the staid fare of the classical curriculum. Though still elitist, the gradual democratization of higher education was insured by the growth of land-grant institutions. American higher education, which was traditionally characterized largely by religious motives and content, was undergoing thorough secularization.[1] These changes in the educational domain coincided with a fundamental change in the American social order: "a shift from a well-knit, tradition-oriented, largely rural environment to a more diverse, complex, impersonal and unsettled urban-industrial milieu."[2]

At the same time there appeared in the United States numerous small denominational institutions. Denominational colleges had been a by-product of the unique rapproachment between religious and secular culture effected in the nineteenth century. As Messersmith remarked:

> The Westward movement, the Industrial Revolution, the growth of urban populations and the rise of the labor movement all characterized the period in which the sectarian [denominational] colleges were born.[3]

Most of these denominational colleges allied with the "new industrial and technological spirit of the age"[4] through the assimilation of theological liberalism and scientism as their _modus operandi_. These colleges became increasingly secular and more nebulous as church-related cinstitutitons. Other denominational colleges and seminaries became increasingly defensive of sectarian viewpoints and doctrines. Many sought to protetct and indoctrinate their students against general societal influences. Those Church-related colleges which came into being as a result of the growth of the holiness movement were especially confronted with these issues. The Church of the Nazarene was to become the largest and most influential of the holiness groups. Its institutions of higher learning, consequently, were impacted by the tension between these two trends. Since its inception, the Church of the Nazarene has faced an uphill struggle for survival and acceptance in the larger community of the Christian faith. Prior to the era of World War II, education had already established itself as a vital element in the life of the Church of the Nazarene. From the two-fold perspective of a trained clergy and an indoctrinated laity, the major trend in Nazarene higher education prior to 1945 was the emergence of six liberal arts colleges from the union of numerous smaller holiness institutions.

After the Second World War, American higher education underwent sweeping changes. In addition to enormous growth, democratization, expanding scope of studies, specialization, the development of high technology, the increasing importance of higher education as a tool of social reconstruction, and the tremendous expansion of funding for research, especially from federal sources, there has also been a great educational tilt toward public colleges and universities and away from

private and church-related higher education.[5] The massive new enrollments placed unprecedented demands on institutions of higher learning to expand both in size and scope. The social profile of higher education was altered as new student pools, stimulated by federal aid to veterans, were tapped. These changes inevitably led to demands for more egalitarianism in education. There were also demands for higher levels of academic excellence, especially stressing the areas of education for the professions and basic research. Rising cultural and intellectual pluralism was shattering the waning preeminence of the classical conception of liberal education. In light of these rapid and monumental changes, the challenge to formulate a clearer understanding of higher education's academic mission became a national priority. The generation after 1945 conducted nine national commission studies to examine the critical issues that faced American higher education.

Statement of the Problem

After World War II, the institutions of higher education of the Church of the Nazarene were likewise confronted with important institutional, social, and intellectual challenges. The pressures of accelerated social change were exacerbated by the historic dilemma of church-related colleges in the United States; on the one hand was the desire for full acceptance into the academic mainstream of American higher education; and, on the other hand was the desire to remain faithful to historic doctrinal commitments and denominational loyalties. The impact of accelerated social change on this historic dilemma was made more traumatic by the traditional tension within the denomination between Christian anti-intellectualism, associated with dogmatic

sectarians, and the Christian intellectualism of those who wanted the Church to recognize, if not categorically accept, the new learning fostered by the scientific spirit. This conflict began prior to the turn of the nineteenth-century in what has been called "the revolt against formalism."[6] This revolt against authority was carried out mainly by the exponents of the naturalistic and pragmatic philosophies during the formative years of the denomination's existence.[7] The complex of naturalistic ideas that emerged in this period worked to bring about changes which made piety and reliance upon the supernatural anachronistic for the modern age. As Charles Frankel in The Case for Modern Man stated:

> Relativistic philosophy. . . [view]. . . values not as eternal verities about which human beings have little choice. They are the expressions of human preferences . . . and [this philosophy] has attempted to organize modern society on the basis of purely secular [naturalistic] consideration.[8]

From the perspective of the Church of the Nazarene, the following statement made in 1960 by Dr. W.T. Purkiser at a Nazarene Educators Conference is most illuminating:

> Religion and education represent two broad and swift streams in human culture which in the last two centuries have tended more and more to pull apart. The colleges of our church stand in the intersection of currents moving in different directions. This situation is the product of historical developments which have their beginning in the Renaissance, but which have been augmented tremendously by the secularism and scientism of the twentieth century, and. . . these tensions are experienced by the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene.[9]

To understand the ramifications of the dilemma faced by Nazarene higher education, this study will attempt to document the trends toward educational pluralism in American higher education and analyze the tension as Nazarene higher education has mutually interacted with

the American academic mainstream while struggling to keep doctrinally orthodox and denominationally aligned. The term pluralism used in this study "denotes differentiation and structurization both in ends and means. . .a system that lacks one central and authoritatively unifying reality."[10] When used in the context of higher education, educational pluralism denotes the mosaic of diverse aims and the lack of an overarching epistemology in American society. Starting from different presuppositions, a gradual split has occurred between theology and science which manifests itself in a distinction between the descriptive and the normative, between fact and value. The result is that science has come to be opposed to supernaturalism, metaphysically neutral and free from the task of seeking a unified field of knowledge.[11] Religion is constantly placed on the defensive, and the center of the tension inevitably focuses on those institutions which walk the tight rope of desired academic excellence and warm-hearted, yet reasonable piety. Jencks and Riesman in The Academic Revolution comment perceptively on the Protestant dilemma:

> . . .it is ironic indeed that ascetic Protestantism, which Max Weber and others saw as fueling the restless development of industrial America [with the concomitant social, moral, and intellectual changes of that era] should now seem to depend for survival on its ability to oppose the very world it helped to create.[12]

This study makes five hypotheses about the development of Nazarene higher education and its response to the growing educational pluralism of American higher education:

1. That in the period from 1900 to 1920, the bipolar tension between Christian intellectualism and Christian anti-intellectualism was maintained rather amicably in the institutions of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene.

2. That in the period from 1920 to 1945, a general retrenchment occurred to a more sectarian and anti-intellectual position due in part to the modernist-fundamentalist conflict over the issues of evolution and the reliability of biblical revelation.
3. That in the period following World War II to 1960, there was a swing of the pendulum again toward Christian intellectualism in the desire to gain acceptance of Nazarene higher education in the academic mainstream.
4. That in the period since the 1960's, the forces of Christian anti-intellectualism have reasserted themselves in the Church of the Nazarene.
5. That currently the trend of Christian intellectualism is dominant in Nazarene higher education while a detente has been reached with the forces of Christian anti-intellectualism as demonstrated in the attempt to gain consensus on vital matters of faith and learning.

In summary, this study will seek to test the hypothesis that despite the tension between traditional loyalties to denomination and doctrines on the one hand, and educational pluralism on the other, educational pluralism had gradually gained ascendancy in most of the institutions of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene.

Significance of the Study

A significant feature of any institutional system's chance and advancement is the periodic assessment of trends and developments which affect the direc ion and well-being of the system. The only major studies conducted since World War II which attempted to analyze

Nazarene higher education as a whole were by L. C. Philo [13] in 1958 and E. W. Moore [14] in 1965. Two Educational Commissions established by the General Church also issued reports in 1952 and again in 1964 concerning the direction of Nazarene higher education. Since the mid-1960's, important new developments have occurred which to date have not been addressed in a formal study. Among other things these include the formation of Nazarene Bible College, Mid-America Nazarene College and Mount Vernon Nazarene College as well as the Faith and Learning Conference in the summer of 1978.

If higher education in the Church of the Nazarene is to remain vital in the last two decades of the twentieth-century, there remains a crucial need for periodic, systematic and comprehensive studies of educational trends, which this study purports to be.

Background of the Study

The mode of research for this study will be historical and descriptive in nature. It will seek to delineate trends in American higher education in general and higher education in the Church of the Nazarene in particular from 1945 to 1978. The study will analyze interrelationships between the two attempting to highlight points of convergence and points of separation.

Organization of Research

The study purports to analyze in detail the developments of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene from 1945 to 1978 in three areas:

1. A comparison of the institutional history of the eight, four-year colleges plus Nazarene Theological Seminary and

Nazarene Bible College in the areas of institutional growth, governance, administration and finance.

2. A comparison of the changes in the social structure among the various institutions in the composition and background of the faculty and students.

3. An analysis of the responses of Nazarene higher education to the challenges of educational pluralism.

The study will begin with an introductory chapter stating the problem, significance, background, methodology, organization and limitations of the study. Chapter II will deal with the directions of higher education in the United States from 1945 to the present as a background to understanding Nazarene higher education during the same period. Chapter III will outline the main currents of development in Nazarene higher education from its beginnings in 1945. Chapter IV will be a comparative study of institutional profiles among the various institutions of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene since 1945. Chapter V will analyze the changing social profile of Nazarene higher education since World War II. Chapter VI will consider the intellectual profile of Nazarene higher education since 1945. Various responses to educ tional pluralism will be given special attention. Chapter VII will summarize the study, making conclusions regarding the development of Nazarene higher education since World War II. Special consideration will be given to the direction and relevance of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene in the last decades of the twentieth-century.

The study will attempt to answer the following questions under the general rubric: How has Nazarene higher education responded to

educational pluralism in the following areas?

1. Institutional expansion, including the creation of four new schools, as well as the quest for full accreditation.
2. Curriculum developments including pre-professional and para-professional programs, new course offerings, innovative programs at the departmental and divisional level, and the beginnings of graduate education.
3. Finances in Nazarene higher education, including the significance of changing patterns and sources of incomes and expenditures, capital expansion and the management of crises and decline.
4. The impact of federal and state governmental involvement in capital expansion and new programs, including the inherent problems of governmental controls in private denominational education.
5. The role of the faculty, including increased emphasis on professionalization, faculty development, the tenure question, academic freedom and denominational affiliation.
6. The changing role of students, including the impact of non-denominational matriculants, changing enrollment patterns, the status of women and minorities, the demise of the doctrine of in loco parentis and the emerging forms of the extracurriculum (including intercollegiate athletics, theatre and women in sports).
7. Attempts to re-define the academic mission of Nazarene higher education culminating in concerted efforts to integrate faith and learning.

Limitations of the Study

The nature of the subject matter of this dissertation necessarily limits the study to a particular type of institution (the church-related colleges), sponsored by a particular Protestant denomination (the Church of the Nazarene) in a particular time (1945-1978) and place (the United States). The first three chapters will serve as a point of reference to compare and contrast the developments before and after World War II. The study terminates with the year 1978 for two reasons. In order to give the study a measure of reflective thought, the educational developments since 1978 were excluded. Documents needed for the study which were more recent than 1978 were usually still in active use, and their procurement proved prohibitive for this study.

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CHAPTER II

AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION SINCE 1945

Institutional Profiles

World War II marked a significant watershed in the history of American higher education. That period in history may aptly be described as the dividing line between modern trends and developments in the area of postsecondary education and those in force since the end of the Civil War.[1] World War II exerted intense pressure on all facets of American life, and higher education was not exempt. Lewis Mayhew stated that "the year 1945 may well be regarded by future historians as a major turning point. Before that year changes had been generally evolutionary; now we are in the midst of many revolutions."[2] An overview of institutional developments in higher education grips one with the magnitude and scope of this revolutionary post-War era.

It was rapid enrollment increases that signaled the start of higher education's revolutionary advance. Actually, the growth in enrollments was a distinguishable feature of American higher education since the Civil War, doubling every 14 to 15 years between 1870 and the present.[3] In 1900, four per cent of the college-age group was enrolled in some form of postsecondary education; by 1970, this had risen to over forty per cent. An historical summary of higher education provides striking statistical proof of this phenomenon (Appendix A).

Rapid institutional expansion was necessitated by the massive enrollments flooding the nation's campuses. In 1940, 1,494,203 students were enrolled in resident-degree programs. By 1950, a seventy-seven per cent increase was noted with 2,659,021 students enrolled. Most of that enrollment increase occurred from 1945 to 1950 when enrollments doubled due to the influx of veterans. The 1950's witnessed a leveling of enrollments so that by 1960 the total number of students stood at slightly over three million. But in what Earl Cheit called the "golden decade of college and university [development]"[4] student enrollments doubled in less than ten years. By 1977, enrollment in higher education stood at an all-time high of 11.2 million, which represented a six-fold increase since World War II. If one adds to this figure the number involved in all forms of postsecondary education not strictly classified as higher education, some researchers put the total figure by 1977 at somewhere in excess of 22 million people.[5] This would represent an increase in just four decades of more than 1000%.

In 1940 there were 1708 institutions of higher education in the United States. That number increased by only eight per cent to 1850 at mid-century and by 1960 had climbed to 2008. By the end of the next decade, however, the increase was an astounding forty-eight per cent. By 1977, the figure stood at 3095 which represented an increase of eighty-one per cent in the number of institutions created since the outbreak of World War II.

Another relative indicator of the staggering dimensions of institutional expansion is in the value of physical property and the total current income of higher education (Appendix A). The 1940 estimated property value of American higher education was two and three-fourths

billion dollars. Modest increases accrued until by 1960 the value stood just over thirteen billion for an increase of some eight hundred per cent. But in the decade of the 1960's the value trebled and by 1977 had nearly doubled again to over seventy billion dollars. This represented a twenty-five fold increase in less than two generations.

Income from all sources for higher education stood at three-fourths of a billion dollars in 1940, but had quadrupled by 1950 due, in part, to federal funding of those veterans who returned to school under the G.I. Bill of Rights. Slow growth occurred throughout the 1950's till by 1960 the figure stood at just under six billion dollars. During the decade of the 1960's, the income of higher education quadrupled to over twenty-one billion dollars. From 1970 to 1977, the amount doubled again. Thus in the period of time from the start of World War II until the late 1970's, the total current income for higher education rose some sixty-six fold.

Most college and universities had no long term plan to handle the massive influx of students and the rapid growth in the size and cost of higher education. Willis Rudy remarked that this growth was not attributable just to a quantitative shift in numbers causing a post-War glut, but that during World War II it was increasingly impressed upon the nation that its very survival depended on the intelligent utilization of manpower resources, the key to such effective use being higher education.[6] Postsecondary education has as a result decreasingly become the sole province of the traditional college-age group and appealed in ever increasing numbers to the older student. This is verified by statistics which reveal that by 1977, five out of every eight students in higher education were enrolled part-time, and the majority of this group was over 23 years of age.

The impact of this institutional expansion on our society was not readily apparent until the 1960's. This may be due in part to the American cultural presupposition that if something grows larger in size it follows that it must be better. "The love of bigness and size," said Ordway Tead "is a notorious American weakness."[8] But as the full impact of this expansion set in, astute observers realized that higher education had turned the corner from provincialism and had entered the age of mass culture. As Carl Haskins analyzed this growth:

> [Increasingly]. . .growth in an organization leads to complexity, complexity to specialization, and specialization to dynamic interplay of independence and integration. . .[Thus, higher education can no longer be provincial and decentralized in a highly complex and urbanized society].[9]

The evidence is so convincing that few can doubt the scope of higher education's growth since the mid-1940's. Another perspective, namely that of diversity of institutional expansion, also reveals the extent of higher education's development. One need only consider the demise of private education, the changing nature of undergraduate and graduate education, the community college movement, the metamorphosis of the state four-year colleges, the emergence of the federal-research university, and the widening of professional education to understand the impact of this massive expansion on the American educational system.

The prevailing form of American higher education during most of its history was the independent college. Even in the late nineteenth-century when graduate and professional schools were grafted onto it, the administration was relatively simple and limited to a single campus. Since enrollments were stable, governance and planning could develop. But changes in size and purpose have increasingly led to the

decline of the traditional private college. A marked change has occurred since World War II in the distribution of students in public and private education.

Of a total of two and one-half million students in institutions of higher education in 1948, more than 50 per cent were in private colleges and universities. By 1952, the public institutions began to take a decisive lead and have increased that lead to the present time. In 1964, 36 per cent of those enrolled in higher education were in private institutions while the other 64 per cent were in public ones. By 1978, the figures had risen to 78 per cent in public institutions and 22 in private ones. In a 30 year period the ratio of public to private education went from 1:1 to almost 4:1 in favor of public higher education.[10]

Prior to the Civil War, according to Jencks and Riesman in <u>The Academic Revolution</u>[11], the distinction between public and private education was of no special significance. After the Civil War, it became a central issue in the bifurcation of higher education. Due in large part to the land-grant movement, and more recently to federal and state appropriations for the public sector, private education has increasingly struggled with high costs and declining enrollments. Along with inflation and the ascendancy of state-supported institutions, scholars such as Russell Kirk feel that the most pernicious reason for the decline of "private education is its failure to fulfill its own original purposes. . . and to provide an education [that is truly different.]"[12] Many of the private schools sought to turn themselves into comprehensive institutions with graduate and vocational preparation. In pursuing the siren call of diversity, many of the schools lost the focus of liberal learning, which

was their genius. While the dramatic growth of higher education since World War II has also affected the private sector, the growth of public education has occurred in much greater proportion. The diversity of growth in higher education can no where be seen more distinctly than in the development of the junior college movement. Two decades before World War II there were 46 two-year institutions in the United States. Two decades after World War II there were 577. The more than 1100 two-year institutions in existence by 1977 represented over one-third of the total number of institutions of higher education in America.

The modern version of the junior college popularized since 1945 is the community college. Originally seen as a way to economically and quickly relieve the burden on larger institutions due to expanding educational opportunity, the community college movement has grown so rapidly that some refer to it as "the most significant social invention of the twentieth-century in American higher education."[13] A number of reasons have been offered for its dramatic rise to prominence on the contemporary scene. Community colleges have capitalized on a number of concerns at the local level including: reaction to cosmopolitan values, working class resentment against social snobbery and profesional exclusiveness, the need for part-time adult education and parental concerns about the decline of the doctrine of _in loco parentis_ on many residential campuses. The community colleges seek to be "inclusive rather than exclusive, seeking to serve the whole population, not a minority."[14] Medsker concurs that it has been the community colleges which have been quickest to respond to community pressures for additional services.[15] Brubacher and Rudy see the rise of the so-called middle jobs of semi-technical skill in the American labor market as the primary stimulus to

community college growth.[16] Statistical data released by the United States Department of Commerce in October, 1976, revealed a dramatic shift in the age-distribution of college students showing the number of students under 25 years of age steadily decreasing. Such figures can only reinforce the belief that community education, which caters especially to this group, will continue to be a significant feature of American education.

Six discernible patterns emerged in the development of community college education since World War II. According to Medsker these are:

1. The governance of these institutions, which has passed from the control of regular common school districts to separate districts following the collegial pattern.
2. Accelerated curricular offerings to meet the needs of not only transfer but terminal programs.
3. An academic identification as postsecondary education rather than a part of secondary education due in part to state master planning.
4. Increasing selection of faculty outside of secondary education in the ranks of graduate education.
5. Increasing state involvement and funding.
6. The formation of professional associations at the state, regional and national level.[17]

In spite of what seems the bright prospects for community education, some controversies and problems must be faced. The most obvious problem is that in trying to be all things to all people, community colleges tend to lack clear and distinct missions. This muddled sense of purpose created uncertainty to the extent that two-year education served the terminal function to the exclusion of the more traditionally-oriented liberal-art

transfer function. Another problem is the shortage of faculty members with high academic training who at the same time are sympathetic to the community college philosophy. The most difficult task facing community education is that of maintaining quality programs on the one hand while clinging to the concept of open admission on the other.[18]

The diversity of post-War education is also reflected in changes occurring in four-year colleges, universities and professional schools. State four-year colleges, originally called normal schools, were designed to train teachers for elementary and secondary education. After World War I, the normal schools became teacher colleges offering a wider range of courses leading to select majors in addition to their main task of teacher education. Since World War II, these colleges have matured, and most are now public colleges offering a comprehensive range of undergraduate programs; some have even developed into medium-scope public universities. These institutions now serve not only teacher education, but liberal arts, pre-professional education, technical and business programs as well.

Professional education was not immune from the currents of change sweeping through the educational scene. The impact of rapid growth on university education led to a rapid expansion in the number of institutions granting doctoral degrees. By 1970, over 200 institutions were awarding them.[20] This expansion led the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education to recommend in early 1970 that the number of the universities granting doctorates be limited, in order not to dilute its significance.

Another significant feature in American higher education was the

growing interaction of the university with society at large. Clark Kerr in his book, The Uses of the University, said that during and since World War II there has been a revolutionary development in the American university. This development he termed the rise of the "Federal Grant University."[21] The result is that research opportunities and federal funding are increasingly funneled into a handful of elite institutions. This led, he concluded, to a deterioration in undergraduate education at those institutions and a considerable number of others which sought to imitate them. The charge can be made that the university as an autonomous repository and extender of knowledge became a willing partner in the machinations of both government and industry.

Two distinguishable trends in professional education were its proliferation and coalescence with the rest of graduate education. During the twentieth-century and especially after World War II, professsional education was extending to new fields of study such as science, education, business, public administration, police science, social work, and hotel management.[22] The growth of professional education, not only in programs offered but in numbers of institutions, was significant. The number of professional schools offering degrees in law, medicine and dentistry increased from 212 in 1949 to 335 in 1977.[23]

The second important trend in professional education is the lessening of distinctions between the professional schools and the rest of graduate education. Much of this is due to measures of economy and efficiency. Prior to World War II, the distinction between professsional education and the rest of graduate education was based on distinctions between pure and applied knowledge. This distinction, however, has become less feasible since that time. Joseph Axelrod generalized that

professional education, with some variations, seemed to be repeating the historical development of state teacher's colleges, which moved from a single-purposed autonomy apart from the mainstream of higher education to a multipurpose merger with higher education.[24]

Under the American academic free market, the diversity of institutional expansion was limited only by the ability to find funds and students. Educational entrepeneurship served as both a stimulus for renewal and a constant source of concern for quality in the bewildering complexity of the American system of postsecondary education.

Responses to a massive expansion of educational institutions inevitably led to a myriad of alternative educational structures, each seeking to make education more productive and responsive. The concept of innovation is hard to define, since one institution's innovative schemes are another institution's standard fare. James Kolka has made the distinction clearer by suggesting that innovation is any "system-specific change relative to the idiosyncratic experiences of a particular institution."[25] American higher education is replete with novelties; most are variations of several basic themes.

Internal structural innovations were numerous and diverse in post-war higher education. The most dramatic was the creation of a new institution which had a totally new mission. The best example of this type was the Free University Movement which emerged in the 1960's. This type of structure functioned without a fixed location, being based on the voluntary association of those who wanted to learn with those who wanted to teach. With no prescription, the free university curriculum reflected student interest rather than formal requirements.

A second type of internal structural innovation was the transfor-

mation of an existing institution according to a new innovative mission. Often done after extensive institutional study and planning, a school may refocus its mission in order to meet perceived needs more in line with its resources and constituencies. These changes ranged from procedural to substantive.

A third type of internal structural innovation was the creation within traditional institutions of non-traditional programs. One example would be the three year baccalaureate degree. By 1973, 34 institutions had programs whereby students could finish their undergraduate studies early.[26] While often done by taking heavier loads or gaining earlier admission, the most innovative change has been to receive credit by examination.

Not only have a number of single institutional innovations emerged in response to educational expansion, but a number of significant multi-institutional arrangements have emerged as well. In the past, American higher education has been able to function with each institution operating unilaterally. According to Messersmith, this was due to the ivory tower concept that kept college and community apart, to the rugged individualism native to American frontier life, and to the selective nature of single-purposed institutions.[27] Since the Second World War, three phases have marked the trend toward increased cooperative activity in higher education. The period following the heavy influx of G.I.'s was one of collaboration between higher education and the federal government. After the ebb tide of veteran enrollments, there was a return to the intensive competition that had marked the pre-war period. The latest phase, accompanied by rising enrollments, rising costs, breakthroughs in science and technology, and increased demands by the public, has

again led to the establishment of cooperation and coordination. "The virtues of interdependence seems to have outweighed those of self-sufficiency," concluded Messersmith.[28]

There are numerous examples of institutional cooperation among geographically contiguous institutions. One type is the cluster college, a federation of schools in an area which are organizationally separate but share some common facilities, services, faculties, resources and programs. This cooperative arrangement has allowed smaller institutions to have the advantage of combined resources. These consortia often started with such features as the exchange of faculty, hiring of joint faculty and the exchange of students in high-cost programs. By 1965, over 1000 of these consortia or cluster colleges were in operation.[29]

Regional cooperative arrangements have also aided in the search to make higher education more efficient and productive. Since the turn of the century there has been marked evidence of a trend towards institutional cooperation on a regional basis. By the 1930's some 115 cooperative arrangements were in operation, due largely to pressure during the Great Depression to reduce unnecessary duplication of facilities and services. By 1943, the first interstate educational compact was enacted when Virginia and West Virginia agreed to share common medical facilities.[30] The forces that produced regional educational compacts in the South, West and New England arose from post-World War II growth that placed tremendous demands on the states in these regions to supply graduate, professional and technical manpower for unprecedented enrollments.[31]

Each of these three regions has a peculiar problem which in all cases made the advent of cooperative arrangements particularly

advantageous. New England has been academically underdeveloped even though there existed many private, small and often innovative colleges which gave the appearance of academic abundance. In this region the traditional conflict between Roman Catholic and Protestant education on the one hand, and between the elite and the upwardly mobile on the other, has severely crippled the development of public higher education. Higher education in the South and Rocky Mountains was limited by a small tax base due to smaller populations, weaker industrial development, and lack of commitment to strong public education in general. In these two regions, only a handful of states such as Colorado, Texas and North Carolina are anomalous to this pattern. Throughout the South the most prestigious institutions are the private schools such as Emory, Duke, Rice, Virginia and Vanderbilt.[32]

Three regional interstate compacts for higher education were created to meet these problems. The Southern Regional Education Board (SREB) was the oldest and largest established, originating in 1948.[33] Capitalizing on a strong sense of regionalism, this compact sought to upgrade education and the economic level of the region. By 1949, all the southern states were compact members.

The second compact was the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE), established in 1951 under the leadership of the western governors who met to address the problem of manpower shortages, especially in the health professions. By 1959, WICHE, headquartered in Boulder, Colorado, had the active participation of thirteen western states.[34]

The third of these regional compacts is the New England Board of Higher Education (NEBHE). This compact was joined by six states who

sought to address the problem of underdeveloped public higher education. Dominated by the private sector with its emphasis on restricted enrollments and national orientation, New England prior to World War II had no state university comparable to the comprehensive universities of the Midwest and had only one public medical school in a six state area.[35] The six states of New England ratified this compact in 1955.

Kroepsch and Kaplan listed the program activities of the three regional compacts as follows:

1. Regional sharing of high cost educational programs such as medical, dental, social work and veterinary facilities.
2. A regional common market providing services to regional students on resident tuition base and given preferential admission to such specialized programs as forestry, nursing, hydrology, journalism and pharmacy.
3. Fact finding and research into the needs and resources of the region.
4. Consultative services for institutional self-study by regional facilities.
5. A clearinghouse for information within the region for long-range planning.
6. In-service training and continuing education for faculty and administration.
7. Curriculum planning and development.
8. Public information programs for legislatures and the general public.[36]

Multilateral cooperation on a regional basis is not just limited to areas of the country where higher education has been traditionally deficient. But in the large public systems of the Midwest such cooperative arrangements have also flourished. One notable example is the Midwestern University Research Association, established in 1954. This association established cooperative arrangements with 15 universities in Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana and Wisconsin to share facilities for research in high energy nuclear physics.

National cooperative arrangements are most often sanctioned and sustained by the federal government through the Office of Education and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Since 1976, Education has become a separate cabinet level department. The pioneer effort on a national level was the American Council on Education. It was formed as an emergency council during World War I to deal with the acute problems arising from the impact of Federal wartime programs on colleges and universities.[37] After this war this body continued to operate as a "supereducational association overarching the myriad associations of institutions in higher education."[38]

A recent example of the impact of national cooperation occurred during the 1960's. Faced with a rapid increase in the volume of information generated annually, the federal government through the Office of Education financed and established an Educational Resource Information Center (ERIC) as a clearinghouse of new information. Currently there are 16 ERIC clearinghouses, each dealing with a specialized subject area in education. The result of this nationwide cooperative effort was to bring a measure of order to the literature of education which up to that time had been relatively uncontrolled.[39]

Another trend in nationally-sponsored cooperative activity of an international scope were programs of technical aid to universities in underdeveloped countries which have gained independence since World War II. These programs most often take the form of agricultural development and technical assistance.[40]

A special type of external innovation in the field of higher education is also a product of the post-War era. The nonprofit, research institutes are administered separately and incorporated independently of the degree-granting institutions. These nonprofit institutes sponsored by federal funds have mushroomed, especially in the period from 1951 to 1968 when their number tripled from 23 to 67. By 1968, the 1.6 billion federal dollars spent on these institutions represented 40% of all federal appropriations for research and development. These research and development centers, which were originally begun for defense work in World War II, now include such prestigious institutions as the RAND corporation, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory and the Brookhaven National Laboratory.

In summary, the structural changes of higher education, both at the institutional and multiinstitutional level reflected a growing diversity and complexity which mirrored the state of affairs in higher education. In an effort to fulfill the call to pluralism in academic life, the structure and content of higher education in the United States was undergoing change. Its goal was to be an agent of change for society.[43]

Nowhere can the impact of change be seen more clearly than in the curriculum of postsecondary education. Brubacher and Rudy suggested that the history of the American curriculum had taken the form of a

vast Hegelian triad where the thesis of eighteenth-century prescription became the nineteenth-century antithesis in the elective principle, which in turn became the twentieth-century synthesis of concentration and distribution.[44] But at best, they suggest, this synthesis was artificial. Hence the kind of "synoptic integration traditionally characteristic of liberal education ended by default."[45] The search for a more authentic unity took place in what came to be called the general education movement.

The movement known as general education began at Columbia University after World War I. Even by the early 1920's, the prevalent feeling among educators was that specialization of the curriculum had gotten out of hand, that knowledge was becoming too fragmented, that research was being over-emphasized and that transcendent truths were being lost in the process. As a revitalizing and reworking of the old liberal arts curriculum, general education was supposed to be the answer. Another factor working for the demise of liberal learning was the anti-intellectualism of many students and alumni and the anti-intellectual nature of American culture in general.[46] General education was offered as the fitting response to counterbalance specialization and anti-intellectualism.

Paul Dressel and Francis DeLisle noted that the impact of both World Wars on the American curriculum was a resurgent interest in general education.[47] Both wars seemed to have impressed upon American educators the need for a broad, nonspecialized general education in order to understand and deal with an increasingly complex world community. After World War II, an additional impetus was given to general education by the report of the Harvard University faculty

entitled General Education in A Free Society. A culmination of two years of study, this report became widely followed as a model for general education after its publication in 1945. The motive behind the reforms at Harvard was similar to those at Columbia a generation earlier. The faculty was concerned about the fact that high school students came to Harvard innocent of the books and ideas that faculty members had mastered at the same age. Since students were inducted into a specific discipline early, it was possible for one to graduate and still be ignorant of the great traditions of Western civilization.

The Harvard attempt centered on a rationale for dealing with the freshmen and sophomores who had not chosen a specific departmental major by introducing them to a general course of study. Harvard's revisions were less radical than those at either Columbia or Chicago. They did not attempt, like Chicago, to establish a separate Undergraduate College or pre-empt the bulk of time from the first two years for general education.

The trends in the emergence of general education and the waxing and waning of liberal education follow a pendulum-like development. The principle of election had been introduced at Harvard during the last quarter of the ninteenth-century as a means of reforming a staid and inflexible curriculum. When this led to a cafeteria-type development in undergraduate studies, this proliferation of courses and specialization of studies led to the demand for some over-all unity by requiring certain courses.

During the 1950's, there was a swing back to the elective principle, and the general education movement largely came to an end. A perceptible difference existed between the emphases on specialization in the

1920's and its reemphasis in the 1950's. The former use of election and specialization was aimed toward vocational preparation. The latter use of election and specialization was geared toward preparation for graduate schools which had also flourished in post-World War II America.[48]

Some of the more hard-line believers in the need for a true general education, even harkening back to the elitist spirit of the old curriculum, resisted the demise of general education at mid-century by seceding from the academic system and starting dissenting colleges of their own. After World War II a group of educators took over St. John's College in Annapolis, Maryland and established a Great Books curriculum modeled on the educational model of Robert Hutchins.[50] But since research along disciplinary lines has increasingly dominated since World War II, general education seemed destined for decline. Also working against general education was the fact that a majority of the professional scholars thought it frivolous. Its appeal was to those more interested in humanistic values who by 1960 were a definite minority.

The old fashioned liberal arts had long since been unable to find a significant place in the rapidly changing world of the modern university. The general education movement, designed to save the most essential features of the old curriculum, namely unity and meaning, was alleged to have itself ended. A more neutral term such as basic studies was in vogue during the 1960's and 1970's. According to Axelrod:

> The general education reform movement in the lower division curricula can be seen as a movement that emerged sometime around the 1920's, reached maturity in the 1940's and approached old age in the 1950's.[51]

Any evaluation of the developments in liberal and general education will find scholars who either applaud or lament the state of affairs.

Many are pessimistic about their demise; others are hopeful of their recovery, and still others are patently indifferent. One who lamented the decline of liberal education and its offspring, general education, was Jacques Barzun. Barzun claimed that the university had become a "nationalized industry",[52] the logical summation to the rise of nation-states and the Industrial Revolution.No longer could higher education remain aloof from the marketplace. The legacy of faculty involvement in the heady ideals of the New Deal and the awesome Manhattan Project had guaranteed the entrance of academia into the mainstream.[53]

The failure of liberal education, according to Joseph Ben-David, was that the function assigned to college education, first by liberal education and then by general education, was character formation.[54] While it was possible to accomplish such an educational aim in the context of traditional religious culture such as had existed prior to the secularization following the Civil War, it was impossible to do so in the new context of modern secular education. The principle of election and specialization which came to dominate education left deliberately the choice of educational purpose and thus moral responsibility to the student.

In assessing the possible implications for liberal and general education, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education stated that liberal education "can be a fruitful renewer of diversity in American higher education"[55] by giving increased attention to affective student needs increased provisions for the creative arts and the enhancement of teaching. Others are even stronger in their belief in the necessity for liberal and general education:

> One can only hope, in the Age of Adjustment, that the liberal arts. . .ultimately will be seen as having an indispensable role to play in helping young persons adjust to a life meaningful in the deepest sense of the word.[56]

Any description of undergraduate curriculum trends must include reference to the struggle between election and prescription, the place of vocationalism in higher education, the emergence of relevance as a key factor in curriculum design, and the sheer expansion in offerings to meet the needs of a larger and more diverse student body.

It is obvious that the principle of election has become firmly entrenched in the infrastructure of American higher education at the present time. Periodic modifications in the extent of election seem to occur with some predictability, but few seriously question the merit and necessity of freedom of choice. Election intially overexpanded as many new innovations do. The efforts of Hutchins and others to give order to higher education expressed a genuine dissatisfaction with the planlessness and lack of balance of curricular offerings during the 1920's and 1930's.[57] It was also aided by the external impulse relating to the moral and intellectual crises of capitalistic societies during the Great Depression. The elective principle emerged in an "age of optimism, expansion, competitiveness, materialism and struggles for power."[58] It ebbed in an age of pessimism, retrenchment, survival and a search for meaning. The elective principle was a liberal academic idea which conformed to the principle of the intellectual division of labor. Unlike the older, elitist curriculum, it was pluralistic, democratic and more competitive.

The social stratification between the liberal learning of a gentlemen

and the illiberal learning of an artisan is deeply rooted in the Western educational tradition. Higher education is solicitous of the goodwill of its constituency in readily responding to demands for new courses of study. The majority of these innovations are vocational or professional in nature. This began with the land grant movement in the last half of the nineteenth century and by the end of World War II was a major force in American academic planning.

The cumulative result of World War II on vocationalism in higher education was that the old liberal arts rhetoric became in fact subordinated to a new vocabulary which stressed job training and social progress.[59] Within the space of a century after entering higher education for the first time, vocationalism moved first to a position of parity then of dominance in American higher education. The bulk of higher education's resources in terminal undergraduate curricula are now geared to the real and imagined needs of employers. Today curriculum planning in higher education is more heavily influenced by outside societal pressures than ever before. It must respond positively to changing occupational structures, the rise and fall of business enterprises, the growth of bureaucracy, the sharp rises and levelings of population growth, and the aims and aspirations of society in general. The trend in vocationally-oriented courses in a broadly elective undergraduate curriculum seems firmly entrenched for the foreseeable future. The development in the last twenty years of computers, systems analysis, operational research and the applied sciences make possible academic development of respectable courses in management, administration, government and education. The economic demands of a highly technological and specialized society make the traditional deference paid

liberal over vocational education seem anachronistic at least and absurd at most.

Relevance has become a key theme in understanding the development of curriculum in higher education especially since the student unrest of the 1960's. The term relevance has a broad meaning and often is used imprecisely in trying to describe educational change. Steven Halpern noted that too often relevance is equated with something that is exciting or has immediate emotional appeal. An inexact definition of what is relevant has led to a mounting anti-intellectualism in colleges and universities and a rejection of much of the liberal arts curriculum.[60] Relevance means a curriculum that directly relates to actual, personal interests of students and to current social problems which include programs of ethnic interest, creative arts, lifelong learning programs, vocational interests, new concerns for the environment and concerns for global citizenship, among others.

The press for relevance in the college classroom has been attributed to the disenchantment students felt during the 1960's with an unresponsive and seemingly unconcerned academic establishment. The open door admissions policy, which was vogue during this period, may be in fact the root cause of these demands. The tide of students flooding higher education had little attraction to the traditional interests of higher education and less commitment to knowledge for knowledge's sake. The curriculum they found was heavily dominated by a concern for the cognitive and traditional. Students found this boring and thus irrelevant. When their demands were acceded to, this led to an unhappy dilution of the curriculum.

Varying responses were tried to upgrade the significance of edu-

cation for students. One of the more conservative responses was a compromise called tracking. Tracking maintained the older curricular values but provided separate and parallel programs for nontraditional studies. Instead of allowing open admissions policies to overwhelm them, a track was set up whereby the most able could be routed to the university, the moderately able to a four-year college, and the rest to junior colleges. In no single area did demands for relevance make a greater impact than in ethnic studies, particularly black studies. American blacks comprise more than ten per cent of the population, and during the 1960's pride in black culture and achievements was rapidly emerging. In the early 1960's only a handful of schools offered courses in black studies. But by the middle of the 1970's, over 1500 institutions offered more than 10,000 different courses in ethnic studies.[61] Surveys revealed that in 1975, over 270,000 students were enrolled in black studies programs, while 378 institutions offered major ethnic programs leading to undergraduate and graduate degrees.

The extent of change brought by demands for relevance is difficult to measure. Brubacher and Rudy reported that between 1962 and 1965, more than twenty per cent of the courses were changed among colleges they sampled as part of a Carnegie Commission Report on Higher Education.[62] To what extent these courses were the direct result of new student demands for relevance was uncertain. But it was certain that calls for relevance and curricular change were a doubled-edge sword which cut both ways. Much that needed reform felt the cutting edge of demands for relevance, while other important aspects of higher education were damaged in the process.

The sources of changes in the curriculum can be attributed to at least four phenomena. The vast explosion of knowledge during the last

quarter century, the impact of three major wars, and the changing nature of national priorities each in its own way led to expansion and change in higher education.

The expansion of knowledge and the frequency of scientific breakthroughs have been rapidly accelerating in this century. According to Dressel and DeLisle, four major scientific and technological epochs have occurred in the last twenty-five years: nuclear, computer-cybernetics, the deoxyribonucleic (DNC) and the space age. These impressive accomplishments for which higher education was largely responsible, exert pressures for change in higher education. Courses and curricula must continually be changed and updated or they become obsolete. Society looks to higher education for assistance in adjusting to the impact of expanding knowledge and technology.[63]

Another source of change in the curriculum is the impact of During the Second World War, institutions of higher learning, always willing to take Federal monies, willingly modified the curriculum to include training of linguists, cartographers, physicists, biologists, chemists and engineers for the war effort. It was the impact of massive exposure to non-Western cultures during World War I and the conflict that spurred interest in Asian and African studies. During war-time higher education provided training in exotic languages depending on the area of conflict. By 1958, the establishment of federal funding through the National Defense Education Act went to support language and science programs.

A third source of curriculum change are modifications in national priorities. As changes in national consensus regarding the major needs of society and directions in the economy occur, they serve as an impor-

tant if indirect impetus to change the curriculum. Up until the 1950's, business had been the ideal occupation for those seeking upward social mobility in society.[64] During the 1950s and extending through the 1970's, this ideal was replaced by the professional sciences. Today, business and programs in middle management are making a comeback.

The nexus of curricular change since World War II occurred during the decade from the launching of Sputnik in 1957 to the student unrest at Columbia in 1967, in which the free speech movement took a radical turn to the left. Between these two dates most of the significant impetus for change occurred, and many innovations still thrive from the energy for curricular reform released during that period. The catalyst was the launching of a Sputnik satellite by the Soviet Union in 1958. This event set off nothing less than a national panic that American brainpower was falling behind that of our avowed adversary. Through the passage of the National Defense Education Act, the United States Government began concerted efforts to change the direction of American higher education. The stress was placed on excellence, especially in the physical sciences and mathematics.

As early as 1963, it was evident just how profound was the change in the college curriculum. Axelrod characterized the curriculum as less rigid, more tolerant of divergent streams, and less superficial.[65] A study conducted by Paul Dressel and Henry DeLisle in 1968 investigating the extent of curricular changes from 1957 to 1967, surveyed a sample of 322 institutions. They found the rationale for the curricular changes to be: (1) the increasing number of students in higher education mean better and more varied backgrounds of preparation, a broader range of talents, and more diversified interests; (2) there was an increased

emphasis on integrative experiences such as seminars, interdisciplinary studies and independent studies for the undergraduate.[66]

Specific curriculum change comes in response to internal as well as external stimuli. Examples of both types of changes are the development of speech and journalism and the emergence of environmental studies. Rhetoric was part of the old liberal arts curriculum, but prior to World War I, it was absorbed into English. Debate was a popular form of extra-curricular activity during the nineteenth-century that carried over into the twentieth century either in a separate department often called Expression or as a part of the English curriculum. During World War I, professionalization began to impact rhetoric and debate as specific courses were offered in both. Eventually debate lost its extracurricular trappings and ceased to be a sport. By World War II, speech was a separate discipline. Similarly, journalism grew out of the extracurricular activity of the student yearbook and newspaper. By a process of natural selection, areas such as speech, journalism, physical education and student personnel studies began as part of the nonacademic extracurricular activities but slowly gained prestige as a part of the curriculum. Federal concerns about the environment led to the passage of the Environmental Education Act in 1971 which pumped more than 8 million dollars into new programs in environmental education.

The dimensions of the expanding curriculum are staggering both in size and scope. Data compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics in Washington D.C. indicate the following number of undergraduate and graduate degrees offered in 1976-1977 as follows: The number of bachelors, masters and doctorates conferred by area were: eighteen areas in agricultural, seven areas in architecture; fifteen world

area studies; twenty-eight areas in the biological sciences, eighteen different areas in business and management; six different areas in communications; six areas in computer and information science, forty-four different areas of education; twenty-six different areas in engineering, twelve areas in fine and applied arts; seventeen different foreign language degrees, twenty-three categories in the health professions; eight areas of home economics, two areas of law, eleven areas of letters; two areas in library science, four areas of mathematics, five areas in military science, twenty-three areas in the physical sciences, eleven areas in psychology; seven areas of public affairs, sixteen areas in the social sciences, five areas in theology; and five interdisciplinary areas.[67] Within these three hundred and nineteen degree programs (see Appendix C), were a myriad of emphases and subspecializations all supported by varied courses numbering in the tens of thousands. Fully two-thirds of the degrees offered in education in 1977 were newly created since 1945. And several categories of degrees were totally new, such as area studies, computer and information sciences, interdisciplinary studies and the allied health professions.

Statistics regarding the expansion of associate degrees in junior and community colleges reveal similar dramatic growth. Eight degree programs were offered in 1976 in data technologies, twenty new programs in health and paramedical technology, ten programs in natural science technologies, eighteen programs in mechanical and engineering technologies, nineteen new degrees in business and commerce and nine new programs in public service.[68]

The broadening and diversity of the curriculum is both a cause and a result of the massive post-War enrollment. In 1945, 136,000 bachelor

degrees were awarded in the United States, but by 1977, 919,000 were being awarded annually. In 1945, 19,000 Master's degrees were awarded in the United States. By 1977, 317,000 degrees were being awarded annually. In 1945, 1,966 doctorates were awarded in this country. By 1977, this figure had grown to over 33,000 (see Appendix B). In percentages, this represents a 575% increase in bachelor degrees, a 1,568% increase in master's degrees, and a 1,636% in doctorate degrees in a thirty-two year period. Quite obviously the most rapid growth sector in the curriculum is at the graduate level.

The rise of research with its subsequent upward pull on graduate education is a major trend in curriculum development since 1945. Prior to World War II, the three functions of higher education were teaching, research and public service. While roughly equivalent, teaching was the foremost endeavor. After World War II. research became the main source of finance for universities, which in turn stimulated graduate activity. The War itself had been "an enormous stimulus to pure research in science, just as the Great Depression was to pure theory in economics."[69] The traditional hostility of state legislators toward research in favor of undergraduate programs meant that federal and private funding was needed to support this growing field. The government responded with the creation in 1950 of the National Science Foundation, which by 1970 was spending over two billion dollars annually on research. Even though most of the research money has gone to several score of the leading institutions, the net effect throughout all of graduate education has been a preponderant emphasis on research and subsequent publication.

At the same time the importance of graduate education was increas-

ing, as indicated by enrollment patterns and federal funding, its organizational structure was being traumatized. The organizational methods and policies of graduate education had remained essentially unchanged since the last century.[70] By the late 1950's, much unrest grew out of the antiquated methods and reforms in graduate education. It seemed to many that graduate education was not fulfilling its potential. The stimulus for meaningful change came from a growing concern that there would be a shortage of college teachers as enrollment from the post-War baby boom entered college in the 1960's. In 1958, a national conference was convened under the auspices of the American Council on Education to recommend reforms to meet this imminent challenge.[71] Out of this meeting emerged reforms which included greater breadth in doctoral programs, reduction of time for the doctorate, emphasis on significance rather than novelty in the dissertation, and a redignified master's program.

By the mid-1960's, in an atmosphere of change and reform, many of the lines between separate fields of study were broken down. In area studies, space science, biology, behavioral science and linguistics, largely traditional boundaries were being ignored. This cross-departmental communication was the source for great changes destined to impact graduate education in the coming years.[72] The growth of research as a creative effort to generate new learning was undermining the traditional organizational structure of the department and helping to create a spirit of cooperation between various fields of study.

In assessing the general trends at work in both the undergraduate and graduate curricula, four dyads emerge which seem to be the poles of tension between which higher education in the United States moves.

They are departmentalization vs. interdisciplinism, specialization vs. unity, standardization vs. individualization, and pluralism vs. homogenization.

The beginnings of departmentalization occurred as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. This led to a specialization of instruction which in turn fostered a tendency to fragment the curriculum. It was not until after World War II that there was any abatement in the trend, and then only to allow formation of divisions. While divisional organization was a tacit step toward the recognition of the interdisciplinary nature of learning, it was still through departmental autonomy that national, scholarly recognition came.

Attempts to mollify the high structure of departmentalization in order to make learning more holistic received a boost from the "sheer fact of tremendous increase in enrollments...has unsettled traditional tacit treaties among the disciplines,"[73] and had led to pressure to establish new fields and new relationships among traditional ones. More recently Daniel Bell in The Reforming of General Education said the trend seems to be away from interdisciplinary efforts at the undergraduate level and toward a renewed acceptance of the value of introductory courses in the academic disciplines. It is mainly in the more backward areas of higher education that general education is seen as a new idea.[74] It appears that, rather than destroying the traditional departmentalization of knowledge which has been a part of American higher education for over a century, post World War II efforts at interdisciplinary or general education seem rather to have taken their place as a modest reform at best.

The issue of specialization versus unity in the curriculum is closely related to the issue of departmentalization, for each has acted to encourage the other. The progress of science has led to ever-increasing specialization with the result that any sense of unity was lost. The remedy for this compartmentalization of knowledge has been continually sought in some new form of binding universalism, most notably general education. The charter of those who opposed this specialization was the Harvard Report of 1945. In seeking to counterbalance specialization, this document led to a short-lived resurgence of general education in America. The problem that made the efforts of trying to repel the narrowness of specialization by the imposition of general education was that the basis for unity had been destroyed on three fronts. First, the growing imbalance in rewards between teaching and research made intense research more appealing than synoptic efforts at instruction. Second was the rise of the research university which was funded by federal dollars and motivated by the national preoccupation to harness the intellectual life of the nation for the common good. Third was the sudden rise of graduate study which is almost universally specialized rather than general in nature.

The appropriate place of liberal or general education in relation to specialization has been and remains today one of the sharpest issues in higher education. Yet one of the prevailing notions of the humanistic and traditional educators was to rediscover some all-inclusive schema that will once again reunify learning and interrelate educational experience.

The third major dilemma confronting the curriculum concerned standardization versus individualization of instruction. It is nothing

short of amazing that an educational system so diverse and decentralized as that in the United States is yet so uniform in its requirements, processes and results. This standardization has been at once a blessing and a bane to educational development.

After completing a study comparing the educational system of the United States to that of other nations, Ben-David's assessment was the structural characteristics which set higher education in the United States apart is a combination of differentiation, standardization and integration. By differentiation he referred to the structure which is uniformly divided into three levels. The first level is the bachelor's degree which is generally non-specialized emphasizing breadth rather than expertise. The second is the master's degree which is a reverse of the first level. It aims at training for professional work in a practical and specialized manner. The third level is the doctorate which purposes training for research designed to explore in-depth and to prepare an advanced piece of research. A fourth level which has emerged since World War II would be termed the pre-first or associate degree. This differentiation was fairly standardized throughout the system. This standardization makes it possible for integration to occur system wide. This integration means that there are practically no blind alleys in it. One can transfer from one level to another, and it is easy to transfer from one institution to another and even between degrees from the undergraduate and graduate level. Students in the United States can move with relative ease from level to level and from system to system. This is unique to the United States.[75]

The organization of the curriculum at the undergraduate level is fairly standardized throughout the system. Results of a study conducted

by Dressel and DeLilse revealed that there are three structural patterns followed almost without exception in higher education. The first is that general education precedes the undergraduate specialization, breadth before depth. The second is that general education is emphasized at the beginning through interdisciplinary courses and at the end for coordination, integration and synthesis. The third is that the basic education and the specialization for the major are intertwined, with breadth and depth parallel.[76]

The problem with the standardization of the curriculum arises from the uniquenesses of the learners. It was difficult for a uniform system to meet the individual needs of students, especially when lower ability students were enrolling in record numbers. Axelrod's assessment of this dilemma was that though college campuses in the 1950's ranged with slogans of anticonformism and pluralism of values, "the nation as a whole craved an identity [so badly] that it was willing to pay any price; that the price [being] standardization."[77] David Riesman characterized this type of society in The Lonely Crowd as being other-directed.[78] But by the 1960's, conformity to educational standardization was challenged by younger faculty and students alike.

One of the standardizing features of higher education which was a point of contention was the idea of a curriculum grounded in numbers. Grade point averages, credit hours, class hours, semesters and student identification numbers gave the learning a highly impersonal milieu. Students and faculty alike worked to overcome this stultifying "quantitativism"[79] or quantophrenia with little success. Yet from this struggle there emerged a movement which is still seeking to de-quantify the curriculum while at the same time perfect some alternate, more

personalistic method of knowledge assessment.

Movements to personalize higher education began early in the twentieth century based on the democratic notions of progressivism. Called life-adjustment in its early days, the movement to individualize the curriculum was given considerable attention after World War II. As institutions grew in physical size and in numbers of students, the seeming incompatibility of numbers with individualization became a national concern. In recent years this concern has led to calls for both compensatory education for the less able and accelerated, enrichment education for the more gifted.

Since the 1960's, a number of proposals have been forwarded to meet the wide needs of learners and make education more individualized. Dressel and DeLisle list six ways higher education has tried to individualize and integrate learning experiences:

1. Advance placement testing doubled in use since 1960.
2. Honors programs including tutorials and seminars.
3. Independent study both for compensatory and enrichment programs.
4. Undergraduate seminars.
5. Nontraditional learning experiences such as credit for travel.
6. Work study and community service.[80]

According to McConnell, Berdahl and Fay, the current trend seems to be away from rigid standardization and more towards the institutionalization of an individualized curriculum. They concluded that the bulk of the students in the future will be lower ability and it is doubtful that present curricula and methods of instructions will be effective. Thus these new

recruits will require profound changes in the objectives and structure of the system. The task for the future is to design educational institutions and programs to fit the characteristics and needs of students in a new era of egalitarianism.[81]

A fourth issue facing curriculum development in higher education was that of pluralism versus homogenization of values. Traditionally, higher education has striven for community and diversity at the undergraduate level and specialization and research at the graduate level. A problem that many educators see is the growing homogenization of institutions to the point that the diversity between public and private, religious and nonsectarian, college and university is rapidly decreasing. In an era of ever increasing societal pluralism, it is ironic that higher education seems bent on the achievement of sameness. The tendency of all of higher education to become complex and multipurpose led to the liberal arts college offering graduate work while the junior college evolved into a four-year institution. This trend was due, in large measure, to meet standards of accreditation which had a homogenizing effect on diversity. In recent years the pendulum seems to be swinging back towards more diversity and varied standards in higher education.

An examination of the financial trends in higher education since World War II reveals the rapid increase both in quantity and diversity of incomes and expenditures. Between 1930 and 1960, expenditures for higher education rose from 0.56 per cent of the Gross National Product to 1.12 per cent. By the mid 1970's it had risen to over 2.5 per cent with the projections of over 3 per cent by 1980. The traditional sources of income for colleges and universities were from tuition, endowments and

state appropriations. Since World War II, sources have broadened to include corporate funding, state aid to students, and most importantly federal funds for research, capital expansion, student aid and entitlement programs.

Statistics released by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1978 revealed some remarkable trends regarding student tuititon (Appendix D). In 1940, student tuition accounted for one-fourth of higher education's total income. By 1970 this had dropped to twenty per cent and by 1977 amounted to less than seventeen per cent. Coupled with these declining amounts received from student tuition was a long standing decline in endowment funding. Jencks and Riesman made following analysis of this situation: In 1910, American colleges received 76 dollars from endowments and gifts for every 100 dollars from state and local government. By 1964, they received 35 dollars for every 100. The lag in subsidies has played an important part in the over-all development of the private sector. It is not a result of the graduated income tax or the decline in philanthropy, for college income from philanthropy rose four times as fast as the GNP between 1910 and 1964. The cause is that private education began to limit enrollment. From 1910 to 1950, the private sector's share of the market was at 50 per cent, by 1964 it had fallen to 36 per cent, and by 1977 to about 20 per cent.[82] While it was true that private education limited enrollments to raise the average student ability and give their degrees more cash value, it does not follow that restricted enrollments would necessarily lead to less philanthropic funding. The post War expansion of education, which accelerated proportionately the growth of the private sector, caused philanthropic income not to match the needs of growing enrollments

even in light of selective admissions.

The most common means of increasing the efficiency of endowment income was to take a more professional perspective in the management of the institutional profile. Many institutions tried to augment their resources by improving investment policy. After serious thought was given to the alternatives, most universities removed the investment function from the board of trustees' control and created a special investment board to advise the university. This more modern policy led to a shift away from more traditionally conservative investments in bonds to a more bullish program of investing in more promising enterprises.[83]

There was apparent success in this approach. The net increase in the principal of endowment funds grew from 419,000,000 dollars in 1959-1960 to 1,117,000,000 by 1976-1977 (Appendix D). While endowment earnings dropped proportionately from 8.5 per cent of higher education's total income in 1940 to 1.4 per cent in 1976, the dollar amount increased by 1000 percent (Appendix D). By 1978, the total amount of endowment funds was 14.7 billion dollars or 1,339 dollars per student.[84]

The era of large endowments from individuals and trusts was over in the United States. In recent times, foundations have chosen to fund specific institutional programs rather than give large, discretionary amounts to the institutions themselves. They are interested in fostering local programs and then pulling out, leaving the institution to continue the program from its own funds. Stepping in to help fill the gap in funding were corporations. Since World War II, a few big corporations like the Ford Foundation began to take major responsibility for financing in higher education, especially graduate studies. Brubacher and Rudy

believed that since industry benefited from trained leadership, it was being asked at mid-century to help pay for higher education. In an effort to rehabilitate their public image, the corporations engaged in welfare capitalism, yet the question lurked in the minds of many whether it was legal for a private corporation to share profits with non-stockholders. To settle this issue, New Jersey in 1950 passed a law permitting corporations to divert earnings to eleemosynary institutions. Leading industries formed the Council for Financial Aid to Education as a means of encouraging private corporations to give liberally. Through this effort 207 corporations gave over 200,000,000 dollars between 1956 and 1960. Some like General Motors and General Electric established matching funds for employees to encourage private contributions.[85]

One of the most innovative of the corporate funding schemes was the Fund for the Advancement of Education which created and funded for a ten year period a National Merit Scholarship Corporation.

> [The stated purpose of the new body was] to discover, recognize and encourage exceptionally able young people, as a means of helping them receive the kind of education that will assure them and the nation the full benefits of their unusual abilities.[86]

As private funding declined after World War II, state and local funding increased to fill the gap. In 1940, state and local governments gave 175,000,000 dollars to higher education, which accounted for 20 per cent of its total current-fund income. By 1977, the dollar amount was over 14,911,000,000 which accounted for 29% of higher education's total income (Appendix D). This growth reflected the growing interest and importance state and local governments took in postsecondary education. This growing financial outlay resulted in growing demands by the states for accountability and control.

Since 1969 there has been dramatic growth in state aid to students. In 1969, only 19 states sponsored student assistance programs giving 200,000,000 dollars to 471,000 students. By the mid 1970's, fully two-thirds of the states were giving over three billion dollars for tuititon assistance to students. Most of the expenditures were in a small number of the larger and more progressive states.[87]

The most dramatic shift in the income structure of American higher education has been in the degree of involvement by the federal government. Under the aegis of research and development, aid to veterans and students, capital funding and grants, the federal government's share in higher education income has increased from less than ten per cent during World War II to over twenty percent by 1976 (Appendix D). The idea of higher education's importance to the national welfare was not new to the post-War era. What was unique was the intensity of belief that higher education was essential to the defense of this country and to the fulfillment of the American dream. Since support for education became good politics, support grew as did the federal bureaucracy. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare was created in 1953. By 1979, a separate Department of Education was created indicating how important learning had become in the life of the nation.

One of the most dramatic efforts of the Federal government was the enactment of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. During its life, the"G.I. Bill of Rights" put two and one-half million students in higher education. This massive social experiment forever changed the status of higher education in the United States. Federal funds went to aid research and development. In 1950, the National Science Foundation Act established a foundation and authorized it to initiate and support

research in mathematics, physical, medical, biological and engineering sciences. A kind of centralizing or at least coordinating role was envisaged for this Foundation with regards to Federal policy in funding basic research.

The most significant period of government funding for higher education has occurred since 1960. In that year, the Federal government spent 2,267,000,000 dollars on research and development. By 1978 that amount had trebled to just under 8,000,000,000 dollars. Student loans went from 240,000,000 dollars in 1960 to over 1,150,000,000 dollars in 1978. Grants for students grew from an annual appropriation of 248,000,000 dollars in 1960 to over 2,956,000,000 dollars in 1974. From 1974 to 1977, this amount doubled again to over 5.1 billion dollars.[88]

For generations students had borrowed from banks to finance their education. Beginning in the late 1950's, student borrowing increased as both the state and Federal government entered the picture with passage in 1958 of the National Defense Education Act. Title II of this Act provided for long-term, low-interest loans to students with direct federal funding of most of the capital. This means of funding higher education was broadened by the Higher Education Act of 1965.

Federal money for higher education came in waves during the 1940's and 1950's. Consequently, it was not viewed as a reliable source of income. During the 1960's and the 1970's, as the result of entitlement programs in which monies were withdrawn from the annual budgetary process, federal support, though decreasing in terms of amount, became a more stable feature of higher education funding.[89]

Expenditures in higher education have grown by quantum leaps since World War II. Current fund expenditures compared to capital fund

expenditures reveal a fairly constant ratio. Since 1967 a trend toward less capital spending seems apparent (Appendix E). Other trends are revealing as to distributions of educational expenses. There has been a slow steady increase in current fund expenditures for educational and general expenses compared to a concomitant decline in auxiliary expenses. While both areas have dramatically increased in dollars spent, the ratio has shifted almost 10 per cent in the period from 1940 to 1974 (Appendix E). The two areas most responsible for this shift were general administrative expenses, which grew from 9 to 14 per cent in the period, and separately organized research, which grew from 4 to 8 per cent. (Appendix E). From 1960 to 1968, organized research ranged as high as 20 per cent of all expenditures in higher education. During the 1970's, as federal funds dried up, research activities in higher education have been in an era of retrenchment.

In both public and private higher education, the period from World War II to the mid-1970's was similar in the declining percentage of gross expenditures on instruction. In public higher education, the percentage spent for instruction declined from 42 per cent to 34 per cent. In private higher education the drop was precipitous, from 41 per cent to 26 per cent.[90] This declining percentage should not be interpreted to mean that instruction had become less expensive or more efficient. According to studies conducted by June O'Neill, there was no perceptible decline or increase in real costs per credit hour over the period from 1930 to 1967.[91] This finding meant there was no apparent productivity advances in higher education during this period. Jencks and Riesman saw two contradictory and offsetting trends relative to

instructional costs. On the one hand the cost of subsistence was declining relative to income; on the other hand the cost of instruction was rising relative to income, offsetting some of the gains on the subsistence front.[92]

Specific statistical charts do not completely reflect the economic situation of American higher education in the period since 1945. The long-range perspective was provided by Brubacher and Rudy who stated that there have been three foes to financing higher education in this century. The first was the great depression in which enrollments increased because of no jobs, yet higher education's income fell due to reduced taxes and declining bond yields. A second foe was the two world wars which led to credit inflation ultimately reducing the purchasing power of the university, especially in the area of endowments. In the decade from 1940 to 1950, it is estimated that government policy cut incomes in higher education in half. A third foe was that the day of large endowments was over. Steep increases in inheritance taxes and the income taxes, which were used to pay for war and the new welfare and social services of the state, played their role in the demise of philanthropy. By 1950 the crisis was acute. With new sources of philanthropy drying up, inflationary policies halving income and tuition high and rising, many increasingly looked to the federal government for the largesse.[93]

Since the last part of the nineteenth century, the process of urbanization and industrialism increased the number of students living near centers of learning who could afford to attend. From 1900 to 1950, the per capita Gross National Product of American productivity rose faster than college expenditures per student. Since 1950, this

trend was reversed with college expenditures per student rising faster than per capita G.N.P.[94]

Earl F. Cheit in the late 1960's observed the economic plight of higher education and stated that many were the schools were undercapitalized, overextended, moving into enlarged areas of responsibility without permanent financing or still raising the quality standards.[95] With increasing demands from within and without the university for research, public services, access and socially current programs, costs inevitably soared. Thus it was increased demands for goods and services more than the consequences of inflation or economic downturns which cause the economic malaise which Cheit terms "a new depression in higher education."[96]

By the 1970's, problems relating to the financing of higher education presented the gravest crisis American higher education had ever confronted. This crisis was compounded by many factors, some of which were outlined by Brubacher and Rudy. First was the leveling off of college enrollments. Second was the increasing depressed economic conditions in the country. Third was the growing doubts among the young concerning the value of a college degree. Fourth was the swiftly rising tuition charges which were pricing students out of the market. Fifth was the larger role of the community colleges which were impacting the more traditional educational establishments. Sixth was the declining job market and job gluts in many fields.[97]

In summarizing the financial trends of higher education since 1945, several distinct periods were evident. From 1945 to 1959 was the era of optimism due to growth in higher education. From 1960 to 1965 was

the golden age of higher education in which growth in all sectors of higher education reached unprecedented levels. From 1965 to 1970 was an era of confrontation in which higher education was rethinking the blessings of colossalism in terms of programs and funding. From 1970 to 1975 was a period of austerity due to declining Federal funds. Since 1976, higher education prepared for an era of retrenchment as it headed for the 1980's.

The federal government historically had been an important factor in stimulating the national development of higher education. The oldest national organization of any kind is the Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, whose constitutions was adopted in 1887. Much of the Federal activity up to 1945 served to make higher education an appendage of the Federal government's main goal of national security. But starting in 1953 and running parallel with the first post-War federal programs there has been a growing trend toward Federal legislation that would treat institutions of higher education in their primary capacity rather than as appendages to the national defense establishment.[98] During the rapid growth of the 1960's and beyond, the role of the federal government in higher education grew both in size and scope.

An analysis of federal involvement in higher education since 1945 reveals some interesting trends. The primary interest of the federal government to 1963 was capital expansion in existing institutions of higher education. The period from the passage of the Surplus Property Act of 1944 to the Housing Act of 1950 was an era when the federal government disbursed surplus war material to colleges and universities (see Appendix F). This trend climaxed with the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963. The federal government also used higher educa-

tional resources in reconstructing post-War areas and in strengthening America's image abroad. The internationalization of American higher education was strengthened by the Fulbright Scholarship program, begun in 1946, and the Peace Corps in 1961. The culmination for this type of federal involvement was the passage of the Internationl Education Act of 1966 (Appendix F). The federal government even became involved in institutional expansion. In 1954 the United States Air Force Academy was established. In the mid-1960's two schools, the Gaulladet School for the Deaf and a Sea Grant College, were established by law (Appendix F).

The two most significant areas of Federal funding were in research and development and person-power development. It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the Federal government in the shift towards research in higher education. It helped turn "the booming, buzzing, confusion of American higher education in the 1920's. . .into federal-grant universities after World War II."[99] World War II caused a significant change in higher education attitude towards research. During the War period over 500 million dollars were spent in higher education research and development. This policy continued after the War was over. In 1950, the federal government took the first formal step in making permanent this funding by establishing the National Science Foundation to promote basic research in the sciences. By the mid-1960's over 176 million dollars were annually allocated by the Foundation.[100]

An examination of the expenditures of institutions of higher education for separately organized research reveals the scope of federal involvement. Prior to 1950, no more than 10 per cent of higher

education outlays went for research (Appendix D). From 1950 to 1968, the percentage of outlays ranged as high as 20 per cent of total outlays with an average being slightly under 18 per cent per annum (Appendix D). Since 1969, a decline in Federal funding began which prevails to the current time. Federal outlays for research grew from 307 million dollars in 1950 to over 5.7 billion dollars in 1977 (Appendix E). Along with the growth of Federal funding for higher education, came a Federal bureaucracy to administer funding and utilize the knowledge and technology generated. Some seventeen agencies are currently involved in the funding process, and thirteen others operate programs funding higher education.[101]

Another dimension of significant Federal activity in higher education stems from the growing awareness that the prime resource of an nation is its trained person-power. Federal funds used for loans, fellowships and grants have aided such diverse segments as veterans, occupational and vocational allied health professions and undergraduate and graduate students in general. While the Servicemen's Readjustment Act served as a model of Federal funding for students, it was the National Defense Act of 1958 which first indicated a major shift in Federal attitudes regarding the relationship between national well-being and trained person-power. Educators came to realize that the temporary relationship of the 1940's and 1950's between government and higher education had become permanent.

By the mid-1970's, students received financial assistance from the Federal government through a number of programs. These included loans, grants, work-study and fellowships. In 1970, the Federal government spent 1.47 billion dollars on student assistance, but by

1977 this had grown to over 5.1 billion dollars (Appendix E). This increase in student assistance was inversely related to declining Federal support for separately organized reserach. The Federal government singled out specific groups to receive special financial assistance. These included members of the Reserved Officers Training Corps program, minorities and those preparing for scientific, occupational and vocational careers. Lesser attention was given for funding in the humanities and social sciences.

Prior to 1945, the lack of system and rationality in the organization of higher education retarded its development in most states. These states continued to deal separately with the various institutional governing boards. Reasons for this situation were analyzed by McConnel, Berdahl and Fay. They said it is difficult to tell just what factors account for the restraint shown by some states to control higher education. They included, however, the following reasons: the power of existing boards to resist centralization, the preference of politicians to deal directly with the various boards, and the belief among the more progressive states that the possible premature expansion of higher education was a lesser evil than reduction of the diversity and vitality which a more open system permitted.[102] Whatever the reasons, the "happy anarchy and. . .tremendous diversity"[103] of American higher education continued until after World War II.

Prior to the end of the War, two states, Oklahoma in 1941 and Georgia in 1943, gave Constitutional status to state agencies for higher education. In the 1950's, the extent of state involvement in higher education was generally limited to funding state universities and teacher's colleges. But the tremendous growth in the numbers and

types of institutions in the postwar era led to huge increases in state expenditures. A number of other factors that led to the growth of state control were: (1) the increased proportion of students enrolled in state-funded education, which grew from 35 per cent in 1940 to 75 per cent in 1978; and (2)increased state expenditures, from 500 million dollars in 1950 to over 5 billion dollars in the 1970's.

The Campus Master Plan formulated in 1960 by the State of California was a model for those newly-emergent state boards of control. Of this plan the Carnegie Commission reported that it "guaranteed a place for every high school graduate and every adult whether a high school graduate or not. . .it was an important, historic act never taken by any government in world history."[104] The California Master Plan was the turning point in the development of state control of higher education. It marked the point at which voluntary arrangements, popular since World War II, gave way to statewide boards of control. By the mid-1970's, 48 of 50 states had statewide boards with varying organization and degrees of control.

Rapid expansion of higher education led to a pressing need for some consensus on the standards or quality of education considered to be truly post-secondary. As a social phenomenon, accreditation was a product of this century. There was much unrest regarding intrusions by accrediting agencies prior to the outbreak of World War II. But the pent-up urge to expand higher education after the war invariably had as a concomitant feature a growing concern for standards. In order to deal with the increased number of accrediting agencies, the National Commission on Accreditation was founded in 1949 to coordinate their efforts.[105]

Though most states had some legal authorization for educational agencies, by 1956 sixteen states required no charter or license for institutions of higher education.[106] By the mid-1970's these states, under pressure from regional accrediting agencies, had corrected this situation by statute. Prior to 1964, the most important type of accreditation came from six regional voluntary associations. After 1964, these regional associations realized the larger national responsibility they had by creating the Federation of Regional Accrediting Commissions of Higher Education. Through F.R.A.C.H.E., these associations achieved a national consistency of policies and procedures for the evaluation and accreditation of higher education.[107] In 1968, the Federal government became involved in accreditation by creating the Accreditation and Institutional Eligibility Staff as a bureau in the U.S. Office of Education. The purpose of A.I.E.S. was to review accrediting agencies and determine whether their policies and procedures were in accord with the criteria of recognition set forth by the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

By the late 1970's several trends in accreditation were apparent. The number of accrediting agencies had grown so large and the procedures so complex that the whole movement threatened to break under its own weight. Higher education accreditation by the 1970's had become bewildering.[108] Yet the standardization brought by nationally-accepted standards made level and institutional articulation in American higher education unequaled. By the 1970's, these agencies had accredited 2700 of the more than 3000 colleges and universities while seeking to maintain a certain amount of uniformity and coordination.

Diversification, decentralized control and local autonomy are cherished traditions in American higher education. The educational pluralism of the postwar educational scene served to challenge these traditional notions, particularly in the governance of higher education. Three contemporary organizational inadequacies have undermined the effectiveness of traditional patterns of governance. First is the size and complexity which dictate a top-heavy bureaucracy. These hierarchies have been developing in the academic and administrative sector. The different attitudes and values of each have driven a psychological wedge between faculty and administration. Second, the loyalties of faculty to the university are driven outward by centrifugal forces as the commitment to specialization in the departments makes one more loyal to the professional organization. The university tends to be a mere base from which the scholar pursues his primary concern with research; this leads to fragmentation in the organization, as departments show low esteem for university values and high esteem for professional values. This diversity threatens to create an atrophy in leadership. Third, is the shifting power of government which has led to the disintegration of the traditional form of governance. This diffusion has been due to external forces which tend to bypass the president. Thus the modern university, according to some, has become a confederation of largely autonomous departments.[109]

The governance of this growing pluralism in American higher education underwent profound changes during the decade of the 1960's. The most significant challenge to traditional governance patterns were student demands for participation, which culminated in activism. For the first time in history the campus served as the base for

organized political action climaxing with massive student demonstrations in May, 1970.

The extent of the impact of the student power movement on patterns in university governance was significant according to surveys which reported that of 875 institutions surveyed in 1969, 88.3% admitted at least one student on policy-making boards or committees. Of these, 2.7 % gave student voting privileges on the boards of trustees; 41 % permitted student observers to sit in on committees dealing with such matters as faculty selection, promotion and tenure.[110] Students were increasingly active on committees of the faculty and a number of institutions began to use student evaluations to judge teaching performance and make curricular decisions. Some institutions permitted students to be on committees which interviewed faculty and administration for appointments. Students were even enlisted by the colleges to participate in the recruitment tasks by interviewing prospective students. In retrospect, it is difficult to appreciate the significance of this new era of participatory democracy.

New shock waves during the 1970's were also to threaten prevailing views of governance. According to the Carnegie Commission these included collective bargaining, politicization of the faculty, resurgent student activism and the glacial spread of public control.[111] The power structure of higher education is in a state of flux. While increasing faculty professionalization tended to curb the authority of governing boards and administrative officers, growing student activism tended to reduce some of the newly won power of the faculty.

Governance in American higher education since the end of World War II shifted from traditional consensus models of decision making to a more

egalitarian conflict model, built on the assumptions of antagonistic interests and "selective decentralization."[112] The complex way in which governance had to adjust to the accumulation of missions on the one hand and constituencies on the other was reflected in the three roles of the modern governance body. The board's original role was that of agent of its creator whether church or state. In recent years to this was added the role of bridge between society and the university, which it assumed in the form of research and public research. Since World War II, the board has taken on the role as agent for the community of the university and particularly as the court of last resort for the ultimate resolution of conflicts between internal constituencies. In response to the desire to be democratic, the board has taken this third role in response to the twin tenets of representation and participation. As the university moves toward a more democratic style, the notion of authority based on legislative or administrative power has been displaced by the idea that authority and legitimacy in the university are based on the consensus of the community.[113]

The most crucial issue facing higher education governance today involves institutional autonomy in the face of growing pressures for cooperation and integration of programs, policy and personnel. In a pluralistic educational system autonomy, in the traditional sense, becomes increasingly inefficient. The spirit of autonomy appreciably lessened in some quarters through consortia, voluntary associations and state-wide planning. Yet when an examination is made of numbers of institutions by type of control, the kind of diversity which led to unnecessary duplication and misuse of human and material resources becomes apparent.[114] The answer to the role of governance in a larger

sense lies somewhere between traditional ideas regarding autonomy and a homogenous interdependence which disregards educational pluralism.

Logan Wilson believed that with the growing tension between autonomy and interdependence in governance, colleges and universities should not balk at a realistic approach to institutional cooperation. Autonomy, in the traditional, academic sense of freedom to pursue truth would be maintained internally at the departmental level. Since we live in a highly interdependent era, we can no longer afford to operate with an anachronistic "fiction of [institutional] autonomy."[115]

Social Profiles

The major social change in American higher education in the last half century was that postsecondary education shifted from the prerogative of a few to the life pattern of more than half the young. This shift from an elitist to a meritocratic system was part of a larger societal change as America entered the age of mass culture.[116]

The seeds of this culture shift were evident in American society by the mid-nineteenth century. As Jacksonian notions of democracy supplanted Jeffersonian views, the preference for egalitarian over selective ideals became dominant. American society evolved toward the turn of the century in such a way as to bring into prominence two basic values which often conflicted. These were equality and achievement.[117] The interplay of these ideals of equality and achievement helped contribute to an American oversensitivity to the judgment of others. This other-directedness, as David Riesman termed it, was the climax of mass culture in the United States.[118] Stressing conformist tendencies, the result was increased standardization and homogeniza-

tion of behavior. "As society in the twentieth-century puts a premium on standardization, individualism declined and eccentricity disappeared," as Commager put it.[119]

The impact on higher education was dramatic. The emphasis on the vocational and practical was increasing. As early as 1949, warnings were being sounded regarding mass culture's impact:

> Democracy needs a continuous stream of cultivated idiosyncrasy, developed individuality and tested variations from the norm if it is to be progressive and dynamic rather than crystalized and static.[120]

Ever increasing numbers of youth were attending higher education following World War II. By the late 1950's, American education passed a benchmark with a majority of high school graduates pursuing post-secondardy schooling for the first time in history.

With the <u>Brown vs. The Board of Education of Topeka</u> decision, higher education was faced with the task of widening access to higher education for minorities, especially black Americans. Willis Rudy made a perceptive analysis of this crucial issue.

> [The response of the Americans to the Brown decision reveals the basic American attitude to education] . . . the bare fact seems to be that both sides of the segregation issue reflected in their attitudes the mass conformity, group pressure, and increasing other-directedness of mid-century American society . . . [The acquiescence of whites is linked to conformity to stamp out dissent of all kinds.] The basic social trend was the leveling of all barriers - individual, group, class, racial, sectional, local and the achievement of an integrated mass society.[121]

But access to higher education for blacks as well as other traditionally excluded groups was to be an arduous task, even in a society dominated by mass culture.

Post World War II growth in higher education reached a frantic

zenith in the 1960's. It was during this period that infatuation with higher education peaked. Higher education had become the new frontier for those seeking upward social mobility. Higher education was perceived by many as essential for success. The optimism generated by the open admissions movement seemed the flowering of the Jacksonian dream of equal access for all to the academic resources of the nation. There was anticipation that the American system of higher education was moving from mass to universal education of the sort experienced at the common school level. To others it was obvious that American education had turned a significant corner as it entered the seventh decade of the twentieth century. Without abandoning its emphasis on education for all, a renewed emphasis was being placed upon the equally traditional if not always compatible goal of achievement.[122]

The most recent challenge of access to higher education involved women. Total enrollments of women to men have steadily increased since 1945 with men continuing to outnumber women until the mid-1970's. Yet women continued to be outsiders in many respects to the academic process. The Newman Task Force of 1971 concluded that discrimination against women was still overt and socially acceptable within the academic community.[123] This supported the view of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education who reported in <u>Quality and Equality</u>[124] that Federal programs in education should assure that no qualified persons be denied equal access on grounds of sex.

In October, 1972, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare issued guidelines to assist institutions in developing affirmative action programs to end discriminatory actions based on race or sex. The Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972 provided statutory strength

for these guidelines. With the passage of the Women's Education Equity Act in 1974, it appeared that the "processes had been created to redress the inequities of the past."[125]

The emergence of the age of mass culture meant the transformation of American higher education from an elitist concept to one in line with the new culture itself. Access was widening not only for the lower socio-economic classes, but for women and racial minorities as well. The hope created by this new, more open access to education stimulated the dream of universal access for all citizens of all ages. The effects of these and other changes had the greatest impact on the students themselves.

A number of concurrent trends in higher education interacted to form the general student culture on campus. At the graduate level, the influence of the German model with its emphasis on research shaped graduate student culture. At the undergraduate level, student culture was still heavily influenced by British models with residence halls, student unions and intramural sports. The doctrine of in loco parentis bred not only an informal student culture with goals and norms often at odds with the formal regulative culture, but often anti-intellectual ideals as well. The development of the extracurriculum, especially athletics, had its genesis in the student culture. The emergence of student services in the twentieth-century with its emphasis on holistic student life was a further example of the pervasive educational ideals in an increasingly pluralistic general student culture. These two aspects of student culture deserve special attention.

Following World War I, sports competition in colleges and universities experienced a great boom in spectator interest. Athletics and the

extracurriculum were considered vital to the mission of higher education for several reasons. They fostered a solidarity to the institution which mobilized alumni support. Ben-David noted that "expansion of the extracurriculum often occurred at the time colleges and universities were undergoing secularization."[126] As higher education became less isolated from societal influences, the influence of mass culture made inroads into the campus. Rudy examined this strategic relationship in the American cultural system:

> A strong case could be made for the proposition that the extracurricular program represented the imposition of the competitive and status-seeking standards of the adult world on the young. . .The community-identification that came with successful extracurricular [activities] and the. . .prestige values [have counter-parts in] other cultural patterns. What [is] uniquely modern and typically American was the concentration of these. . .functions within the formal school structure.[127]

Hofstadter noted that the rapid rise of athletics in American higher education was not an accident, but a primary symptom of a logical outgrowth of the cult of youth, and the prevalence of anti-intellectualism in student life.[128]

Along with the growth of athletics was the emergence of student personnel services. Based on progressive assumptions that nonacademic matters were the valid concerns of higher education, student personnel services were established to give attention to job placement, health and counseling matters, student housing and athletics. As departments served as organizational responses to the fragmentation of learning, the student personnel services worked to fill the gap between institutional structure and individual need. Student personnel officers sought to deal with the impersonalism inherent in a milieu in which faculty were

preeminently involved in research. Not only had progressive ideas served to created student personnel work, but in time they led to the rejection of the paternalism of higher education and the demise of in loco parentis.

The decline of parietal emphasis in many institutions of higher education was developing well before the crucial decade of 1960-1970. The growth of the scientific and professional trends in higher education by mid-century had done much to suppress the traditional collegiate culture. The increasing seriousness of university life made less room for immature behavior. The change was not all good. During the 1950's college students were described as being silent and apathetic about the larger issues confronting mankind. In contrasting student attitudes of the 1950's and 1960's, Phillip Jacobs drew a sharp picture:

> Students [in the 1950's] entered college self-centered, unmoved by social problems and divinely self-satisfied and they graduated the same. Now, a fundamental shift has occurred . . .[They] are involved in protest, work for altruistic causes, and are deeply troubled about our malfunctioning society.[129]

The change in the doctrine of in loco parentis was part of a larger student revolution in the 1960's. To chronicle the rise of the New Left and the youth counterculture is outside the province of this study. Yet the impact of these phenomena on higher education was of epic dimensions. In part the alienation of the undergraduate was a reflection of the more intense alienation on the part of graduate students and younger faculty members. Numerous writers sought to capture the distilled essence of the student revolt. One of the more provocative views was provided by Ben-David. He said that student unrest was caused by a dissatisfaction with the pragmatic empiricism, utilitarian-

ism and lack of expressiveness of American culture. There was a renewed sense of alientation among intellectuals such as experienced in the 1920's and 1930's. There was also a growing disillusionment among students with a knowledge and research-oriented society which aroused little enthusiasm. Until World War II, Europe had been the intellectual center and the United States the periphery. Identifying with Europe gave intellectuals a sense of identity. After World War II, this alternative disappeared so that the alienated had to seek new symbols of identification. The result has been a much more explicitly romantic trend with strong overtones of the anti-scientific, anti-technological and anti-intellectual. The search for another culture led many students to identify with an imagined counterculture to the American or Western tradition. This counterculture was strongly impressed by Third World values and concerns.[130]

Not only were many students turned-off by the inarticulation of mass culture, they were further alienated by the materialsm of American society. According to Hodgkinson and Bloy, the young are alienated from traditional denominational affiliation because of their materialism. The churches of America are losing the battle to make church relevant to modern existence. The young have rejected Western spirituality. The Eastern modes of meditation, withdrawn observation and ecstatic enlightenment, all of which require great devotion and discipline, seemed to be invading America in the late 1950's through the beatnik and Zen movements. The growing use of drugs, however, has dealt these movements death in the 1960's. Drugs can provide heightened or lowered experiences, but are missing the devotion and tradition the Eastern tradition first provided.[131] Coming from diverse

viewpoints, there was a fusion in the 1960's between the educational ideals of the alienated professors in search of more progressive education and the new student culture which sought similar ideals.

A fascinating aspect of this new student culture was its penchant not only for radical ideas but radical actions. In discussing this politicization of American higher education, Brubacher and Rudy concluded that students saw the university as establishmentarian in a military-industrial sense on the one hand and trying to be neutral or value-free on the other. They, in turn, sought to politicize the university. Theirs was a politics of feelings rather than intellectual analysis, of moral outrage rather than ideological conviction. They made a virtue of intolerance because toleration dulled outrage and protest. They preferred emotion and sensory experience to rational and conceptual modes of activity. The student movement of the 1960's had strong overtones of existentialism.[132] The counterculture's view on politics, society and education all suggested the validity of the Sorokim thesis that Western culture in the twentieth-century had passed from "an ideational to a sensate mentality."[133]

The most apparent feature of growing student discontent was the assertion of power in higher education by students. The seeds of dissent were sown in the quiet decade of the 1950's with growing concerns over racial equality, the emergence of a military-industrial complex and the legacies of the Cold War. By the late 1950's, unrest began among graduate students protesting antiquated methods and lack of reform in graduate education.[134] By 1964, with the growth of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, the silent generation of college students came to an end. Brubacher and

Rudy suggested that a number of factors led to increased student power in this period:

> . . .the lowering of the voting age to eighteen, the huge increase in college enrollments, the considerable increase in the percentage of the American population under twenty-five years of age, and the greater promience of child-centered concepts in the rearing of children in the elementary and secondary schools all played a part [in the growth of student power].[135]

These factors, sparked initially by student concern and participation in the civil rights movement in the South and later by opposition to the Vietnam War, polarized many students into demanding significant input into the system.

While it is difficult to summarize the objects or the results of student radicalism, two important trends should be noted. In both seeking to deconform higher education's expection of students and deconforming the curriculum, the student power movement of the 1960's was a protest against the increasing standardization in American society. To varying degrees, dissatisfaction with academic life on campus became an added source of protest and often disruption. In many ways the campus was not the focus of protest, but its arena.

In reacting against attempts to standardize student life, the center of protest was the doctrine, perceived or actual, of *in loco parentis*. Student demands led to changes which enhanced personal volition in matters regarding life-style and vocation. In all instances the changes initiated were in favor of greater pluralism of values. Demands were leveled for due process and respect for the rights to privacy. The former demands led to increasing student participation in the academic process inaugurating an era of participatory democracy on campus. The latter demands led to the passage by Congress of the Family Educational

Rights and Privacy Act (PL 93-380) in 1974 which established Federally-sanctioned rules to guarantee students' rights to privacy.

Opposition to standardization in the curriculum led to calls for relevance and freedom of choice in the course of study. The more radical student activists attacked the system for rewarding value-neutral research which was detached from social and political issues. Students saw the system as constraining social criticism and supporting the dominant ideology of American society. Mayhew concluded that the three results of students' responses to standardization in the 1960's were individualization of the student, freeing programs of study from the yoke of numbers, and rediscovering the central and common goals of researcher and teacher.[136]

A survey was conducted in December, 1969, to measure the impact of student-initiated change in the academic curricula of 234 institutions. The respondents indicated that the changes demanded by students included black studies programs, ethnic studies, social problems courses of contemporary concern, problems-centered curricula in the humanities and social sciences, and in all cases more emphasis on relevance in all of college life.[137] The current status of students in higher education is one of solidifying the gains made in the past decade and a half. Some educators believe that the newest development in student life will be the creation of student unions, which will bargain for their members in matters of tuition, curriculum design and teacher accountability.

The post-World War II growth in higher education expectedly made a significant impact on the role of faculty. The number of faculty members increased from 146,969 during World War II to 1,073,137 by 1977 (Appendix A). The proportion of increase was most dramatic

since 1960. Faculties, which increased 157% from 1940 to 1960, tripled during the 1960's. The composition of faculties on the basis of sex dramatically changed since 1950. In that year, 70% of all full-time and part-time faculty members were male. By 1960 men comprised 65% of the teaching faculty. The ratio continued toward parity until by 1977 men comprised 52% of the faculty, while women occupied the other 48% of the positions (Appendix A). As numbers increased and faculty ratios became a reflection of society's move to egalitarianism, the growth of faculty professionalism advanced in three areas: teaching, public service and research.[138]

Since the 1930's, professionalism in the teaching profession made marked progress. The emergence of various academic organizations perpetuated growth in a number of specialties. Concomitant with this increased of professionalization was a growth in the departmentalization of college and university faculties. Jencks and Riesman said the historical causes of professionalism were not clear, but they made the following observation. They stated that professionalization is often attributed to the increasingly specialized division of labor, the explosion of knowledge, and the rising demand for expertise in the management of a highly technical and highly bureaucratized society. "It is clear that professionalism is on the rise, and that it is the basic trend that will shape higher education in the future."[139]

The concept of public service was indigenous to this country. The working relationship between intellectuals and the federal government under the New Deal expanded the role and power of the faculty. Of this era Ben-David concluded that the faculty regained the function of public leadership they had exercised in the days of the clergy-domina-

ted colonial colleges.[140] By the end of World War II, intellectuals were in positions of leadership in the nation to a degree not seen since the United States had become a secular society. By the 1960's, with the advent of the federal-grant university concept, the professional status of the faculty as public servants was widely held. Faculty have worked generally to liberate Americans from regional and parochial attachments, and to promote a more enlightened society.

Professionalization of the faculty led to the increased importance of research. Since World War II, the American share in world research and development, particularly scientific, rose to all-time highs. Prior to 1945, American scholars won 33 of the 208 nobel laureates. In the field of science they won 24 of 139 prizes awarded. Of the 215 prizes awarded since 1945, the Americans have won 131 of them. In the areas of physics, chemistry and medicine, they have garnered over 50% of the 178 prizes awarded. Thus American scholarship has grown in output and esteem such that for every Nobel prize won prior to World War II, four have been won since.[141] As research increased, so did expectations of outputs both in terms of technology and publications. So great had the publication of research become as a yardstick in judging the merits of college faculty that critics in the 1970's called it the "publish or perish syndrome."[142]

Another important aspect in professionalizing the faculty was the increased salary and benefits. Faculty salaries were traditionally undernourished. By accepting marginal salaries faculty were in effect subsidizing students. Brubacher and Rudy stated that in 1904 the average salary in state universities was 2,000 dollars and by 1954 was 7,000 dollars.[143] In terms of real dollars this was tantamount to a 50

year decline of two per cent in real purchasing power. Stimulated by the White House Conference on Education beyond High School held in 1956, the American Association of University Professors began working with the college administrators towards the goal of doubling faculty salaries between 1958 and 1970.

Fringe benefits, such as paid insurance and sabbatical leaves, were added to make college teaching more attractive. Another factor that influenced the economic well-being of college teachers was the twentieth-century development of retirement allowances. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching was established in 1905 to provide pensions for college faculty. By 1918 it was reorganized and incorporated as the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. By 1945, however, less than one third of the eligible institutions were participating. By mid-century, T.I.A.A. had not kept pace with rising prices in the post-War era. To remedy this situation, the College Retirement Equity Fund or C.R.E.F was created in 1952 to complement T.I.A.A. Under C.R.E.F. faculty could invest up to 50% of their retirement funds in a common stock investment program as a hedge against inflation. By 1960, both T.I.A.A. and C.R.E.F. were widely accepted. Figures from the mid-1970's indicated that 300,000 or over 30% of all American faculty members from over 2,000 institutions were participants.[144]

The goals of the 1956 national conference to dramatically increase faculty salaries were successful. Figures revealed that the median annual salary for college faculty members increased from a 1959 figure of 6,711 dolars to a 1973 figure of 14,373 dollars.[145] By 1978, the average salary for full-time instructional staff in the United States was

22,189 dollars with full professors earning an average of 30,533 dollars. While the range of median salaries ranged from top salaries paid to male, full professors down to bottom salaries paid to female instructors, sharp increases in all faculty remuneration was dramatic during the last two decades.

To chronicle the rise of faculty power in the post-War era requires some understanding of developments dating back to World War I. The American Association of University Professors or A.A.U.P. was formed in 1915 to protect the prerogatives of college faculty to deal with all sources of knowledge and make that knowledge known without fear for their livelihood. Further, it was incumbent on the faculty to present as fact experimental ideas only after carefully winnowing them. This rather broad proposal left unanswered many questions on academic freedom, some of which placed faculty members in jeopardy. The question of whether faculty are just another employee of the institution remained unaddressed. Brubacher and Rudy summarized the scope of this issue when they stated that "just as the faculty seemed in the course of relinquishing its legislative as well as executive and judicial functions, a substantive threat to its academic integrity aroused them."[146] Prior to 1920, many faculty were accused of radicalism and their removal either effected or attempted. Presidents usually sided with the board of trustees. In trying to resist these encroachments, faculty felt powerless. Such precarious circumstances did not lead to the sense of stability and trust needed in an atmosphere of intellectual interchange.

In 1940, the A.A.U.P. issued a statement of principle on Academic Freedom and Tenure. The statement declared that tenure helped maintain

tain academic freedom and made teaching not only attractive but truly professional. It recommended that after a probationary period faculty members should be grated tenure or terminated only for adequate cause. The impact of this statement was significant. By 1972, tenure plans were in effect in all public and private universities, all public colleges and in 94% of the private colleges. Approximately 50% of American faculty members were tenured by the mid-1970's.[147]

After War II, faculty professionalization led to even greater power. The faculty began to have input on appointments, promotions, academic calendars, work schedules and certification for entrance to many professions. Yet much work remained to be done. The 1950's witnessed a strange paradox in American society. Though intellectuals held greater esteem than ever before, the anti-intellectual character of American society managed to weaken their power. At the height of the McCarthy era, over 165 cases involving the A.A.U.P. defense of dissenting professors occurred. One of the prized tenets of academic freedom was the prerogative of the professor to dissent from current views. This dissenting function of the professor meant, in principle, one was able to criticize society. In its role as the "dissenting academy,"[148] the loyalty of numerous faculty members was called into question. Fortunately, even though faculty in the 1950's felt impotent to deal with these challenges, the federal judiciary established legal precedents for recognizing academic freedom as a substantive and procedural right.[149]

Along with the emergence of student power in the 1960's was the emergence of faculty power. Many of the younger faculty agreed that the university must abandon its value-free posture and become more

activistic. In the context of the professional learned societies, a number of younger intellectuals attempted to turn these groups toward the new left. Enthusiasm with this form of activism peaked from 1967 to 1969, and steadily declined with the onset of economic problems and job shortages during the 1970's. The majority of faculty members during the 1960's were not willing to consider collective bargaining as a means of gaining power. The foundations for this development, however, were affected by laws passed in a majority of the states authorizing collective bargaining by public employees. By 1970, the National Labor Relations Board ruling that all private educational institutions with incomes over one million dollars were covered by collective bargaining opened the door to a new era in the development of faculty power.

A waning commitment to activism prompted a shift in radical attention from reforming the learned societies to organizing faculty unions. Subsequently, three organizations competed for the allegiance of college teachers in this new endeavor. These were the American Federation of Teachers, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (A.F.L.-C.I.O.), the National Education Association, and the American Association of University Professors. By the mid 1970's, the essential power of decision-making in colleges and universities had become increasingly a faculty responsibility. Academic senates and faculty councils had become essential policy-making groups in such matters as faculty tenure, academic policy, institutional commitments and sometimes even salary. This internal shift of power was in some ways a break with recent policy and in other ways a return to medieval managerial patterns.

The rise of faculty power and the thorough professionalization of the teaching field was not without its impact on students and administrators. With the growth of confidence and power, the professors defined their activities increasingly in terms purely professional. They were, to a large extent, concerned with excellence and academic freedom without considering the student's demands. During the 1960's the gulf between teaching and research was wide; thus student activism took as one of its goals the deconforming of the teaching faculty. Both the community college movement and efforts to integrate learning around some concept of general education were radically different reactions against the rise of academic professionalism.[151]

Another part of education reform in the 1960's was the destandardization of faculty-administration relationships so that administrators became more personal in dealing with faculty. During the 1950's faculty were caught up in the formal procedures of rights and privileges, tenure and free speech, loyalty oaths and due process. During that decade the relationship between faculty and administration was often tense and this added to the depersonalization of relationships. It was this factor in particular which led to the belief that the answer for impersonalization due to bigness was decentralization which would re-humanize the academic process. This notion led to the concept of modular growth and new approaches to improve communication.[152] The improvements along this axis were not without challenges to faculty power. New administrative concerns for increased efficiency in management led to faculty evaluations by students and peers and new restrictions on the granting of tenure. In retrospect, faculty-administration relationships have improved since the end of faculty activism in the early 1970's. The

growth of professionalism not only improved the status and output of the intellectuals, but had positive effects for academia and society in general.

New and emerging patterns in the administration of higher education were caused by the same growth and professionalization that so dramatically impacted faculty development. Administration in post-War higher education developed along more complex lines. Traditional higher education had an organization dualism in the division of function between a hierarchic administration responsible to the president and an equalitarian faculty self-government concentrating on the departmental level. Robin Williams described the interface between these structural divisions:

> . . .it consists of the superimposition of a centralized quasi-bureaucracy organization upon the old college as a community of scholars and teachers. The administrative bureaucracy mediates between the [school] and the [trustees]. [Thus]. . .modern [higher education] organization in the United States has become a continuous struggle between the centralized bureaucratic system and the diffused-collegial system.[153]

The emergence of institutes, bureaus and centers of specialized study, research and teaching served only to complicate the maze of competing interests on campus.

The central figure in any understanding of administration development was the president. Historically, this office was filled by an individual who tried to balance mediative and authoritative functions. Gradually other officers began to share the burden of the presidency. By the turn of the century, the presidency ceased to be a one man job and by the 1930's large staffs were working under these administrative officers. The median number of administrators jumped from three in

1880 to 60 by 1940.[154] By the end of World War II, simplistic administrative styles were rapidly being outdated by the complexities of the modern multi-purpose university.

As specialization and delegation of authority became imperatives of effective administration, the power of the presidency increased. Brubacher and Rudy suggested that accretion of power was due to the rapid growth in the size of institutions, making the president even more aloof from the daily life on campus.[155] The significance of the growth in the executive branch of the university was reflected in the fact that of the 1,073,000 professional employees of higher education in 1976, 101,000 were in administration.

As administration grew since 1945, concern for improving the structure and competency of administrators has grown. The two primary areas of concern were organizational development and administrative development. The former primarily focused on the enhancement of goal achievement while the latter focused on improving competency and human relationships.

Opportunities for administrative development multiplied in the post-War era. The earliest major national professional development program was instituted at Harvard in 1955. By 1965 this was expanded so that by 1976 over 5000 administrators from 1200 colleges and universities had studied at the Harvard Institute. Beginning in 1970 this week long institute was supplemented by a more advanced six week summer program known as the Institute for Education Management. Since its inception over 1200 administrators have completed the program.

Shtogren listed seven reasons why modern administrators feel the need for professional growth. First, a new sense of management

accountability or stewardship, Second, the declining mobility of administrators due to the current economic depression in higher education. Third, the growth and impact of faculty development programs. Fourth, the inherent relationship between administrative evaluation and development. Fifth, the necessity of administrator renewal for continuing institutional vitality. Sixth, the contribution of professional development programs to the body of knowledge about administrative theory and practice. Seventh, the relief and renewal it can bring to meeting the day to day administrative pressures.[157]

The specific areas of administrative development were numerous but can be classified in four areas. One of the newest and more complex issues involved compliance with the growing number of state and federal laws and regulations which impacted higher education. These new developments touched such crucial areas as collective bargaining, student needs and rights, due process and affirmative action. A second area of development was the need for updating in areas of rapid research development. These included personnel policies, trustee relations, curriculum, financial development, planning and budgeting, fund-raising, student services and legal issues. The third general area dealt with specific roles and skills such as organizational theory and behavior, interpersonal relationships, communications, leadership methods, decision-making models, effecting change, time management and delegation of authority. The fourth area of administrative development was in the realm of personal growth and renewal. Providing emotional support in affective domain programs was one of the most recent administrative developments.

Organizational development was another prime concern of admini-

stration in the modern university. Before World War II the advent of scientific management under Frederick W. Taylor coincided with the development of more scientific techniques in educational measurement. The juxtaposition of these two development made institutional self-study a reality. After World War II, institutional research bureaus were started to engage full-time in the research of institutional achievement of goals. By 1955 only 10 institutions had research offices, but by 1965 that number was up to 115. As research and long-range planning became more vital to the success of the academic mission, administrators sought to utilize every means to enhance that task.

With efficiency and goal-attainment its objects, several important tools of organizational development were utilized. One movement which was gathering importance in business and government stressed systems or qualitative analysis to aid management in fiscal matters.[158] Using such systems-specific tools as Management by Objective, Performance Evaluation Review Technique and Planning, Programming, Budgeting System, college and university administrators were able to manage the academic enterprise with increased efficiency. Combined with the rise of computers and quantitative methodology, the professional competency of both managers and executives in higher education increased.

Intellectual Profiles

Before World War II, higher education had three missions: teaching, research and public service. These three academic missions were for a narrow and privileged segment of the population. Educational institutions made little attempt to address those individuals or those missions

which were outside this traditional purview. Subsequently, higher education tended to make little impact on the non-academic lives of students or on society in general. The period since 1945 was one of the most revolutionary in history, and higher education was a part of it. Colleges and universities were forced to rethink their purposes and to expand their missions. These forces caused serious dislocation in much of academia. The areas of change which have stimulated this rethinking of mission were "wider access to education, enrollment growth, financing problems, achievements in science and research and desegregation."[159]

Concern over the academic mission of higher education led President Truman to appoint a commission in 1946 under the direction of George Zook to examine American higher education and make recommendations. After two years of study the Advisory Commission reported its findings. With proposals weighted in favor of public higher education, the commission recommended a centralized agency of the federal government with more power than the U.S. Office of Education to coordinate post-secondary education in the nation. The commission recommended that the government fund research which was accomplished by the founding of the National Science Foundation in 1950. The commission also recommended the upward extension of free public education for two years beyond high school, and that a nationwide system of community colleges be used to extend education to the masses. The commission concluded that such recommendation, if implemented, would profit more than half the population not served by higher education.

Of this commission, Ordway Tead concluded the year after the publication of its report that it seems a reasonable prophecy that the publication of the Report of the President's Commission on Higher

Education will mark a transitional point in American college and university development. It achieved this status by dealing comprehensively with the whole body of problems requiring to be considered afresh after World War II. There was a timing there, a conjunction of events including the carrying out of the mandate of the G.I. Bill of Rights, which marked a break with past thinking if not action. The American college can never be the same again.[160]

The launching of Sputnik in October, 1957, added a new impetus to the search for mission which would both cultivate excellence and promote a more egalitarian educational system as well. The impact of Sputnik produced a back to basics approach. This approach of cultivating the intellect was heavily weighted toward languages and science skills. While partly semantic, it can be said that higher education henceforth in America was considered all-purposes not just multi-purpose. Some attempt was given to integrate the various missions into some overall direction.

Under the rubric of all-purpose education, higher education sought new missions and goals during the turbulent 1960's. As American higher education attempted to devise ways and means for the coexistence of mass and elite educational patterns, it confronted directly the issue of access. Higher education became committed to adapting itself to the full range of backgrounds, abilities and interests of this mass student population with standards of evaluation appropriate to each kind and level of education. Society in general aimed at assuring every person, whatever the social or economic background, the opportunity for the highest educational attainment possible.

Societal expectation increased as higher education grew in national

prominence. The mission of higher education became redefined in broad terms which lacked clear definition. Higher education worked with the constraints of a dilemma. On the one hand the university was to be agency of conservation. On the other it was to be an agent of change. Its task was to preserve, interpret and transmit the cultural legacy of mankind. Yet since 1945, its role as a change agent has been increasingly emphasized. This was the notion of the university as an agent for social change. As it sought to fulfill this newer aspect of its mission, the resultant dislocation led to misunderstanding in the public eye. Hodgkinson and Bloy concluded that the balance between conservative and change-oriented impulses is the most crucial task today in defining the academic mission of American higher education.[161]

In assaying the changes in the academic mission for higher education, Perkins concluded that the changes in academic mission looked something like this: First, instruction will remain the central mission but student choice will increasingly outweigh faculty prescription; Second, large-scale research will gradually shift to nonuniversity institutions; Third, the residential campus will give way to off-campus living systems. Nonresidential institutions such as community colleges will have a comparative cost advantage which will become increasingly attractive; Fourth, service to the public will decline dramatically in some areas, such as defense and space and continue with minor modifications in agriculture, medicine, and engineering; and may substantially increase in urban affairs, ecology, race relations, and both public and private international organizations; Fifth, the democratic impulse will dominate systems of governance leading to representation, election, and consensus rather than appointment and decision-making by highest independent legal

authority; Sixth, the locus of power to plan and allocate resources will continue to gravitate toward managers of systems and from private to quasi-public and public coordinating boards.[162] These remarks, written in the early 1970's, to a substantial degree characterize the current trend in higher education's search for mission.

Redefining of the academic mission of higher education was directly attributable to four forces of change in American society. The two primary forces were the scientific and democratic impulses and the two secondary were the rise of secularism and the growth of an urban-industrial society. These forces were deeply rooted in shaping American society in the last half of the nineteenth century, and to understand the shape of higher education since 1945, a brief understanding of each of these forces is important.

A century after Enlightenment thinkers first suggested that the scientific method could apply to the social as well as the natural world, the American penchant for practicality had done both. The naturalistic mind compromised a well-defined bundle of ideas held by many Americans between the Civil War and World War II. It was in the nation's universities, among a small but articulate intelligensia that the aspects of naturalism were formulated. While the controversy surrounding evolution loomed as the largest of the naturalistic issues, it was part of a larger conflict of ideas. As science grew in importance, it challenged many traditional sets of beliefs. Naturalism tended to subordinate the moral order to the natural and social order. In some forms, naturalistic reductionism reinforced the belief in the primacy of natural law in its coercive power over the individual. Little place was given in such belief for human freedom.[163] To many the rise of science "cleared away

the jungle of theology and metaphysics"[164] which had come to dominate American intellectual life.

The emergence of Jacksonian democracy in the United States promised a new and broader view of democracy. The realization of the promise would require time. This concept of democracy was rooted in a philosophical assumption that involved a new understanding concerning human nature, social life and scientific thought.[165] The emphasis on the individual shaped the concept of social progress in the late nineteenth century. Progress meant the ultimate emancipation of the individual as man was affirmed as the prime social reality. This broad view of democracy characterized the intellectual activities of scholars such as Thorstein Veblen, Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Harvey Robinson and John Dewey. In their revolt against formalism, the period at the beginning of this century was a renaissance of new learning in response to applied science.[166]

The new learning generated by the revolt against formalism was also stimulated by the rise of urban-industrialism. The naturalistic intellect of American scientism was the first pattern of thought to reflect the realities of urban and industrial conditions. As people moved from the farm to the cities, this emigration was given a unique twist by massive immigration from Europe. Urban-industrialism dealt harshly with provincial attitudes which had resisted the changes brought by science and democracy. Working together, these forces created a climate and an arena in which more progressive forces of change and reform occurred.

The oldest of the forces reshaping the intellectual profile of higher education was the drift towards secularism. Higher education tradi-

tionally had been shaped according to a rigid model of a pious, religious and educated gentry. The decline of religiosity coincided with the rise of the scientific, naturalistic world view and egalitarian democracy. This shift was most profound in the latter half of the nineteenth century. As the custodial functions of the Protestant denominations who guarded the Puritan ethic declined, Christian views of life steadily gave ground to a more secular frame of mind. Religion itself was placed on the defensive by evolution and historical criticism. As Darwinian thought attacked traditional metaphysical views of man, higher criticism and comparative religion diminished the pervasive power of Christianity to shape the public conscience. Much of Christendom joined the secularization of society; only a minority resisted the trend. At the crossroads where the critical and objective mind of science, the individualistic and progressive character of democracy and the prosperous and worldly concerns of urban-industrial America joined, secularism emerged triumphant and all-pervasive. Of these momentous changes Commager remarked:

> The decade of the 1890's was a watershed in American history. On the one side lies an America predominantly agricultural, concerned with domestic problems, conforming to the political, economic and moral principles inherited from the 17th and 18th century. On the other side lies the modern America, urban and industrial, experiencing profound changes in technology, social institutions, population, economy and religion.[167]

Three areas which were greatly impacted by this new learning were the social sciences, religion and education. Enlightenment thinkers believed that change in the morals of society were induced by changing social conditions. The nineteenth century social mind developed a more profound and radical sense of the nature and implications of

social change. It embraced a conception of historical change as a secular trend, called progress. Progress in all areas of the social sciences during this era yielded a vast production of new learning.

The most direct expression of the changes that the new learning made regarding traditional religion can be found in the movement known as modernism.[168] As the end product of secularism, modernism was the religious expression of the democratic ideology then dominant and the social expression of man's faith in science. Modernism accepted science and gave it central place in its thinking. Regarding orthodoxy as a thing of the past, modernism insisted on briding the gap between the traditional dichotomy separating the secular and the sacred. While downgrading to nonexistent the belief in the supernatural, modernism held a basic reverence for life, a belief in the brotherhood of all men and the fatherhood of God. The new learning as exhibited both in religion and the social sciences had great impact on higher education.

In the restlessness of the progressive era at the turn of this century, traditional educational precepts were subjected to rigorous criticism. The resultant educational revolution was stimulated both by the technological base of urban-industrialism and the humanitarian base of the democratic revolution.[169] Higher education at the turn of the century reflected a new morality which was consummated by the end of World War II. This new moral conscience reflected a turning away from traditional values toward the values of the marketplace. As Perkins saw it, "Discipline and piety gave way to utility as the hallmark of a college education. Specialized knowledge replaced the disciplined mind and character as the raison d'etre for higher education."[170]

The philosophical basis for this educational revolution was an ideology known as pragmatism. Pragmatism was a product both of the naturalistic and the idealistic traditions in modern philosophy.[171] William James was one of the first to apply Darwinian theory seriously to problems of philosophy and psychology. The educational theory which John Dewey built on his foundations was called progressivism. Progressivism tried to reflect the culture of a pluralistic mass society by maintaining that there was no one goal in education to which everything else must submit. This was a truly radical notion in the history of education.[172]

The result of such a notion can be clearly seen in the report issued by the Harvard University faculty in 1945 called A General Education in A Free Society. This report soundly rejected theology as being capable of any longer serving as the architectural cornerstone to the education of the whole man. As a result the modern university canonized the new learning and in doing so strove to be "dispassionate, analytical, free, objective, and determined to maintain neutrality."[173] Theology, metaphysics and calls for ultimate values and unified knowledge echoed as some haunting anachronism in the halls of modern education.

Since its inception, there have been those who have decried the shift in the presuppositions which now inform higher education and society in the age of mass culture. In discussing the role of Henry Adams in this dissent, Commager stated that in Adams was the transition from evolutionary optimism to mechanistic pessimism, from unity to multiplicity, from the rejection of the Victorian idea of progress to the idea of entropy and from a theological to a mechanical universe. With the substitution of science for philosophy and of the machine for man,

American society passed from the age of the Virgin to the age of the dynamo.[174]

A modern critic who sympathized with Adams' concern is Robert Nisbet who in The Degradation of the Academic Dogma made some serious accusations regarding higher education. He said the dogma which once informed the university is now gone. That dogma was that knowledge is important. Not relevant knowledge, not just practical knowledge, not just the kind of knowledge that enables one to wield power, achieve success or influence others, not just the knowledge of observation and experimentation, but knowledge. This dogma has been replaced by the dogma which says that some knowledge is more important or more valid than other knowledge. It was precisely at this point where contention developed over the role of the new learning. The new learning at the turn of the century led to a suppositional shift in which knowledge of an affective, metaphysical, theological kind was denigrated in light of that knowledge which was scientific, practical, cognitive and measurable.[175]

As the missions of higher education were redefined by responding to the new learning, the product of that redefinition was educational pluralism. Higher education in America has been marked by a diversity, which increased dramatically in the post War period. These forces of change produced in kind a pluralistic, polymorphous system of higher education. Numerous explanations are offered why higher education responded to the impact of mass culture by becoming more pluralistic. A sense of uncertainty regarding the aims of American education prevailed. American higher education

is "stamped by variety, experimentalism, improvisation, eclecticism and an aversion to total planning."[176] The experiences of two World Wars did nothing to narrow the diversity of higher education. As rapid expansion of contacts with the outside world increased, so did pluralism: "The time was no more when the mental and social horizon of the mass of people coincided with ocular vision."[177]

There were several reasons why higher education excluded serious consideration of ultimate values in the shaping of the American university since 1945. First, such values had no place in the scientific schema. While it is true that the dilemma of absolutes versus natural norms was deeply rooted in our Western tradition, scientific presuppositions have made such questioning largely moot. Higher education came to accept natural and material progress as ultimate value. As people became more uncomfortable living with two systems of thought, moral values and the search for some ultimate, binding consensus for knowledge waned in light of scientific determinism. Commager made this terse analysis:

> The shift in the material circumstances of the American people from the 1890's to the 1950's was all but convulsive. It was a transition from certainty to uncertainty, from faith to doubt, from security to insecurity. First evolution, then scientific determinism altered the American outlook. Absolutism was abandoned in every field, even the ethical. Pragmatism triumphed because of its relevance and unity. It was a time of steady democratization of culture and increasing cosmopolitan values as America became a world power.[178]

The sources of this educational pluralism were themselves quite diverse. The most obvious source of differentiation in higher education was the selectivity in effort. Many campuses chose not to try certain endeavors while others chose to specialize in them. This diversity in turn drew students attracted to special interests to the

various programs. Often this pluralism was due to the sectarian aims of competing Protestant denominations, each of which chose or intended to be different.

Another source of diversity was the growing interest in the affective domain of learning. After World War II the belief that technology itself could not save man gained adherents in the academic community. While some dismissed this reaction as patent anti-intellectualism, others saw it as a genuine source of diversity and renewal. The affective component of life was believed to be real and therefore deserved a place in academic life. As this component grew in importance, it too proved a source of diversity. The cult of the irrational which came as an attack on the naturalistic, deterministic mode attacked reason, seeking meaning in unreason. There was a passionate interest in the subconscious and unconscious, of emotion or thought, of instinct rather than reason. They repudiated all orthodox moral standards, all conformities and conventions.[179]

Certain changes in American social structure also led to increased educational pluralism. During the period of elitism, American higher education attracted students on the basis of prestige and special interest. The prestige of colleges was either inherited or achieved. But the growing prestige of research since World War II has made the meritocratic idea of prestige dominant. This widened the categories in which excellence was measured which led in turn to an influx of new people, new ideas and a more pluralistic system. As upward social mobility in higher education increased, so did educational pluralism.

The most pervasive single source of diversity in American higher education was the market economy. Prior to the federal involvement in

education, competition forced institutions to be opportunistic and extend the range of services in order not to lose ground. This led to innovation and served to periodically revitalize education. An attempt by any institution to gain a monopoly over any part of the market gave rise to diversification.[180] While verbalizing about moral and intellectual excellence continued, the aims of modern education were sharply bent towards economic success. This orientation towards upward economic mobility spurred educational pluralism. Of this diversity Commager remarked:

> If unity seemed lost, multiplicity had its virtues and rewards. American thought revealed a relentless curiosity, eager experimentation, generous catholicity, and unabashed secularism.[181]

The paradox of modern higher education was that while so many diverse values were informing and invigorating the academic system, there loomed a number of threats towards this pluralism, the greatest of which was a drive for standardization. This trend was noted in the Newman Report of 1971 which called for educators to check this alarming trend towards conformity. C. Robert Pace in the Carnegie Commission Report on Higher Education monograph, The Demise of Diversity, reported that in a longitudinal study of selected alumni and upperclassmen, there was less diversity and distinctiveness in 1970 than in 1950.[182]

The causes of this latent homogenization of education were numerous. One reason was that the upward socioeconomic mobility of American society usually entailed upward cultural mobility as well. This tendency towards economic and cultural congruence led to the collapse of clear cultural and ideational distinctions. In Reform on Campus, the Carnegie Commission listed three forces causing this homogenization. The first of these three forces which was changing education was an intense

new competitiveness of colleges on a regional basis and a national basis which has the tendency to follow too few models too much, usually the research university. The private colleges come to be more public, the single-sex institutions seek to become co-educational, the sectarian colleges becomes nonsectarian, the smaller institution seeks to grow; the single-purpose institutions seek to become multi-purpose; the community colleges seek to become more comprehensive and the comprehensive college aspires to be a university. A second trend is for student enthusiasm to be uniform nation-wide at a given time; there is less variation in what students want. Finally, state budgeting formulas often discourage variety and encourage conformity. This trend to homogenization can lead to dull conformity, petty competition and less meaning.[183]

The intellectual profile of American higher education can be characterized as cherishing the ideals of diversity while recognizing that unlimited freedom to pursue self-determined reality must be diminished. In seeking its raison d'etre, serious thought was given to the nature of the university and the purposes it sought to achieve. Hodgkinson and Bloy described what they believed to be its central organizing principle:

> The new university is a community devoted to building cultural pluralism. . .indeed, the commitment to cultural pluralism allows transcendence of traditional American pluralism which was built on respect for people's economic rights. . .the participant in this kind of a community would not simply tolerate uniqueness, but seek it, value it and revel in it![184]

The challenges which face this new university built on the contemporary intellectual foundation of pluralism are great. The problems it

must encounter include a political crises of student and faculty activism in which a bedrock culture is challenged by an adversary culture, the financial depression which challenges the ability of higher education to shape its own destiny. It must deal with demographic changes, which makes higher education no longer a growth segment in society and makes a crisis of confidence in academia. Higher education was eroded in the public eye during the 1960's: "Faith in the future sustained a century of progress from the Civil War to the Vietnam War, but social idealism and optimism have given way to cynicism and disillusionment."[185] The rising level of expectation when higher education is in a static state is galling to women and minorities who seek employment in an era of retrenchment. Compound these problems with the fact that the labor market transformation due to the glut on the market; it is obvious they all have worked to make the intellectual task of higher education well-nigh impossible.

Few easy alternatives are readily available. Discussion in higher education has polarized between adherence to an academic gold standard and response to the student-populist pressure for equality of results, between the older four year routine of education and demands for the deschooling of society, between provision for a unified world view and a fragmented reductionism, between adherence to the old professions and the acceptance of each new occupation that comes along, between the more limited historical perspective and the hopeful current perspective, between the remote ivory tower and the communal multiversity, between the rejection and the propagation of the new mass culture that is trying to establish itself, between full defense against and full acceptance of external attacks on education.[186] Pure solutions at the

extremes are impossible practically; and impure solutions in between often lack precision. Thus, difficult choices face American higher education with little hope by any side that the future will be any less complex. The diversity of higher education in the United States has permitted it to embrace many different ideas and philosophies. At times elitist, and at times democratic, tradition-minded yet anxious to be modern and relevant, it has never been without an inner dynamic for change and self-reform. In every period of American history educators and students have grappled with the problems of campus governance, curricula relevance, student activism and the questions raised by democratic enrollments. Our era is not alone in attempting to define what the college and university should be and what constitutes a meaningful higher educational experience.[187]

ENDNOTES

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[131]Hodgkinson and Bloy, p. 156.

[132]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 349-353.

[133]"The Crises of our Age: The Views of Pitirim Sorokin," in Ray A. Cuzzort and Edith W. King, (eds.), Twentieth Century Social Thought (New York, 1980), pp. 131 ff: Sorokin stated that cultures tend to move on a continuum between ideational values [the belief that reality lies in spiritual realms, or the realm of ideas] and the sensate realm [in which reality lies in the sensory experience]. He gave a graphic description of sensate culture which he believed had come to dominate Western society. These included: (1) the notion that reality was located in material things. It is those things which are immediately apparent to the sense which would correspond to the anti-intellectualism of the counter-culture of the 1960's; (2) the primary needs of the individual are physical and not rational. Sensory indulgence and gratification should be maximized. This characterization was true of the counter-culture of the 1960's in its later, degenerate stages; (3) progress was achieved through control of the external milieu rather than self-control; (4) there was the belief in values related to becoming as opposed to being. Values are seen as transient and there is endless readjustment to new sets of circumstances. This was also characteristic of the student culture of the 1960's; (5) emphasis was given to self-expression of sensual fulfillment rather than to the repression or channeling of these emotions; (6) people tend to be extrovertive and objective rather than introvertive and subjective. A paradox exists between this characterization and the existential emphasis of the student culture. This characterization would fit better the description of mass culture in general rather than the student culture, which was both spawned by mass cultural values and a reaction to those same values; (7) morals are relativistic, changeable and oriented toward the provision of pleasure and happiness; (8) the arts are directed at entertainment, rather than in traditional symbolic and ideational directions.

[134]Axelrod, p. 165.

[135]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 375.

[136]Mayhew, pp. 174-5.

[137]Janet Dinsmore Shoenfeld, "Student-Initiated Changes in the Academic Curriculum," in Steven W. Goodman (ed.), Handbook of Contemporary Education (New York, 1976), pp. 279-82.

[138]Robert W. Rickey, Preparing for a Career in Education: Challenges, Changes and Issues (NEA National Commission Working Paper on Educational and Professional Standards, no. 1 [Washington, 1970]), p. 154: A profession was defined by this commission as included these seven characteristics: working for the sake of giving service to mankind rather than for great personal gain; required by law to complete certain requirements for entrance into the profession; requires careful skills and understandings; have professional publications to keep up-to-date; engage in various professional developmental activities; it is well regarded by the public as a life career; and have standards and ethics operating through national, state and local associations.

[139]Jencks and Riesman, pp. 202, 7.

[140]Ben-David, p. 71.

[141]The World Almanac and Book of Facts, (New York, 1979), pp. 407-9: The exact breakdown of prizes was as follows: The United States won 10 of 40 physics awards prior to 1945, but have won 30 of 60 such prizes since 1945; the United States had claimed only 3 of 42 chemistry awards prior to 1945, but have garnered 18 of 47 since 1945; scholars in medicine won 11 of 47 prizes in medicine prior to 1945, but 42 of 71 since 1945; 3 of 40 prizes in literature were won before 1945 and 4 of 33 since 1945; the U.S. won 6 of 29 peace prizes prior to 1945, and 8 of 33 since that time.

[142]Halpern, p. 92.

[143]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 390.

[144]Ibid., pp. 393-5.

[145]Grant and Lind, p. 106.

[146]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 369.

[147]Ibid., p. 371.

[148]Theodore Roszak (ed.), The Dissenting Academy (New York, 1968), p. 16.

[149]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 326.

[150]John F. Budd, Jr., "Are College Trustees Obsolete?" Saturday Review/World, I (March 9, 1974), pp. 48-49.

[151]Jencks and Riesman, pp. 480-499.

[152]Axelrod, p. 174.

[153]Robin Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York, 1964), p. 316.

[154]Perkins, p. 27.

[155]Brubacher and Rudy, p. 370.

[156]Grant and Lind, p. 101.

[157]John A. Shtogren, (ed.) Administrative Development in Higher Education (Richmond, Virginia, 1978), p. 11-12.

[158]Roger Kaufman, "System Approaches to Education," in Stephen Goodman (ed.) Handbook of Contemporary Education (New York, 1976), p. 10 : Systems analyses are an array of tools developed to make administration and planning more successful, holistic, planful and flexible, rather than wholly, intuitive, unordered, undefinable and doubtful.

[159]Yearbook of Higher Education, p. 591.

[160]Tead, p. 115.

[161]Hodgkinson and Bloy, pp. 55-6.

[162]James A. Perkins, The University as Organization, pp. 258-9.

[163]Stow Persons, American Minds: A History of Ideas (New York, 1958), p. 217.

[164]Commager, p. 97.

[165]Ibid., pp. 97 ff.

[166]Morton B. White, "Social Thought in America," The Revolt Against Formalism (New York, 1976).

[167]Commager, p. 41.

[168]Persons, p. 417.

[169]Talcott Parsons, The Systems of Modern Society (Englewood Cliffs, 1971), p. 1.

[170]Perkins, Emerging Patterns in Higher Education, p. 25.

[171]William Daniel Bonis, "A Study of Some Ethical Theories and their Implications for Higher Education in a Pluralistic Society," (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1961), p. 4.

[172]Ibid., p. 67.

[173]Hodgkinson and Bloy, p. 141.

[174]Commager, pp. 173 ff.

[175]Robert Nisbet, The Degradation of the Academic Dogma, in Dennis F. Kinlaw, "The Original Mandate" (an unpublished lecture, Faith and Learning Conference, 1978), p. 4.

[176]Williams, p. 313.

[177]James H.S. Bossard, "Social Changes in the United States," in E.D. Grizzell and L.O. Garber (eds.), The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (Philadelphia, 1944), XXXV, p. 72.

[178]Commager, pp. 407-8.

[179]Ben-David, p. 40.

[180]Bonis, p. 119.

[181]Commager, p. 123.

[182]Robert C. Pace, The Demise of Diversity (New York, 1972), p. 73.

[183]Reform on Campus, pp. 35-6.

[184]Hodgkinson and Bloy, pp. 130-1.

[185]Priorities for Action, pp. 2-7.

[186]Hodgkinson and Bloy, p. 21.

[187]Halpern, p. 124.

CHAPTER III

HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE TO 1945

The Bible School Era, 1900-1920

Around the turn of the century, a spontaneous generation of like-minded holiness groups were forming a tenuous organization structure which solidified with the founding of the Church of the Nazarene in 1908 (Appendix G). In the early years of the new denomination, concern over the educational program of the church was inextricably linked with securing the foundations and extensions of the faith. Consequently, education in these early years was subordinated to these ends. The dominance of higher education by the Bible School concept was the major theme in the Church of the Nazarene in its formative years.

The founding of new institutions and the expansion of existing institutions of learning was paramount to the preparation of Christian workers and ministers. When the union at Pilot Point, Texas, formalized the coming together of various holiness bodies into the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene, there were fourteen Bible institutes and colleges in existence.[1] This study will consider only those institutions which survived either through growth or mergers to form the four-year colleges subsequently sponsored by the Church of the Nazarene. As the church had its origins in distinct regions of the country, so did the Bible schools. These regions were the West, South and Southwest, and the East and Northeast.

In the West, the two institutions which were to become four-year institutions were located in Pasadena, California, and Nampa, Idaho. The antecedents of the college at Pasadena were linked to the early development of the Church of the Nazarene in the greater Los Angeles area. It was here in October, 1895, that Dr. Phineas F. Bresee opened a church which bore the name of the future denomination. Funds were secured in 1902 for the founding of a Bible training school known as Pacific Bible School.[2] Thanks to the beneficence of Mr. and Mrs. Jackson Deets, the name was changed to Deets Pacific Bible College in 1909. The following year through the acquisition of 134 acres of ranch land in nearby Pasadena, the school relocated and was renamed Nazarene University. Though the Deets Pacific Bible School continued technically to be a part of a larger university, "the university. . .was non-existent and the rather pretentious name was probably given as a symbol. . .[and] hope."[3] For legal and financial reasons, the name of the school was changed to Pasadena University in 1918. A further refinement in the reality of the mission of the institution led to the further name change of Pasadena College in 1924.

The expansion of the school at Pasadena was reflected not only in the original Bible school and a liberal arts school, but in the addition of an academy, normal school, music department and grammar school as well.[4] Despite a broadened program of studies, the number of students enrolled in what could be considered postsecondary work was generally less than 20 per cent of the total student population. The majority of students were in the grammar school and the academy. It appeared that the label and verbalizations about becoming a university in the traditional sense were more the posturings of immaturity than the reflection of a real desire for the creation of a truly multi-purpose institution. The call

to serve the church in this era overrode real consideration for change.

Whereas the impetus for starting the school in California came from a Nazarene minister with the help of able laymen, the school in the Northwest was begun through the effort of Eugene Emerson, a layman. Having prospered in the cattle and timber business, Mr. Emerson moved to Pasadena in 1912 so his children could attend a holiness school. Coming in contact with Dr. Bresee and others, he became convinced he should return to the Northwest and establish a holiness school.[5] The year following his sojourn in Pasadena, Emerson was able to break ground on the first building in the fall of 1913.[6] The aim of the holiness school at Nampa was in keeping with the notion of the Bible college. Emerson, in his statement of the purposes of Northwest Holiness College in 1915, not only articulated the goals of the school at Nampa but presented a succinct philosophy for all the Nazarene Bible schools of the period. He believed that the public school system had in large measure adopted erroneous teaching which were a departure from an original, unalterable pattern of divinely revealed truth. He felt that the religious element was necessary to education and that the inculcation of ethics must come in life's formative years. For this task, the Bible was to be the textbook.[7]

In the East and Northeast, the two institutions which emerged as important were to become Eastern Nazarene College in Massachusetts and Olivet Nazarene College in Illinois. The forerunner of the Nazarene denomination in the East was the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America founded in December, 1895 (Appendix G). Prior to the time that contact was made between this association and Bresee's group in the West in 1906, the Eastern holiness group had made plans for the founding of an educational institution. At the Fourth Annual Meeting of the

Association in April, 1899, it voted to create a Commission on Education to study the feasibility of starting a Bible School. The next year plans were formalized and the Pentecostal Collegiate Institute opened in September, 1900 in Saratoga, New York.[8] After undergoing an internal crisis in 1902, the school was relocated in North Scituate, Rhode Island, where it remained for fifteen years.

The initial task of P.C.I. was to provide basic training for those planning to enter the Christian ministry and for Christian workers in various supporting areas. By 1917, when the school was relocated for the second and final time in Wollaston, Massachusetts, the purpose of the school had expanded beyond the boundaries of a Bible school. The course offerings of the school were enlarged to include collegiate level work.[9] Of all the regions of the country, the difficulties of starting a Christian liberal arts college were greatest in the East because of the high educational standards of the region.[10] In spite of the obstacles, the transition from Bible college to four-year liberal arts college was firmly made by 1920.

In the Midwest, the beginnings of a holiness institution in Illinois originated with an elementary school founded in Georgetown, Illinois, in 1907. The school was formed by a group of parents concerned over the Christian nurture of their young. By 1908, the school was relocated in nearby Olivet and expanded to include an academy. The following year a liberal arts college was added. From the very beginning, the purpose of the school was never in doubt. Not only did the founders of Olivet aspire to remedy the lack of religious teaching they saw in public schools, but they also were concerned about the "prevalance of destructive higher criticism in colleges and universities by which the principles of [the] holy faith were being undermined."[11] Thus it was that Olivet sought to remedy this defect.

Illinois Holiness University, as the institution was then called, was brought into association with the Church of the Nazarene in February, 1912, through the efforts of L. Milton Williams and A.M. Hills of the Eastern Illinois Holiness Association. The name of the institution was changed to Olivet University in the 1910's and to Olivet College in the 1920's. This name change was not only a more realistic reflection of the academic mission of the school but indicated the shift away from being strictly a school for Christian workers to being a school for Nazarene youth of all vocations.

The story of the development of Nazarene education in the South and Southwest was more intricate than in the other two regions of the country. This was due, in part, to the multiplication of educational institutions in this region following the union in 1908.[12] The holiness school in Tennessee was the outgrowth of a "distinctive Bible school"[13] established by the Rev. J.O. McClurkan in 1901. It grew from a desire to provide an educational institution where young men and women might prepare for Christian service. The Christian Worker's Training School, located in Nashville, continued as an adjunct part of the Pentecostal Alliance, an independent holiness work headed by McClurkan, until 1910.

In that year, a major change occurred with the expansion of the academic mission of the school. The demand for higher academic training caused a major overhaul. The new charter of the school proposed a four year college liberal arts curriculum as well as a new name which itself reflected this change. The school was renamed, "Trevecca College for Christian Workers."[14]

The most eclectic and intricate institutional development of any Nazarene school led to the formation of a holiness college in Oklahoma.

Texas Holiness University had been established in 1900 by Rev. E.C. DeJernett near Greenville, Texas. This independent holiness school spawned a small village which became known as Peniel, Texas. The school functioned as an interdenominational school until it affiliated with the Church of the Nazarene in 1911. The name was changed to Peniel University, but by 1918 was changed again to Peniel College, which "was more consistent with the faith and purposes of the institution."[15]

Parallel with the founding of Texas Holiness University was the creation of a similar institution in Vilonia, Arkansas known as the Arkansas Holiness College. As a result of efforts by Rev. J.H. Harris and others, a school was established in January, 1900. By 1905 the school expanded with the creation of a collegiate department. Along with Texas Holiness University, the school in Arkansas pioneered the educational efforts of the rapidly growing holiness movement in the Southwest.

After the union of 1908 with other holiness groups in the Southwest, it was believed by many that Texas Holiness University would become the standard-bearer for Nazarene education in the Southwest (Appendix G). Instead, a Bible institute which had begun at Pilot Point, Texas, was incorporated as part of a new school founded at Hamlin, Texas, in 1910, known as Central Nazarene University.[16] The reason for this action was that the school at Pilot Point, Texas, had not yet formally affiliated with the Church of the Nazarene and would not do so for two more years.[17]

Two more schools were to be added to the Nazarene fold in Oklahoma and Texas through the efforts of evangelist Rev. C.B. Jernigan. The school in Hutchinson, Kansas, was the outgrowth of earlier efforts by a small band of holiness people in 1905. No sooner was the church organized in the winter of 1905 than the people "had a growing feeling that a

Bible school for the training of Christian workers was needed."[18] This Holiness Bible School was initially interdenominational but by 1911 was brought under the aegis of the Church of the Nazarene. By 1915, Mattie Hoke, the president of the Kansas school, officially joined the institution to the Nazarene church. In 1922 the name of the institution was changed to Bresee College, indicating not only a shift in the broadening of the school's academic focus, but a strong denominational alignment as well.

An Oklahoma institution grew from the effort of Miss Mattie Mallory, who in 1908 opened an orphanage in Oklahoma City as a part of her evangelistic work among the Indians and white settlers. In 1905, the orphanage was moved to the Beulah Heights section of Oklahoma City. In 1906, a rescue home and Bible school were organized in conjunction with her ministry. The work of beginning the Bible school was jointly performed by Miss Mallory and an interdenominational group known as the Oklahoma Holiness Association. The school opened on October 22, 1906.[19] By June of 1909, the decision was made to move the school and rescue work to a tract of land five miles west of Oklahoma City in an area then known as Council Groves. The Beulah Heights Bible school subsequently became Oklahoma Holiness University, opening its doors at its new location for the first time in October, 1909. From this inauspicious beginning grew an educational institution which by 1920 was known as Bethany-Peniel College.

By a deliberate process of assimilation over the next three decades, the other colleges in the southwest were united with the institution in Bethany. Because of trouble recruiting students and raising funds, Peniel College united with Oklahoma Nazarene College in 1920 to become

Bethany-Peniel College. Nine years later, Central Nazarene University of Hamlin, Texas, was joined to Bethany-Peniel College. Having been downgraded to a junior college in 1918, Central Nazarene University was further downgraded to an academy and grammar school in 1924. The directors of the school realized that, in the interest of their constituency, union with the school in Bethany was the most desirable option.[20] Having been dropped by the Church of the Nazarene as a fully approved college in 1922, the holiness school at Vilonia, Arkansas, continued to operate as an academy and grammar school for eight more years. In 1931, the school finally closed and united its efforts with the school at Bethany.[21] By 1940, the one remaining regional holiness school in Hutchinson, Kansas, united with Bethany-Peniel College.

The early period of Nazarene education from 1900 to 1920 was characterized by the founding of Bible schools whose sole purpose intially was to serve the Church in its work of spreading the message of Scriptural holiness (Appendix H). By 1920, most of the schools had recognized the need to serve the broader constituency in the church. Obviously, some of the motivation was the desire to indoctrinate laymen and enculturate them for the service of the Church. But there was in this early era the shadow of things to come. The shadow of liberal arts education grew more distinct in form during the period from 1920 to 1945 when the liberal arts colleges were emerging.

The growth of the curriculum of the Nazarene schools in the period from 1900 to 1920 reflected both the dominance of course work and programs designed for the full-time Christian worker and the growing importance, however slight, of programs for secular concern. Pasadena College was in some ways the most progressive of the Nazarene schools in the

early years of the Church. Its founders, Drs. Bresee and Widney, had been members of the board and administrative officer respectively at the University of Southern California. They were reluctant to begin a holiness school unless it could prepare young men and women in a comprehensive academic manner.

As soon as the school was moved to Pasadena, a College of Liberal Arts was added to the Bible school with the purpose of furnishing a course of study which provided the "foundations of general culture for the pursuit of any calling or for subsequent professional work."[22] In succeeding years, other departments were created to serve students in diverse fields of preparation. A normal department was instituted offering teachers a two year course of training to meet state requirements. A music department was added as was a school of oratory to "teach students the natural as well as the artistic way of expressing themselves."[23] The traditional emphasis of that era on classical languages had a large part in making Nazarene University respectable. Reasons for studying classical languages were deeply rooted in the history of education and culture. With the waning of faculty psychology the notion of education as mental discipline had largely disappeared. One of the few vestiges of this system of thought which survived for a few years after World War I was the study of Greek. Most liberal arts curricula emphasized the study of mathematics and language to furnish the furniture of the mind. The added benefit of classical languages for a Christian school was obvious. To understand Greek and Hebrew was to open the mind to studying the Scriptures in the original. Nazarene University felt it to be both "natural and proper to make special emphasis of the comprehensive and thorough study of Greek,"[24]

This intermingling of the classical and the religious was characteristic of the Nazarene institutions as they entered the liberal arts era. As newer studies in the commercial arts, sociology and economics were added, they too had a religious connotation. Discussing these departments, the college catalogs announced that their work "was not wholly concerned with reformative measures, but is thoroughly Christian and it is intended to provide such instruction as shall prove helpful to Christian workers."[25] As various departments of Nazarene University emerged, each originally dedicated to preparing Christian workers, they provided the framework for those departments in time to shift to vocational and academic preparation for those pursuing undergraduate work toward secular vocations. In its first years of existence, the school in California expanded from a Bible school curriculum to a quasi-university with nine departments preparing to serve a broader base of students.[26]

The school in Idaho was founded with an elementary curriculum and some high school level work offered on demand. The teaching of the Bible was a regular part of all studies. Even after the expansion of the school to a college with the addition of a four-year liberal arts curriculum in 1916 by President H. Orton Wiley, the focus of all courses of study remained clearly religious in nature. Believing that the religious element was necessary to education, the founders of Northwest Nazarene College wanted to protect the youth of the Church from "the [errors] that so frequently plague the public system of education."[27] Scholastic concerns were really secondary at Northwest Nazarene because of the financial exigencies of finance, the chronic shortages of buildings and equipment, preoccupation with the flu epidemic of 1919, and the aftermath of World

War I.[28] The emphasis on practical studies and training for Christian service were the dominant motifs of the first two decades in the life of Northwest Nazarene College.

The curriculum of the school in Illinois was also laden with courses of study typical of the Bible school mentality. All of the early colleges emphasized doctrine and religious training over purely intellectual attainment.[29] Yet to realize that priority was given to the spiritual is not to suggest that anti-intellectualism pervaded the campus. The Olivet faculty and administration held to the maxim that "spirituality without intellectuality becomes fanaticism, and intellectuality without the Spirit becomes infidelity."[30] They, therefore, gave emphasis to the fact that every Christian should be able to give an account of the hope and faith one possessed.

Every area of the curriculum was designed to lead to an advancement of piety. The department of philosophy, for example, aimed at building up the students in those elements of philosophy which have met the needs of the human condition throughout history. In the pursuit of these goals, Olivet rejected any "system of philosophy which robs God of personality, the soul of immortality, and the future of its rewards and punishments."[31] In the same manner the department of music declared itself prepared to teach young people how to "sing about a truth and a salvation that saves from sin."[32] Each of the Nazarene schools made similar statements of purpose regarding the special purpose of curricula designed, by purpose, to integrate faith and learning. The aims of the departments of music and philosophy could be generalized not only to all other departments of the Nazarene school at Olivet, but to each of the other Nazarene Colleges as well.

The school in Nashville continued in the mold of a Bible School even after it changed its declaration of purpose in 1910 to the following: "the collegiate curriculum [at Trevecca] consists of the regular literary, scientific, and classical courses. There is preparatory work as well."[33] Even though the college purported to be a four-year collegiate institution in 1910 offering the A.B. and B.S. degrees, Trevecca still remained a Bible school. In 1919, President Stephen S. White was called to make a true liberal arts colleges of Trevecca. Finding the task impossible, he concentrated on making the school a quality two-year institution.[34]

The school in Oklahoma had aims similar to its sister college in Nashville. Its founders created an institution to meet the growing need of workers who were trained in the methods and mentality of the church's theological commitment to the Wesleyan doctrine of heart holiness. In order to maintain a high order of Christian piety and to defend the fundamentals of the Christian faith, the school sought to offset the "tendency of school life to destroy deep piety. . .[knowing] that the Church of tomorrow will be what its schools make it."[35] In accordance with its statement of purpose, Bethany-Peniel College required thirty-three hours in Bible, theology, church history, philosophy, and Biblical languages for all students in its junior college program. Obviously, the course of study was solely for the full-time Christian worker.

Pentecostal Collegiate Institute, the antecedent of Eastern Nazarene College, also demonstrated an initial preoccupation with Bible School objectives. While founded with a dual level program emphasizing religious training and classical studies, the "Christian had clear priority over education in the notion of Christian education."[36] After the move to North

Scituate, Rhode Island, the new institution became more realistic about its inability to offer quality collegiate work by limiting its collegiate department. Its curriculum offered some two-thirds of the hours usually required in a collegiate program.[37] With the readdition of a full collegiate department, the school demonstrated its renewed intention of becoming a fully developed college in time.

In 1917, the Board of Pentecostal Collegiate Institute set about to relocate the school and expand the course offerings to full collegiate status. The commitment made five years earlier in re-establishing a collegiate department was finally vindicated.[38] With relocation in Massachusetts, the final step was taken to realize those commitments which meant the transition from a Bible School curriculum to a more balanced four-year college course of studies.

An analysis of various courses of study does not necessarily indicate the real intentions of those schools in fulfilling their missions. But they should not be minimized either. The trend in all the six institutions of the Church of the Nazarene was from that of a special purpose institution to serve and further the work of the ministry of the Church to a more broadly-based institution which sought to provide an educated ministry and a literate laity. This shift, as indicated by additions, deletions and modifications in the curriculum of the early Bible schools, led to a period when the four-year Liberal arts college was destined to be the dominant educational structure in the Church.

The two most persistent problems encountered by these emerging institutions during the Bible school era were those concerning finding adequate financing and governance. Every Nazarene Bible college in the period prior to 1920 engaged in a yearly struggle for

solvency. Bankruptcy was an all too frequent occurrence. Low salaries and inadequate sources of income compounded the difficulties of the fledgling institutions. Every means of cost effectiveness was employed to save these institutions. Pentecostal Collegiate Institute began an industrial department to provide employment for students and a profit for the school.[39] The school in Illinois was under such a severe financial trouble that it chose to affiliate with the Church of the Nazarene in 1912, bringing with it a debt of 100,000 dollars. The most unique experiment in financial solvency involved Trevecca Nazarene College. During World War I, due to tight money, a little independent holiness college in northwest Tennessee known as Ruskin Cave College invited Trevecca Nazarene College to join them in order to save on fuel, teachers' salaries and all like resources. The college used a large nearby cave as a chapel and classroom facility. In the school year of 1917-1918, Trevecca shared the subterranean facilities of Ruskin Cave College until it returned to Nashville in 1918. To improve its financial condition, Trevecca finally united in 1919 with a small Nazarene school from Donalsonville, Georgia.[40]

Not only did the impact of the World War I have negative repercussions for Nazarene education in terms of the money supply and student recruitment pools, but the problem was multiplied by association with the struggles of a young and growing denomination. When any denomination is young and struggling for survival, its objectives are usually couched in the natural desire for growth and permanence. Since for the Nazarene this usually entailed removing themselves from store buildings and rented halls to more permanent places of worship, the first item to feel the financial crunch was often the educational institutions.[41]

Yet they did survive this critical period and began to expand in the 1920's and 1930's. In some ways, the era of the Bible School was not as dangerous in terms of financial solvency as the period of the Great Depression. But at least the colleges which were to serve the church in such a valuable way survived the dangerous years of infancy.

The most salient feature in the governance of the Bible schools prior to 1920 was the struggle over centralization versus institutional autonomy. At the time of union in 1907, the leaders of the Church were preoccupied with more immediate matters and gave little consideration to the long-range need for articulating a comprehensive and acceptable educational policy. This oversight ended when three newly created schools in the Southwest part of the United States brought the matter added urgency. The Church responded by assuming it would have supervisory powers at the General level.[42] This was indicative of the fact that a "broad acceleration of the trend away from associations and independent churches toward a fully organized denominational fellowship"[43] was underway. Thus at the Third General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene held in Nashville in 1911, a Board of Education was elected to promote, recognize and classify such schools as it saw fit. The machinery had been created for the official recognition of Nazarene education. Also the issue of regional versus centralized control of Nazarene education was born.[44]

According to Smith, Dr. E.P. Ellyson of Trevecca College seemed to have been the first church leader to see the need for some kind of overall coordination of Nazarene higher education.[45] In April, 1911, after his election as President of Pasadena College, he devised a plan he hoped would curb institutional rivalry, promote the wise investment of available resources and encourage the upgrading of lagging education standards. He envisioned the establishment of a General Board of Higher Education

to be endowed with the power to control all educational endeavors. By 1914, it was evident that despite the actions of the General Assemblies of 1908 and 1911, the colleges were destined to be placed under regional rather than general control.

By the time of the Fourth General Assembly in 1915, the ineffectiveness of centralized safeguards against unwarranted multiplication was evident by the fact that thirteen schools were formally recognized.[46] The General Assembly voted to standardize all recognized schools according to the standards established by the United States Commissioner of Education.[47] While not gaining the kind of control it had envisioned, the Church did not shrink from financial backing. After 1917, the General Church began to shoulder the problem of financing the colleges. Of this development, Cameron stated between 1917 and 1921, the General Superintendents were closely associated with campaigns on behalf of Olivet, Pasadena and Eastern Nazarene College. This helped stamp upon the Nazarene mind the idea that the future of the Church was bound up with its program of higher education.[48]

The final move which irrevocably regionalized Nazarene higher education occurred on the eve of the General Assembly in 1919. The General Board of Education issued a report that recommended that six educational zones be established and each support only the one college within its bounds. In due time the zonal system of support and control was adopted leading to the discontinuation of some schools and the merger of others. By 1920, the problem over the control of the Church colleges had been settled in favor of more autonomous regional boards of trustees. Since by 1920 most of the institutions of education in the Church were incorporated under state laws and governed by duly authorized boards of trustees,

relationships with the General Board of Education had to remain largely advisory.[49]

A second issue concerning governance was settled during this period. The matter of the composition of the governing boards posed a unique problem for the young denomination. Initially there was the problem of boards of trustees who were independent from the mainstream of the church. Since both Eastern and Trevecca were nondenominational at the beginning, they were governed by people not always sympathetic to denominational goals. The colleges in the period leading up to 1920 were reorganized in such a way that control fell into the hands of the Districts of the Church of the Nazarene which comprised their educational zone. By-laws were added to the colleges to insure the election of trustees by the District Assemblies guaranteeing the governance would be composed of Nazarenes.[50] This action was made mandatory by the General Assembly of 1919, which ruled that all members of Boards of Trustees of Nazarene institutions had to be members of the church.

From the very beginning, the control of the various boards was in the hands of ministers. Very few laymen and even fewer women were represented. The dominance of clergy on the Boards during the Bible school era guaranteed that the education of Nazarene schools would be primarily geared to the preparation of full-time Christian workers. Richard Hofstadter's analysis of the developments of higher education boards of governance since 1900 concluded that in the modern era it would be improbable that a university-level education could be built in close association with a religious sect. It was only after the clergy had lost their hegemony on the boards of trustees to be replaced by men of wealth and

prominence that an institution of academic prestige could be built. While not antireligious, these new board members helped erode the sectarian nature of American higher education.[51]

The social profile of Nazarene higher education in the Bible School era was dominated by the notion of in loco parentis. This doctrine of parietal control by the Bible schools extended to most behavior, especially when controlling relationship between the sexes and ones religious duty. To accomplish such an ambitious task, the colleges assumed a sartorial guardianship which was very rigid. The primary recipients of this concern were the young ladies on campus. Their apparrel was specified in terms of color, thickness and type of material, length and style.[52] Young men were likewise expected to dress in a modest and simplistic manner. All of the Bible colleges were residential campuses which "intended to give all the comfort of a Christian home without all the rights."[53] Since this was the intention, the colleges reserved the right to guard and refine the social instincts of the students. This control extended not only to student housing, but to religious activities as well.[54] The schools of the Bible college era were fond of emphasizing the virtues of obediance, neatness and regularity. Students were enjoined to conform to these standards because of the prevalent belief among Nazarenes that outward standards were in some manner as vital to maintaining spirituality as was theology and practice. The notion was widely held that to be most effective, education in a religious context must not only pursue adequate academic training and spiritual deepening, but standard of dress as well.[55]

Little hard evidence exists as to the social and economic mileau of Nazarene students in the Bible school era. It seems safe to generalize that most of the students were from the lower classes and were upwardly

mobile. Robert Pace characterized students of this type as exemplifying the American way of hard work, independence, piety, and the belief in reward for virtue in this life and the next.[56] The Bible Institutes and colleges sought to redeem and elevate through education those it saved among the poorer classes. Once they had been converted, the pedagogical task of the Church was to inculcate in them the habits, attitudes, and ideals of the older generation. They established schools for this purpose which ". . .stressed vocational training, 'learning by doing,' [while giving] relatively little attention to the classics."[57]

Of the several hundred graduates from Nazarene schools in the period prior to 1920, the majority were men, but women were well represented. The majority of time not spent in working or studying was spent in the more popular extracurricular activities of music, literary clubs and evangelistic and missionary work. Athletics was frowned upon as detrimental to holy living. Piety and service were the hallmarks of the student bodies in the Bible school era.

The faculty in the early Nazarene colleges were men and women who by precept and example were in harmony with the objectives of Christian education. The faculty had to be prepared to teach whatever was needed by the college. There was little room for notions of professionalization or specialization. If any choice was made regarding a faculty member's academic merit or spiritual merit, the Bible schools always chose the latter. Nazarene Bible schools were unanimous in seeking to make their institutions havens where students could establish themselves in the truths of the Bible and the customs and culture of the denomination. They sought to create a curriculum where students could study college-level materials without "any abatement of zeal or loss of Divine unction."[58] To this

purpose each of the institutions always selected its faculty on the basis of two essential qualifications: spiritual power and then scholastic ability.

The emphasis of the Bible college was on the more emotive aspects of Christian experience. Therefore, while the cognitive aspects of education were certainly not ignored, the dominant emphasis was on pragmatic experience. Such concerns made faculty members responsible both for spiritual growth and the transfer of information. The founders of Pasadena College echoed a philosophy practiced throughout the Church by asserting that the responsibility of faculty members on the Nazarene college campus was greater than their secular counterparts. In order to have an institution that is pure and holy in character, its professors bear the primary responsibility to "make the atmosphere breathe out the very atmosphere of heaven. . .[and] be pregnant with the divine glory and presence."[59]

Since cultivating the right kind of atmosphere was the primary concern of the Bible schools, the faculty were to be themselves wholehearted followers of the Faith. The Oklahoma Holiness College faculty were expected to deal holistically with the concerns of its students. They were "to cultivate heart, head and hand. . .in honor of Him who created our wonderful triune nature."[60] In the accomplishment of this task, only faculty with the experience of entire Sanctification were acceptable. (Appendix H).

A compilation of demographic information concerning Nazarene faculty members in the period prior to 1920 was most revealing. Of the 118 faculty members, the faculty was roughly divided equally between male and female. Females tended to teach in the humanities, the academies and grammar schools. Well over two-thirds of the faculty members held the bachelor's degree. About one in five faculty members held a degree at the master's level. Less than eight per cent of all faculty members held

the doctorate, and some of those were honorary degrees. The level of academic achievement must be interpreted in light of current acceptable levels of professional credentialism. Nevertheless, the faculty by training appeared more prepared to provide the learning offered by a Bible school than of a four year liberal arts college.[61]

Little information exists as to the organization and administration of the early Nazarene Bible schools. Usually the administration of each school was vested in a President, working jointly with the Chairman and Treasurer of the Board of Trustees. Each of the various functions of the school was entrusted to an administrative officer such as a principal, dean, matron or presidential assistant. The most certain conclusion of this period is that both the organization and administration of early Nazarene education was rarely planned or predictable.[62]

It was not unusual during this period for the day-to-day operations of the college administration to include the close supervision by the president of the board and often the secretary or treasurer as well. This was not considered an unwarranted intrusion on the part of the board but was generally welcomed. In the early years of the Church, the need for financial as well as student support often depended on the reliability of the board members.

If the doctrine of _in loco parentis_ was designed for students and mediated by the faculty, its genesis and source of strength came from the administration who sought to create an atmosphere of piety and spiritual fervor on campus. This was not done without design:

> The period of college life, while full of inspiration and opportunity, is nevertheless fraught with danger. The attitudes of mental unrest and development which makes the mind susceptible to truth, makes it susceptible to error also, and the widening of mental horizons makes necessary adjustments. It is of supreme impor-

> tance that these adjustments be made in the midst of sympathetic and wholesome surroundings and under the wise pastoral leadership of the administration.[63]

With such high ideals, it was only natural that men and women of such stature would be in places of leadership early in the life of the institution. Fortunately for the Church, there was a host of early leaders of exceptional ability. In the West, the college in California was founded under the leadership of Dr. P.F. Bresee and Dr. J.P. Widney. Dr. Bresee was a former chairman of the Board of Regents of the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Southern California. Dr. Widney was the founder of the Historical Society of Southern California and founder and first dean of the College of Medicine at the University of Southern California.[63] Later, he had served as president of that prestigious university before affiliating with the Church of the Nazarene. With such respected leadership, Nazarene University came closest to the ideal of a truly liberal arts, four-year college ideal of any of the schools in this period.

The college in Idaho shared with Nazarene University the benefits of the service of Dr. H. Orton Wiley. As the president of both schools, Dr. Wiley brought the combined attributes of scholarly insight, dedicated churchmanship, and outstanding administrative ability. Along with Mr. Eugene Emerson, its founder, and Dr. Olive Winchester, its first dean, they laid a strong foundation for the future collegial development of Northwest Nazarene College.

In the East and Mid-West, strong leadership also led to the planting of successful institutions. Under the wise and passionate leadership of Principal Ernest E. Angell and the scholarly guidance of Bertha Munro, the college in the East flourished in spite of several moves and a constant struggle to compete in a highly academic environment. At Olivet,

the leadership of President E.F. Walker insured sound administration in the critical early years of that institution.

In the South and Southwest, the wise leadership of individuals such as J.O. McClurkan and T.J. Shingler provided the kind of strong supervision which guided the merger of the schools from Georgia and Tennessee. Then under Dr. E.P. Ellyson, Trevecca moved from independency to affiliation with the Church of the Nazarene. The college in Oklahoma was founded and nurtured under the leadership of C.B. Jernigan and came to fruition under the presidency of President A.K. Bracken.

Most of these church leaders in the Bible School era sought to create schools which would educate church leadership. It might be easy to accuse them of narrowness in this regard, but the fact was that most knew that the next generation of Nazarenes could not draw on the older denominations for new leadership. The door was being irrevocably shut, and the Church of the Nazarene had to fend for itself. General Superintendent R.T. Williams stated that "the secret to success in any great movement is training wise and efficient leadership."[64] It was to this end that the early educational leaders in the Church purposed to develop first rate Bible schools.

An intellectual profile of Nazarene education in the period prior to 1920 must include some understanding of the milieu from which the Church emerged. The American religious scene in 1900 was dominated by a "new theology which sought to revise Christian theology to keep it in line with a theistic view of developmentalism."[65] With its rejection of the authority of Scripture, supernaturalism, and its acceptance of a developmental and social understanding of the Gospel, this new theology was the vogue of many of the older, mainline denominations. Most denominationally-affiliated schools underwent similar changes. According to Jencks and Riesman,

doctrine and ideology played a diminishing role in the creation of new colleges after 1900, which made denominational affiliation seem less important. The rise of the academic profession was accompanied by an apotheosis of objective research and teaching. Few colleges after 1900 claimed that they were elaborating a comprehensive world view that involved rejecting or reworking the kinds of knowledge being acquired by the rest of the academic profession though some saw the search for truth a Christian mandate. All this suggests that ideology and doctrine were playing an increasingly less important role in American higher education.[66]

The Church of the Nazarene at the First General Assembly held in Chicago in 1907, articulated that this newly formed denomination would not fit the mold of the new theology. Concern for dogma and doctrine were not only important to the new church, but were its very reason for existence. The Proceedings of the First General Assembly held in Chicago echoed these concerns. The delegates were warned that the Church would be born in an age of abounding skepticism and worldly unbelief. They were challenged to the awesome notion that God had raised up the Church of the Nazarene for the "grand task of re-Christianizing the continent. . . [and combatting] the New Thought Spiritism, Mental Science, Theosophy, higher criticism and unitarianism honeycombing the old denominations."[67]

A distinctive Nazarene mind set was developing during that period known in American history as progressivism. While rejecting some of the presuppositions of progressivism, the Church felt comfortable with many of the more practical tenets of the progressive movement. In the view of a prominent historian, the intellectual crisis in the first two decades of the twentieth-century arose from the juxtaposition of such events as the passing of the frontier, fears of the consequences of immigration, the clash

of science and religion, and the conflicts between farm and city, labor and management.[68] Many of the leaders of the progressive movement were newcomers to urban America from the rural areas and were shocked by the suffering and degradation they witnessed. They were the ones who sought to Americanize the immigrant, support municipal reform, engage in slum work and fight both for the enfranchisement of women and prohibition.[69] According to Smith, "the loyalty of all of the holiness leaders to the prohibitionist platform is an obvious illustration of. . .the progressive mind at work."[70]

The founders of the Church of the Nazarene were convinced that the work they were beginning was a part of the greater national movement known as progressivism. This belief was born out in the following report made in 1907:

> . . .the time is near at hand when God will shake this continent and manifest himself to this people on a more stupendous scale than ever before. Indeed he has already begun to do so. The great reforms which have taken place in our political and commercial institutions, the wonderful and sweeping advances of prohibition, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Wales, India and Korea and the steady growth of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene all unite in attesting and proclaiming that this is true.[71]

It appeared that the founding fathers of the Church were both attracted to and repulsed by the progressive era, depending on whether the issues were ideological or more practical in nature.

The overriding concern that began to emerge near the end of this early period was the fear of spiritual decline. The net result of this fear was a sharp divergence in the Church between those who embraced the more acceptable aspects of progressivism and looked forward to a better future for society and those who despaired of anything more than a

holding action until the Second Coming of Jesus Christ.[72] The impact of World War I and the ultimate failure of many of the moral reforms of the progressive era led to disillusionment which by the late 1920's was a dominant intellectual tone in the Church.

The fear of spiritual decline had been, in part, the impetus for the growth of the Nazarene church. The spread of liberalism in the older denominations led church members of like mind to seek reforms or to leave. The cause of this decline was posited in the growth after the Civil War in the teachings of Darwinian evolution which was seen as a challenge to the concept of sin and the moral standards of the past. As Smith noted, between 1914 and 1917, many of the early leaders of the Nazarene church died, triggering the fear that the second generation of leaders and laity would not be as zealous. Thus, fear of decline led to increased sectarianism in the Church.[73]

Ironically, it was this very sectarian spirit which the early leaders had inveighed against. All of the early publications of the church schools stressed the interdenominational belief that the doctrine of holiness could not be packaged in any one denominational wrapper. The fear of sectarianism made Dr. Bresee reluctant to start a Christian college, and he was distressed by those in the Church who expressed such narrowness of vision.[74] By 1915, Dr. Bresee was convinced that the Church needed schools, however, and encouraged them in spite of his initial reservations. As the leadership passed to a new generation of men, the tendency toward a sectarian viewpoint increased, fueled by the twin flames of fanaticism and fundamentalism.

The fanatic impulse had served as a source of tension in the days prior to the foundings of the Church of the Nazarene. In fact, it was the

fanaticism associated with the early twentieth-century phenomenon known as glossolalia or the speaking in unknown tongues which led the Nazarenes to drop the word Pentecostal from its name. While it was hoped by the founding fathers that the new denomination would be a place of emotional freedom in which a religion of feeling as well as one of thought flourished, the extremist impulse was to rise periodically throughout the life of the young denomination. There was no more clear evidence of this fanatic impulse than that expressed in the movement known as fundamentalism.

While the Church of the Nazarene did not espouse fundamentalism in any formal way, many Nazarenes, especially in the South and West, had historically been impacted by its existence. This fundamentalist spirit, while properly belonging to a discussion of the liberal arts college period from 1920 to 1945, was evident early in the form of anti-intellectualism. Richard Hofstadter maintained that the growth of populist democracy in nineteenth-century American culture made it patently anti-intellectual. Thus such movements as revivalism, evangelicalism, campfire religion and Protestant fundamentalism tended to jettison the intellectualism of theology in favor of direct, personal access to God.[75] Through such leaders as McClurkan in Tennessee and J.G. Morrison in the Dakotas, this anti-intellectualism came to a prominent role in the Church in the twenties and thirties. While "anti-intellectualism was [in part] the spirit of the age. . .it was especially true of holiness people who feared that education would vitiate true piety."[76]

The academic mission of the early Church of the Nazarene always recognized the need for schools, but education tended to be conceived in terms of Bible schools and Institutes whose task was to indoctrinate

rather than introduce students to traditional arts and sciences. The academic mission which the Church adopted was based on the assumption that the denomination which abdicated the educative function of its young to the state or to other private and religious institutions would be doing irreparable damage to its future. Nazarene colleges were established to keep the Church from being "robbed of its best inheritance by producing, in institutions of the Church . . .[students] with a views . . . that is broader than ordinary scholarship and higher than philosophy."[77]

Each of the colleges subscribed to this viewpoint, interpreting the specific objectives in much the same manner. The authorities of Pasadena College were primarily concerned that its students develop a genuine and heart-felt loyalty to the Bible as the source of every worthy canon of personal conduct, intellectual attainment and material gain. In order to insure that Pasadena College was a place where no barriers were erected between an intense devotion to these principles, every scholarly effort was made in light of the school's motto of " Loyalty to Christ and the Bible."[78]

The leaders of Olivet were also convinced that one could both exalt the intellectual and magnify the spiritual. They stated that the rightful place of the Bible was as the arbiter of all intellectual disputations and the final authority in all matters of faith and life. To that end they purposed to . . ."give the Bible its rightful place in the [educational work of the college]."[79]

Other colleges in the Nazarene movement were also convinced that unless Holy Writ was made the focus for the secular as well as the sacred, that the colleges would be on the road to spiritual dissolution. The leaders of Bethany-Peniel were likeminded in creating an institution in which its students could be grounded in those ideals which were essentials of

Faith. To that end the college in Oklahoma purposed to "stand for truth . . .and to train workers for the service of the Church, . . .[by doing everything] in our power to conserve spirituality."[80].

A turning point in Nazarene higher education came in 1920. In that year the Church of the Nazarene was faced with the important decision of continuing its educational program centering on the Bible School concept or expanding their vision to include the more traditional four-year liberal arts college. Under the leadership of Dr. J.B. Chapman, a report was delivered by the General Education Board to the General Church which rejected the Bible School idea in favor of schools stronger in scholarship. He stated that "Bible and training institutes are not enough, we need solid preparation in arts and sciences necessary for Christian leadership."[81] His rejection of the Bible School pattern of educational development also included a rejection of the university model. Between these two extremes he envisioned for the Church of the Nazarene a system of standard academic four-year liberal arts colleges. Accepting his recommendations, the General Boards of the Church of the Nazarene took the first step in the transition to this new educational function for those Bible schools associated with the Church. The injunction of Chapman was "that [Nazarenes] must build schools or die as a church."[82]

Without rejecting the emphasis on piety, Chapman and others envisioned for the Church of the Nazarene first-rate colleges worthy of the name which combined both dimensions of faith and learning. These colleges could well have adopted as their motto the observation ascribed to John Witherspoon of Princeton, that " piety without literature is little profitable, and learning without piety is pernicious to others, and ruinous to the possessor."[83]

The Rise of Liberal Arts Colleges, 1920-1945

This period from 1920 to 1945 may be characterized as the era in which the four-year college evolved in the Nazarene denomination. Concurrent with the shift away from the Bible school mindset, the pressure for a formal procedure of recognition and standardization by the Church grew rapidly after 1920. The Church made clear requirements regarding the college level of instruction expected in terms of physical plant, faculty, scheduling, curriculum, finance and campus atmosphere. In 1920, only Eastern, Olivet, Pasadena and Northwest met the established standards. Through subsequent mergers with smaller regional holiness schools, Bethany and Trevecca also met the standards by the end of the period in the early 1940s.

During the period 1920-1945, the idea emerged that there should be six regional colleges, each drawing support from its educational zone. Control was to be decentralized, but informal checks and balances were encouraged to keep the colleges under the control of the denomination. This notion meant that no new institutions could become four year colleges. Both Bethany and Trevecca were well on their way to becoming four year colleges before the Church decided not to acknowledge new schools.[84]

A brief examination of each of these six colleges revealed that they underwent similar institutional changes needed to accommodate the new educational structure the church had chosen to adopt. Pasadena College had struggled until 1940 to clear up its financial situation in order to build new facilities to meet its needs. By 1943 all debts were met and the college was accredited. Between 1928 and 1938, Northwest College

also made great strides toward becoming fully accepted. In 1928 its Normal School was accredited by the State of Idaho, and in 1931 the liberal arts department was fully accredited by the state. By 1937, the college became the first Nazarene institution of higher education to receive full accreditation as a senior college. By 1938, N.N.C. was accepted into the membership in the Association of American Colleges.[85]

For a decade after its move to Wollaston, the college in the East sought from the State of Massachusetts the power to confer degrees on its graduates. When Eastern Nazarene College was finally approved in 1930 to grant the Bachelor of Arts degree, the college began moving toward the goal of full accreditation. This approval by the State not only had the internal affect of boosting morale, but it made the college better known in its community. Its dean reported a few years later, "The image of the school shifted from that of a Bible college to a liberal arts school."[86] While accreditation was not achieved prior to 1940, the achievements of the school culminated in 1944 when it graduated its largest class, burned the mortgage to the school and received full accreditation by the New England Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges.

Both Nazarene colleges in the mid-eastern region of the United States were also moving toward liberal arts status. The circumstances that led to the institutional growth of Olivet College culminated in a tragic fire in November, 1930, which destroyed the main building housing the library, classroom, offices and chapel. This enabled its far-sighted leaders to relocate the institution in Kankakee, Illinois, Subsequently, the college changed its name to Olivet Nazarene College

and adopted an aggressive expansion program for the school.[87] The period from 1920 to 1940 was crucial in the development of Trevecca College. After the school became solidly Nazarene, it lost some of the support it had received as an independent. This did not keep the school from advancing in the direction of a liberal arts college. In the decade of the 1920's Trevecca was recognized by the Tennessee State College Association and the American Association of Junior Colleges as a fully accredited two-year school. The period from 1930 to 1935 was a particularly trying one for Trevecca Nazarene College. As it underwent withdrawal symptoms from its traditional independency, the school emerged thoroughly Nazarene not only in name but in substance. With the adoption of a new charter in 1935, the new name of Trevecca Nazarene College reflected this new status as a liberal arts, denominationally-affiliated school.[88]

The decade from 1920 to 1930 was one of amalgamation for Bethany with the addition of the schools from Hamlin, Texas and Vilonia, Arkansas. With the recognition as a four year institution by the State of Oklahoma in 1928, the college was firmly fixed as a permanent Nazarene regional college.

Throughout the period of the growth of Nazarene schools to the status of four-year colleges, some trenchant concerns remained. As early as 1919 General Superintendent R.T. Williams called attention to one of these concerns:

> . . .we had not prepared to take proper care of the young men or women of limited education who nevertheless feel called of God to preach and cannot possibly go to school longer than one or two years.[89]

Dr. Williams spoke for those in the church who were anxious that in the move to liberal arts education the Church schools would leave unattended those whom the early Bible colleges were founded exclusively to serve. Another educative concern voiced by a minority was the need for even more advanced training than that provided by the four-year college. Dr. J.B. Chapman was calling for a high grade theological seminary as early as 1927.[90] These two notions would become the sources of the tension between piety and intellect in the post-War development of education in the Church.

Studies done of the period of educational expansion from 1920 to 1940 suggested that efforts to limit institutional size and program were directly tied to matters of finance. The idea of limiting size was hard pressed by the reality that there was a huge crop of second-generation Nazarenes seeking education in a Nazarene college. Since the majority were not interested in pursuing programs to prepare them for full-time ministry, the colleges of the Church had to "abandon the idea of the Bible college which was still a lingering vestige during the emergence of the six liberal arts collegs and pursue broader and consequently more secular aims."[91]

The most noticeable proof of the broadening mission of Nazarene higher education was the expansion of the curriculum (Appendix I). In the six colleges, there was a 53% increase in the number of semester hours offered in the liberal arts area between 1920 and 1940. This change is significant in that while traditional subjects such as Latin, Greek and Hebrew decline from 50 to 100%, subjects based on the new learning of deteriminism and behaviorism such as psychology, history, sociology and economics grew the most. A further proof of the widening aim of Nazarene

education was the emergence of new fields of study such as physical education, art and business. As the ancient languages declined, the modern languages subsequently flourished. With the exception of German, which both in 1920 and 1940 was affected by international events, the study of all modern languages grew steadily throughout the entire period.

The most dramatic growth occurred in the sciences, which grew some 176% in the two decades. Chemistry grew the most, increasing by 270 per cent during the period. These increases reflected the growing importance that science played in the life of the educated person, which the Church colleges could not ignore. Though perennially hindered by lack of laboratory facilities, strong leadership from aggressive faculty members in the sciences produced programs worthy of the name.

Not only expansion in the number of courses offered but increased attention to the level and quality of the academic life were characteristic of this liberal arts era. All schools expressed continued concern over the lack of library facilities which were invariably curtailed during the depression years. By 1940, most of the schools had built or were planning to build libraries of collegiate quality. Increased utilization was made of research facilities in those areas near large urban or academic centers by Trevecca, Pasadena, Olivet and Eastern. Several of the colleges by 1940 employed full-time librarians who were trained in that area. These developments often spelled the difference between accreditation gained or deferred. As the colleges strove for full four-year status, more and more of them abandoned the academies and preparatory schools as unnecessary burdens.

An interesting study in the changing burdens of Nazarene education to encompass more secular fields was reflected in the changing role of the study of religion. In 1920, 46 per cent of all course work offered in Nazarene colleges was in the area of Biblical Literature, Theology, Church History and Practics (Appendix I). By 1940, only 18 per cent of the course work offered was in these areas. This does not reflect any lessening of the commitment to train ministers since there was a real increase of 5 per cent in the number of courses offered. What it does reflect was the reality that religion was growing at a far slower rate than either the arts or sciences because of the influx of non-ministerial students seeking quality education in a Christian atmosphere. The very fact that such an aggregate shift of interest occurred in a relatively short period of time was bound to cause concern over the direction of Nazarene education among the more pietistic elements of the communion.

Few periods in American history were as fraught with danger yet alive with opportunity to develop six new denominational schools as was the period of 1920 to 1940. Bounded by two World Wars with their subsequent economic dislocation, inflation and economic growth, the intervening period knew both the exhilaration of the "roaring 20's" economy and the disillusionment of the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Against the backdrop of these macroeconomic issues, several microeconomic ones only added to the difficulties facing church leaders during this era. The most noticeable of these problems was the natural inequity among the established zones of support for each institution. Some educational zones had more church members and a greater economic base than others. Schools such as Northwest and Trevecca had

unusually small numbers on their zones, in spite of covering vast territory. Up until the early 1930's, both of these areas had fewer than 5.000 church members from whom to draw financial support and recruit students. This inequity caused great concern among the leaders of the Church. They believed that the General Church was responsible for the financial solvency of its schools until such time that they could stabilize their finances through endowments and sufficiently large student enrollments. In advocating the rather radical plan that the General Church take greater control of the colleges and reapportion the zones, the leaders from the more poverty-stricken schools were sounding a legitimate note of alarm. To them the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene had been " orphans long enough . . .It is not fair to give one school 5,000 [zonal members] while another has 15,000 to 20,000."[92]

The lack of endowment funding was also a point of economic concern for the burgeoning colleges. The Nazarene schools had no regular means of support from the local church. Since the amount each church and each district paid was unbudgeted freewill offerings, a large measure of uncertainty was added to an already bleak picture. A third problem facing the schools was debt reduction. Since these six colleges were less than twenty years old and all had relocated several times, each had a substantial debt for that era. Most of the money raised went for current expenditures. Since the debts couldn't be decreased, and in most cases steadily grew, the colleges faced the crucial issue of solvency versus receivership. The General Assembly of 1923 made the recommendation that the years from 1924-1928 should be used by the colleges to work at debt reduction.[98] Although there were initial successes by some colleges, most

noticeably involving Northwest Nazarene College. But the early days of the depression found the colleges faced with large debts, interest on the college mortgage plus operating expenses. Threats of bankruptcy hung like a pall over higher education in the Church for several more years.

Low faculty salaries made it difficult to maintain faculty and campus morale. It was not unusual for faculty to submit budgets and receive only subsistence wages based on absolute family need. Freezes on faculty salaries were implemented which were to last, in some cases, beyond the time of actual financial exigency. The historian of Eastern recorded, "What was begun as an emergency in the face of potential foreclosure became standard operating procedure."[94]

The response to these crucial needs centered in more effective appeals to various structures within the church for regular and substantial support. By the mid 1930's, calls were made by Northwest and Eastern college leaders for the establishment of regular budgets by the districts on their educational zones. Attempts were also made to solicit the support of General Church funds. Motions were passed on three occasions by the Department of Education of the General Church that the General Board allocate amounts ranging from one to eight per cent of the general budget for support of the six colleges.[95] None of these recommendations were ultimately approved by the General Church, but this failure was somewhat offset by the Districts adopting regular budgeting of college needs.

In addition to denominational sources, the 1930's witnessed the rise of endowment funding as a way out of the financial morass. Several of the colleges such as Pasadena and Bethany enlisted executive field

secretaries to raise endowment monies by numerous means. While never large in success the efforts of the colleges to make known their needs created a greater sense of responsibility on the part of the educational zone than ever before.

The results of these efforts to achieve financial solvency paid off in that none of the six Nazarene colleges closed its doors during this perilous period. The very fact that they survived and were making progress was heartening to the church fathers. Specifically, the colleges simultaneously strove to liquidate their debts and raise faculty salaries, while improving property values through new buildings and equipment.

In spite of the reduction in the number of young men enrolled in college during the Second World War, the quickened prosperity of the war years allowed the Nazarene colleges to achieve their financial goals of solvency by the end of the War. The immediate impact of the War on education was analyzed in the following report by a Council of Education which had been established by the General Board of the Church of the Nazarene to study the matter. The council concluded that the Church colleges would be seriously affected because of young men being drafted or enlisting and the increase in defense-related employment which would encourage many to accept higher wages instead of going to college. The projection of the study was that the actual impact would translate into an immediate loss of 10 per cent in enrollment and a projected revenue loss over the following three years of from 30 to 50 per cent. The Council noted that it was ironic in a time of war properity that the colleges would still be facing a financial

crunch because "the very speeding up of business plus the war effort lowered revenues making financial solvency more precarious.[96]

Thus the dilemma of the war years for Nazarene higher education was that in spite of inflation prosperity, many financial obstacles remained to be overcome. The words of the Quadrennial Address of 1932 seem strikingly appropriate as the Church remarked "it is almost miraculous that any of our colleges have been able to survive the conditions and handicaps under which they have labored since the crash of 1929".[97]

The relationship of the colleges to the church was formalized during this era without undue tension. By 1920 the institutions of the Church had abandoned notions of achieving university status and instead sought recognition as four year colleges. According to Smith, this recognition "foreshadowed" the thirty-year struggle for accreditation.[98] Efforts at establishing uniform central control of higher education was destined to fail. Personal and economic factors, and the primary responsibility which the Boards of Trustees and the district leaders felt for the institutions in their own section, overrode plans for central control.[99] As control was decentralized in financial and administrative areas, the shift in power was from the General Board of Education to the individual District Assemblies which elected the Boards of Trustees (Appendix J). The subsequent relationship of the General Board of Education to the individual colleges was to be "advisory now and hereafter."[100]

The Nazarene colleges in the West and East were the first to move forward and achieve that accreditation which all of the colleges wanted. Northwest Nazarene College, under the leadership of Dr. Russel V. DeLong, was the first Nazarene College to be accredited by one of the

six major regional accrediting associations. After working diligently since 1927, DeLong realized the dream of full senior-college accredition on March 4, 1937.[101] Under the steady hand of President H. Orton Wiley, Pasadena College was received into full membership in the Central Association of Colleges on February 9, 1943, and on August 28 of that year was fully accredited by the Northwest Association of Secondary Schools and Higher Education.[102] Ever since Eastern Nazarene College had received authority to grant the A.B. degree in 1930, it had eagerly sought accreditation. After 15 years of struggle and academic improvement, E.N.C. was voted into the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools on January 14, 1944.[103] While well on their way, the colleges at Olivet, Bethany and Trevecca were not sound enough to be accredited at the time.

The issue of accreditation inevitably focused consideration on the mission and purposes of Nazarene higher education. Since 1920 Nazarene schools had been broadening their offering, indicating the widening mission each school envisioned as it served the laity as well as the clergy of the church. The enlargement of scope, which was necessary for full accreditation, nevertheless created concern among some leaders that the colleges might be on the subtle path of losing their primary function, service to the Church. Cameron stated that while Nazarene colleges concentrated on training churchmen, . . ."secular approval was not necessary...[For] theological orthodoxy and the approval of [church leaders] were the essential elements."[104]

But as Nazarene colleges became part of the academic mainstream, the canons of orthodoxy and church approval were not enough. General Superintendant R.T. Williams called attention to the danger in too much

effort and attention being given to standardization of the schools and warned that educational work must be planned not primarily with the object of getting recognition from other higher educational institutions, but rather to equip men and women for the work of God. The standardization of the colleges was to be a secondary educational objective for the pietists in the Church. They felt the overarching task was to prepare leaders from the ranks of the membership to take a place of service in the church. To these conservatives, the colleges must "prepare[students] to serve, not seek material or social gain."[105] appealed to the schools to develop programs which would meet the needs of all of the churches' young people. They noted that although there was a better emotional appeal back of the idea of simply training preachers and missionaries, "our task is now to educate our own children and preserve them for the Nazarene vision. This means the making of preachers is secondary and the making of men and women is the first consideration."[106] Between these two views, the next generation of leaders would struggle to articulate the mission and the purposes of Nazarene higher education.

With a broadening mission for Nazarene higher education, the profile of students attending these institutions and the activities in which they engaged naturally changed. A significant indicator of the changing student profile can be seen in the ways in which students organized themselves in intramural and extramural organizations and in interface among religious faith, parietal supervision and student freedom.

All Nazarene colleges began institutionally initiated organizations such as student newspapers, yearbooks, student government and departmental clubs after 1920. The most popular activities, as judged

by student participation, were religion, philosophy, music and literature. In the period prior to 1920 the only student organizations on Nazarene campuses were literary societies. By 1940 all the colleges except Trevecca still had these societies, but student participation was now more diversified. With the changes brought by World War II, the only college to still maintain a literary society system by 1945 was Pasadena.[107]

Since it was widely held that intercollegiate athletics were incompatible with a Christian lifestyle, most athletic activities during this period were strictly intramural. Pasadena was the first school to have an intramural athletic organization. By the early 1940's, similar organizations had sprung up on most college campuses. The only activity given intercollegiate status was debating.

The General Church expressed the need for a national Nazarene student honor society among the six colleges. At the January 11, 1932 meeting of the General Board, a motion was adopted that "a committee of three be created for the purpose of formulating standards and regulations for such an honor society."[108] The General Assembly of 1940 adopted the recommendations of the committee to create an honor society known as the Phi Delta Lambda. This organization "reflected the strength of alumni ties, a growing concern for academic achievements and cooperation among the Nazarene colleges."[109] The diversity of interests among increasingly diverse student body was reflected in the fact that from 1927 to 1937 the number of student organizations doubled; and from 1937 to 1947 they doubled again.[110]

One of the most sensitive student issues of the period involved the role of intercollegiate activities, specifically athletics. Because of

the academic nature of debate and its long-standing acceptance in American academic circles, it somehow remained immune from attack as an intercollegiate activity. Such was not true of athletics. In the early 1930's the trustees of Eastern rejected President Gardner's request to enter a college basketball team in a church league but decided not to interfere with intercollegiate debate. According to Cameron this "[reflected] a curious decision...a Nazarene bias which was not limited to New England."[111] Other schools had made provisions for on-campus activities as long as they were neither "brutal nor demoralizing, such as Rugby football. . .but vigorous and healthful."[112]

Concerns over the consistency and wisdom of an ad hoc prohibition of athletic competition spurred S.T. Ludwig, president of Bresee College, to request a policy clarification by the Department of Education of the General Church on the status of dramatics and intercollegiate sports. The January, 1935, meeting of the General Board appointed a special subcommittee on policy to study the matter. They subsequently recommended that the unofficial policy of the General Board of Education become the official policy of the General Church Board itself. This was to reaffirm an unofficial stand taken in 1922 by the General Board that "intercollegiate athletics as commonly practiced in colleges is not in harmony with the spirit of the Church."[113]

In the years following this pronouncement, both Eastern and Northwest Nazarene College began, by fits and starts, to plan and implement limited intercollegiate athletic competition. By the late 1930's both men's and women's intercollegiate sports were underway at both schools. The General Assembly of 1940 adopted a memorial presented by the Ohio District that the Assembly go on record as opposed to intercollegi-

age athletics. Even with the approval of the highest policy-making body in the Church, the gradual press to enter the mainstream of collegiate athletics continued. Even though Eastern Nazarene College did suspend its intercollegiate activities until the 1950's, both Pasadena and Northwest Nazarene College continued this forbidden practice. This issue highlighted not only the potentially autonomous behavior of the colleges, but was further evidence of the growing pluralism within the Church of the Nazarene regarding the proper focus of its educational commitments.

Underlying concerns over athletics and dramatics were surface issues. The real issue was the maintenance of the doctrine of *in loco parentis* in an atmosphere of growing concern over the loss of spiritual vitality in the second generation of the Church. As these basic concerns were articulated, they were manifested in bans against intercollegiate activities and everything else of an observable nature that might dampen the fervent piety desired by the Church. The increased concern of the Church of the Nazarene to guard against worldliness suggested that the bond between church and college was still strong. The rules of the colleges which forbade on pain of expulsion ". . .the use of tobacco, obscene language, slang, chewing gum,'light and trashy literature', worldly songs and ragtime musc" [114] reflected the values of the Church.

From the 1920's on each Nazarene college worked to strengthen denominational ties and lessen those to the outside world. Whenever possible, colleges were located away from urban centers where the taint of worldly influences might infect the student body, examples being Bethany, Olivet and Northwest. The others, Pasadena, Trevecca and Eastern Nazarene College set a different type of pattern, for while

located in urban areas, were still able to forestall the tendency towards identification with the urban community and its values because of their financial and religious commitments.

Each school was specific in its list of prohibitions and rules for the students. The religious commitment of the schools bound them to state and enforce the kind of rules acceptable to the constituency and the church leaders. This naturally limited the number and type of student attracted to a Nazarene college. Such policies were by design. Cantrell stated that "the religious policy of Bethany-Peniel College controlled and limited the students attracted and served since religion was controlling and directing, not marginal nor departmental."[115] In some ways, the restrictions accompanying a strict parental system seemed out of place for a twentieth-century college which stood for liberal arts. But it was clear that in the interface between the liberality of an education which sought to free the mind and the conservation of orthodoxy and pietistic fervor, the latter always held the dominant hand. Yet the problem of relevance and consistency were to remain problems that often affected student attitudes and morale. Cameron wrote, "When a detailed scheme of parietal rules is instituted, there are always problems in keeping the rules up-to-date with changes in actual practice."[116]

The task of the colleges as they related to the students was two-fold. Not only were the colleges, acting as surrogates for the parents and the denomination, to supervise and maintain adherence to the rules of the community, but they were to serve a positive function as well. The school, as an agent of the church, was to insure that the fervor of the students for spiritual matters be maintained at the highest

possible level. Two structures were used to fulfill this function: regular chapel and periodic revival campaigns.

In the 1920's, chapel was held daily in all six Nazarene colleges, and all students and faculty were required to attend. Usually expectations were made that both groups attend at least two regular services on Sunday; and they were urged in addition to attend Sunday school, young people's meetings, and missionary meetings as well. By the 1930's, daily chapel was still conducted, and all were expected to attend. A significant change in attitude was apparent from the fact that procedures finally were established in most schools for the student who did not attend chapel to recycle into the life of the college following punishment or occasionally dismissal.[117]

While chapel was important in the ongoing work of religious instruction and spiritual development, the college placed great value on the periodic revivals which were conducted to renew the fervor of student commitment. The ideal for each college was to have a "revival spirit spontaneously burst forth and pervade the campus the entire year."[118] That this did not spontaneously occur meant that every effort was made by faculty and administrators, as well as students, to generate this kind of enthusiasm. DeLong stated as much when in writing of the revivals at Northwest Nazarene College he stated: "full allowance is made for the freedom of the Spirit. True demonstrations in the Holy Ghost are encouraged."[119] The encouragement of emotionalism usually accompanied any revival worthy of the name. The description of the November, 1931, revival at Northwest Nazarene College in Appendix K is instructive on the role of revivals in the life of the students during the period prior to World War II.[120]

Such ebullient journalism, which had parallels at all the Nazarene Colleges, reflected a state of affairs that was neither unwelcome nor unplanned. The reason for encouraging such emotionalism, according to Smith, was to protect children of the second generation and to prevent spiritual decline. It became a familial compulsion to produce revivals by human or divine means to overcome the attractions of the worldly life for young people, and between revivals to shelter them from polluting contact with evil.[121]

A general characterization of Nazarene students prior to World War II can be inferred, in part, from the background and purposes of the institutions themselves. It is safe to say that the number of students attending Nazarene colleges was never very large, by current standards. Table I, Appendix Q, describes the total enrollments between 1932 and 1940. The enrollment totaled approximately 16,000 for the period, with 54 per cent of those being women. Most who attended were either members of the Nazarene Church or at least sympathetic to its institutional distinctives. Most of them came from lower and middle class families, bringing with them the values and mores of that segment of society. Wiley said that Nazarene education between 1920 and 1945 passed through three stages of development due to the changing nature of the student population.[122] Initially the church leadership conception dominated educational thinking. Eventually, a second stage emerged which was the social leadership model. The training of leaders in a wider state of affairs became as important as the training of leaders for the church itself. This second stage of development required a fully functioning liberal arts college program. The third conception

was a further widening to include not only the training of secular and religious leadership, but of providing an education to all the children of the Church in a Christian atmosphere. Wiley's view implied that a cause-effect relationship existed between the increasingly numerous and diverse student bodies and the changing mission of Nazarene higher education.

While women usually outnumbered men in the composition of Nazarene faculties, this ratio seemed to be narrowing near the end of the period. This was due in part to the discontinuation of noncollegiate programs such as grammar and preparatory schools which were almost exclusively for women. An academic profile of Nazarene faculty members is included in Appendix J. Nazarene faculty members nearly doubled during the period. The percentage of faculty holding masters degrees doubled, while the number of doctorates increased slightly between 1920 and 1945.

Comparisons of individual colleges yield some interesting contrasts. Throughout the period Pasadena College appeared to have the strongest faculty academically. Indications were that both in faculty with masters and doctorates, Pasadena led decisively over all the other colleges. (Tables II, and II, Appendix Q). Conversely, both Bethany-Peniel and Trevecca College appeared the weakest academically.

The common denominator of all Nazarene faculty was a strong emphasis on spiritual dynamics and theological orthodoxy. Faculty members often had to sign oaths that they fully were in sympathy with the doctrines and the practices of the Church of the Nazarene. Further, faculty members were always required to be in possession of the exper-

ience of Entire Sanctification as taught by the Church. The experiential facet of every faculty member was expected to pervade one's thought and understanding of one's own academic discipline. Every instructor of a Nazarene college was expected to interpret his discipline from a Christian viewpoint. Reconciling one's discipline with the Church's interpretation of the faith was occasionally a risky business. Nazarene colleges expected their faculty to examine current ideas, yet to refute them if they undermine the Christian faith of the young. Noting that there was always a danger of contamination as graduate degrees were pursued in "the godless atmosphere and cynical scholarship of the modern university,"[123] the Church believed that close oversight by the president and the Board of Trustees could ferret out those whose orthodoxy and experience were unacceptable. Most colleges felt the risk of trained faculty worthwhile, as long as the Church was vigilant in guarding the Faith. The consensus of the Church was that a trained mind has the increased power for either good or evil. Since the belief that "education without Christ was like a sharp razor in the hands of a child,"[124] all faculty members at Nazarene colleges were expected to be revivalists who put religion above scholarship and counted the heart a more important factor in life than the head.

In a parental situation such as this, a certain homogeneity of personnel was inevitable. The combination of faith and scholarship was often rare. Throughout the period, a careful reader finds a concern on the part of church leadership for faculty professionalism. The Quadrennial Report delivered by the General Superintendents at the General Assembly held in Oklahoma City in 1940 highlighted this growing

concern. Professionalism was perceived as a very tangible danger to the vitality of the Church. It was considered to be such a dreadful development that it would leave the church and the colleges "dead and cold. . . something that will never appeal to the masses nor give dynamic or purpose to any program."[125] The Church of the Nazarene felt that professionalism was never an asset since it was an attitude that was based on the notion that the Church was in some way obligated to provide one with benefits comensurate with the professional status attained. This propensity for self-aggrandizement , in the mind of many in the Church, bred a sense of exploitation in ministers and teachers who considered themselves professionals rather than servants.

Similar concerns over control of college faculty were voiced at the Ninth General Assembly four years earliers when the North Dakota district presented two memorials to the Assembly recommending that faculty be placed under the direct supervision of the General Church to prevent both professionalism and secular drift.[126] Both measures failed to be approved. While loyal as a group, there was some evidence to suggest that faculty were becoming more identified with the larger context of American higher education, particularly with their own disciplines. New faculty members with earned doctorates brought new prestige to Nazarene education and concomitantly increased the drive for professional status. During the period Nazarene faculty began in most colleges receive contracts. It should not be assumed that the faculty who worked for change were in any way opposed to the goals of the institution , they pursued change in idiosyncratic ways.

Nazarene administrators have traditionally been both males and elders. Notable exceptions have made outstanding contributions to

education in the Church of the Nazarene. Deans at Northwest Nazarene College were Olive Winchester and Thelma Culver. Both were noted scholars and excellent administrators. Eastern Nazarene College was ably served by Bertha Munro, whose term as Dean of that institution lasted from 1920 to 1958. These three individuals because of the excellence of their leadership took on larger-than-life proportions in the life of the communities they served. Each became symbolic of the quest for excellence in all phases of life which inspired more than one generation of students. Rare too were the exceptions to the rule that top administrators were usually ministerial. Only laymen John T. Benson and A.B. Mackey of Trevecca Nazarene College served as college presidents during the period of 1920 to 1945. A.B. Mackey made outstanding contributions both in terms of institutional stability and advancement during his tenure of office.

The presidents and deans were usually surrounded with a small group of individuals who in addition to their teaching responsibilities, filled such important positions as dean of men, dean of women, bursar and librarian. Often, one of the first full-time administrative positions at the colleges was filled by an officer known as an executive field secretary or agent. This position was a combination of public relations person, a recruiter, a fund-raiser and even an evangelist. Pasadena and Eastern were the first two colleges to employ such a person.

To this group of leaders went the responsibility of guiding Nazarene higher education through the periolous period of the Great Depression and the Second World War. Through trial and error, always with courage and vision, they guided Nazarene education from its embryonic stage as Bible schools and training institutes to becoming

full fledged four year liberal arts institutions. In achieving these goals, these leaders sought to walk the fine line between a close, harmonious denominational affiliation and scholarly thought in the academic enterprise. Not always without biases in favor of the former, when all aspects are considered they did remarkably well in striking somewhat of a balance between the two.

An understanding of the intellectual profile of Nazarene higher education in the twenties and thirties must be placed against the larger backdrop of ideological development in American society, particularly the Modernist-Fundamentalist controversy. In principle, Nazarene higher education categorically rejected the former while refusing to embrace the latter. The controversy itself was relatively new on the American scene. The following description of its origin was written by Dirk Jellema:

> The dominant world-view. . .of the past three centuries in religion has been liberalism [with]...a humanistic, secular and bourgeois [outlook]. . .The generation after 1900 was the last to [bask in]. . .the beliefs of liberalism. [A reaction began] which sought to make religion a matter of the emotions, and from 1914 to 1929, saw the decline of liberalism. . .The dreams of Condorcet [vanished] on the fields of Flanders. . .The last attempt to stop liberal Christianity in the United States occurred in the 1920's in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy.[127]

The division between fundamentalist and modernist cut its way across the total pattern of religion in America. The fundamentalist stressed a belief sanctioned by authority, interpreted the Scriptures literally, and emphasized otherworldly concerns rather than social issues. Fundamentalism was particularly strong in rural and Southern areas. The modernist deviated from the fundamentalist position by trying to reconcile belief with the findings of science and history, and

to apply Christian doctrine to social problems. The inclination toward ethics instead of salvation and toward rationalism rather than traditional beliefs had appeal to secularized Protestants, especially the urbanites.[128]

The dimensions of the chasm between fundamentalism and modernism was larger than any particular issue such as evolution versus creationism. Hofstadter contended that economic influences in the late nineteenth century caused changes within religious denominations which were objectionable to conservative peoples and to those who did not experience the economic changes.[129] Large segments of the major denominations had difficulty adapting to the changing social and economic conditions as the agricultural-rural civilization gave way to the industrial-urban one. Persons wrote, "The individualistic social ethic combined with the traditional assumption that piety was a personal issue to raise a formidable obstacle to the recognition of the social dimension of the religion."[130] As wealth increased in the Church, "frontier simplicity was eliminated and an atmosphere uncongenial to simple souls emerged as class distinctions developed, and the social life of the Church partook of a worldly spirit."[131]

Educational historians have tended to place the fundamentalist-modernist controversy of the 1920's in the context of Christian anti-intellectualism associated with sectarian schools. In the context of the struggle for academic freedom, such an analysis finds parallels in the middle years of Nazarene denominational history. Descriptions of the early days of the holiness movement provide important insights into causes of these developments:

> By 1885, the sweep of the [holiness] awakening into the Midwest and South was producing two more or less distinct groups. One, largely rural, was more emotionally demonstrative, emphasized rigid standards of dress and behavior, and often scorned ecclesiastical discipline. The other was urban, intellectual, and somewhat less zealous about outward standards of holiness. Its leaders were eager for alignment with all in the older churches who would share their central aims.[132]

From the rural segment of the Church, a fear developed that if a strong stand were not taken against worldliness in dress and behavior, then the holiness movement would go down the path of spiritual decline as the mainline denominations had done. One of the chief causes for this spiritual decline, in the mind of rural holiness folk, was the destructive influence of the new learning in the universities.[133] An attitude of anti-intellectualism was only natural as a reaction against what was perceived as a prime threat to the underpinnings of the faith. This attitude has always been one of the factors confronting the development of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene. Neither the origin nor the development of Nazarene history can be fully understood without recognizing both the rural and urban sources of the church. The founding father came from both traditions and often differed in outlook. The rural tradition represented the Christian pietists who reacted against worldliness and a highly organized denomination. The urban tradition had a national vision and solid respect for learning. These Christian intellectuals had to balance their concerns against the rural tradition in order for the union of the Church to occur.[134] Both groups , however, shared a mutual concern for the state of affairs in the American nation. This kinship of spirit related to their "reaction against growing wealth, the rise of cities, and the decline of the ideals

of industry and abstinence."[135] With the massive immigrations between 1880 and 1920, the rise of science and the decline of Victorianism, the Church of the Nazarene did not escape involvement in the more emotive aspects of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. Nazarenes found it congenial to make common cause with fundamentalists in their opposition to a common foe. The Nazarenes boasted that there "was not a modernist nor a higher critic" in the church.[136]

Two prominent sources of fundamentalist thought flowed from the Nazarene centers of holiness works located in the Dakotas and in Tennessee. A holiness movement had been developing in the Dakotas and Minnesota in the early years of the century (Appendix G). In 1922, this group, known as the Laymen's Holiness Association, united with the Church of the Nazarene. Led by J.G. Morrison, the Association was "parochial in its theological views and fundamentalistic in its attacks on modernism, science and public education."[137] Dr. Morrison was subsequently elected a general superintendent in the Church of the Nazarene in 1930. A large tractarian movement emerged under the auspices of the Association which infiltrated the Church of the Nazarene. According to Wynkoop, this literature fostered moods of puritanism and pessimism, creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion of every new and unfamiliar event and teaching. The urban world was seen alienating the hard pressed farmer and luring the farmers' children to the city. 'Godless' education terrified the uneducated church members so that they developed an antipathy to higher education. This pessimism began to erode faith in the power of the Gospel to cope with sin in the world, even the Church.

Such despair found sweet comfort in the dispensational theories regarding the victorious Second Coming of Jesus Christ. The mood which found comfort in these theories also sought a respite from worldly concerns by retreating to the cloister. This isolation bred a deep fear of worldly ways. The church took legalistic stands against jewelry, formal worship, amusements and anything without the Nazarene stamp of approval.[138]

Spawning what Smith called "Wesleyan fundamentalism,"[139] the Laymen's Holiness Association played heavily on the fears of rural Nazarenes. Morrison said that "German infidelity . . .in the subtle guise of evolution, scholarship and modern research"[140]had infiltrated Methodist denominational schools. He contended that higher criticism was an invention of German scholars who hatched a "German fever . . .from German 'kultur' [which was] dropped into the well of English, French and American fountains of learning."[141] The conspiratorial mentality of this segment of the Church did much to estrange certain quarters of the Church from the educational arm of the denomination.

A second source of fundamentalism flowing into the Church through the influence of J.O. McClurkan's work at Trevecca in Nashville, was strongly influenced by dispensationalism.[142] McClurkan struggled to actualize his notion that the end of this irrevocably evil age was near by the formation of a school to train students in the strong defense of fundamental Bible truths. Through efforts such as those of Morrison as general superintendent and McClurkan's college, fundamentalism, "while not characteristic of the Church of the Nazarene as a whole, was a vigorous movement infiltrating parts of the Nazarene connection."[143]

The Church of the Nazarene was born in the crosscurrents of two

intellectual streams of American history, both of which had an impact on its educational philosophy. Prior to World War I, the naturalists and the pessimistic evolutionists succeeded the earlier optimistic Victorians with their belief in determinism. The second crosscurrent, which came after World War I, was the vogue of irrationalism. This new irrationalism represented a "flight from reason that was inspired by the final collapse of Newtonian physics, the triumph of Freudian psychology and the [decline of] the Old World [political order]."[144] In the confluence of these two streams of thought, the dilemma of Nazarene education became one of equipoise and emphasis. Theirs was a struggle to maintain piety without sacrificing scholarship and to regulate conformity to doctrinal and ethical standards without becoming patently legalistic. The church sought to actualize a belief that there was no inherent incompatibility between the best of education and the best of Christian experience. Achieving such a dynamic, its leaders found, was a far more ambiguous task than its mere verbalization.

With the Church of the Nazarene in a period of retrenchment against perceived evils of the times, it was natural that higher education in the Church would find itself near the edges of the academic mainstream. While it was true that holiness groups usually made adequate provision for education, the nature of the education was often less than adequate in preparing the students for the academic mainstream. Of prime concern to the church leadership was the maintenance of the doctrine of holiness as absolutely essential to life and central in the mission of the denomination.

Any erosion, perceived or actual, in the doctrine of holiness as the motivating dynamic of any church institution was a cause for

immediate concern and action. The retreating of the Church from interation with the outside world was generally viewed as necessary to protect the purity of the faith. A fear of spiritual decline meant the church must give careful supervision to the colleges. Increased emphases on outward standards of behavior and adornment, modesty in dress, educational frills in athletics and fine arts accompanied more positive measures such as the encouragement of free demonstrations of religious emotion. The early fear of the Church leaders in the first generation was fanaticism; the fear of the second generation of church leaders was compromise and backsliding. Thus the three responses of the Church of the Nazarene to the fear of decline were to tighten the rules, intensify emotions and magnify sectarianism.[145]

Each of these three responses had a corresponding impact on the six Nazarene colleges. The tightening of rules gave added sanction to the doctrine of in loco parentis at a time when its hold was loosening on much of American higher education. The intensifying of emotions, whether planned or unplanned, often led to diminution of the cognitive and intellectual components of education. The burgeoning denominational-centeredness forged attitudes less tolerant and cosmopolitan than that of the earlier schools. But even during the period of retrenchment, the groundwork was being laid for dramatic change in the next period of educational history.

One element which was to lead to a reaction against retrenchment was the changing composition of the students who attended Nazarene colleges. Writing in a 1937 article in the Herald of Holiness, Dr. H. Orton Wiley discussed the changing demographics of Nazarene schools.

In the early days of the denomination, the Bible colleges' curricula were designed primarily for the mature young person who wanted some training for immediate entry into the ministry of the Church. In time it became necessary to make provision for Nazarene youth who were raised in the Church who wanted a church-related education. Consequently, Bible schools first added collegiate departments and second started dropping the lower grades. In a very short time, the collegiate work dominated with its younger student body. Although it led to new problems and changing ideals, the older Bible school idea still permeated throughout.[146] As the students prior to 1945 had gradually demanded more intense and varied types of academic programs, the generation of students and faculty after 1945 increased these demands even more. Near the end of the period from 1920 to 1945, new areas such as science and social science became permanent fixtures in all Nazarene colleges.

Heretofore minimized, Nazarene attitudes to science instruction began to change. The lack of emphasis on science was partly due to a negative suspicion of its impact on religion and partly due to the lack of clear conceptualization as a meaningful focus for Nazarene education. As this conception began to change, courses emerged and departments developed. Social science too had been retarded in its development due to suspicions regarding the methods and conclusions in its disciplines. Riesman remarked that "it was in the social sciences, particularly sociology, that in the nineteenth-century became a decompression chamber for ministers and their sons [who accepted a modernist view.]"[147] Disciplines with such reputations were not destined to win ready acceptance among Nazarene leaders.

But the changing student pools and the advent of the natural and social sciences into the curriculum were not to make dramatic changes in the life of the Nazarene colleges in the period of the growth of the liberal arts colleges. Instead, a general reaction to the perceived threats of scientism was the growth of sectarianism. The educational agencies of the Church seemed to nourish an exclusive preoccupation with the internal life of the denomination. Reaction to the rise of urban areas and modernism led to a "mood of protest and withdrawal."[148] in the Church which lasted for years. The barriers of insulation erected by many Nazarenes estranged them not only from the old-line denominations from whence they came but from the younger evangelical denominations as well. There was a positive side to this isolationism. The internal structures of the Church were solidified so firmly that the Church could continue to grow in spite of war, depression and heated theological controversy. The overriding concern of those who wanted the church to adopt a less sectarian stance was whether the "flower of Christian brotherhood. . .[and] ecumenical holiness, could ever bloom again."[149]

The belief of the period during which the institutions of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene moved from Bible colleges to liberal arts colleges was that true religion and true education were not incompatible. The intent of these Christian liberal arts colleges was, to say the least, highly ambitious. They sought to erect a comprehensive world-view which would answer all basic contingencies. This task was imperative because of the high expectations held by the denomination for its colleges. The grassroots of the Nazarene Church expected its colleges to achieve these highly idealized objectives as further proof

that "there was no conflict between chapel and classroom and that a new Protestant scholasticism could once again reconcile the chasm seperating faith and learning."[150]

ENDONOTES

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[5]Thelma B. Culver, Eugene Emerson, Founder, Northwest Nazarene College (an unpub. Founder's Day Address for Northwest Nazarene College [Nampa, 1973]), pp. 7-11.

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[11]Bulletin, Olivet University (Olivet, Illinois, 1922), pp. 9-10.

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[13]Bulletin, Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, 1959), p. 14.

[14]Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, The Trevecca Story: 75 Years of Christian Service (Nashville, 1976), p. 78.

[15]Roy H. Cantrell, "The History of Bethany Nazarene College," (an unpub. D.R.E. dissertation, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1955), p. 71.

[16]Smith, p. 258.

[17]Cantrell, p. 111.

[18]Ibid., pp. 172-3.

[19]Cantrell, p. 24.

[20]Bulletin, Bethany-Peniel College, (Bethany, 1930), p. 10.

[21]Cantrell, p. 143.

[22]Bulletin, Nazarene University, (Pasadena, 1915), p. 25.

[23]Ibid., pp. 75, 83.

[24]Ibid., p. 36.

[25]Ibid., pp. 46-8.

[26]Bulletin, Pasadena University (Pasadena, 1920), pp. 7-18. The nine departments were the Deets Bible School, the College of Liberal Arts, the normal school, a theological seminary, a nursing department, a department of music, a department of oratory, an academy, a sub-preparatory school and a grammar school.

[27]DeLong, p. 9.

[28]Ibid., p. 19.

[29]Report of the Nazarene Education Commision of 1963, pp. 2-3.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ibid.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Wynkoop, p. 79.

[34]Ibid., p. 94.

[35]Catalog, Bethany-Peniel College, (Bethany, 1921), pp. 3-4.

[36]Cameron, p. 25.

[37]Catalog, Pentecostal Collegiate Institute (North Scituate, R.I., 1913), p. 6. Eighty-five counts or credits were offered towards the usual college requirement of 120 counts. That would make P.C.I. something more than a junior college but something less than a four-year institution.

[38]Cameron, pp. 123-5.

[39]Ibid., p. 64.

[40]Wynkoop, p. 94. Southeastern Nazarene College at Donalsonville, Georgia, was founded by T.J. Shingler, an early holiness leader in that area. Originally it sought recognition as a four-year institution of the Church of the Nazarene, but finally decided to merge with Trevecca Nazarene College for economic reasons.

[41]Ross E. Price, H. Orton Wiley: Servant and Savant of the Sagebrush (Kansas City, 1967), p. 28.

[42]Smith, p. 257.

[43]Ibid., p. 221.

[44]Cameron, pp. 83-4. At the 1911 General Assembly, nine colleges were officially recognized. In addition the following eleven recommendations were adopted that year by the Assembly: (1) the General Assembly created a Board of Education to consist of seven members whose duty it was to recognize, classify and foster higher education in the Church. They were to guard against multiplication beyond the ability to maintain and shall see that standards of scholarship were maintained; (2) the different classifications of institutions were to be university, college, bible college, academy, and grade school; (3) schools to be recognized by the Church must have the sanction of the General Board; (4) an annual list of all approved schools shall be published and disseminated throughout the Church; (5) the General Board shall require an annual report of each school; (6) each District Assembly shall create a District Board of Education consisting of three members; (7) that the Church study and strengthen its present course of theological education, and in addition provide a literary course suitable for the better equipment of those looking forward to ordination; (8) that a suitable course be provided for the deaconesses; (9) that the General Board shall arrange a course of study for ministers; (1) that a Church historian shall be elected for the General Assembly; (2) "We recommend that the nomination for election of trustees for Texas Holiness University be placed in the hands of the General Board of Education."

[45]Smith, p. 259.

[46]Cameron, p. 115.

[47]Proceedings of the Fourth General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1915), p. 11. The General Assembly adopted certain regulations for the standardization of its schools and colleges and instructed the General Board of Education to classify its educational institutions according to these standards which were published by the U.S. Commissioner of Education: (1) a college shall maintain at least eight distinct departments in liberal arts, each with at least one professor giving full time to the work of the department; (2) the minimum scholastic requirement for all college teachers shall be equivalent to graduation from a recognized college with graduate work equal to a masters degree.

[48]Cameron, pp. 123 ff.

[49]Proceedings of the Sixth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1923), p. 235.

[50]Smith, p. 327.

[51]Richard Hofstadter and DeWitt C. Hardy, The Development of Higher Education (New York, 1952), pp. 32-33.

[52]Bulletin, Pasadena University, 1920, p. 51.

[53]Ibid., p. 48.

[54]Bulletin, Pentecostal Collegiate Institute, 1913, p. 11, 12. Exemplary of the rival structure and control of the institution was the following Daily Routine: 6:00 rising bell; 6:25, morning prayer and breakfast; 7:00 to 12:00, work period for Theological students connected with the Pentecostal Trade Schools; 7:15 to 7:40, room duties; 7:40 to 8:00, private devotions; 8:15 to 12:00, study and recitations of Academic, Commercial and Grammar students; 9:00 to 12:00, study for Theological students; 12:15, dinner; 1:00 to 6:00, work period for Academic, Commercial and Grammar students connected with the Pentecostal Trade Schools; 1:30 to 3:45, study period for any students not working; 1:30 to 6:00, recitation and study period for Theological Students; 6:15, supper, 7:00 to 7:30, chapel service; 7:30 to 9:45, study, 10:00, lights out. Students under 16 years of age are expected to retire at nine o'clock.

[55]Catalog, Eastern Nazarene College, (Wollaston, 1920), p. 18.

[56]Robert C. Pace, Education and Evangelism: Profile of Protestant Colleges (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, [New York, 1972]), p. 105.

[57]Smith, p. 202.

[58]Catalog, Northwest Nazarene College, (Nampa, 1921), p. 9.

[59]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 3.

[60]Ibid., p. 1.

[61]A.B. Mackey, Comparative Studies of Nazarene Colleges in the United States (Nashville, 1963), p. 184.

[62]Catalog, Pasadena University, 1915, p. 14.

[63]Knott, p. 11.

[64]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 3.

[65]Harold B. Kuhn, "Philosophy of Religion," in Carl F.H. Henry (ed.), Contemporary Evangelical Thought (New York, 1957), p. 219.

[66]Christopher Jencks and David R esman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, 1969), pp. 351 ff.

[67]Proceedings of the First General Assembly of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene (Chicago, 1907), pp. 44-5.

[68]Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York, 1955), p. 199.

[69]Smith, pp. 200-1.

[70]Ibid.

[71]Proceedings of the First General Assembly, p. 45.

[72]Smith, pp. 202-3.

[73]Ibid., p. 290.

[74]Ibid., p. 139.

[75]Richard Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism in American Life (New York, 1963), p. 55.

[76]Cameron, p. 96.

[77]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, pp. 4, 12.

[78]Catalog, Nazarene University 1915, p. 7.

[79]Catalog, Olivet College 1922, p. 11.

[80]Catalog, Bethany-Peniel College 1921, pp. 3-4.

[81]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, pp. 3-4.

[82]Ibid.

[83]Stow Persons, The American Mind: A History of Ideas (New York, 1958), p. 172. Attributed to John Witherspoon, President of Princeton.

[84]Minutes of the General Board, Church of the Nazarene, (Kansas City, January 12, 1931), p. 93. The Church for instance, rejected an offer by Mount Hebron Academy to join the Church of the Nazarene and seek collegiate status.

[85] Catalog, Northwest Nazarene College (Nampa, Idaho, 1943), p. 13.

[86] L. Paul Gresham, "Report of the Deans of Arts and Sciences to the Board of Trustees," (unpub. position paper, [Nashville, April 25, 1951]), p. 3.

[87] Catalog, Olivet Nazarene College (Kankakee, Illinois, 1943), p. 13.

[88] Gresham, p. 3-4.

[89] Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 7.

[90] Ibid., p. 10.

[91] Ibid., pp. 12-13.

[92] Wynkoop, p. 128. In 1931, for instance, the total amount of funds raised from the Southeast educational zone which would include all of Florida, Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, Alabama and Mississippi, gave less than $300.00 to support Trevecca.

[93] Cameron, p. 167.

[94] Ibid., p. 233.

[95] Minutes of the General Board, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, January 12, 1934). The Department of Education voted in 1934 to request that the General Board set aside one per cent of the net earnings of the Nazarene Publishing House for an endowment fund to support the schools of the Church. The motion failed. A similar motion was again made and passed by the Department of Education in January, 1936, to appoint a committee of three to draw up a memorial to the General Assembly (meeting later that year), asking that eight per cent of the General Budget be distributed to the colleges. This effort also failed (see Minutes of the General Board, Jan. 19, 1936). In 1940, the Department of Education again took the intiative and voted that two per cent of the General Budget be requested for the colleges in the area of library and laboratory facilities (the items most needed as accreditation became a major concern). This measure was not approved by the General Board (see Minutes of the General Board, June 14, 1940).

[96] Minutes of the General Board, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, Jan. 9, 1942), p. 47.

[97] Proceedings of the Eighth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Wichita, Kansas, 1932), p. 180.

[98] Smith, p. 323.

[99] Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, pp. 2-3.

[100] Proceedings of the Seventh General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Columbus, 19238), p. 86.

[101]DeLong, p. 60.

[102]Knott, p. 82.

[103]Cameron, p. 337.

[104]Ibid., p. 325.

[105]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission, p. 7.

[106]Ibid., p. 10.

[107]Mackey, pp. 233-4.

[108]Minutes of the General Board, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, January 11, 1932), p. 71.

[109]Cameron, p. 299. The name of the organization was proposed by Dean Bertha Munro of Eastern. Phi, from which came the word philosophia, stood for 'love of wisdom'; Delta, from which came the word dikaiosune, stood for 'righteousness', and Lambda, from which came the word latreia, stood for 'service'.

[110]Mackey, pp. 233-4.

[111]Cameron, p. 265.

[112]DeLong, p. 34.

[113]Minutes, General Board, 1932, p. 71.

[114]Smith, p. 323.

[115]Cantrell, p. 93.

[116]Cameron, p. 269.

[117]Mackey, p. 190.

[118]Catalog, Olivet College, 1922, p. 25.

[119]DeLong, p. 71.

[120]DeLong, pp. 50-1.

[121]Smith, p. 292.

[122]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 6.

[123]Cameron, p. 318.

[124]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 9.

[125]Proceedings of the Tenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Oklahoma City, 1940), p. 216.

[126]Proceedings of the Ninth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Oklahoma City, 1940), p. 216.

[127]Dirk Jelleman, "Ethics", in Carl F.H. Henry (ed.), Contemporary Evangelical Thought (New York, 1957), pp. 112, 119-20.

[128]Robin M. Williams, American Society: A Sociological Interpretation (New York, 1964), pp. 346 ff.

[129]Hofstadter, Anti-Intellectualism, pp. 55 ff.

[130]Persons, p. 410.

[131]James H. Smylie, "Roads to Our Present," in Robert Rue Parsonage (ed.), Church-Related Higher Education: Perceptions and Perspectives (Valley Forge, 1978), p. 163.

[132]Smith, p. 308.

[133]Ibid., pp. 65, 309-10.

[134]Ibid., p. 28.

[135]Ibid., p. 38.

[136]Ibid., p. 319.

[137]Wynkoop, p. 37.

[138]Ibid.

[139]Ibid., p. 305.

[140]"Pitch the Pro-Germans Out of the Pulpits," in Christian Witness (August, 1918), p. 1, cited in Smith, p. 307.

[141]Ibid.

[142]Wynkoop, p. 37. Dispensationalism grew out of the Nineteenth-century prophetic movement and millennialism. Dispensationalism was an extreme reaction to the optimistic expections of continued improvement of mankind. Dispensationalists believed that history was divided into periods, each ending in total defeat. Each new age was ushered in supernaturally. Thus McClurkan, as a part of such a group appropriately known as the Eleventh Hour Movement, saw history in the early twentieth-

century at the end of a dispensation which was in fact to be the last in history before the coming of Christ. Along with belief in the verbal inerrancy of Scripture, he also firmly believed in the virgin birth, the miracles of Christ, the substitutionary blood atonement and resurrection of Christ. Dispensationalism was a cornerstone in fundamentalist theology.

[143]Wynkoop, p. 36.

[144]Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character Since the 1880's (New Haven, 1950), p. 141.

[145]Smith, pp. 294-7.

[146]Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963, p. 12.

[147]David R esman, Variety and Constraint in American Education (Garden City, N.J., 1958), p. 70.

[148]Smith, pp. 309-10.

[149]Ibid., pp. 320-1.

[150]Persons, p. 189.

CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL PROFILES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 1945-1978

Institutional Growth

By processes of assimilation and natural death, the thirteen institutions of higher education reported by the General Assembly in 1911 diminished during the following three decades to six, liberal arts colleges. During the years preceding World War II, the colleges struggled for solvency while meeting the needs of a young yet burgeoning denomination. The questions of institutional expansion and educational mission were addressed by church leaders on the eve of America's involvement in the Second World War. All the general superintendents and many other church leaders were speaking in terms of limiting the number of colleges and redefining the objectives and programs of the existing colleges. By 1940, the extreme pressures of the Great Depression had introduced such a conservative financial mood that growth was not thinkable. The Church of the Nazarene made clear that its "pattern of education . . . [in other words] would be six good colleges . . ."[1]

In retrospect, the conservative mood expressed by these leaders was a natural reaction to two decades of economic hardship. They hardly comprehended the dramatic changes to occur in post-war America which undermined the church's conventional wisdom on institutional growth. Within a generation four new educational institutions were

started, reversing the pre-War trend toward amalgamation of educational efforts. Paralleling the rapid expansion of American higher education after 1945, higher education in the Church of the Nazarene responded by doubling the number of educational institutions in North America and Great Britain.[2]

Even before the end of the War, the Nazarene church was making plans to create two special-purpose institutions in the field of religion for two groups: black and graduates. While no legal restrictions existed to prohibit blacks from attending and participating in the life of the liberal arts colleges, the cultural conditions of the time made attendance in some of the regional colleges unlikely. To meet the need of black students who wanted preparation for Christian ministry, a Christian Training Institute was established in Institute, West Virginia, in the early 1940's. While never larger than several dozen students, this school produced numerous black leaders in the years before its merger in 1967 with Nazarene Bible College in Colorado Springs, Colorado.

A more significant institutional expansion was designed to meet the need for intense professional preparation of ministers and missionaries after college graduation. Calls were made by some church leaders in the early 1920's for the establishment of a graduate school of theology to train more adequately church leaders. Concerns were also voiced by opponents of a seminary that such an institution would lead to a decline in the fervency of the ministry. As witnessed in the older denominations, no definite steps were made toward the establishment of a seminary until the early 1940's. The Quadrennial Address of the Board of General Superintendents in June, 1940, announced that ". . .the hour may not be here yet, but it is not far distant when such [the establishment of

a seminary will be in the best interests of the Church."[3]

The catalyst that sparked support for the creation of a theological seminary occurred at the annual meeting of all the District Superintendents held at Kansas City in January, 1944. Dr. J.B. Chapman, General Superintendent of the Church and long time proponent of a seminary, delivered an address entitled "A Nazarene Manifesto" in which he challenged church leaders to build the seminary as soon as possible. He indicated his belief that the six liberal arts college framework had become such an established system in the Church that it was unlikely any of the schools would mature to university status. Thus, for young Nazarenes of all callings who wished to do graduate work, they must do so outside the Church. Chapman stated that the Church had too long stood against the advanced preparation of ministers for fear it would dampen their spirituality. Realizing that the six regional colleges could not handle the task, Chapman forcefully urged the superintendents to back the project without delay.[4]

The District Superintendents agreed. They responded to his appeal by appointing a commission to study the matter and make recommendations to the General Assembly meeting later that year.[5] The commission studied thirty different theological seminaries throughout the nation and presented their report to the General Assembly in June, 1944. The General Assembly voted to establish Nazarene Theological Seminary to be located in Kansas City.

The first seminary board of trustees elected Dr. Hugh C. Benner, pastor of Kansas City First Church of the Nazarene, as first president of the seminary. Fiveprofessors were elected as the first faculty of the school: Russell V. DeLong, Ralph Earle, Louis A. Reed, Stephen S. White

and Mendell Taylor. Dr. H. Orton Wiley was chosen to serve as adjunct professor in history.

September 19, 1945, marked the official beginning of classes at Nazarene Theological Seminary with an enrollment of sixty-seven students.[6] Temporary housing for the Seminary was provided at the Headquarters building of the General Church with extra rooms at Nazarene Publishing House and the auditorium of Kansas City First Church. The Seminary expanded during the second year of operation to add a Department of Mission and added a sixth full-time professor with the coming of Delbert Gish. The Church of the Nazarene desired for the Nazarene Theological Seminary to be an avowedly holiness seminary. Church leaders agonized over statistical reports which suggested that the church had lost from its ranks score of its brightest ministerial prospects. In their legitimate desire for better training, they went to graduate seminaries outside the church where " spiritual vision and passion were unknown, . . .and were lost to the Church."[7]

After nine years of temporary housing for the Seminary, land was purchased adjacent to denominational headquarters to serve as the Seminary campus. A Seminary building to house the various areas of seminary life was constructed and opened for occupancy in May, 1954. By the late 1960's an attractive library annex was added to the original structure to house more than 100,000 volumes. Under the effective leadership of Presidents L.T. Corlett (1952-1964), Eugene L. Stowe (1964-1968), William M. Greathouse (1968-1976), and Stephen W. Nease (1976-1980), the Seminary continued to expand and fill an ever larger place in the graduate preparation of pastors, educators and missionary church leaders. By 1978, some twenty-seven full and part-time faculty

members were engaged in the preparation for ministry of over five hundred students.

During the years following World War II, several efforts were made to establish a seventh liberal arts college located in the North Central region of the United States. The first effort to accomplish this task was unsuccessful in 1946. An independent holiness college located in Oscaloosa, Iowa, contacted the Nazarene Church about the possibility of affiliation. Kletzing College, named after its benefactor whose one hundred thousand dollar gift had founded the school, seemed the ideal opportunity for the Nazarenes. Located in the heart of Iowa, the college would have provided easier access to Christian higher education for the numerous Nazarenes located in the North Central states. In April, 1946, Dr. Roy H. Cantrell, district superintendent of the Minnesota District, resigned to accept the presidency of the school.[8] In the previous years, Nazarene laymen and ministers had been gradually elected to the Kletzing College Board. The entire endeavor was abruptly halted, however, when the Kletzing family engaged in litigation to prevent Nazarene control. Subsequently in September, 1946, the college president and the entire faculty resigned, ending any chance that Kletzing would become a Nazarene institution.[9]

Undeterred by the failure to acquire Kletzing College, the General Assembly of 1948 established an Educational Commission to study and make recommendations regarding higher education in the Church of the Nazarene. After eighteen months of work, the Commission made its final report to the January, 1950, meeting of the General Board. The two major proposals were the official creation of a North Central Educational zone composed of the following districts: Minnesota, Iowa, the Dakotas,

Nebraska, Missouri, Kansas City and Kansas; and the creation of machinery to set up a school, preferably a junior college, in the north central zone when circumstances were right. In order to protect the interests of the schools already established, it was further proposed that any future new schools created at the junior college level be under the administration of the senior college of that region. Both Bethany and Olivet considered creating junior colleges during the 1950's as feeder institutions for the senior colleges, but no action was ever taken. The commission recommended that a further commission be established to survey the long-range needs of the church.[10]

The Church had one more chance to establish a seventh liberal arts college in the North Central zone. A struggling rural school located outside of Tabor, Iowa, under the control of the Hepzibah Faith Association contacted the General Board of the Church of the Nazarene about affiliation. The General Board met in January, 1950, and recommended that a holding board be established composed of the Advisory Board of the Iowa District until a final disposition could be made of the matter.[11]

At the following meeting of the General Board in January, 1951, the recommendation was made that the Tabor institution be operated as a Bible college with intentions of expansion to junior college status when feasible. By 1952, however, the Church decided to sever its relationship with the school primarily for economic reasons. The school was located rather inaccessibly in a rural community. Work opportunity for students and housing opportunity for faculty and staff were so scarce that the Church disassociated with the school at Tabor and decided to end temporarily

attempts at starting any new institutions.[12]

Throughout the rest of the 1950's, efforts to establish another liberal arts college were replaced by efforts to establish a Bible school. With the Seminary meeting the needs of graduate preparation for ministry, attention turned to another segment of the ministerial pool not being served by the educational structure. The Church of the Nazarene did not require graduation either from a college or seminary as prerequisite for ministry. A student was only required to complete certain courses in preparation for ordination. These courses could be taken by correspondence study. Older students and those not able to attend a regular college were at a disadvantage. Repeated memorials were presented at the Fourteenth General Assembly in 1956 and the Fifteenth General Assembly in 1960 for the establishment of a Bible College.[13]

The General Assembly in 1960 established an Educational Commission to study higher education in the Church and make recommendations at the next General Assembly. There was general societal concern in the early 1960's for invigorating higher education throughout the United States. Joseph Axelrod noted that higher education in this country was decadent in the late 1950's, but between 1959 and 1964 widespread and pervasive efforts were made to reorganize and reinvigorate itself.[14]

The Sixteenth General Assembly which met in Portland, Oregon, in June, 1964, was the most significant in the history of the Church of the Nazarene in terms of its impact on higher education within the church. The Report of the Nazarene Education Commission established by the previous General Assembly made its final report in which it recommended

that two new junior colleges be established; that a five per cent educational budget be adopted by each zone; that a Bible College be established; that a correspodence course of ministerial study be established; and that a full-time Executive Secretary be established in a strengthened and expanded Department of Education.[15] All of these measures were designed to enhance the church's educative thrust.

Prolonged debate occurred on the floor of the Assembly regarding the merits of establishing three new institutions. After a lengthy and sometimes impassioned speeches, the General Assembly approved the creation of three new institutions of higher education to be established in the following quadrennium. The creation of the Bible College was the culmination of efforts begun in the early 1920's to establish an educational institution to "offer training for the ministry to those who cannot qualify for the regular college or seminary course of study."[16] While its establishment was supposed to tap a new pool of students not then being served by the colleges or seminary, some college leaders expressed concern that it might make inroads into the religion departments of the liberal arts colleges, thereby weakening the most important department on campus and contributing to the further secularization of the college campus. Concerns over the formation of two new educational zones with junior colleges were most often expressed in terms of decreased student enrollments and budgets from the colleges affected by the rezoning.

After surveying several possible sites for Nazarene Bible College, the Church purchased a track of land in the Knob Hill areas of Colorado Springs, Colorado, with a beautiful view of the city and the mountains. With the organization and election of a board of trustees, the Bible College elected Dr. Charles S. Strickland, missionary to South Africa, as the institutions first president in

1966. Following construction of the initial campus buildings, Nazarene Bible College opened for classes in September, 1967, with a student body of one hundred nineteen and a faculty of eight. With the election of Dr. Strickland to the General Superintendency in 1972, Nazarene Bible College elected L.S. Oliver, District Superintendent from Illinois, as the second president in the College's history. Under both individuals, Nazarene Bible College rapidly expanded to serve hundreds of students in its first dozen years of operation.

Forming what was in essence a junior college in Colorado Springs with a national rather than a zonal base of appeal did not cause as much anxiety as did the formation of two regional liberal arts junior colleges by realigning the established zones. The colleges called on to bear the brunt of this reorganization were Bethany Nazarene College and Olivet Nazarene College.

After studies regarding site location, the General Church chose to place the two new junior colleges in Mount Vernon, Ohio, and Olathe, Kansas. The former college, to be known as Mount Vernon Nazarene College, had its most severe impact on Olivet by expropriating several districts from its zone. The Board of Trustees for Mount Vernon was organized in the spring of 1966 and subsequently elected Stephen W. Nease as first president. In September, 1966, the Board purchased the Lakeholm farm in Mount Vernon to serve as its campus. A charter was received from the State of Ohio in December, 1966, to operate a college. The pioneer class of the college arrived on campus October 12, 1968, to begin classes, and the first class of associate of arts graduates received their degrees in June, 1970. After Dr. Nease was elected president of Bethany Nazarene College in 1972, Dr. John Allen Knight, chaplain at

Trevecca Nazarene College, was elected president of M.V.N.C. Dr. Knight served four years as president of Mount Vernon, then followed Dr. Nease at Bethany Nazarene College when Nease was elected to the Seminary presidency. With the election of L. Guy Nees, District Superintendent from California, as the third president of Mount Vernon in 1976, it was evident that the college had arrived at parity with its sister institutions in terms of financial strength, enrollment and accrediation.[17]

The other junior college was located outside of Kansas City on a Kansas prairie field. After organization of the Board of Trustees in 1966, the college elected R. Curtis Smith, public relations man of Bethany Nazarene College, as president. Not only did the new college, known as Mid-American Nazarene College, draw its president and initial faculty from the school at Bethany, but the new zone for the college was carved from B.N.C.'s south-central educational zone. The districts taken from Bethany in this realignment were Kansas, Kansas City, Joplin, Nebraska, and Missouri. Classes began at Mid-America in July, 1967. In only eighteen months, Mid-America and Mount Vernon were approved by the General Board for senior colleges. By 1978, Mid-America had established itself as a fully accredited senior college, with a faculty of eighty serving a student body of over thirteen hundred.

Trying to unravel the motives for institutional expansion is not an easy task. There were usually multifaceted reasons for these activities. In the period from 1945 to 1969, the period in which four new institutions were launched, several factors can be identified which led to their formation.

By the end of World War II, the Church of the Nazarene had a genuine grasp of the importance of education in the future of the Church.

With the death of numerous founding fathers in the 1940's, many churchmen recognized that future leaders must have the very best church-college education possible. Even though there was no unanimity among Nazarenes as to what constituted a fitting education, there were few in the Church who would still argue that some form of higher education was not needed for ministers and laymen alike. As the anti-education forces in the church subsided, the crucial issue was not whether the church would engage in education, but how that mission would be done.[18]

A continuing concern regarding the size of Nazarene institutions emerged with the large enrollments experienced after World War II. In time the Nazarene Commission established by the Twelfth General Assembly of 1948 dealt with the question of limiting college enrollments. They concluded that no specific limitations should be stated, but that the Boards of Trustees of each institution should keep the following factors in mind when planning for growth. First, they should not grow so fast that the individual will be lost in the mass. Second, nothing should be done which will jeopardize the capacity to hold regular chapel for all students. Third, enrollments should not exceed physical plant capacity; and fourth, enrollments should not get so big that the required number of faculty would be too large to supervise. The enrollment should be no larger than that which permits each student to be brought into ". . . frequent contact with the spirit, program and doctrinal emphasis of the Church of the Nazarene."[19]

The concerns about the impact of growth on the spiritual life and denominational control of the colleges was great. Since all leadership assumed that the Church would continue to grow, the day was anticipated when that growth might be a hindrance to personal attention

and control. The colleges, likewise, must be kept small enough so that they will become source of strength and not dissolution. The colleges were called to balance social pressures for expansion against considerations involving integrity and distinctive quality, of the Nazarene must always keep [its] people close to leadership."[20]

Spiritual apprehensions about educational institutions becoming too large had to be balanced against financial apprehensions of institutions becoming too small. When Earl McGrath made his widely publicized statement in the late 1950's that a liberal arts college in the 1960's and 1970's would have to maintain a minimum enrollment of fifteen hundred students to remain solvent, the lines of conflict among Nazarene leaders were being drawn.[21] Several colleges, notably Bethany and Olivet, made great strides in recruiting and building in order to increase student enrollments to fifteen hundred. They proved too successful. By the General Assembly of 1964, both colleges estimated enrollments of over 2,000 during the next quadrennium. Thus differing views of reality, one fearful regarding the possible loss of spirituality and one concerned about the frightening financial realities, were at odds. The concerns over spirituality were to prevail.

The founding of Nazarene Theological Seminary in 1945 was a victory for Christian intellectualism in the Church of the Nazarene which desired a highly trained ministry to meet the challenges of a revolutionary age. This development was implemented despite lingering fears by more pietistic elements that a Seminary would lead to strictly professional ministry which saw its work merely as an occupation not a divine calling. This fear did not coalesce in any decisive manner until 1964. At the time Nazarene Bible College was established as a symbolic antithesis to

Seminary. The Christian intellectualism of the Seminary was to be contrasted by the Christian pietism of the Bible College. When the two new junior colleges were built, they drew students and finances away from the two largest colleges: Bethany and Olivet. Both the fear of Nazarene intellectualism and too large colleges were summarily addressed. The Christian pietists in the church had gained decisively in the years following 1964. Concerns regarding institutional size accompanied by the dialectic of conflicting philosophical assumption between Christian intellectualism and Christian pietism best explains the rationale for institutional expansion by the Church of the Nazarene between 1945 and 1978.

As the number of institutions increased after 1945, so the six original liberal arts expanded to keep pace with rapid enrollment increases and demands for new programs. The chief area of capital expansion after 1950 was in student housing, libraries and buildings for science.[22]

Of the seventeen buildings currently in use by Bethany Nazarene College, fifteen were built since World War II. Of these, one-third were built for student housing. In 1942, Bresee Hall was constructed to house the administration and the Education department. Jernigan Hall, built in 1945, was constructed as housing for women but currently houses an Early Childhood Learning Center and Reading Laboratory. The only buildings erected during the 1950's were the Memorial Student Union in 1953 and Chapman Hall for men built in 1956. The 1960's witnessed rapid capital development with the erection of eight buildings: Bracken Hall for women in 1961, Ludwig Religion building in 1963, R.T.Williams Library in 1963, Snowbarger Hall for men in 1964, Broadhurst Physical Education Center and Garey Hall for women in 1966, Science Hall in 1968, and Hatley Hall for women in 1969. This feverish period of construction

subsided, and no new construction was undertaken until the late 1970's when the Royce Brown Business building and a maintenance building were erected.

Northwest Nazarene College moved quickly in the 1940's constructing six buildings including R.T. Williams Library in 1942, Faculty Duplexes, Vetville Apartments and Chapman Hall for men in 1947, Mangum Hall and Science Hall in 1949. Dooley Hall and the Student Center were built in the early 1960's. Northwest established a comprehensive development program in 1964 reaching into the 1970's. During this time a new science building, Wiley Learning and Office Center, and a library annex were completed.

Both Mount Vernon and Mid-America started from the ground up in their efforts to build a capital structure to meet the rapid growth in enrollments and programs. Mid-America's initial building development of five structures increased to eighteen by 1978. From its inception, the college in Olathe had a long-range master plan of campus development. By 1978 the following structures had been erected: Osborne Hall and Lunn Hall for administration and library respectively, Stockton-Rice dormitories for women and Snowbarger-Lanpher Halls for men, academic buildings including Dobson Hall for art and music, Land Gymnasium, a Student Action Center and the R. Curtis Smith building for religion and communication.

Mount Vernon College quickly converted the farm buildings on campus for academic use along with initial construction of Pioneer Hall for women in 1968, Oakwood Hall for men and Founders Classroom Hall, both built in 1969. The Lakeholm Mansion was converted into the administration building, and enlarged by the addition of an annex in 1976.[23] Other

structures erected included Galloway Hall for women built in 1972, Faculty Hall in 1970, the college gymnasium built in 1975, and numerous other smaller buildings including art studios, and student apartment residencies.

While Olivet, Bethany, Northwest, Mount Vernon and Mid-America were rapidly expanding their building programs, they remained relatively static in terms of geographical location. But the other three liberal arts colleges underwent unique developmental changes which demand special attention. Although Trevecca remained in Nashville, it experimented with regional campus-extensions. Eastern strongly considered relocation, although such a move was never consummated. Pasadena strongly considered relocation, eventually moving and renaming their institution.

Trevecca built rapidly in the years following World War II. Sixteen structures were erected or remodeled between 1943 and 1978. Tidwell Dormitory for men along with McClurkan Hall were the only two structures built in the 1940's. The 1950's witnessed nothing more than the remodeling and reconstruction of a fire-damaged print shop. In the period from 1960 to 1970, eight new buildings were built which included: Mackey Library in 1961, Johnson Hall for women in 1963, Wise Hall for men, Georgia Hall and Tennessee Hall for women, all built in 1966, while a Science and Business building and a physical education center were constructed in 1969. Five major structures built in the 1970's included three apartment complexes for students, Benson Hall for men in 1974, Wakefield Fine Arts Hall in 1975, and its most ambitious project: a four and one-half million dollar Health Care Center.

Beginning in the mid 1970's, Trevecca embarked on a program of expansion unique in the history of Nazarene institutions. A Division for

Extramural Studies with an administrator appointed at the level of a Dean was created. The initial purpose of the program was to provide educational opportunities for adults, lower income and ethnic groups in areas of Nashville away from the main campus. An East Campus was started in January, 1976, as a part of the community service of the College. This campus located on Murphreesborough Road in Nashville was created with the hope that eventually it might offer a full degree program. Initial efforts with Extramural education gave rise to hopes that in the years ahead extramural programs could be established on extended campuses in Memphis, Louisville, Kentucky, Atlanta and Bradenton, Florida.[24] The only one to be realized to any extent was in Florida. By 1978, a campus with a resident faculty was scheduled for opening in Orlando, Florida.[25] The institution had received approval from the Florida State Board of Education and the Southern Association of Schools. Full realization of this unique Nazarene experiment in public service was largely abandoned because of financial pressures back at the main campus.

Eastern Nazarene College built ten buildings or additions in the years after 1945. Munro Hall annex and Memorial Hall were built immediately after the War to accommodate temporary expansion due to rapidly expanding enrollments. Buildings constructed in the next decade were the Chapel in 1950, Nease Library in 1953 and Shrader Science Building in 1959. The structures added in the 1960's were: Spangenberg Hall in 1961, Shields Hall in 1965, Mann Hall in 1966 and Williamson Hall in 1968. In the 1970's three more buildings were erected including Angell Hall in 1970, LaHue Physical Education Center in 1973 and the Samuel Young Apartments in 1976.

By the early 1970's, in spite of consistent capital development, Eastern Nazarene College's Board of Trustees began to explore the possibility of relocating the institution. The reasons given were "the high cost of living in the Boston area, growing crime in Quincy, the unsettledness of a transition neighborhood, lack of escape valve for future growth and distance from clientele."[26] Studies involving relocation began in 1973, and by 1975, the trustees had established a long range planning commission to study relocation and projected needs. While several possible areas were considered, the most desirable was in Media, Pennsylvania.

On March 15, 1977, the Board of Trustees voted to relocate Eastern Nazarene but no restriction was attached to the move. By December, 1978 the Mayor of Quincy and a Task Force which had the support of the Governor of Massachusetts were actively working to keep the college in Quincy. Unfortunately for Eastern, actualization of plans to relocate were held in abeyance due to financial problems.

With the construction of Memorial Hall in 1943 which could accommodate several thousand people for conventions, chapels and revival meetings, the modern era of capital development began at Pasadena College. Prior to that time, buildings were erected with the short term in mind. From 1943, however, Pasadena constructed numerous dormitories, classrooms and a library to serve the long-range needs of a growing academic community. The perennial problem that plagued the college was the lack of space in which to build. The area around the college was not heavily populated when the college had relocated there five decades earlier. With the dramatic growth in the entire Los Angeles basin, there was no longer room to expand. If Pasadena were to grow, it had to consider the possibility of relocation.

By the early 1970's, the board of trustees and administration of Pasadena College were exploring relocation of the college. The campus in Pasadena was surrounded by housing with no room for future growth. The community was also undergoing a transition with attendant problems of changes in the character in the neighborhood. In April, 1972, President Shelburne Brown learned of the availability of property in San Diego which seemed to fit the needs of the college. After a visit to the campus, he received the approval of the Board on May 22, 1972, to make an exploratory contact. The campus in question was an eighty-seven acre site located in San Diego, California, which was at that time occupied by California Western University.[28] The Board approved the purchase of the property in June, 1972, and by March of the next year the name of Pasadena College was changed to Point Loma College.

College officials were elated at the possibilities of relocating in San Diego. Among the advantages they listed in the transition were: more room for growth with a campus of eighty-seven instead of seventeen acres, a better geographical setting, greater visibility than in Pasadena, a corporate community that was more supportive and the possibility for future growth and expansion.

In adopting the name Point Loma College, the college leaders sharpened a long-standing issue regarding the insertion of the word 'Nazarene' in its title. The college since the early 1920's had been known as Pasadena College. It was not unusual for colleges associated with the Nazarene church to bear the name of the mother denomination. Trevecca only inserted the name Nazarene during the 1930's. Olivet did it in 1940 and Bethany in 1955. Among other reasons, there was the feeling

that denominational links must be forged to bind the colleges to the church.

Upon the memorial of the Southern California district, the Eighteenth General Assembly meeting in Miami in June, 1972, considered this crucial issue. After lengthy debate, the memorial was adopted which sought to fortify the link between church and college. The motion clearly identified the danger of colleges drifting away from dependency upon the mother church. The concern was that in a day in which taking a stand was important, society at large should recognize the "corporate inter-relationships between the church and its colleges."[30] Finally, they recommended any future institution insert the name Nazarene in its title: clear reference to Pasadena College.

In spite of rather clear concerns by the General Church, the leaders of the relocated college in San Diego chose the name Point Loma College in order to "identify the college with the community."[31] College leaders stated that the official name of the college was to become Point Loma: An Institution of the Church of the Nazarene.[32] This title was to "clearly identify the college with the sponsoring denomination without necessitating the use of the Church name in daily parlance."[33]

In attempting to bring the college into the broader mainstream of American higher education, the leaders of Point Loma felt a too-close identification with the denomination might not be advantageous. The yet unanswered question remained regarding which side of its title the college would come to emphasize. After moving to San Diego, Point Loma attempted to use the old campus as a fifth year center for graduate programs and for nursing education. In time, this proved unfeasible so that by December, 1978, the old Pasadena campus was

was an effort to reach downward to those with inadequate academic preparation and outward to those beyond the normal age of postsecondary education. Seminary came to symbolize the concern of Christian intellectualism in the Church of the Nazarene for advanced and intense professsional preparation for ministry in a highly complex age. The Bible College came to symbolize the concern of Christian pietism in the Church of the Nazarene that the emotive aspects of the faith be protected from the cognitive and that the education for the ministry be geared more toward practical and less toward theoretical education. In spite of differing educational philosophies, the net result was a dramatic increase in the number of institutions serving the Church of the Nazarene.[35]

Along with the institutional expansion and growth which marked Nazarene higher education after 1945, there was a concomitant growth of its financial structure. A cumulative financial summary of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene since 1945 revealed the dimensions of growth. After World War II, the value of buildings and property for Nazarene higher education was under five million dollars (Appendix L). The total equipment holding was valued only at 878,000 dollars. By the 1970's, these amounts had increased to over one hundred and two million dollars for buildings and fourteen and one-half million dollars for equipment. These figures represent an increase in the value of land and structures of 1943 per cent and in equipment of 1549 per cent. Mendell Taylor noted that:

> The modern capital structure of the Nazarene colleges has come a long way since the days when the church specified that no institution shall be classified a college until it shall be able to show property value or other

> assets to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars.[36]

As the total capital structure of Nazarene higher education increased between 1945 and 1978 from 5.894 to 116.983 million dollars, the total indebtedness also increased significantly. After World War II the Church's capital indebtedness was 490,000 dollars and the current indebtedness was 208,000 dollars. By 1960 these figures had nearly doubled to 852,000 and 391,000 dollars. But during the 1960's, total indebtedness increased from 1.244 million to 28.405 million dollars. This twenty-nine fold growth in indebtedness occurred largely because of new construction. Between 1970 and 1978 total indebtedness doubled again. From 1945 to 1978 the total growth in indebtedness rose from 698,000 to 55,639,000 dollars or an increase of 7,900 per cent (Appendix L).

The net worth of Nazarene institutions increased from 5.196 million dollars in 1950 to 61.343 million dollars in 1978. Even indexing for inflation, this represents a massive increase in value. A significant feature of the net worth figures for Nazarene institutions was the declining ratio between total value and debt. During the years prior to 1940, the business of financing Nazarene education faced numerous short and long-range obstacles. Small church memberships meant small student pools and small funds. Borrowing for current as well as capital financing was often the only way to remain open. In the late 1920's when it appeared that financial stability might be achieved, the great depression began. The trauma of these years bred a conservatism in Nazarene educators which viewed interest payments and indebtedness as anathema.

As the depression ended and war time prosperity made money easier

to obtain, educators moved rapidly to liquidate outstanding debts. This was reflected in the fact that the ratio of total value to total debt was $8.40 to $1.00 (Appendix L). But as enrollments blossomed, church memberships grew and prospered, and external fundings became available, this intransigence to indebtedness softened. This fact was reflected in the following series of figures: in 1960, for every $6.00 in value, Nazarene colleges owed $1.00 in debt; by 1970, the ratio was $1.98 to $1.00; by 1978 the ratio was $2.10 to $1.00.

The demonstrated willingness of Nazarene educators to maintain such high debt-to-value ratios was justified by increased support from the Church. The total per capita support of Nazarene higher education in 1950 was $1.84. By 1964 this figure had increased to $2.94. Ten years later in 1974 per capita giving was $12.08 and by 1978 had increased to $17.06.[37] According to a survey conducted by Joseph M. Hopkins and published in the April 21, 1954 issue of Christian Century, the Church of the Nazarene ranked second only to the Lutheran Church in per capita financial support given to its colleges for operating budget.[38] A report published in 1968 by the National Council of Churches reported that the Church of the Nazarene ranked first in total per capita giving with a figure of $191.91 per member.[39] By 1978 the total per capita giving was just under $300.00 annually. These figures furnished for educators a tangible basis for the belief that heavier debts could annually be sustained.

The two primary sources of income for Nazarene higher education were student tuition and district budgets. The dramatic growth in income paralleled other financial increases. The total capital income from church gifts and loans was 261,000 dollars in 1950. By 1978 that amount

increased thirty fold to 7,861 million dollars. Beginning in 1965, significant amounts were secured from governmental sources. Since that time over ten million dollars were procured from governmental sources for capital development.

The current funds secured from the church amounted to 261 thousand dollars in 1950. By 1978, this amount had increased by 2792 per cent to 7,750 million dollars. In spite of the massive increase in church support, the ratio of church giving to total giving steadily declined since 1947. In 1947 local Nazarene churches gave one of every five dollars received by Nazarene colleges. By 1968 local churches gave one in seven dollars received by these institutions.[40] By 1978 they gave one in every eight dollars (Figure 4).

A comparison of sources of income revealed that student tuition payments and room and board payments accounted roughly for three-fourths of all amounts received by Nazarene colleges. A rather dramatic shift in the percentage of these two amounts revealed that amounts received from auxiliary sources nearly doubled since 1945 from 17.2 per cent to 31.8 per cent. This figure reflected the growing investment Nazarene colleges made in dormitories, which as income producing properties, were required to pay for themselves (Figures 1-4). The slight decline in the percentage of tuition income in relationship to total income reflected a calculated effort by educators to hold tuition down to encourage enrollments. This was a legacy from the days when Nazarene colleges were poor persons colleges.

In spite of tremendous increases in income, numerous economic problems existed which challenged the survival and growth of Nazarene higher education. The problem of inequities in the various educational

zones in terms of numbers and financial strength had plagued the Church since its inception. The Church of the Nazarene was becoming aware that in the immediate future they must make a substantial start in equalizing the educational burden of those colleges who suffered zonal inequities. It was suggested by certain educational leaders that the Church should make the matter of equalization top priority before "[the Church] blossom[s] out with schools, colleges and junior colleges that would only add to our educational burden rather than diminish it."[41]

Not all of the colleges were in favor of formulas for sharing the wealth, especially if the resources were already in their jurisdiction. One Nazarene college president commented satirically that the dilemma facing the Church of the Nazarene was that in re-drawing the boundary lines of the old zones to make them more equitable, the colleges which were negatively effected would be victims of a reverse discrimination. Such plans were tantamount to "robbing Peter to pay Paul!"[42]

Since zonal inequities were not successfully addressed, the colleges were eventually left to their own machinations in securing funds. The most obvious means was to increase the percentage the districts gave to each college. In 1950 the average percentage of total giving by the Church for higher education in terms of budgeted monies was 1.7 per cent (Appendix L). By 1964, this amount had increased to 1.9 per cent. But in just a four year span from 1964 to 1968, the amount doubled to 3.9 per cent. By 1978 the average percentage was 5.3. Students were increasingly required to share the burden of financing their education. The average tuition in 1945 for Nazarene institutions was approximately 225.00 dollars annually. By 1978 the average tuition

cost was approximately $2000.00 annually for an increase of 700 per cent.

No denominational ties were strong enough to isolate Nazarene higher education from the general social and economic developments in American life. In the 1950's financing Nazarene higher education was made more difficult by loss of enrollments due to military conflict, the temporary decline in birthrates, the inflation of the post-War years, and the necessity to adjust faculty salaries upward.[43]

In spite of the rapid growth of enrollments and the increasing support given by the federal government, developments in the 1960's placed great strain on the Church's system of educational support by the addition of three new schools. In spite of warnings of economic difficulty by some educators at the time, the general educational leadership felt the decisions had been sound. It was asserted that the 1964 General Assembly had no way of knowing that the establishment of three new institutions would coincide with a national downswing in the economy and the slowdown of growth patterns in higher education. Thus the typical birth pains of any fledgling institutions were exacerbated by a series of unforeseen and unexpected calamities. The aggregate burden of the new schools may been seen in the fact that in the 1969-1970 school year, eight of the twelve Nazarene institutions in the United States had deficits in current budgets.[44]

The decade of the 1970's witnessed even greater problems in trying to finance private church-related higher education. The tremendous growth rate of the Church of the Nazarene slowed during the 1970's. For the first time the denomination experienced what was euphemistically called negative growth. This meant that student pools would probably decline.

In spite of quantitative increases, church budgets proved inadequate when indexed to rising costs. Building programs subsided as federal funds slackened and as the pace of higher education's growth lessened, they declined. Miscellaneous funds which were solicited for debt reduction and new construction subsequently dried up. With cost-effectiveness never more important, educators came to realize that inefficient utilization of space and time were wasting college resources when least expendable. Nationwide, the community college movement siphoned off many poorer Nazarene students who could not afford the rising tuition costs. Juxtaposed between the inverse societal trends of a declining interest in liberal arts and humanities and rising interest in technical training and vocationalism, Nazarene colleges underwent an indentity crisis with the stakes being very high: survival and integrity. Nazarene colleges found their programs structured around the importance of the residential college for the holistic development of the student increasingly strained in an era when "the role of the home was growing in importance as the focal point of security among eighteen to twenty-three year olds."[45]

Nazarene higher education, with its emphasis on residential liberal arts education, struggled to surmount the crisis of the times so forcefully summarized by a Nazarene college president:

> The long expected financial crisis in higher education is striking with such force that we [the administration] can scarcely find words strong enough to describe it. The Day of Judgment is upon us. It is here now.[46]

Efforts to respond to the economic problems facing higher education in the Church of the Nazarene involved efforts to intensify giving from established sources and to diversify the financial base from which the colleges might draw. In response to the former goal, the colleges

intensified efforts among their constituencies to solicit new forms of giving. One form of giving was the annuity trust in which the donor gave a specified sum to a college in return for an annual annuity or fixed payment for life. Another form of giving was the life income trust in which the donor received the actual earnings of the gift until death. Efforts were also made to have each district pay one hundred per cent of its educational budget. Having traditionally worked on the assumption that all districts paying all their budgets would not occur, intensified efforts to maximize annuity trusts as a living endowment was a top priority.

Diversification in giving was sought by appealing to the corporate community and the federal government for support. Several of the Nazarene colleges were able to start endowment funds with the monies received from the unprecedented Ford Foundation grant in 1957.[47] Development councils were incorporated by several colleges to "promote and assist the colleges in the receiving gifts from individuals and corporations."[48]

The other major sources of income for the colleges since 1945 were the federal and state governments. Some states enacted tuition tax credit plans, guaranteed loans and grants which have enabled numerous Nazarene college students to finance their education. The most prolific funding, however, was at the federal level. Nazarene colleges fared well in utilizing the benefits of the G.I. Bill of Rights after World War II. All Nazarene colleges now have financial aid officers to help students process applications for veteran's funding. The National Defense Act of 1958 and the subsequent Basic Educational Opportunity Grants of 1964 provided additional monies for student loans, grants and work-study aid. Nazarene colleges were quick to utilize low interest government

money made available in 1953 and 1965 by federal one-time appropriations for capital development. Most recently, the colleges have actively solicited federal funding in the form of entitlement programs such as Titles III, IV, VI, and IX (Appendix M). Since 1973, Nazarene colleges have received from the federal government funds amounting to 8.209 million dollars (Appendix M). The total amount of federal funds of 10.246 million dollars received since 1973 by Nazarene colleges represented a significant share of the 55. 478 million dollars in gifts and grants received from all sources during the same period. The average received by each Nazarene college from the federal government during the five-year period from 1973 to 1978 was 18.4 per cent of all gifts and grants received.

Much of the recent federal funds received were these entitlement programs. The most popular program was Title III which provided money for career placement and planning services, instructional improvement programs, skill development centers for culturally deprived and needy students, development of retention systems, developments of curriculum media centers, and the development and implementation of institutional research and planning functions.

While enjouing the benefits of governmental funds, some Nazarene educators privately expressed concern regarding the impact of governmental control as its role in the financing of private Christian higher education increased. Westlake T. Purkiser, president of Pasadena College in the late 1940's, reflected the general concern of many educators in Christian higher education in opposing the use of federal dollars. Reflecting what he felt was a widely held opinion, Purkiser stated that the fear many Protestant educators had was that the Roman Catholic Church might use federal money to make unwarranted growth at

public expense. A second and more pressing concern was that if the funds of the federal government were used long enough, serious inroads would be made in the autonomy of private education. The fear was expressed in the maxim that "the one who pays the piper soon calls the tune."[49]

By the 1960's, the mileau had changed in which the federal government dispensed funds. Aid to veterans, special programs relating to national defense and other capital and programmatic development funds had established a sound record of governmental support without significant intervention in the affairs of higher education. Accepting federal funds became a desirable addition to college incomes. The change in attitude among many educators was understandable in light of the financial exigencies of the schools. The reasons for this narrowing of the gap between Church and State paralleled another more important power shift: that from local to federal government. The traditional centers of power gave way to the power wielded by large urban centers and a large and growing federal bureaucracy. International dangers and domestic efforts to bring about social change led to this concentration of power at the federal level. While not necessarily ominous, history has borne witness to the fact that education can " just as easily be threatened by the big private donor or the ecclesiastical power structure."[50]

Riley outlined five principles which the Board of Trustees approved to safeguard the college against governmental intrusion: First, the college would maintain its positive moral and religious commitments and never lower them in order to accept federal funds; second, by maintaining high levels of denominational support which help the college work in the black, the college would never become dependent on federal monies to operate either current budgets or capital expansions; third, that the money will

be accepted only as the pressures of growing enrollments warrant or; fourth, as services to the community ought to be expanded, and; finally, money would only be accepted that had the proper legal safeguards built into the law.[51]

In the wake of affirmative action and other government contingencies now attached to the receipt of federal funds, the dimensions of the dilemma were realized. The situation caused only Nazarene educator to lament that "the separation between education and government has collapsed. Education has become the tool of the federal bureaucracy!"[52] Yet the majority of Nazarene educators ignored or dismissed these concerns and readily accepted entitlement funds. The historic principle of the separation of church and state was being modified by the incredible financial crunch facing education in the decade of the 1970's. That the average amount of dollars annually received by the eight liberal arts colleges of the Church of the Nazarene from federal sources in the period between 1973 and 1978 was 1.283 million dollars reflected this new reality (Appendix M). In light of serious economic problems facing Nazarene higher education in the 1980's, it is unlikely that concerns over federal involvement will outweigh the more tangible needs to broaden and diversify the sources of income by accepting state and federal aid.

Patterns in Administration and Governance

The growth in the financial structure of Nazarene higher education since 1945 spurred the reorganization of the church's educational institutions in an effort to increase their effectiveness. As concerns regarding accreditation grew, the Nazarene schools periodically studied their structure and often made rather important modifications. In the early

years of the church, elaborate organization for the colleges was minimal, with little beyond the essential charters and by-laws considered. Elaboration was not necessary in those rather simple, small-scale times. In retrospect, there were occasions prior to 1945 when more organizational clarity might have worked to make relationships smoother. With higher education's post-World War II growth spurt, attention was increasingly given to the structure and function of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene.

The early organizational charts of the colleges were muddled. Schools, departments, academies, grammar schools and seminaries were often intertwined with each having its own administrator and all being under the umbrella of the college president. After 1945 several definite trends emerged to rectify this structural clutter. All levels of schooling below the college level were eventually dropped as were pretenses to operating as a university worthy of the name. Instead, the mission of the colleges focused on the need for a well-structured liberal arts program with a strong spiritual emphasis interpenetrating the whole. This was pursued through deparmentalization of the various academic disciplines and the establishment of a divisional organization to oversee the functioning of related departments. Under this revised structure, departments began to grow in stature, and subsequently so did the institutions. Divisions tended to be intermediate structures with limited authority.

Another organizational feature inaugurated since 1945 was the revision and expansion of faculty committee assignments. Prior to that time, the faculties were usually involved on committees that related to student discipline, admissions, spiritual life and athletics. Primary decision-making was something which usually occurred without faculty input. With the rise of newer models of governance and administration emphasizing

greater participation by the learning community, Nazarene faculties were deliberately included on many of the decision-making committees of the institutions. These new assignments gave the faculty opportunity to act as change-agents for organizational renewal. The shift in the organizational structure affected not only the faculty but the administration as well. Prior to 1945, administrators were often part-time, devoting the majority of their efforts to classroom teaching. The rapid growth and increased complexity of managing higher education led to the selection and employment of trained officers who gave full time to their endeavors.

The impetus for leadership in the reorganization of Nazarene higher education originated both inside and outside the various institutions. Consultants and representatives for the state and regional accrediting agencies served in an invaluable capacity in pointing out weaknesses which needed correction prior to appraisal by accrediting associations. Leadership also came from far-sighted college presidents whose long terms of service and deep commitments were directed toward updating the structure of their institutions. Roy Cantrell of Bethany, Harold Reed of Olivet, and A.B. Mackey of Trevecca all had tenures of twenty years or more during the period their respective institutions were undergoing the struggle for accreditation. Although already accredited, Eastern and Northwest were ably served by the long tenures of Edward Mann and John Riley.

Outside the institutions, the primary leadership for change came from two directions in the General Church: The Department of Education and the Ministry[53] and the General Assembly. The Department of Education and the Ministry was historically headed by a part-time official. During the expansion of the General Church bureaucracy which occurred following the

Twelfth General Assembly in 1948, this office eventually became a full-time position. Dr. S.T. Ludwig, former president of old Bresee College, guided the department during this transition period. The first church-wide institutional study of higher education was completed by the Thirteenth General Assembly in 1952. Upon Ludwig's death in 1965, Dr. Willis Snowbarger of Olivet Nazarene College was elected. He ably filled this position until returning to Olivet as vice-president for academic affairs in 1968. He was succeeded by E.S. Mann, president of Eastern Nazarene College. Dr. Mann filled this vital position until his retirement in 1978 when Dr. Mark Moore, president of Trevecca Nazarene College, was elected. While having no legal authority to work in the reorganization of the local colleges, their leadership was exercised from the overall perspective of coordinating and articulating the efforts of the various colleges.

The Office of Secretary of the Department of Education and the Ministry was most effective in working with and coordinating the efforts of the Educational Commissions established by the various General Assemblies. The first such commission established in 1948 was authorized by the Twelfth General Assembly "to make a comprehensive study of the needs of the educational program of the Church of the Nazarene and to formulate both a philosophy of education and a policy in harmony with those needs."[54] The report of this commission was made to the January, 1950, meeting of the General Board. The General Assembly in 1960 raised another educational commission to study the structure of the Church colleges and recommend changes. It was this commission which recommended the establishment of two junior colleges and a Bible college. The work of these commissions was very important in the reorganization

of the educational arm of the Church to more effectively meet the needs of a changing denomination.

Not only were the sources of leadership diverse in the period since 1945, but the styles of leadership were as well. An analysis of past and present trends in implementing change revealed various strategies of leadership at work. One form of leadership more typical in the early years of the Church was strong leadership by Boards of Trustees. It was vital to the survival of fledgling schools to keep in touch with grass roots via the efforts of board members who raised money and recruited students. Another style of leadership which emerged depending on the particular president was that of the powerful chief executive officer of the institution initiating change unilaterally. Dr. Russell V. DeLong in his tenure at Pasadena College and Dr. Les Parrott of Olivet Nazarene College would be typical of this style of leadership. A third style of leadership was the shared power between two strong individuals, usually the president and chairman of the board of trustees. A fourth leadership style, more widely practiced after 1960, was the consensus-building model involving a wide participation by various representative groups in the academic community. Exemplary of this style of leadership was the relationship of President Shelburne Brown to Pasadena/Point Loma College in the 1960's and 1970's. A sixth leadership style based on faculty initiative showed signs of emerging in the 1970's. This grass roots kinds of leadership was developing in an era when faculty activism was on the rise.[55]

The styles of leadership exercised in Nazarene colleges changed perceptibly during the years between 1945 and 1978. The national trend towards participatory democracy and activism during the 1960's and the advent of faculty unionism in the 1970's were not without an impact on

Nazarene colleges. The consensus-building and grass roots leadership models were more accepted in principle though not widely practiced. The future of these styles of leadership appears promising.

As the organization of colleges became larger and more complex, so did the administration. The new patterns of administration demanded by these changes in post-War higher education involved holistic approaches to internal and external development. There were periodic attempts in the history of Nazarene education to plan toward proper management. These were usually related to crash programs of finance when institutional survival was threatened, major physical relocations contemplated, large building programs started or efforts made to reduce a large indebtedness.

Since World War II, planning and institutional research have become increasingly important in achieving institutional goals. All Nazarene colleges currently have appointed directors of institutional research. These officers were part-time during the 1950's and 1960's, but most colleges have now moved to full-time personnel in this crucial position. Besides providing vital information for decision-making, they add strength to developing planning cycles and long-range master plans for the college.

Idealistically, planning was moving away from a sporadic exercise to a full-time, ongoing affair with the long range view constantly in mind. Administrators came to believe that circumstances work against those institutions not constantly engaged in planning for the future.

Planning also moved from being a strictly internal affair of the institutions to an activity that involved outside expertise as well. More than half of the institutions incorporated development councils to evaluate present programs and facilities, survey future prospects, gather and disseminate information, offer recommendations to the Boards and

administrations, and engage in solicitation and investment counseling regarding endowment funds. The purpose of establishing these external groups was to widen the base of practical advice, guidance, and planning for the colleges' future. In an increasingly complex and competitive era, colleges needed maximum informational input in order to maximize educational output.

The legal structure which was the standard source for policy-making and leadership in reorganizing Nazarene higher education to function more effectively was provided by the various Boards of Trustees. In the polity of the Church of the Nazarene, each of the eight liberal arts colleges was assigned an educational zone by the General Assembly from which to elect its trustees. These trustees were to be members in good standing of the Church of the Nazarene. Since each educational zone was composed of several districts, the annual district assemblies of the Church elected representatives to the various boards of trustees. All of the district superintendents in each zone were ex-officio members of that zone's board.

One of the major trends in Nazarene governance after 1945 was the effort to equalize representation on the various governing boards. In the early days of the Church, the boards of trustees were largely, if not exclusively, composed of ministers. This was totally consonant with the Bible school purposes of these institutions. Since 1945, concerted efforts have been made to equalize representation between ministers and laymen. Some resisted these efforts suggesting they would dilute the unique religious nature of the colleges. Overriding pressures for accreditation along with a growing number of influential alumni were destined to change the composition of boards.

The first official efforts to address this problem at the General level were reported at the Twelfth General Assembly in 1948. A report delivered by the Commission on Education noted that accrediting agencies allow no more than one-third membership of a board of trustees to come from the same profession. This attempt to prevent boards from become ingrown and likeminded had serious ramifications for those college boards which were dominated by ministers. Every college board governing a Nazarene school had at least half ministers and some had even more. The Commission urged the General Assembly to adopt a memorial for each college to amend its constitution and by-laws to increase lay representation.[56] The fact that this memorial was only recommended by a vote of 29 to 13 suggested an uphill struggle before equalization would become a reality.

Eight years later, the General Assembly again dealt with this unresolved issue. Another memorial was recommended by the Committee on Education to correct the imbalance existing on most boards. The memorial noted that college boards of trustees outside the Church of the Nazarene have traditionally drawn their members from various professions and occupations as a matter of sound policy and benefit to the institution. The memorial also mentioned how important board composition was to accrediting agencies, mentioning how too many ministers on a board was taken as a sign of weakness. Wanting to provide the very best education possible, the committee recommended that . . . "whereas the Church is in a stage in her history where it is imperative that the laymen accept more responsibility to help mature the Church , we memorialize [the Assembly] to adopt this resolution."[57]

Even though this memorial was adopted by the General Assembly, the actual equalization of the boards did not immediately occur. Again at the Seventeenth General Assembly in 1968, the convocation was memorialized to request the college boards of control to equalize their membership.[58] This time the vote was 68 for the motion and only one against. Equalization was an idea whose time had finally come. By 1978, all the boards of trustees of the eight liberal arts colleges had equal representation between ministers and laymen. Nazarene Bible College and Nazarene Theological Seminary had special governance arrangements due to the special purpose of its missions which precluded equalization.

Not only did boards of trustees slowly move toward equal representation, but they also sought to organize themselves for more effective operation. This was done by upgrading the committee structure of the boards. Boards divided themselves into three functional capacities: the acquisitive function, the managerial function, and the conservative function. The acquisitive function of securing funds, students, faculty and administrators was the responsibility of committees on student life, personnel, plant and property, and finance. The managerial function of policy-making, long-range planning and overall control was exercised by the executive and long-range planning committees of the board. The conservative function of maintaining the unique character of the Nazarene colleges was the responsibility of the whole board, but particularly of committees such as religious life and student life.[59] If by no other measure than the fact that no Nazarene college has been censured by the American Association of University Professors, the administration and governance of Nazarene higher education has been successful.

Curricular Developments

More effective organization, administration and governance of Nazarene higher education were necessary ingredients as the curriculum of the institutions grew to meet larger and more diverse student enrollments. The dimensions of growth in the curriculum can be seen in a comparative study of the cumulative statistics of the eight liberal arts colleges (Appendix N).

The total semester hours of course-work offered in the liberal arts in 1940 was 2,851 by the six older institutions of the Church. By 1978, this figure had increased to 8,946 hours for an increase of 213 per cent. The total number of hours offered in science and mathematics in 1940 by Nazarene higher education was 894. By 1978 this had increased to 2,696 hours for an increase of 202 per cent. The total number of hours offered in religion by the Nazarene colleges in 1940 was 714. By 1978, this figure had increased to 1,265 for a 43 per cent increase. The pattern of change in the total number of hours offered was strikingly similar to that of the period prior to 1940 (Appendix I). Large increases were registered in the science and arts areas while much smaller increases occurred in the area of religion. The religion curriculum was not becoming less important in Nazarene higher education, but was following a long-standing historical trend of becoming a smaller percentage of the total academic output of the colleges. While both the arts and the sciences retained approximately the same share of the total offerings both in 1940 and 1978, the percentage of the total curriculum offered in the area of religion declined from 16.1 per cent in 1940 to 9.8 per cent in 1978 (Appendix Q, Table VI).

An examination of individual institutions during the period from 1940 to 1978 revealed some interesting contrasts. The largest curricular offerings in 1940 were given by Pasadena College. This had been true of Pasadena since the early years of the Church of the Nazarene. The smallest offering in 1940 was given by Bethany-Peniel College. By 1978, the largest number of hours was offered by Northwest Nazarene College, while the smallest was offered by Eastern Nazarene College. The most dramatic change occurred in Bethany's curriculum. During the period since 1940, Bethany experienced the largest increase in course offerings, an increase of 344 per cent. All the colleges increased in all areas of the curriculum except the study of religion at Pasadena. This area experienced a 45 per cent decrease in offerings since 1940. Pasadena and Eastern experienced the smallest total curricular growth with increases in hours offered of 31 and 44 per cent respectively (Appendix N). This was due in part to the fact that in 1940 they were more advanced than the other institutions and had less catching-up to do.

Some general conclusions can be drawn from the changes in course offerings since 1940. Five academic areas experienced rather dramatic growth. Business offerings increased from a total of 106 hours in 1940 to 1018 hours in 1978 for an increase of 860 per cent. The largest business program was offered by Bethany Nazarene College. Education also expanded as new courses and teaching areas were added to the various programs. Total hours offered in education increased from 250 in 1940 to 1213 hours in 1978 for an increase of 385 per cent. Physical education and recreation grew from 58 hours to 589 hours for an increase of 916 per cent. Home economics also increased sharply growing from 41 hours to 409 hours for an increase of 808 per cent. Only

Northwest Nazarene offered a program in home economics in 1940, but by 1978 only Eastern Nazarene did not offer any courses in home economics. Another area of rapid growth was the health sciences. None of the colleges offered any courses in the area of health science in 1940. By 1978, five of the eight colleges offered programs in the health sciences, usually leading to a baccalaureate in nursing.

Most other curricular areas experienced moderate growth with some notable exceptions. Classical and modern languages underwent a sharp decline, undoubtedly due to the removal of foreign language as a requirement for most undergraduate programs by the Nazarene colleges. This was part of a national trend to which Eastern Nazarene was a notable exception. Offerings in German declined from 144 hours in 1940 to 102 hours in 1978 for a decrease of 29 per cent. Only Northwest Nazarene increased its offerings in German while Mid-America dropped all courses in the area. The teaching of French declined from 205 hours of course work to 187 hours for a decline of 9 per cent. Again only Northwest Nazarene increased its offerings in French to any degree adding nine courses since 1940. Spanish was the lone exception to the rule, increasing from 161 hours to 269 hours for an increase of 67 per cent. A few of the colleges still offered work in Latin and Hebrew in 1940, but by 1978 none of them did. Greek was still taught in relationship to studies in the Department of Religion but even then far less than in 1940. Courses in classical Greek were no longer offered by any of the institutions (Appendix N). A few of the colleges were experimenting with new language courses such as Cape Verdean for missionary work at Eastern Nazarene, Russian at Olivet and Point Loma, and Chinese and Japanese at Northwest and Point Loma. As of 1978, these were small

course offerings based on regional and international interests.

Most of the colleges doubled the number of areas in which majors were offered between 1945 and 1978. Each of the colleges developed programs to serve their constituencies, many of which were distinctive. Bethany, Mid-America and Trevecca each built large business programs. Bethany had by far the largest program with over 25 per cent of the student body by 1978 enrolled in that department. Bethany was also in the process of developing a Master's degree in Business, the only one of its kind among Nazarene institutions. In a related area, Eastern offered the largest program in the field of economics with a 36 hour course of study leading to a major in the field.

All the schools had developed programs in secondary and elementary education by 1978, due to the demand for these programs by large enrollments of prospective teachers. Point Loma and Eastern had the two largest programs in the area of history, while Bethany Nazarene College had the largest program in the area of political science. The only school to offer a major in political science in 1978 was Bethany Nazarene College. This was due to the long-standing efforts of James Garner, emeritus political science professor, and nephew of John Nance Garner, Vice-President of the United States under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Point Loma, Olivet, Northwest and Bethany all had strong majors in the field of music theory and performance. In related areas, Eastern, Mount Vernon, and Mid America all had large programs in art. Trevecca was the only Nazarene college to have a full program in library science, offering forty hours.

In the area of social work, the two leading programs were at Eastern and Northwest. The program at Northwest, with a 51 hour course offering and three full-time professors in the area, was easily the strongest program of its type in the Church. Trevecca, Bethany and Point Loma all had strong programs in speech. Point Loma offered a bachelor's degree in speech pathology, which no other Nazarene college did. Bethany had the only graduate program in speech, and its program was overall the strongest in the Church. Bethany and Olivet also offered a degree in criminal justice, the only program of its type among Nazarene colleges.

In the field of science, five of the ten Nazarene colleges had developed degrees in the field of nursing. In addition, Trevecca had developed the most ambitious program in the health sciences, including a bachelor of science degree in a physician associates program. This novel program was developed in conjunction with the construction of a four and one-half million dollar health sciences center in the late 1970's. By 1978, the physician's associate program, after only two years of operation, was accredited by the American Medical Association and the Committee on Allied Health Education.[60] Northwest offered a strong program in engineering while Olivet offered a unique program in earth and space sciences.

A number of special programs were offered by the various colleges which also deserves special mention. Beginning in 1962, Northwest Nazarene College developed a program called the Asian Institute. This program in non-western studies was an offshoot of a U.S.O. Asian tour conducted by the college choir from Northwest Nazarene College.[61]

This program brought scholars on campus for several weeks each year to conduct classes and seminars in various topics on the literature, culture and history of various Asian countries.

In order to support an expanding curriculum, one of the primary concerns of the Nazarene institutions was to build libraries worthy of the name which would support serious academic work. The average Nazarene library in 1940 shelved fewer than 10,000 volumes. By 1945, the total volumes held in the six liberal arts colleges was less than one hundred thousand volumes. By 1978, the libraries had grown in respectibility and size. The largest of the libraries were Point Loma which had 164,000 volumes and Trevecca with 145,000. By 1978, Point Loma projected holdings of over 200,000 volumes.[62] By 1978, the total number of volumes held by the Nazarene colleges, plus Bible College and Seminary, was slightly over one million volumes. The total holdings of all Nazarene institutions had increased nine fold in thirty-five years.[63]

The three crucial issues that confronted Nazarene curricular development since 1945, were first, whether to maintain the traditional forum and format of Nazarene education or pursue a more nontraditional route; second, how to balance the institutional commitment to liberal arts against the growing demands for vocationalism; and, third, the extent to which graduate programs would be developed.

A greater willingness was demonstrated by Nazarene colleges near the end of the period to experiment with change. A number of innovations were introduced which attempted to make the curriculum more responsive to the needs of the college constituency. Interdepartmental

courses and interdivisional programs were inaugurated by several Nazarene schools to provide a more integrated, less fragmented approach to learning. Further nontraditional packaging of courses included experienced-based credit for learning in which students received college credit for non-classroom activities. Colleges were coming to realize that many of the experiences students had were worthy of being rewarded with academic credit. Trevecca instituted an ambitious program entitled Life Experience Educational Program (L.E.E.P.) where students could receive up to 24 hours for experienced-based learning.[64] The format for these experienced based learnings was also diverse. Personalized education could occur via internships, practicums, independent studies or work-related experiences.[65] Mid America had also taken strides to individualize its curriculum. By 1978, Bethany Nazarene College had 34 standing practicums for students in diverse vocational areas. The purposes of these non-traditional learning structures were to offer students a vehicle for overcoming the limitations of the standard curriculum. In addition they offered students an opportunity to expand their personal knowledge by going beyond the limitations of regular course offerings. By allowing individualized tempos for learning, motivation increased.[66]

Another nontraditional approach, initiated by several of the colleges, was to develop continuing education or adult education programs. These new structures were designed to serve unmet needs of the constituency as well as tapping new student pools not usually served by a residential-college program. The most ambitious program of this type was the one begun by Trevecca Nazarene College in January, 1976. The main programs offered as a part of Trevecca's extramural program were certificate programs for nurses' technicians, and secretaries.

They also developed prison educational programs in eight correctional institutions in the greater Nashville area.[67]

Novel ideas in terms of packaging the curriculum were also implemented. All of the Nazarene colleges operated on the traditional semester system in 1940. The system of two equal semesters of from fifteen to eighteen weeks in length separated by a two to three months summer break was originally designed when students were largely tied to the seasonal nature of agricultural work. But with the rapid urbanization of American society, the two semester system became an anachronism from rural America. Other novel nontraditional forms of operating the college calendar were initiated by several Nazarene colleges to make more efficient utilization of space, resources and personnel. The most popular forms were the quarter plan and a more recent modification, the 4-1-4 plan. The Quarter plan consisted of four quarters of 11 or 12 weeks in length. Students usually enrolled for only three quarters but could graduate in three years by attending all four quarters. Vacations fell between the quarters. Point Loma, Northwest and Nazarene Bible College operated on the quarter system.

A variation on the traditional theme was represented by a calendar plan called the 4-1-4 plan. Two four-month school terms were separated by a one-month term, usually held in January. This approach was a modification of the two-semester plan. The intent was to encourage students to take nontraditional courses and faculty to teach in areas which for a regular semester would be impractical. These included travel and study abroad and field service practicums and study, and allowed for greater flexibility in teaching approach and subject matter offered. Mid America, Eastern and Mount Vernon all offered this 4-1-4

plan.

A second major issue confronting Nazarene curriculum was the long-standing controversy regarding the liberal arts versus vocationalism. The trend since 1945 has been toward a greater emphasis on vocational education, which paralleled the national trend in higher education. Six of the eight Nazarene liberal arts colleges developed Associate of Arts degrees. Only at Mid America and Mount Vernon Colleges in the period prior to each assuming a full-accredited status was the Associate of Arts granted primarily as a transfer degree. All other instances of the degree subsequently developed in Nazarene higher education were primarily terminal and vocational. Northwest Nazarene college offered two-year degrees in applied mathematics, chemical technology, communication science, engineering technology, fine arts, food service management, speech therapy, general scientific technology, communication science and secretarial training.[68] Trevecca offered associate degrees in broadcasting, community and home service care, child care, medical assistant training, retail management, sales management and secretarial science.[69] These two programs were representative of the kinds of programs, all vocationally oriented, being offered by Nazarene colleges.

This trend toward practical, job-oriented studies was responsible for all of the new associate degrees and most of the new baccalaureate degrees offered by Nazarene higher education. The curricular areas which grew the most in the period after 1945 were business, education, physical education, home economics and health sciences. These programs were minor or nonexistent in the period prior to 1945 due not only to smaller demands in the marketplace but also to the fact that Nazarene education in those days was primarily concerned with the

traditional liberal arts approach. The trend away from the liberal arts core of the curriculum threatened to degenerate into little more than a general education servicing agent to the bulk of vocationally-oriented programs.

In addition to new vocational associate and baccalaureate degrees in the four-year colleges, the vocational impulse led to the formation of Nazarene Bible College to prepare ministers for service. The difference between Seminary and Bible College was analogous to the difference between the liberal arts and vocational emphases of the eight liberal arts colleges. The motive in creating Bible College was to have an institution where courses "shall be based on no previous educational experience"[70] of those who "feel unable to attend a college or seminary."[71] The adult, career-oriented education provided by Bible College was designed to meet the perceived needs of the Church. At the same time it said something about the changing nature of the traditional Nazarene concept of higher education. No longer was the traditional college-seminary route to ministry, which had existed since 1945, the most prominent route to ministry.

Throughout the period, some Nazarene educators expressed concerns about the erosion of the liberal arts tradition in the higher education curriculum . One set of rationale supporting the liberal arts emphases held that the liberal arts were those principles which gave man the reassuring feeling that what he was building was good and would endure. The study of history taught one where societies built well and where they failed. Political science taught about the freedom and tyranny which constantly confront men of every generation. Psychology taught one why

individuals behave as they do, and sociology taught the effect of that behavior on others. Philosophy taught what is worth seeking, while the arts teach the strength of men who cherish their common heritage. To espouse such an educational ideal suggests that "no free society should choose to build its world in blindness.[72]

Impassioned pleas for liberal arts did not offest, however, the trends that by 1960 were pervasive in Nazarene educational circles. As the pendulum swung more in favor of practical education and away from the more traditional studies, those who espoused the historic liberal path struggled to regain their place in the curriculum. They warned against turning to faddisms such as social and political activities and appealing purely to the mundane interests of students. To them the liberal arts were not irrelevant, just in danger of atrophy through neglect.[73] In spite of such hopeful pronouncements as leaders were prone to make from time to time, the growing materialism of American culture and the growing economic uncertainty of the 1970's forced Nazarene colleges to follow a dualistic approach of speaking openly of themselves as liberal arts colleges while quietly acquiescing to the pressures to move in the direction of vocationalism.

A third trend in Nazarene higher education concerned undergraduate versus graduate education. As American higher education exhibited an upward curricular shift toward developing broader and more numerous graduate programs, so did the institutions of the Church of the Nazarene. In 1944, Pasadena College was the first institution to develop a graduate program which it did in the area of religion. The next year, a graduate level theological seminary was founded in Kansas City, Missouri. Later, Eastern, Bethany, Olivet and Northwest started offering

graduate programs in religion, secondary and elementary education. By the 1970's, Bethany was offering a graduate degree in business.

Concerns were voiced that as the Nazarene colleges had strayed from their historic mission by pursuing career-oriented programs, so too were they straying from their mission by establishing graduate programs. These programs were modeled after larger schools and were contradictory to the historic purposes of a small, liberal-arts college. These concerns did not stop the growth of graduate education in the Nazarene colleges. They were slowed, instead, by the economic pressures of these costly programs. By the 1970's, the Seminary was offering the Doctor of Ministry degree. This was the only earned doctorate being offered by any Nazarene institution. The future of graduate education among the liberal arts colleges looks bleak in light of the economic situation facing higher education in the 1980's.

The Drive for Accreditation

No other factor was as crucial to the successful development of Nazarene higher education after 1945 than the struggle for accreditation. The first Nazarene college to be accredited began the long journey in 1931 and the last Nazarene institution seeking full accreditation completed the journey in 1978. Spanning this period, recognition by regional or professional accrediting agencies became a primary concern of each institution.

The educational work of the Church of the Nazarene started shortly after the turn of the twentieth century with the establishment of Bible Training Schools and Institutes for the sole purpose of giving prospective ministers, missionaries and full-time Christian workers a chance

to prepare for service. The only subjects offered were related to the Bible, with no previous schooling necessary for entrance. Anyone was welcome who had a call to the work. The course of study took two to three years to complete. A diploma or certificate was granted to those who finished the course of study. From these meager beginnings the institutions of education in the Church of the Nazarene moved to liberal arts college status in the years leading up to World War II. Baccalaureate degrees were slowly being approved by the various states. Students were now required to have graduated from high school or to demonstrate equivalent competency. These changes were made as leaders became aware that many of the youth of the Church were not planning to enter the full-time Christian ministry, yet needed a Christian atmosphere too. As graduates from Nazarene schools wished to pursue further professional training or enter the field of teaching, college officials were forced to seek official accreditation. As long as the schools had primarily served the ministry, the only recognition needed was the approval of its orthodoxy from the Church officials. Beginning in 1937, the task which faced Nazarene higher education was to obtain approval from one of the six regional accrediting agencies for higher education.[74]

The primary value of accreditation for Nazarene colleges was that it allowed them to enter the mainstream of American higher education. Transfer of courses and correlation of programs now became feasible. Accreditation signified the arrival of the Nazarene colleges as full-fledged liberal arts institutions, not Bible schools or academies. It allowed for the development of professional and vocational programs which were not possible prior to accreditation. It allowed for the

recruitment of greater numbers and better quality of students as well as more professional faculty. Accreditation, more than any other factor, was responsible for bringing Nazarene higher education into the mainstream of American education.

Northwest Nazarene College was the first Nazarene institution to receive regional accreditation in 1937. During the following decade, Eastern Nazarene College received accreditation in 1943 and Pasadena College was accredited in 1945. The first three Nazarene schools to be accredited were from the Far Western and Far Eastern parts of the United States. Higher education was historically more advanced in these two areas of the country.

In the mid-1950's, two more Nazarene institutions received accreditation. The North Central Association extended recognition to both Bethany Nazarene College and Olivet Nazarene College in 1956. Bethany would have been recognized earlier were it not for the fact that Oklahoma State University was undergoing review relating to academics and athletics. It was highly unlikely, then, that any college in the state would have been officially recognized under those circumstances. Oklahoma State's situation improved by 1956 to the point that Bethany was immediately granted recognition.[75] The impact of the delay was unfortunate. Bethany missed by six months a gift of over one hundred thousand dollars as part of the Ford Foundation Grant because of the delay in accreditation. The last of the original six liberal arts colleges to be accredited by action of its regional accrediting association was Trevecca in 1969.

The newer institutions in the Church of the Nazarene were more rapidly accredited than were the older institutions. Nazarene Theolog

ical Seminary, founded in 1945, was accredited by the Association of Theological Schools in the United States and Canada in 1972.[76] Nazarene Bible College, founded in 1967, had been granted the status of candidate for accreditation by the Accrediting Commission of the American Association of Bible Schools by 1976. Shortly afterwards, it was granted full recognition. Mount Vernon and Mid America, both founded in 1968, were accredited by the North Central Association.[77] By 1976 Mid America was given full senior college status, and by 1978 Mount Vernon followed suit.

In spite of their successes, concerns were being voiced amidst the clamor for regional recognition by the institutions of the Church. Some educators warned that along with the public acclaim from accreditation, the Nazarene colleges surrendered a measure of autonomy. The Report of the Department of Education to the General Board in January, 1967, reflected this awareness. The report stated that with increasing demands and standards by accrediting agencies, denominational college were increasingly called to justify their unique positions. With the growth of secularization in life and education, the report concluded, the work of Nazarene college is more vital than ever.[78] Accreditation, then, for most Nazarene colleges was a two-edged sword. On the positive side regional accreditation more than any other factor has given these schools the respect needed for effective student recruitment and retention. On the negative side was the fear that accreditation might become the preoccupation of the colleges to the exclusion of more important values. The colleges struggled to make "accreditation . . .not a god,[but] a goal. In this [distinction] lay a secret, accreditation must be reached, not worshiped."[79] Knowing the pattern of decline by church and college,

Nazarene leaders by the end of the 1970's were keenly aware of the problems and the possibilities of entering the academic mainstream of American higher education. It was not without some trepidation that Nazarene higher education contemplated its future and the role it was to play.

ENDNOTES

[1]Education Commission Report, A Study of the Educational Structure of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1964), p. 22.

[2]By counting Canadian Nazarene College of Winnipeg, Canada, and British Isles Nazarene College of Manchester, England, the total number of institutions founded by the Church and serving the English-speaking members of the Church of the Nazarene in North America and the British Isles grew in t e period from 1945 to 1978 from six to twelve.

[3]J.B. Chapman, "General Assembly Quadrennial Address to the Board of Gene al Superintendents, Church of the Nazarene," in Herald of Holiness (Kansas City, June 19, 1940), p. 31.

[4]Mendell Taylor, Handbook of Historical Documents of the Church of the Nazarene (unpub. mimeographed document, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, N.D.), pp. 176-7.

[5]Minutes, First Annual District Superintendent's Conference, (Kansas City, January6, 1944), p. 3.

[6]Ernest William Moore, "An Historical Study of Higher Education and the Church of the Nazarene," (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Texas, 1965), p. 261.

[7]Proceedings of the Twelfth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1964), p. 305.

[8]Northwest Nazarene College Crusader (Nampa, March 20, 1946), p. 11.

[9]Personal interview with Dr. Roy H. Cantrell, February 20, 1980.

[10]Minutes, General Board of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, January, 1950), pp. 152-3.

[11]Ibid., p. 127. The administration of individual districts in the Church of the Nazarene is in the hands of a District Superintendent and a District Advisory Board composed of equal numbers of laymen and ministers elected annually at the District Assembly. District Superintendents are elected by the various District Assemblies, but interim vacancies can be filled by appointment by a General Superintendent.

[12]Personal interview, Cantrell.

[13]The Northwest Illinois District and the Louisiana District both proposed memorials for the establishment of a Bible College. Both were rejected. The Akron District and the Chicago Central District both proposed memorials again in 1960, with the Akron memorial passing. No immediate action was taken.

[14]Joseph Axelrod, "New Organizational Patterns in American Colleges and Universities," in Lewis B. Mayhew, Higher Education in Revolutionary Decades (Berkeley: McCutchan Press, 1967), p. 159.

[15]Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Portland, 1964), pp. 189-90.

[16]W.T. Purkiser, "Nazarene Education Looks Ahead," in Herald of Holiness (Kansas City, September 9, 1964 , p. 11.

[17]Catalog, Mount Vernon Nazarene College, 1978, p. 10.

[18]Proceedings, Twelfth General Assembly, p. 173.

[19]Minutes of the General Board, January, 1950, p. 128.

[20]Proceedings, Twelfth General Assembly, p. 172.

[21]Earl J. McGrath, Values, Liberal Education and National Destiny (Indianapolis, 1965), p. 16.

[22]Proceedings of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1960), p. 283.

[23]Catalog, Mount Vernon Nazarene College, 1978, pp. 12-4: "The Lakeholm Mansion was originally the home of Columbus DeLano, Ohio State Senator and Secretary of the Interior under President U.S. Grant."

[24]President's Report, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1976 (Nashville, 1976), p. 373

[25]Together (Kansas City, December, 1978), p. 13.

[26]President's Report, Eastern Nazarene College, 1976, (Wollaston, 1976), p. 2.

[27]President's Report, Eastern Nazarene College, 1977, (Wollaston, 1977), p. 13.

[28]Clarion of Point Loma College (San Diego, April, 1973), pp. 1,2. Point Loma was discovered by the European explorer Juan Rodrigues Cabrillo, when he viewed the low lying point of land from San Diego harbor in September, 1542. Three centuries later in 1852, Fort Rosecrans,

a military reservation was established and a lighthouse erected to warn ships. Gen. John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder of the West," whose leadership in the Bear Flag Revolt during the Mexican War had launched him into national prominence. suggested to Mrs. Katherine Tingley that her dream of an ideal city could be fulfilled on Point Loma, the southwestern most point of land in the continental United States. Thus, in 1897 a cornerstone was laid by the Universal Brotherhood and Theosophical Society of America for a world center for the arts and sciences. In 1902, the Brotherhood constructed several buildings and a Greek style amphitheater. Later, a Theosophical University was founded. During World War II, the community was used as a housing project by the federal government. In 1951, ninety-seven acres were purchased by the Board of Balboa University, which changed its name in 1952 to California Western University. After financial decline, the university placed its property up for sale. Pasadena College purchased the property in the 1970's.

[29] Clarion of Point Loma College (San Diego, April, 1974), p. 1.

[30] Proceedings of the Eighteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Miami, 1972), p. 128.

[31] Clarion of Point Loma College, April, 1973, p. 1.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Together (December, 1978 , p. 13.

[35] An interesting sidelight to the whole issue of capital expansion which reflected the changing relationship between church and college was the process used for naming new buildings. In the early years of the Church of the Nazarene, buildings at the educational institutions were named after heroes of the denomination. Since 1945, buildings have tended to be named for institutional heroes (long-tenured administrators and faculty members) who are particularly beloved, and most recently, since the 1960's, have borne the name of a benefactor whose donation made the building possible. This can be explained in several ways:
(1) the colleges simply ran out of church-wide heroes who were deserving to have a building named after them.
(2) the placing of the name of benefactors was done in order to secure the gift intially.
(3) the shift in naming of buildings reflected a shift, slight but perceptible, from the denominational-centeredness of the earlier days to a constituency-centeredness. Although the two groups are similar, they are not necessarily the same. The conclusion might be drawn that Nazarene higher education was more attuned to the wishes of the constituency than of the denomination. A change in the constituency away from the heavy church domination may signal a change in the relationship that has traditionally existed between the Nazarene church and its colleges.

[36]Mendell Taylor, p. 53, citing the Proceedings of the Fifth General Assembly meeting in 1919, p. 53.

[37]Together (December, 1978), p. 3.

[38]Joseph M. Hopkins, "Financial Statistics of Leading Denominations" in Christian Century (April 21, 1954), p. 490.

[39]Report on Church Financial Statistics and Related Data (New York, National Council of Churches of America, 1968), p. 4.

[40]Status Report to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools of Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, September 1, 1969), pp. 1-2.

[41]S.T. Ludwig, "Report of the Executive Secretary, Department of Education" in Proceedings of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1960), p. 264.

[42]President's Report, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1960 (Nashville, 1960), p.4.

[43]Roy Fremont Ray, "The Church of the Nazarene and Its Colleges," (unpub. Th.D. dissertation, Central Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, 1958), p. 38.

[44]Proceedings of the Eighteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene , (Miami, 1972), p. 385.

[45]Minutes, Board of Trustees of Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, October, 1977), p. 72.

[46]President's Report, Mid America Nazarene College (Olathe, 1971), p. 8.

[47]The Ford Motor Corporation gave five hundred million dollars to higher education in 1957. By establishing the Fund for the Advancement of Higher Education, the Ford donors made the largest single endowment in the history of American higher education. All the accredited colleges of the Church of the Nazarene (Pasadena, Northwest and Eastern), received substantial funding; Pasadena and Northwest received $300,000 each and Eastern received $150,000. Bethany and Olivet were accredited six months too late to receive any of the monies.

[48]The Olivet Collegian (Kankakee, Fall, 1969), p. 1.

[49] Westlake T. Purkiser, "Shall We Accept Federal Aid?" in The Pasadena College Clarion (Pasadena, September, 1949), p. 4.

[50]John Riley, "Annual Presidential Report to the Board of Trustees of Northwest Nazarene College," in The Northwest Nazarene College Messenger (Nampa, February, 1966), p.4.

[51]Ibid.

[52]President's Report, Mid America Nazarene College (Olathe, October, 1974), p. 14.

[53]Prior to the General Assembly of 1972, this was called the Department of Education.

[54]Minutes, General Board of the Church of the Nazarene. (Kansas City, January, 1949), p. 150.

[55]The basis for this taxonomy was from a description found in a Report of Self Study and Planning performed by the Point Loma College Council on Educational Policy and Program in October, 1977, p.3.

[56]Proceedings, Twelfth General Assembly, p. 153: "The memorial was recommended to the General Assembly by a vote of 29 to 13.

[57]Proceedings of the Fourteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1956), p. 104-5.

[58]Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1963), p. 120.

[59]President's Report, Eastern Nazarene College (Wollaston, 1975), p. 9. The three functions of the board were extracted from this report.

[60]Together (December, 1978), p. 13.

[61]Report of the Committee on Self-Evaluation, Northwest Nazarene College (Nampa, 1967), p. 4.

[62]Report of the Council on Educational Policy and Program, Point Loma College (San Diego, October, 1977), p. 146.

[63]Annual Report of the Department of Education and the Ministry, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, November11, 1978 , p. 12.

[64]Catalog, Trevecca Nazarene College, (Nashville, 1978), p. 21.

[65]Catalog, Mid America Nazarene College, (Olathe, 1977), p. 15.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Minutes, Trevecca Board of Trustees, (Nashville, October, 1977), p.3.

[68]Catalog, Northwest Nazarene College (Nampa, 1974), p. 56.

[69]Catalog, Bethany Nazarene College (Bethany, 1978), p. 50.

[70]Proceedings, Fourteenth General Assembly, p. 104.

[71]Proceedings, Fifteenth General Assembly, p. 127.

[72]President's Report, Pasadena College (Pasadena, 1958), p. 1.

[73]President's Report, Mid America Nazarene College, (October, 1974), p. 4.

[74]Mendell Taylor, p. 167.

[75]Personal interview with Roy Cantrell.

[76]Proceedings of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1976), p. 454.

[77]Ibid.

[78]Minutes, General Board of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1966), pp. 120-1.

[79]President's Report, Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, 1969), pp. 8, 61.

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL PROFILES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 1945-1978

Student Profiles

The growing demands of the markeplace, increased aggregate wealth and the growing importance of higher education in American society caused a rapid and sustained growth in college attendance in the years after 1945. This influx of college students, which also affected the Nazarene college campuses, was without parallel. A brief survey of available information revealed a social profile that was in many ways similar to Nazarene profiles from earlier times, yet in other important areas was significantly different.

The most noticeable feature of Nazarene student profiles was the dramatic increases in undergraduate and graduate enrollments during the period under study. Graduate enrollments increased from 61 in 1945 to 898 in 1978 for an increase of 1,372 per cent. Undergraduate enrollments increased from 2,197 to 10,729 for a 388 per cent increase. Total enrollments increased just under 415 per cent (Appendix O). Figures indicated that the bulk of enrollments both at the graduate and undergraduate level reached a peak between 1965-6 and 1975-6. The small family-like college of an earlier day gave way to a larger, less homogeneous educational structure.

The tremendous upswing in graduate enrollments during the last ten years was due to a steady growth pattern in Nazarene Theological Seminary as well as new graduate programs at the various Nazarene colleges. There was no significant change in the ratios between total enrollments and total full-time equivalency students. The ratio for this variable was between 0.88 and 0.92 per cent.

The demographics of Nazarene college enrollment revealed quite naturally that the institutions drew most of their students from the states in which they were located.[1] The eight states housing the liberal arts colleges produced 53 per cent of all enrollments in Nazarene colleges in 1978. The fact that thirteen states produced 69 per cent of the total higher education enrollments in the Church of the Nazarene suggested several realities. Nazarene colleges had a much stronger appeal to Nazarene young people in the state in which each college was located than to those students in each zone outside the college's home state. Since a significant number of Nazarene young people are attending non-Nazarene schools of higher education, there were well-founded concerns that the Church of the future might not be as cohesive as the Church of the past. These figures also indicated the areas in which the Church of the Nazarene was strongest in terms of numbers of churches and membership was concentrated in relatively small, well-defined areas. The disproportionately large number of students from California was due not only to the strength of the Church in that area but also to the fact that the other states in the Southwestern Education zone are sparsely populated with fewer churches from which to draw enrollments.

Another generalization which can be drawn from statistical data is that few non-Americans attend Nazarene schools in the United States.

Less than one per cent of those enrolled in 1978 were non-Americans.[3] Of 11,607 students enrolled in Nazarene institutions in 1978, only 93 were non-North Americans (Appendix O).

The total number of degrees granted since 1945 was 29,490. Of this amount 23,501 were baccalaureate degrees, 3,564 were masters degrees and 1,891 were associate degrees (Appendix O). The pattern of rapid grwoth during the last decade holds true in this category as well. Sixty-four per cent of all the baccalaureate degrees granted since 1945 have been awarded in the period since 1968. Seventy-seven per cent of all masters degrees granted were given in the same period. Eighty-one per cent of all associate degrees also came since 1968. This means that the last decade has been the most productive of any in Nazarene history.

Any trends toward secularization among the students of Nazarene higher education would be seen in three areas. First, there would be the decline in the percentage of students preparing for religious vocations when compared to those preparing for secular ones. Second, the relative change toward non-religion degrees granted by Nazarene schools would reinforce notions about the changing nature of Nazarene education. Finally, any significant change in the ratio of denominational preference would indicate a measured lessening of the church centeredness which had for decades characterized Nazarene colleges.

Any trends toward changes in enrollments and emphasis would be most evident in the total numbers of undergraduate degrees awarded. Prior to 1940, the average number of degrees granted in religion constituted 44 per cent of all offered. Between 1945 and 1955, the percentage dropped to

34 per cent.[3] In the period from 1966 to 1968, only 399 of 2,974 baccalaureate degrees granted were in the area of religion. Even assuming that pre-seminary students sometimes major in other fields, this still represents a significant drop from the earlier percentages to just over 13 per cent.[4]

During the years from 1974 to 1978, 85 per cent of the 6,941 degrees awarded were in secular areas. Only 15 per cent were in the areas of religion. Analysis of the data revealed not only a significant swing away from religion as the most dominant area of study on campus but the rapid growth of vocationalism. Figures from the period from 1974 to 1978 indicated that 4,315 of the 6,941 degrees offered were in the vocational areas of science, business and education. This represented 62 per cent of all degrees awarded. The traditional liberal arts programs awarded 1,204 degrees for a 17.3 per cent share of degrees awarded.

An analysis of figures of those declaring preparation for Christian ministry since 1945 substantiated the findings demonstrated by the degrees awarded. Immediately after World War II, the number who declared their intentions to study for full-time Christian ministry represented 39 per cent of those enrolled in Nazarene institutions (Appendix O). This percentage decreased to 32 per cent and remained there until the early 1960's. By 1965, the figure had dropped to 16.9 per cent and by 1970 to 13.6 per cent. This precipitous drop was more remarkable in that it occurred during the era of the Vietnam War when college ranks swelled by numbers of young men seeking draft deferment as ministerial candidates. Interestingly, the percentage during the period since 1975 showed signs of small yet perceptible growth.

The percentage of total student enrollments who declared their membership in the Church of the Nazarene showed no definitive trend in the period since the end of World War II. Prior to 1970, there was only one year in which the total number of Nazarene college students numbered less than 80 per cent of the total enrollments at Nazarene colleges. Since 1970, Nazarene students numbered more than 80 per cent in only two of eight years. In 1977, the figure dropped as low as 75 per cent (Appendix O). If these trends are projected into the immediate future, they could significantly change the composition and character of the Nazarene colleges. Point Loma College and Eastern Nazarene College currently had the lowest percentages of Nazarene students of any of the Nazarene institutions. These figures do not indicate at present whether Nazarene higher education in general is moving toward community orientation or maintaining its denominational orientation.

There is sparse documentation available regarding the nature and composition of Nazarene student enrollments in the past. It is fair to say that the early colleges of the Church of the Nazarene were created expressly to meet the financial and academic needs of the lower socio-economic classes in American society. Since most of the early Nazarene church members were in this category, there was nothing inconsistent with that type of educational planning which catered to their needs and abilities. The Nazarene Bible colleges and training institutes had started out as " poor man's colleges, . . .since most [Nazarene] were poor and the church itself not rich."[6] Church leaders concurred that this situation fostered democratic ideals and made Nazarene higher education available to the largest number of students. Accrediting agencies were aware origins of Nazarene colleges were what would be considered to be the

lower middle and lower strata of American society socially, culturally and financially.[7] Thus the colleges of the Church practiced de facto open admissions policy long before the idea was in vogue in higher education. Most admitted anyone in the upper three-fourths of a graduating class, but they in no way guaranteed the student's success.

The character of the Nazarene populace was not accidental. The rapid rise of the Church of the Nazarene can be explained through the economic influences and cultural conditions which marked its early years. Nazarenes appealed to the lower classes and the religiously neglected in society. Consequently, these factors along with the zeal of a new organization and the fact that the church was a part of the progressive movement in American history attributed to its growth among the poorer classes.[8] The social dynamic of moral reform and crusading zeal made the church have great appeal to many spiritually displaced persons.

Though no formal study had been done to measure changes in the socio-economic status of Nazarene college students, several conclusions can be drawn from the consensus of church leaders. First, there has been a general upward social mobility among the members of the Church of the Nazarene so that most of the members are now middle or upper middle class. Second, Nazarene college students have tended to fit the same profile and in addition were: residential, equally divided between males and females, usually Nazarene in preference, and overwhelmingly Caucasian. Non-white enrollment in all Nazarene colleges has never been more than 6.9 per cent in any given year. This figure is consonant with the number of non-whites who are members of the Church of the Nazarene.

Attendance at an institution of higher learning in the United States in the years after 1945 became more than just an intellectual event.[9] It became a physical, emotional and spiritual event as well. As the ivory tower notions of an academic elite gave way to the broad contours of American egalitarianism, college became as much a place of social maturation as intellectual attainment.

Every full-time student at a Nazarene college was encouraged to participate in extracurricular activities which would enhance some or all of the goals of holistic learning. Each student was assigned arbitrarily to an intramural athletic society. In the early years of the period, the last of the old literary societies quietly died at Pasadena College in 1946. The shift away from the traditionally popular literary societies to the athletic societies paralleled the national rise in the prominence of sport on the American college campus.

The changing interests of students were mirrored in the changing nature of campus clubs and organizations. During the early years of the period the most popular clubs were those involved with religion such as evangelistic and mission teams. These tended to dwindle in membership and strength during the period relative to other organizations. While still very much alive, these religious organizations by 1970 were not the most prominent on campus. Departmental Clubs tended to grow and hold their own against special interest organizations. For the cultural development of students, guest speakers and artists were brought to campus to present programs on various topics and to present performances. Plays, musicals, travelogues, lecture series and other special events were designed to broaden the scope of campus

life and sharpen student appreciation to finer and more diverse ideas than typically encountered.

The longest standing extracurricular activity on Nazarene college campuses were the student newspaper and yearbook. These publications were a mirror for the kinds of thoughts and attitudinal changes occurring on the college campus. A survey of all the newspapers from the liberal arts colleges suggested that in the 1940's and 1950's, the newspapers served a didactic function for the values of the sponsoring denomination. Revivals, pep talks on personal and social ethics, and editorials supporting the missions of the General Church were regularly published. There was little evidence that the articles reflected a concern for events outside the confines of the college campus. The publications were provincial and notably sectarian. By the mid 1960's, a sharp change was noted in the content and style of the college newspapers. Articles and features began to appear with increasing frequency regarding national and international issues of importance.

The editorials moved away from the affirmative and began to be forums for criticism. The focus of the criticsm varied, but it usually managed to include the college administration, the _Manual of the Church of the Nazarene_ and the doctrine of _in loco parentis_. As administrators reacted under the pressure of boards and constituencies, the newspapers were the battleground in which Nazarenes contested their part of the generational struggle of the 1960's. Newspapers were also important because no other extracurricular activity, including the yearbook, involved such a large budget. In its new role as critic, the job security of the editors was unsure.

Every campus had an organized student government and elected its own student leaders. Student councils at all eight schools were under the direct supervision of the dean of students. Student governments not only served the students by providing programs and coordinating of activities, but during the 1960's were increasingly used as channels of student criticism. All the student councils were organized in similar ways, except the student government of Mid America. Its student government was patterned loosely after the governmental system of the United States with a student cabinet composed of elected senators and representatives.[10]

Each of the colleges placed special emphasis on the development of spiritual life. Classes were usually opened by prayer. Students were required to attend chapel from two to three days per week during a regular morning chapel period. At the beginning of the period under study, most colleges required chapel five days a week. The gradual reduction in the number of chapels required was as much due to the changing needs of a more secularly-oriented student body than to any other factor. Since chapel was unique as a time when community was built and values articulated, its decline was a portent of concern among many Christian pietists. In addition, students were encouraged to attend Sunday services and Wednesday evening services. Each class of students at college elected class chaplains to lead spiritual life. A religious organization council existed on each campus to coordinate the overall student religious efforts. Five of the colleges had full-time chaplains as well.

Several attempts at establishing intercollegiate relationships among Nazarene students proved highly successful. A national honor

society for Nazarene college students called Phi Delta Lambda was created in January, 1940, in Oklahoma City, as a means of encouraging student scholarship. The constitution of the organization stated that its goals were "to promote scholarship and friendly relations among Nazarene colleges and stimulate the maintenance of high ideals of learning, character and Christian service."[11] In 1968, after 28 years of service, Phi Delta Lambda became an international Honor society of the Church with chapters organized abroad.[12]

The Deans of Students of Olivet and Bethany Nazarene Colleges shared the honor of initiating another successful plan to bring Nazarene collegiate leadership together with the formation of the Nazarene Student Leadership Conference. Inspired by collegial efforts among other denominations to bring the best of its student leaders together to discuss common concerns, the Church of the Nazarene began N.S.L.C. meetings in 1963. A review of the various conference reports indicated that this organization assumed the role of critic and counselor of the General Church at large. This was especially true in areas which related to the _in loco parentis_ role of the Colleges.[13]

Student personnel services have existed in higher education since its inception. Until recent times, however, they were a part-time function under the aegis of the faculty. During the decades prior to the Second World War, these services received increased attention in colleges and universities.[14] In the years since 1945, student personnel work has been the fastest growing segment of higher education in Nazarene higher education.

The area of guidance and counseling received increasing attention in Nazarene colleges. All colleges used faculty members as academic

and personal counselors. Two of the colleges have special freshman advisors who receive special training. Five of the colleges employ chaplains as religious counselors. Additional counseling was provided by the local college-church pastors, the student health center personnel, job placement officers, career center employees, financial aid officers and full-time psychologists. Four of the colleges maintained a counseling service under a director of guidance to deal with the emotional needs of students. The office of guidance and counseling engaged in administering and interpreting interest, aptitude and personality tests as well as counseling and referral services.[15]

The move toward counseling and guidance as a central function in Nazarene colleges was based on two presuppositions which were closely related. First was the notion that from the Christian perspective, human personality and divine purpose were totally integrative. Thus in fulfilling the spiritual mission of the colleges, the Nazarenes had to give special attention to the emotional needs of its students. The second presupposition was that the individual was important even in an age of mass culture. Almost every college was making some effort to break down the spectre of impersonal education and furnish the student with the individual guidance and attention that creates a healthy self-esteem. In short, colleges "worked to set student[s] free."[16]

The entire process of attracting, recruiting, enrolling and orienting students to Nazarene colleges became crucial to the successful survival of each college. The lifeline of each school depended directly on how well these processes occurred. Planning for recruitment was increasingly made in the light of national demographic

changes. Trends showed that, with population shifts occurring toward the sun belt states of the South and the Far West, colleges in those areas may have easier times recruiting than in areas losing population.[17] Surveys have also shown that Pentecostal and Holiness schools since 1960 have shown greater growth patterns than any other separate classification of college.[18]

Other trends also caused concern among those charged with the responsibility of recruitment. Traditionally, a high percentage of Nazarene youth have chosen to attend other institutions of higher education other than the college in their zone. A 1964 study revealed that only 25 per cent of the high school graduates in the Church of the Nazarene went to Nazarene colleges.[19] Another conducted in 1968 revealed that 16,000 Nazarene students were enrolled in non-Nazarene institutions of higher learning.[20] This figure compared to enrollments of 10,000 in Nazarene colleges. The reasons given for this trend were the higher costs of private education, the appeal of local community colleges and the limited offerings of the Nazarene colleges.

In addition to the ongoing task of professional recruitment through traveling groups and representatives, all the Nazarene schools had special days in which prospective students and their parents were given special consideration. Student recruitment has traditionally relied on an annual motorcade by the various districts of the Church at which time juniors and seniors are given an introduction to college life. This introduction usually included a program of planned activities in which the students attended selected classes in their field of interest.[21]

Students desiring admission to a Nazarene college provided the standard array of documents: a formal application, a validated medical

profile, a high school transcript, and the results of a national test such as A.C.T. or the College Boards. In addition to the usual documentation, Nazarene colleges required that a pledge be signed by all students seeking admission. The pledge stated that the student agreed to conform to the ideals of Christian living as interpreted by the Church of the Nazarene such as abstaining from alcohol or tobacco, modesty in dress, sobriety in conduct, and demonstration of the spirit of the sponsoring denomination in those activities in which one participated. It was a perpetual balancing act for Nazarene recruiters to solicit enough student recruits to make the institution solvent while maintaining the standards of the academic community. This concern was reflected during the earliest days of the open admission controversy. Nazarene colleges were warned by General Church leaders to be careful that the standards of admission be kept high enough so that the Nazarene colleges would not become dumping grounds for students who cannot go elsewhere.

Once students were recruited and enrolled in Nazarene colleges, another important process was initiated. The orientation process was vital not only to insure the smooth transition to collegiate life but also to reduce the attrition rate. Orientation varied from a two-day long to a semester-long process. Orientation usually originated from the director of admission or the dean of students office. The orientation process consisted of instruction concerning the curriculum, academic regulations, counseling services, social life, religious life and extracurricular activities. Peer-counseling was used by four of the colleges to personalize and increase the effectiveness of the orientation process.

As a part of holistic concern, eight Nazarene colleges provided a clinic staffed by a full-time or part-time nursing staff. Five of the colleges had a visiting physician with regular office hours, three had psychiatric service on campus, while the other five had psychiatric service on a referral basis. Two of the colleges had a health council to oversee the general well-being of their constituency; and one college had extensive on-campus medical facilities. Medical insurance was available at most of the colleges, though only a small percentage availed themselves of the opportunity. Most students carried coverage on policies held by their parents.

Since residentialism was a key to all Nazarene collegiate programs, all eight liberal arts colleges provided on-campus housing for all single students. Some were beginning to provide housing for married students as well. Each dormitory was managed by residence counselors. Residence colleges required complete food services. All of the Nazarene colleges after 1945 were serviced by college-owned food services. By 1978, all of the colleges had employed professional food services contracted to provide board for students. Since food was a significant factor in student morale, this was an area under constant criticism and scrutiny. The two professional food organizations employed by the various colleges were Saga Foods, Inc. and Pioneer Foods Inc. Saga was a California-based organization which, as a private corporation, catered to both religious and secular colleges. Pioneer Foods was a split-off of Saga and was owned by Christian businessmen who catered to church-related colleges.

Since private schools were more expensive and Nazarene schools

were not well endowed, student financial aid services played a vital part of all student personnel services. In addition to acting as a clearinghouse for state and federal funds, Nazarene colleges awarded three kinds of scholarships. Honors scholarships were awarded to those students who demonstrated academic excellence. Activity scholarships were awarded to students in athletics and other participatory areas. Need-based scholarships were given to those students who would not be able to attend without direct financial assistance. These services expanded in the era of increased federal fundings after 1965.

No area of student life was as controversial as was the struggle for intercollegiate athletics in the Church of the Nazarene. Northwest Nazarene College was the first Nazarene school to engage in intercollegiate sports in 1937. Subsequently Pasadena College began a varsity program in basketball for men. These programs were contrary to rulings made by the department of education of the Church of the Nazarene which stated that "intercollegiate athletics as commonly practiced in colleges was out of harmony with the spirit of the purposes of the institutions."[22] The General Board passed a resolution which resolved that the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene "guard carefully against the introduction of. . .ahtletics, . . .[and] literary entertainments. . .not. . .to the [glory of God]."[23]

The General Assembly of 1948 addressed the issue indirectly by stating that. . ."the competitive basis of our schools [athletic] programs] are unwarranted."[24] Undeterred, intercollegiate athletics

continued to expand during the 1950's. The General Assembly of 1956 was in no mood to counteract the prevailing winds of change. Two memorials were rejected which would have prohibited athletics on the basis that "such activity lessened emphasis in the spiritual and academic. . .and that it tended to destroy the intramural programs of the various schools."[25]

The basic issue at stake was one of control. The authority of the Church Manual which had inveighed against athletics since 1923 was brought into direct conflict with the various Boards of Trustees. The real power lay with the Boards, each duly incorporated by the state in which it was located. The power of the Manual and the Department of Education was derived from influence and prestige rather than from any legal basis.

The historic General Assembly of 1964 meeting in Portland attempted to resolve the issue. The New England District presented a memorial which was adopted by a vote of 58 to 28 that the General Assembly delete section 2 of paragraph 59 in the Appendix to the Manual which forbade intercollegiate athletics and substitute the rule that the colleges and schools of the Church of the Nazarene " shall be bound by such regulations regarding intercollegiate activities as the General Department of Education shall decide."[26] This dilution of the Church's stand made some members irate. A minority report was presented counter to the prevailing mood of the committee which argued that its members had received advice from secular schools that intercollegiate athletics were so expensive in terms of financial outlay and so difficult to keep in perspective relative to the academic life of the campus that it would be best

to avoid them altogether. The minority report called on the General Assembly to "reject the Memorial. . .and thereby maintain this check to secularism and this standard against worldliness."[27]

Sensing that the time was right to deal more forthrightly with this issue, those who favored intercollegiate athletics presented a second resolution which sought to bring the ideals of the Church in line with the reality of the colleges. Since four schools had athletic programs not in conformity with the Manual and since the physical education teaching certificate in many states requires some intercollegiate activity for coaches, it was proposed that the General Assembly simply delete section 2, paragraph 598. This was going too far too fast. It was rejected. The original motion to delete the controversial section and refer future decision to the Department of Education was adopted by the Assembly.

The intention of the Memorial was that the colleges be bound by such regulations regarding intercollegiate activities as the Department of Education decided. The General Board attempted to facilitate the process by establishing guidelines after the General Assembly of 1964 that suggested the Department of Education recommend pursuant to the law of the Assembly that the decision to participate in intercollegiate athletics be the responsibility of the various Boards of Trustees. It was further stipulated that all competition should be with schools have similar educational philosophies, policies and practices. In addition, no Nazarene college was to engage in intercollegiate football because of its costs.[30]

The cause for the changes from 1964 to 1966 were both hidden and obvious. The fact that the general mood of the Church toward intercollegiate activities had softened was evident in the very tactful

way the General Assembly of 1964 deferred the decision to the Department of Education which in turn referred it to the entities who had legal authority: the Boards of Trustees. The incongruity between a Manual provision and the actual practice of half of the Nazarene colleges had to be resolved. It proved more expedient to change the rule than to change the colleges. This indicated a lessening of the power of the General Church to shape events on the college campus. Subtly the colleges, as has been demonstrated, were taking their cues not from General Church leadership as much as from their own communities of interest.

This issue regarding intercollegiate activities again became a live issue when Olivet and Mid America began football programs. The decision of the Department in 1966 was to permit programs involving basketball and baseball but not football because of the expense. Yet when a showdown came in the mid-1970's regarding the rights of the colleges to establish football programs, the colleges and the Boards of Trustees were to prevail. These events seem proof of the general fact that religious values tend to adjust to the society at large. The ultimate result was that the Church's influence over its educational institutions tended to wane. They also suggested that while the Church was still in control, the mechanism whereby such control could decline was in working order.

The extent to which Nazarene colleges made an impact on the Church was never in doubt. Surveys of alumni conducted reveal this fact conclusively. A survey conducted in 1948 by the Department of Education revealed that, of over 3,000 people surveyed, 60 per cent of the pastors in the Church and 64 per cent of the

missionaries were products of Nazarene schools.[31] Two surveys were conducted in 1960 which recorded 4,696 responses. It indicated that 68 per cent of all pastors attended Nazarene schools, 44 per cent of the pastors' wives, 70 per cent of the missionaries and 52 per cent of the evangelists.[32] The 1972 General Assembly recorded the fact that 82 per cent of all church leaders at the general and district level, college presidents and General Board members were alumni of Nazarene colleges.[33] These figures indicate how vital the colleges were to the character of the Church of the Nazarene.

The doctrine of _in loco parentis_ was a legacy of the colonial college. This doctrine led to the practice that the college was to stand in place of the parent while the student was away from home pursuing an education. The college was to reinforce and monitor those values which were widely held by a fairly homogenous society, With the massive immigrations of the nineteenth-century, America became a more heterogenous society, and the values of the white, dominant class were in jeopardy. Consequently, the doctrine of parietal control by educational institutions took a distinctively Victorian flavor. Victorian ideals taught people. . ."to work hard, to postpone gratification, to repress themselves sexually, to 'improve' themselves, to be sober, conscientous, even compulsive."[34] These values associated and assimilated by the perfectionistic movement of the late nineteenth-century created a cultural complex which was to prevail in the educational institutions of the Church of the Nazarene.

In loco parentis in the Nazarene schools involved a wedding of the more salient features of Victorianism combined with a strong Bible ethic. The result was a system of student control which emphasized

regular chapel, continuous spiritual emphasis through involvement in Christian service activities, small group Bible and prayer groups, prayer opening all classes and regular campus-wide revivals with guest revivalists. In addition, a strong sense of control was exercised through highly regulated dormitory, cafeteria and social activities. Prior to World War II, all the Nazarene colleges required chapel five days a week. In addition, regular attendance at Sunday school, Sunday morning and Sunday evening worship services, and Wednesday night prayer meetings were required and often monitored.

The principles of parental control exercised by colleges in the public sector began to decline in the early part of the twentieth century. By World War II, in loco parentis was severely weakened in state and independently-controlled colleges and universities. During the 1960's, it drastically declined. In many mainline denominations a similar pattern can be discerned. The Nazarenes, as previously demonstrated, underwent a period of retrenchment during the 1920's and 1930's which made them more reactive against change.

The decade of the 1940's "was a decade of paradoxes and contradictions in American society."[35] The war and its aftermath resulted in the lowering of generally accepted moral standards and the blurring of ethical codes. Since Nazarene higher education was undergoing a generation-long process of entering the academic mainstream, it was inconceivable that it could escape these social trends unscathed.

The traditional code that governed the conduct of student life was contained in the General Rules section of the Manual (Appendix P). From these rules was extracted a code of conduct with which the youth of the Church did not always agree. The ethical rules for behavior

were combined with an emphasis on etiquette. This was the cause for meals being traditionally served family style rather than cafeteria style on Nazarene college campuses. The purpose of mealtime was not only to receive sustenance but to inculcate certain prescribed social graces. The colleges were concerned that each student "strive to be polite, applying the things learned at home, . . .[knowing that] there is no tradition on campus which mistakes bad manners for sophistication."[36] Dress and behavior came under close scrutiny under this system. Intertwined with legitimate religious objectives, the doctrine of _in loco parentis_ flourished in Nazarene colleges until the 1960's.

The social dislocation experienced by Nazarene colleges during the student unrest of the 1960's was never as severe or prolonged as it was elsewhere in the nation's campuses. Nevertheless, it did make significant inroads toward undermining the doctrine of parental control. A spirit of involvement swept over Nazarene colleges during the 1960's. This spirit bred a noncomformity and rebellion which undermined the homogeneity of the parietal system. The decline of parietal control did not bode well for the application of denominational sanctioned rules. The response of the General Church ranged from indignation to resigned concern. The Quadrennial Report of the Department of Education reported in 1972 that to expect the national restlessness to leave the church's colleges unscathed would be to "expect a miracle . . .since Nazarene students are as alert and contemporary as students on any campus."[38] Living in the current fad of the Age of Aquarius, the youth of the church college were bothered by the perceived hypocrisy of their elders on a number of issues including the

rules which governed much of the social life of the Nazarene college campus. There was a sense in which the generation of students during the 1960's had a sense of destiny. This spirit of de javu was paradoxically wedded to the feeling of angst that came from a sense of alienation from the present and uncertainty about the future. The rise of the drug-oriented counter-culture made small yet noteworthy inroads on the Nazarene college campus.

The general social unrest of higher education caused many of the more conservative elements in the Church to despair and seriously question the breakdown of in loco parentis on the college campus. The Department of Education reported to the Eighteenth General Assembly that the Church had been faithful to support the colleges despite frequently overstated reports of campus turmoil, changes in dress styles, hair styles, and life styles among the Church's young. The report warned that since perception for the local churches beomes reality regardless of whether the perception is true, all Nazarenes should be aware of ". . .garbled rumors of campus activities which have been wrecklessly [and sometimes maliciously] bandied about by thoughtless people. . .".[39] Yet the church still believed in its colleges as evidenced by the fact that each year during the turmoil of the 1960's and 1970's the Church increased its giving to its colleges.

The results of these changes were significant. Chapels moved from being daily affairs in 1940 to being two to three times a week. Chapel absence was no longer cause for dismissal, as less severe penalties were given out. Since chapel was the unique time for the church college in which community could be built, this was indeed a major change.

Dress codes were modified after prolonged struggles. New codes provided wider freedom in terms of dress depending upon the region

of the country. The colleges in the East and West seemed more open to change in this area than did the schools in the Midwest and South.

There was also conflict over dormitory hours which eventually led to a liberalization of the times in which students were required to be in residence. Throughout the years following the beginnings of student activism, the dorm hours were moved progressively to later times, first for men and then for the women. In addition, new procedures were instituted to give students due process when accused of infractions against the code of behavior. These included the right of appeal, the establishment of peer judicial courts and in some cases the writing of a student bill of rights.[40] An indication of these trends was the changes in the titles of personnel who managed resident halls. The traditional name of dorm dads and moms was used up until the early 1970's to buttress the notion that the parietal control of students was in force. The shift to titles such as residence director or residence counselor during the 1970's was indicative of a shift to a more professional attempt to deal with students as adults and a moving away from parietal control.

Another important change which signaled the decline of <u>in loco parentis</u> was the struggle over control of student publications. These publications emerged as forums for students to voice concern and dissenting opinions to prevailing policies, many of which bolstered the parental nature of the college. A survey of student newspapers among the Nazarene colleges revealed that prior to 1964, most of the newspapers gave the most coverage to campus religious and social activities. After that year, there was a marked increase in reporting

events of national or international concern. This new awareness was coupled with a more critical view of those campus policies which were perceived as anachronistic or unjust.

There were some challenges to the traditional role of students which were not cast in the mold of conflict. In efforts to broaden the participation of students in the life of the institution, students were appointed to membership in previously all-faculty committees at several of the Nazarene colleges. Student-faculty workshops at three of the institutions were begun in the late 1960's in order to solve problems that occurred. Students were given non-voting representation on the Board of Trustees at most of the colleges as well. What occurred on the campus of Nazarene colleges would fit Henry Steele Commager's assessment of the changing role of the individual in modern society. He said that even though society in the twentieth century put a premium on individualism, it declined and eccentricity disappeared. Standardization came to permeate American life. Life became increasingly regimented due to technological efficiency.[41]

The reaction of the 1960's was against standardization and depersonalization in American society. While the system incorporated in the doctrine of _in loco parentis_ did not depersonalize the students, it did seek to standardize their conduct and appearance. Consequently, in the great reaction against the standardization of mass culture, _in loco parentis_ fell victim. The concerns which plagued Nazarene educators was expressed by Grady Cothen. He said the forces of society changing Christian colleges were a permissive society, participatory society, high societal expectation

and legal limitations. All were factors working toward secularization of students and faculty. "The first portion of a Christian college to become secularized is the students, and the faculty soon follow the process," he wrote.[42]

Faculty Profiles

An examination of the faculty of Nazarene colleges since 1945 revealed the dimensions in which that segment of Nazarene higher education had changed. In 1948 there were a total of 234 faculty members in seven institutions. Of that number, 178 were men and 56 were women. By 1978, there were 734 faculty members with 507 being men and 227 women. There was a slight percentage increase during the period in the number of female faculty members (Table Seven).

One of the concerns of accrediting agencies was for a process known as ingrown faculty development. This process occurred when an institution had an unusually large number of faculty from the same institution. This homogeneity was generally considered detrimental to the college's effective functioning. Instead, accrediting agencies preferred more diverse and pluralistic faculty. The obvious dilemma which faced Nazarene administrators was how to cope with this development yet still procure faculty acceptable to the religious standards of the Church of the Nazarene. In 1948, 135 faculty members were graduates of Nazarene institutions while 99 were graduates of other colleges and universities (Table Seven). Of this number, 79 faculty were teaching at the college from which they had graduated.

By 1978, 452 or 61 per cent of all Nazarene faculty had graduated from Nazarene institutions. This compared with 57 per cent in 1948. Overall, the change appeared insignificant, yet it remained a constant concern. It was interesting that colleges such as Eastern, Northwest and Mid America were more heavily staffed with Nazarene graduates than Olivet, Trevecca or Point Loma. In fact, less than half of the faculty members at Point Loma were Nazarene college graduates. By 1978, 239 faculty were teaching at the college from which they graduated. This figure of 60% was roughly the same percentage as in 1948.

Another trend which reflected an accommodation with limited financial resources and expanding programs was the increased use of adjunct, part-time faculty. One out of seven faculty members by 1978 was in this category (Table Seven). Not only did this allow Nazarene colleges to secure teachers to fill needed slots in the curriculum without an appointment, but it gave academic planners more flexibility in piecing together the courses needed for student demand.

A major problem for Nazarene colleges was faculty recruitment and retention. Faculty recruitment was made doubly difficult by stipulation that prospective personnel be both academically qualified and in sympathy with the doctrines and practices of the Church of the Nazarene. Faculty retention was also made difficult by the unusually heavy teaching loads, which left little time for research and public service, and by salaries that have traditionally not been competitive.

Faculty selection varied with each institution but generally each school tried first to employ members of the Nazarene church. In the 1940's and 1950's the colleges were more reluctant to employ non-Nazarenes on their faculties.[43] They were often forced to do so because of failure to find enough who were academically qualified. The goal of Nazarene faculty selection was to develop a community of teachers who were both committed Christians and creative scholars. They must be concerned about integration of spiritual insight and advancing knowledge. They were to be "by precept and example, . . .able to inspire students to dedicate themselves to the service of God."[44]

More recent views of faculty selection make it apparent that there is a somewhat more diverse policy among Nazarene colleges than immediately after World War II. Point Loma, for instance, has a policy that professors must be in accord with the basic aims of the College first as a Christian liberal arts college and then as a Nazarene college. The policy concludes by saying that "professors are not required to be [Nazarenes], but should support its ideals."[45] Mid Amierca has a policy which makes specific certain things required of its faculty. The college stated that "faculty selection was based on a complete commitment to the authority of the Bible. . .and they must relate what they teach to the Bible."[46]

It was not until the period after 1940 that the Nazarene colleges made significant headway in upgrading the salary and fringe benefits for faculty. It was little wonder that they were subsequently able to attract and maintain high qualified faculty. In 1940, the base salary for faculty ranged from $600.00 to $950.00 per year.[47] With

the post War prosperity, Nazarene colleges had more than doubled their salaries by 1949 to from $1500.00 to $3200.00 per year.[48] By 1960, salaries had risen slowly from $2700.00 to $5000.00 per year.[49]

Within a decade, salaries had risen on the average from $7,726.00 to $12,890.00. By 1978, faculty salaries made another significant jump. Salaries increased from a low for the instructor rank of $10,160 to a high for a full professor of $18,695.[50] Thus in the period from 1945 to 1978, salaries for Nazarene college faculty increased over 1700 per cent, although remaining well below the national average.

Prior to World War II, none of the colleges offered any meaningful fringe benefits to faculty members. It was all most of the schools could do to meet salary obligations. But in the desire to attract and hold new faculty and provide more equitably for older faculty, the colleges moved steadily forward in this area. No Nazarene college had a systematic health insurance program in 1945. By 1978, all the colleges had excellent health insurance programs which were paid by the colleges. Additionally, some colleges made provisions for life insurance policies at reduced costs for the faculty. Beginning in the 1950's, the colleges became aware that something must be done in addition to partial payment of social security to provide for the retirement of college teachers. After experimenting with various private annuity funds, all the colleges came to participate in the retirement program established by the Carnegie Foundation. The Teacher's Investment Annuity Association along with the College Retirement Equities Fund (T.I.A.A. - C.R.E.F.), proved to be a great boon in providing adequate support for faculty retirement.

Other benefits included upgrading sabbatical leavel privileges, support for graduate study and funds for professional development activity.

Because each member of the faculty was assumed to be personally committed to the Christian way of life and to helping students achieve the same, the whole question of academic freedom had a unique formulation not normally encountered in non-religious academic circles. The idea of lehrfreiheit, or freedom to teach, has deep roots in higher education. The ancient idea took on new meaning in twentieth-century America. Due to threats leveled at academia from various quarters which questioned the right to objectively research any idea and faithfully publish the results of that research, the American Association of University Professors was founded in 1915. By 1940 they hammered out a written position on academic freedom which has become a landmark for the right to research.

While accepting the principle of academic freedom, no Nazarene college, because of the presupposition upon which it is founded, has been able to actualize these ideals. Various reasons have been advanced to justify the Church's reticence. While recognizing that academic freedom is a cherished ideal in American education, the church could only go so far as to say that the ideal was respected and understood. The Nazarene colleges, however, believed that all freedom was based on restriction for "every privilege involves a corresponding sense of responsibility."[51] For this reason calls for academic freedom could not be used on the Nazarene campus to justify activities and beliefs counter to Church opinion.

Even more than the notion that freedom implied responsibility, the strong sectarian ties of the Church to its colleges preempted any strong commitment to investigative or instructional freedom, especially

in areas that might conflict with religious dogma and practice. The colleges did not interpret academic freedom as academic license, but felt that with freedom went responsibility. In addition to the freedom of faculty and students, it was felt that the recognition of the academic rights of the constitutency and of the Church that founded and supported the colleges had to be considered. These latter two had the right to insist that the religious and denominational objectives be carried out.[52]

In order to preserve the denominational loyalty and doctrinal emphasis which had created the denomination initially, Nazarene college administrators and faculty members were required to give testimony to the experience of entire sanctification. In addition, they were held responsible by the General Church for being in harmony with the rules of conduct of the denomination. This was considered vital to the conservative elements in the Church who felt the colleges must bolster denominational loyalty, not negate it. This traditional view also held that Nazarene faculty should be evangelistic in that they not only serve to bring unsaved students to Christ but are active in the local church programs as well. In short, the Church "expected its college faculty to be competent in their professional fields and be active, enthusiastic Churchmen by bearing well the responsibilities of laymen."[53] The responsibility placed on Nazarene faculty was heavy because it was believed their impact on the future well-being of the Church was great.

Christian scholars were making renewed calls for academic freedom as a key in making denominational colleges intellectually sound. Bernard Ramm said that a college must foster that freedom which is "sovereignty in the pursuit of truth."[54] In pursuing the ideals of truth, colleges

must be free from the pressure of Church and state. He was aware of the difficulties involved in his proposition in light of "the Christian commitment to revelation which on the surface seems to exclude a robust practice of academic freedom."[55] In spite of the dilemma of trying to reconcile the finality of Christian revelation with the openness of academic learning, Ramm felt it was worth the risk.

Another sign of the growing professionalism of Nazarene faculty was intertwined with the issue of academic freedom. The growing trend to grant tenure to faculty had by 1978 affected almost half of the full-time teachers in the ten Nazarene institutions. Most colleges had some sort of contractual arrangements with faculty prior to 1945. These contracts were annual, and few faculty members were guaranteed re-employment until the contracts were let. By the late 1950's, the issue of tenure for faculty members became a growing concern among Nazarene faculties. The more highly trained persons coming to the colleges were in search of some security in terms of longer-term employment. Five of the colleges indicated that between 1960 and 1965, they adopted written policies regarding tenure.[56]

Most statements of tenure found in the various faculty handbooks were fairly similar. Minimum terms of service and degrees held were required before tenure consideration. Tenure at all the schools can be terminated in the event of gross inefficiency, mental or physical deficiency or moral turpitude. At some of the colleges, tenure had been considered automatic based on a minimum length of service to the institution. In this regard, Eastern Nazarene was one of the last schools to adopt a new tenure policy which made it contingent on approval by a recognized faculty or board committee and not

an automatic process.[57]

The value of tenure was the increased sense of job satisfaction and security afforded faculty members. The Church of the Nazarene was urged to rally to the support of the colleges by rewarding those faculty members who had proven worthy to the institution. Not only was this to include increased compensation commensurate to the expenditure of time and money one must invest in preparation, but tenure as well. The granting of tenure was to serve a dual benefit. On the one hand it would help the church to secure and maintain faculty qualified both in spirit and in mind to teach its young. Job security could be exchanged for stability in the church college. This goal, the Church was told, could not be overlooked.[58]

It is clear from an examination of the composition and character of Nazarene college faculty members since 1945 that several important changes occurred. Besides the numerical growth, there was growth in quality of academic preparation. The Nazarene college teacher of 1978 was much closer to his secular counterpart than the 1945 Nazarene professor was to his counterpart in academic preparation and interests. This diminishing difference, which signaled a mainstreaming of Nazarene faculties with American higher education, was reflected in an increased preoccupation with academic professionalization.

The growth of a professional conscience among American higher education faculty members began during the heart of the progressive era in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[59] It occurred partly in reaction to those segments of society who were suspicious of higher education and partly as a new sense of self-respect was reaching maturity.

The progressionalization of the faculty moved toward research orientation, pursuit of the terminal degree in one's field of study, and striving for objectivity and accuracy in research and teaching. In addition, faculty increasingly sought identity in terms of a professional association. The loyalty to the institution was replaced by loyalty to the professional. These events had an impact on Nazarene higher education since 1945.

The concern for the potential denigration of Nazarene higher education with the growth of faculty professionalism was great. There was widespread feeling that faculty members occupied the key position's future. Consequently, it followed that the Church assumed the right to demand of its college professors genuine and deep spirituality and whole-hearted loyalty to the Church and its programs as well as adequate educational preparation. As it was common knowledge that "a college situation can be dangerous to spirituality, the decline of Churches can often be traced to the cold, intellectual rationalism and humanism which crept into the faculty."[60] The Church was constantly aware of this danger and sought through prayer and labor to maintain a level of spiritual fervor on campus to prevent its colleges from succumbing to the subtle temptation to substitute professionalism for spirituality.

The practice of screening faculty applicants both for Christian commitment and institutional loyalty naturally weeded out individuals who were overtly unacceptable to the Church-related college. This process of insuring the integrity of Christian institutions of higher education by monitoring very closely the critical issue of faculty belief and practice certainly had historicaly precedence to support it. Yet

the concern still existed that the move toward accreditation would necessitate appointing highly trained individuals whose critical thinking would make them less prone to conformity to the guidelines of Nazarene higher education. There had been a growing desire on the part of all the colleges to obtain the best trained and most highly qualified faculty possible. The leadership of the Church warned the colleges to take care "lest an overweening desire to attain scholastic recognition through an accumulation of Ph.D. degrees should cause us to lose our perspective and true goal."[61] The General Church would be satisfied with the colleges if each teacher was a holiness teacher in faith and practice. It wanted teachers who were not preoccupied with research, but who saw their prime goal as serving the constitutency of the Church.

Yet in spite of these concerns by the General Church regarding professionalism among Nazarene faculties, faculty members were increasingly urged by the local institutions to maintain membership in professional organizations in their teaching fields, subscribe to journals in order to stay current and to vigorously pursue programs of study leading to the doctorate.[62]

Increasingly each of the colleges urged their faculty members to publish scholarly works, attend professional meetings, or secure research grants or engage in other professional developments. Most recently, faculty development programs have been developed to encourage the upgrading of the professional competency of the staff. Initially these programs were rather modest affairs funded by the colleges. Since 1976, several of the colleges have been able to obtain rather sizable grants from federal entitlement programs for

this purpose. Most of the faculty development programs were centered around the improvement of classroom teaching through skills enhancement or new knowledge. The major difference in the professionalism of faculty at Nazarene institutions with their secular counterpart regarded that latter's commitment to research rather than teaching.

The Carnegie Commission reported that faculty with strong religious commitments have a special view on the functions and purposes of teaching. This meant that highly religious faculty are statistically less likely to achieve a high position in a ranking university and less likely to have scholarly orientations or to publish regularly.[63] The Carnegie Report went on to suggest that there is an incompatibility between religion and scholarship, but it does not take the form of crude anti-intellectualism, rather it is grounded in values that are legitimate and valuable in American higher education.[64]

Christopher Jencks and David Riesman concurred by suggesting that the professionalization of the faculty reduced the internal homogeneity of many special-purpose institutions.[65] As Nazarene college faculty become increasingly a part of the cognitive minority of scholars in American society, they struggled to maintain the uniqueness of denominational commitment which made them a "deviant cognitive minority."[66] The point of reference for their professional identity came increasingly from their discipline and less from the denomination. The conclusions reached by Jencks and Riesman were sobering news for Christian pietists in the Nazarene Church. They stated that a major external force working against the continued influence of Protestant denominations on their colleges was the

gradual professionalization of the faculty. The net result of these changes in the internal dynamics and external pressures of Protestant colleges was that while most started out as narrowly sectarian, few remained that way.[67]

Administrative Profiles

The social profile of Nazarene administrators in the period since 1945 showed expected stability. In all but a few categories such as level of education and social background, Nazarene administrators in the recent period were more similar to the earlier counterparts than were either the students or the faculty. Since the administrative structure of Nazarene colleges in the early period was small-scaled and relatively simple, the ability of the administrators was not always as important as their spiritual vision. The smaller responsibilities of the earlier period gave way to the increasingly complex responsibilities of the post-war era.[68]

Demographic studies revealed that the administrative officers and staffs of the Nazarene colleges grew more than eight-fold during the period since 1945.[69] A typical profile of a Nazarene administrator revealed they were almost exclusively male, in early middle age, with classroom teaching experience. No female at present has served as president of a Nazarene institution although several women have served with distinction in the capacity of academic dean.[70] The chief executive officer of each institution was with rare exception an ordained minister in the Church of the Nazarene. There have been several exceptions to this rule who have served the Church well.[71]

The salaries of administrator have been historically low. In 1945, the average president's salary was less than $4,000.00. These salaries

for administrators rose according to the increased standard of the Church and expectations for that level of responsibility. By 1978, the figures were much improved but still well below counterparts in other segments of higher education. The average total cash compensation for academic deans at Nazarene schools was $25,918 (Appendix Q, Table VIII). These figures ran from a low of $24,901 at Trevecca to a high of $29,901 at Point Loma. Total compensation for Deans of Students averaged $23,273 with a high of $26,323 at Mid America and a low of $20,593 at Nazarene Bible College. The average total compensation for business managers was $24,898 with a high at Mount Vernon of $28,003 and a low of $19,252 at Northwest. The average total compensation for directors of development was $22,983 with a high of $26,408 at Mid America and a low of $18,431 at Mount Vernon. In addition, Eastern and Point Loma Colleges provided money for housing and utilities. These two institutions did so due to the fact that they were located in regions of the country in which the costs of living was among the nation's highest (Appendix Q, Table VIII).

The average total cash salary of presidents of Nazarene institutions was $31,639 in 1978. The lowest salaries paid were in the $27,000 range given by the Nazarene Bible College and Northwest Nazarene College (Appendix Q, Table IX). The highest paid was $36,000 by Bethany Nazarene College. Included in the total remuneration of all administrators were many of the same benefits extended to faculty such as health and life insurance paid by the college, retirement programs and social security payments. In addition, most of the colleges provided housing allowances, utility allowances, and automobile and

fuel allowances (Appendix Q, Tables VIII, IX).

The role of the administrators has changed since 1945 as much as the faculty's. A growing awareness that management was as much a science as an art fostered the realization that administrators needed periodic exposure to new ideas. Subsequently, serious efforts in administrative development began which can best be described as the rise of administrative profesionalization. These developments occurred along the general lines of planning, evaluation and integration.

In terms of planning, Nazarene administrators realized that failure to implement long-range planning could be devastating. Bitter lessons had been learned by each of the schools about overcommitment of resources or the misdirection of efforts in particular programs. Personnel trained in long-range planning were hired and faculty and students were involved in periodic planning exercises with the intention of managing the future.

Evaluation was an integral part of growing interests in measuring the results of education. While admittedly ephemeral, efforts were made to structure the objectives of the college in such a way that the outcomes could be measured and evaluated. The movement to state all the outcomes of the institution in performance or behavioral terms was not without its difficulties. In spite of the problems, administrators were convinced that such a cluster of objectives was essential for the college to wisely allocate its resources for the most cost-effective operation possible.

The effort to integrate the task of management involved both internal and external components. The attempt to implement partici-

patory management of Nazarene institutions involved numerous efforts to involve and articulate the diverse functions which occurred in a college setting. Olivet introduced a Town Meeting idea in 1966 to open communication among faculty, students and administration on mutual problems facing that campus.[72] Other colleges had their own programs of a periodic or occasional nature to integrate college affairs. Internally, Nazarene educators established annual working conferences in which all the administrators gathered to conduct workshops on topics of current interest. Between 1968 and 1972, the pace of activities of an interinstitutional nature quickened. During that period of time annual conferences were held with the college presidents, deans, deans of students and business managers in attendance dealing with critical issues of mutual concern. An intensive fund-raising workshop was conducted for these groups by the United States Office of Education. A seminar was held for recruitment officers by a nationally recognized official. A fiscal management workshop brought all the business managers together. This was conducted with funds provided by the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges. The Council of Education, which consisted of college presidents and all general superintendents, also met annually in order to harmonize and standardize the educative work of the Church. Finally, the liberal arts colleges joined a consortium to present joint proposals to the federal government.[73]

Between 1972 and 1976, some 33 significant meetings were held to integrate the ideas and efforts of Nazarene college administrators.[74] These included annual meetings by the presidents, four meetings by the

Council of Education, four meetings by the athletic coaches, four meetings by student leaders and student personnel officers, three meetings by the deans, six by the business managers and financial aid officers and one by the recruitment officers. The appreciation of the work of these Nazarene college officers by the General Church was tempered by the reality of the difficult times that lay ahead. While grateful for the courage and vision of its educational administrators, it was believed that ". . .the best done so far is below what must be done [in the future] if we are to mainta n our present standards [of excellence]."[75]

ENDNOTES

[1]The thirteen states are California, 1613 students or 13.8 per cent; Ohio with 940 students or 8.1 per cent; Illinois with 927 students or 8.0 per cent; Tennessee with 882 or 7.5 per cent; Kansas with 600 or 5.1 per cent; Oklahoma with 504 or 4.8 per cent; Idaho with 410 or 3.5 per cent; Michigan with 341 or 2.9 per cent, Texas with 320 or 2.7 per cent, Washington with 307 or 2.6 per cent; Massachusetts with 261 or 2.2 per cent; and Colorado with 205 or 1.7 per cent.

[2]Annual Statistical Report for the Department of Education and the Ministry, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1978), p. 66.

[3]"Summary of Distribution of Degrees Granted by Nazarene Colleges," (An unpublished mimeographed paper, Nazarene Archives, n.d.), p. 1.

[4]Quadrennial Report of the Department of Education, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1968), p. 6.

[5]Kate Heuner Mueller, Student Personnel Work in Higher Education (Boston, 1961), p. 55.

[6]Samuel Young, "Maintaining and Extending the Ideals of Our Holiness Colleges," (Unpublished Paper presented at the Third Educational Conference [Bethany, 1953]), p.1.

[7]North Central Accreditation Report for Bethany-Peniel College, (Bethany, 1954), p. 15.

[8]Lawrence Wayne Sears, "A History of the Origin and Growth of the Church of the Nazarene in Kansas" (an unpublished M.S. Thesis, Kansas State Teacher's College, 1949), pp. 97-8.

[9]Alvin Ray Atwood, "A Study Student Personnel Services Available in Colleges of the Church of the Nazarene in the United States with Certain Recommendations for Improvements" (an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, East Texas State University, 1970), p. 233.

[10]Ibid., p. 229.

[11]Constitution and By-Laws of Phi Delta Lambda (Kansas City, 1950), p. 1.

[12] Phi Delta Lambda Newsletter, XVI, 1 (Kansas City, 1970), p. 2.

[13] Nazarene Student Leadership Conference Report of 1967 (Kansas City, 1967), pp. 8, 19-20.

[14] Dugald S. Arbuckle, Student Personnel Services in Higher Education (New Y rk, 1953), p. 23.

[15] Atwood, pp. 119 ff.

[16] Ibid., p. 12.

[17] Ben Wood and Associates, A Digest of Trends in Higher Education Within the Christian Perspective (Wheaton, 1976), p. 53.

[18] Ibid., p. 54.

[19] The Christian Scholar of Eastern Nazarene College, XXVI, 4 (1965), p. 4.

[20] Proceedings of the Seventeenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1968), p. 128.

[21] Proceedings of the Sixteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Portland, 1964), p. 187.

[22] L.C. Philo, "The Historical Development and Present Status of Educational Institutions in the Church of the Nazarene," (an unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1958), p. 224.

[23] Minutes, General Board of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1935), pp. 89-90.

[24] Proceedings of the Twelfth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (St. Louis, 1948), p. 173.

[25] Proceedings of the Fourteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1956), p. 173.

[26] Proceedings, Sixteenth General Assembly, p. 117.

[27] Ibid., p. 119.

[28] Ibid., p. 117.

[29] Minutes, General Board of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas C ty, 1960), pp. 117 ff.

[30] President's Report, Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, 1968), p. 55.

[31]Proceedings of the Thirteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1952), p. 244.

[32]Proceedings of the Fifteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1960), p. 286.

[33]Proceedings of the Eighteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Miami, 1972), p. 383.

[34]Daniel Walker Hower, "Victorian Culture in America," in Victorian America, Daniel Howe (ed.), (Philadelphia, 1976), p. 17.

[35]Grady C. Cothen, Faith and Higher Education (Nashville, 1976), p. 17.

[36]E.N.C.'s Keys to the Campus, 1949, p. 42.

[37]Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, The Academic Revolution (Garden City, 1969), p. 326.

[38]Proceedings, Eighteenth General Assembly, p. 384.

[39]Ibid., p. 385.

[40]"Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for Northwest Nazarene College," in the Crusader Handbook, 1977, p. 11.

[41]Henry Steele Commager, The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's (New Haven, 1950), pp. 412, 422.

[42]Cothen, p. 33.

[43]Ray, p. 41.

[44]Catalog, Eastern Nazarene College, 1959, p. 16.

[45]The Report of Pasadena College to the Western College Association and the State of California Board of Education (Pasadena, 1963), p. 185.

[46]President's Report, Mid America Nazarene College (Olathe, 1974), p. 4.

[47]President's Report, Trevecca Nazarene College (Nashville, 1960), p. 14.

[48]Faculty Handbook, Olivet Nazarene College, 1965, p. 6.

[49]Faculty Handbook, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1966, p. 35.

[50]Annual Report, Department of Education and the Ministry, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1978), p. 11.

[51] Faculty Handbook, Pasadena College, 1949, p. 111B.

[52] Institutional Self-Study, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1971-2 (Nashville, 1972), p. 355.

[53] Report of the Nazarene Education Commission of 1963 (Kansas City, 1963 , p. 21.

[54] Bernard Ramm, The Christian College in the Twentieth Century (Grand Rapids, 1963), p. 8.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Handbook of Faculty and Middle Management Policies and Procedures, Northwest Nazarene College (rev. 1974), p. 4.

[57] President's Report, Eastern Nazarene College (Wollaston, 1976), p.7.

[58] Proceedings, Twelfth General Assembly, p. 285.

[59] Jencks and Riesman, p. 15.

[60] Paul T. Culbertson, "Educators and the Church of the Nazarene," in The Pasadena College Clarion, XXIV, 4 (1953), p. 3.

[61] Young, p. 3.

[62] As demonstrated in the Pasadena College Faculty Handbook July, 1949, p. III-B.

[63] Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Sponsored Research of the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education 1975), p. 37.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Jencks and Riesman, p. 327.

[66] Dennis Kinlaw, "The Original Mandate," (An unpublished paper presented to the Faith and Learning Conference, [Olathe, 1978]), p. 2.

[67] Jencks and Riesman, p. 326-7.

[68] Northwest, Mount Vernon, Olivet and Trevecca had this type of system. Mid America and Point Loma had administrative assistants to the presidents who fulfilled similar functions.

[69] From a compilation of catalog listings from all the colleges for 1948 and 1978.

[70]Notably Olive Winchester and Thelma Culver of N.N.C. and Bertha Munroe of E.N.C.

[71]A.B. Mackey of T.N.C. and John T. Benson of T.N.C., both started prior to 1945.

[72]_Glimmerglass, Olivet Nazarene College_ (Kankakee, 1966), p. 4.

[73]_Proceedings, Eighteenth General Assembly_, p. 38.

[74]_Proceedings, Nineteenth General Assembly_, p. 453.

[75]_Proceedings, Fifteenth General Assembly_, p. 284.

CHAPTER VI

AN INTELLECTUAL PROFILE OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 1945-1978

The Mainstreaming of the Nazarene Movement

The colleges of the Church of the Nazarene as a part of the national educational scene were subjected to the numerous intellectual crosscurrents which buffeted society during the last century. Standing at the intersection of cultural forces such as secularism, scientism and materialism, Nazarene mind-sets were invariably influenced by the tension caused by these ideologies.

This study advances the notion that these ideologies made a greater impact on the intellectual life of Nazarene higher education than was widely conceded by leaders and educators in the denomination. Stow Persons accounted for the cultural interaction of churches with their environment when he observed, "The Protestant denominational adjustment to the secular culture of American democracy allowed for considerable mutual interplay between religious and secular elements."[1] Any effort to understand the intellectual life of Nazarene colleges must first consider certain developments within the denomination itself.

No denomination can remain static regardless of the effort it expends in the attempt. The life history of a religious organization usually follows

a sequence of five phases. The organization begins with the acceptance by a group of the challenge of a felt need. There follows this initial conflict the organizational and the expansion phases of the group. The organizational-functional stage follows in which the organization operates in line with its original function. As it begins to lose that function, the organization disintegrates unless a new dynamic is found.[2]

C. Harold Ripper's 1942 study of the Church of the Nazarene concluded that it appeared to have completed the second or organizational phase in the life cycle.[3] Ripper concluded that the position of the denomination at that time was still functioning in harmony with its original purpose. The critical period for the Church would come with the transition to the organization-functioning phase. It would be at some future time that maintenance of the institutional dynamic would be most threatened. Few realized how rapidly that future would arrive due in part to the massive changes caused by the social and economic responses to World War II.

Recent study has identified four marked phases of organizational restructure within the Church. These historical phases in the history of the Church of the Nazarene generally followed Ripper's outline, but more recent scholarship has been richer in detail and more descriptive in the meaning of these changes. Mendell Taylor said the church had gone through three periods of change from its origins through 1964.[4] The first occurred between 1923 and 1928. The General Assembly of 1923 opened up the Church with a revision of the Church Manual. This event coincided with a redefinition of the role of the district superintendent from a missionary and church planter to an administrator.[5] These facts supported Ripper's notion that within two decades of its

founding the Church was on the leading edge of the second developmental phase in its history which was completed by 1940.

The second administrative period of change occurred between 1946 and 1950. During this period the top leadership of the Church which had guided it from its earliest days changed. Three general superintendents died, and with the silencing of their voices, the Church became aware of the need to compensate for the loss.[6] Another indication that this period of adjustment corresponded to the organization-functioning phase was the creation of full-time executive secretaries to manage church business coupled with an all-out evangelistic emphasis at mid-century. The founding of Nazarene Theological Seminary cannot be separated from the momentum of this second period of change.

A third period of administrative and organization change in the Church came in the mid 1960's. Again it appears that these changes corresponded with concerns that the organizational-functioning phase of the church was in jeopardy. The creation of three new educational institutions reflected the concerns of the General Church over the directions of education in the recent past and its prospects for the future.[7] Part of this concern was that in the move toward accreditation, college leaders were acting more the part of administrators of intellectual centers of learning than ever before. Gone was the older model of the preacher in charge of the Bible school. These concerns, coupled with the great growth patterns which were changing college social profiles, precipitated the 1964 changes at the Sixteenth General Assembly in Portland.

A fourth significant period of change in the administrative and organizational structure of the Church of the Nazarene occurred at the

Nineteenth General Assembly of 1976. Concerns were expressed about restructuring the Church to make the organization more effective. The issue of internalizing the Church to make representation by world mission areas more equitable was addressed and approved.[8] The real concern of the Church leadership was over decline in the growth of the Church membership for the first time in the Church's history and concerns that the present generation of Nazarene was not being as loyal to the ideals of the founders as before. The Nazarenes were becoming less homogenous and identifiable as a religious body. The administrative development of the Church was close to the historic stages outlined by Ripper decades earlier. He stated that in the second and third generations, a sect often begins to lose its character. The need grows for indoctrination of the young in its peculiar doctrines. Those who are trained in the sect seldom espouse its principles with the same devotion of those who were initiated by personal experience.

> The virtues of frugality and industry bear fruit in prosperity, and when prosperity comes the reasons for sectarian revolt disappear and the manner of life against which the fathers rebelled is embraced by their children. Thus the spiritual need and economic forces which in one generation drew the sect out of a church in turn transforms the sect into a church.[9]

The last century witnessed the completion of the process in the Methodist Church, and the Church of the Nazarene is now in this period of transformation.

The analysis of the history of a denominational organization in developmental terms was rooted in the sociological and theological understandings of Ernst Troeltsch and H. Richard Niebuhr. Troeltsch in the Social Teachings of the Christian Church suggested that churches

which began as sects, not a part of the denominational mainstream, go through a process of institutional development in which they end up becoming the very thing which was their nemesis at the beginning. The sects were initially characterized by "strong belief in the supernatural, a strong emphasis on feeling and emotional religious content, and they speak with dogmatic certainty."[10]

Niebuhr's analysis of development in the Methodist church proved instructive of the Nazarene movement as well. As the "disinherited classes"[11] had furnished the material for Methodism, so they did for the Nazarene movement. Economic and cultural forces working in the Methodist Church quickly made the religion of the disinherited "a respectable church of respected classes"[12] as they did for the Nazarenes. As both groups gained respectability, emotional religion declined in proportion to increases in wealth and culture. The church was becoming more literate and rational. Subsequently, an epic struggle ensued between revivalism and education. In Methodism, Niehbuhr concluded, the substitution of education for conversion finally led to the demise of revivalism in that communion.[13]

While not true of Nazarenes after 1945, the concern among Church leaders was that if not checked, this movement would go the way of its older counterpart. Leaders of the Nazarene Church labored to prevent processes to occur which would lead, as it had in the case of the Methodist Church, to a "religious revolt. . . finally [becoming] . . .a middle-class church, a yielding servant of the social order."[14] Yet even John Wesley, founder of Methodism in England, was aware of the life cycle of a denomination when he wrote:

> Wherever riches have increased [in a church], the essence of religion has decreased in the same proportion. Therefore I do not see how it is possible in the nature of things for any revival of religion to continue long. For. . . as riches increase so will. . .love of the world. . .[The only] way to prevent this. . .[is to urge] Christians to gain all they can, and to save all they can; [so they can]. . .give all they can.[15]

Since evangelical poverty was a tenet neither of the Methodists nor the Nazarenes, Wesley's only option for avoiding the institutionalization and ultimate decline of evangelical churches did not exist.

Verification of the development of the Nazarene movement from a sect to a mainline denomination was provided by several studies conducted since 1940. A sociological study of the Church of the Nazarene by Harold Reed in 1943 concluded that there was sufficient evidence to assume that the institution was emerging from the conflict stage of its development and moving into the accommodation stage.[16] Reed concluded that the techniques of accommodation were visible in (1) the stressing of membership, (2) giving less attention to worldliness, (3) greater stability in economic structure and (4) the lack of conflict consciousness in the second and third generation.[17]

Three years later, Oscar Reed conducted a study of the Church of the Nazarene to determine if the sociological accommodation Harold Reed observed indeed existed and if so how it affected the theological position of the Church. Reed concluded that "there was not sufficient evidence to assume that any doctrinal shift had taken place."[18] However, he did conclude that accommodation was visible in the redefinition and reinterpretation of certain religious assumptions important to the objectives of education within a religious context.[19]

Both studies supported the conclusion that as of the mid-1940's, the Church of the Nazarene was in the later conflict stage of development.

A study of Nazarene development in the mid-1940's by George Headley concluded that the conflict-consciousness of the Church of the Nazarene was a classical expression of the rural and frontier reaction to more modern and less acceptable forms of urban Christianity. In the ensuing struggle to win a place for themselves, the people called the Nazarenes separated to form their own religious body. Since they had been defeated in their efforts to influence the old-line denominations, they were molding a new dynamic in the context of frontier and agrarian Christianity where their fellowship might rule unchallenged. Such were the Nazarenes in their secession from Methodism. Yet, some observers believe that "it is already becoming a standard denomination, [and no longer a sect] and is drifting visibly if not rapidly toward standard liberalism."[20]

By 1953, George Muelder in his study of the historical development of Protestant denominations concluded that a "more advanced stage of accommodation is observable in the development of the Church of the Nazarene in its assimilation of the patterns of established Protestantism."[21] Muelder believed that the second and third generation of church members had not battled over religious doctrine to develop a sense of conflict, and therefore lacked that consciousness which characterized their elders as sectarians. The newer generation, he concluded, was more ready to make concessions, at least on detail of doctrine.[22]

Studies completed in 1958 by Kenneth Armstrong sounded a note of alarm for Nazarenes by hypothesizing that the future of the Church of the Nazarene was dependent on removing some widespread weaknesses.

The first was the continued professionalization of the Church's ministry which resulted in a decline in spontaneity and enthusiasm so characteristic of the past. The second was a diminuation of the education emphasis over the traditional evangelistic emphasis. Third was the secularization of the denomination's colleges. This trend would lead the colleges to become in time instruments of membership dispersion rather than membership edification. Finally he expressed concern that the rise in the socio-economic composition of the membership of the Church could lead to a decreased appeal to the masses from which the Church had emerged; likewise, a rise in concern for social respectibility and religious accommodation plauged the Church in the 1950's.[23]

Timothy Smith's Called Unto Holiness, the first official history of the Church of the Nazarene, was written in 1962. Smith stated that the notion of church organization passing through a cycle from youthful intensity and orthodoxy to mature accommodation with the world and then spiritual decay had little hard evidence to support it thus far in the story of the Nazarenes.[24] While the denigration of the Nazarene dogma had not then occurred, the mechanisms of accommodation which threatened its continuance were in place. Russell V. DeLong in a Commencement Address to Northwest Nazarene College in 1966 listed seven perils facing the Church of the Nazarene as it struggled with accommodation: (1) material affluence will lessen spiritual emphasis. As riches grow the tendency to rely on God declines. This trend is in all Nazarene colleges; (2) beware of numerical largeness which will sacrifice individuality; (3) beware that the scholastic drive for excellence may supplant the spiritual primacy. There should be no conflict. Truth is one. If faith and reason conflict either the faith is unfounded or the reason irrational. (4) moral standards may be

compromised as old hat or Victorian; (5) that emphases on scholastic, social and athletic programs may crowd out spiritual programs; (6) that tenure of office which is an asset may turn into a liability with some teacher becoming stereotyped, sterile intellectually ana hostile administratively; (7) a peril which has well-nigh destroyed many colleges is the prostitution of academic freedom which has destroyed doctrines and fervor.[25]

Though differeing in their interpretation of the degree to which accommodation and assimilation have transformed the Church of the Nazarene from a sect-type to an institutional-type organization, the overriding conclusion was that the process was at work within the denomination in the years following 1945. This process of mainstreaming the Church could not itself have escaped making a significant impact on the educational arm of the Church: the liberal arts college and seminary, Jencks and Riesman noted that the colleges of the Church are constantly tempted to abandon their traditional pious constituency and try to compete intellectually with the mainstream.[26]

Nazarene Missions and Objectives

If the educational institutions of the Church were to react positively to efforts to mainstream the Church, it would be seen, however discreetly, in the institutional missions and objectives of the colleges. The concern for the clarity and righteness of institutional mission statements in Nazarene higher education was expressed in the President's Report for Olivet Nazarene College in 1974:

> The prospects for a Nazarene institution without a clearly stated reason for being are dim. If there is nothing to hold an institution together,

> it will probably collapse. Our colleges must either be committed to Christianity or they must be secular.[27]

Each of the six liberal arts colleges and the seminary and Bible colleges had statements of purpose in the 1940's which reflected the concerns of a denomination where consciousness of conflict and retrenchment were still major forces resisting change. In comparing these statements one is struck by the similarity. They reflected an awareness that "through the ages faith and reason have been in conflict, and education has too often militated against religion."[28] To counteract this reality Nazarene colleges sought to be places where "in a world of unrest. . .[they could keep alive] a faith in the spiritual and enduring values as superior to the material and temporary."[29]

The great triad of concern was to inculcate character, develop sound cultural awareness within the confines of denominational approval and to lift up the Christ who was forever the raison d 'etre for progress and improvement.[30] The key to this kind of education lay in the balance, the symmetry they hoped to develop.[31] By emphasizing the spiritual, they by no means sought to rob the student of necessary preparation for skills and proficiencies for use in securing a livelihood.[32] Instead, they hope to make students, whatever their vocational calling, willing and useful avocational ministers to join the called ministry in "carrying out the Great Commission of Jesus Christ. . .and conserving, maintaining, advocating and promulgating the great Bible doctrine of entire sanctification. . . ."[33]

These mission statements of the seven institutions of the Church in 1945 each stessed the importance of eternal values, character-building as the task of the institution, the importance of the liberal arts

and the denominational nature of the institutions. By 1978, the pluralization of the mission of Nazarene higher education was evident in the broadening of what the colleges purposed to accomplish. An examination of statements of mission published in 1978 revealed the trend toward the mainstreaming of Nazarene higher education with higher education nationally. Further, it suggested the increased religious accommodation of the denomination as a whole.

While the development of character was still mentioned, it was not emphasized like the stated goals of "achieving a community of scholars in which . . . excellence of intellectual training and breadth of understanding are sought."[34] While still concerned with personal piety, the colleges are also now aware of their task to "awaken and foster . . .social as well as personal concern for what is valued in life."[35] The liberal arts vocation is still mentioned and even championed as the focal point of the colleges. In reality, the educational pluralism of the colleges is evidenced by the fact that it is not even the first among equals: the vocational, the liberal and the Hebrew-Christain perspectives.[36] In addition to the traditional emphasis, Nazarene colleges were now advertised to be places where students can be involved in a personal odyssey to search for personal identity and meaning.[37] In spite of the fact that each college recognized that it was Nazarene both in ownership and management,[38] they sought to be nonsectarian, serving the greater evangelical tradition in Christian higher education.[39] By emphasizing the Wesleyan ideal of Christian love as the norm for all relationships,[40] the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene purposed in the broadest sense to prepare individuals to serve God, man and society in the future.[41]

Since the stated objectives of an institution are simply a pluralizing of its mission statement, a comparative analysis of the institutional objectives of the various institutions in the Church of the Nazarene from 1945 to 1978 sheds additional light on the mainstreaming tendencies in Nazarene higher education. L.C. Philo's study of Nazarene higher education in the mid-1950's included a study of institutional objectives among the various colleges. The objectives which he said all the colleges sought to achieve were broadly categorized as follows: (1) to bring about a saving intelligent relation between the student and God; (2) to educate the whole man; (3) to create a good society by providing leaders for Christian activity and examples of Christian grace; (4) to create and maintain the good life by preserving Christian ideals; (5) and, to bring about a fusion of holy character and sound education.[42]

Each of the colleges in the mid 1940's had lists of objectives which were variations of much the same theme. They each purposed to offer basic academic training in the arts and science to a sufficient degree for those preparing for advanced work.[43] The Bible was proclaimed to be the Book of Life and each student was to receive guidance under scholarly and spiritual teachers in its use and understanding. The colleges accounted for their increased emphases on mathematics, physics, astronomy, chemistry, and the biological sciences by suggesting that war-time needs had heightened the need for this area of study.[44] While recognizing that it had some obligation in the pre-professional preparation of those entering medicine, law, library science, engineering and nursing,[45] the specializaed preparation of called ministers and anointed laymen still were the primary objectives.[46]

The objectives of the Nazarene colleges in 1945 reflected a clear commitment to the liberal arts, and especially to the preparation of ministers first and professionals second. There were some allusions to vocationalism, but it was usually cast in relationship to pre-professional preparation. The broadening of the objectives of Nazarene education by 1978 corresponded to the pluralization of mission during the same period.

By 1978, the lists of objectives had more than quadrupled which indicated the tasks which Nazarene colleges were establishing for themselves were more complex. While reflecting the Wesleyan-Arminian theological position, each school sought to broaden the impact of the college to interpret broadly the message of the whole Christian Church, especially in the co temporary desire to "[create] a social sonscience which will make contributions to a Christian world order based on God's love for man, freedom and human worth."[47] In addition to mental and spiritual concerns, the colleges were aware of their holistic responsibilities to "develop [in students] habits conducive to physical and emotional well-being."[48] The traditional parietal emphases on character building was recast in calls for each college to counsel and guide students into developing a sense of individual responsibility for their own actions.[49] This even extended to such diverse areas as appreciation for democracy, for economic thought, and opposition to all forms of discimination.[50] In pursuing the general educationl, academic-professional and social-Christian goals of learning,[51] Nazarene colleges now formulated their task in the psychologically based terms of cognitive, affective and psychomotor, In addition they included social and spiritual goals as

worthy of consideration.

The sheer fact that by 1978 the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene were articulating a greater number of objectives and doing so in the form of behavioral or performance objectives is not alone important. While it did indicate that educators were now more aware that the integrity of any college, Christian or not, was based on clearly articulated and measurable objectives, it does not establish any proof as to the cause of these changes.[53] What seems significant is that Nazarene higher education was developing a broader more holistic understanding of its mission as opposed to earlier missions which were cast in narrow, rather simple objectives. The greater sense of accountability which the college now assumed required that the objectives of the institutions be as much a reflection of the needs of the students as it did the needs of the denomination. The objectives show that liberal education, while not abandoned, had diminished as newer and more relevant objectives were included in the colleges' task. In 1945, the liberal arts had been preeminent. By 1978, the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene had added vocational and social emphases, thus diminishing by their presence the primacy of the traditional focus of liberal learning.

No clear evidence exists in the statements of missions and objectives to suggest any lessening of the spiritual concern of the colleges. Some indicacion of a lessened stress on sectarian ties was noted. According to the marks of church-relatedness established by Roy Ray's study, most of the colleges changed slightly between 1945

and 1978 in the strength of their church-relatedness.

The most obvious trend in Nazarene objectives was the transition from the notion of character-building to the idea of values for living. While similar in nature, the thrust of the former was more toward the indoctrination of a rigorous set of ethics and etiquette, while the latter was a holistic and personal attempt to develop value systems within the broader scope of the Christian faith. The shift from a narrowly prescribed set of values to a more broadly defined set of values parallel the intellectual trends in American higher education. While admittedly less relativistic than those in secular higher education, the slight trend toward educational pluralism and mainstreaming with the rest of higher education seems clear.

The Nazarene view of the objectives of Christian education was succinctly described by H. Orton Wiley, Dean of Nazarene educators. He believed that the worldy colleges have so secularized knowledge that the primary task of any Christian college was to re-establish the primacy of the spiritual in the realm of the academic. He recognized that ". . . any true system of education must recognize the moral and spiritual character of the intellectual processes. . .[it] must. . .shape character and furnish the mind with truth"[55] if such a college is to fulfill its duty.

Attempts to Reintegrate Faith and Learning

After the Second World War, the intellectual goals of Nazarene higher education came to value not character formation alone, but tougher intellectual standards as well. This new consciousness, according to Frank Gaebelein, grew out of an increased awareness that

the isolation of Christian colleges from outside culture must come to an end. Rather than attempt to isolate its students from the world, the shift in the intellectual climate sought to insulate them by the inculcation of values in the Christian tradition.[56]

With the awareness that educational pluralism was a growing reality came a renewed resolve among Nazarene educators to counteract the trend. The disintegration of the traditional alliance between faith and learning began early in American history among the more elite schools. Yet the proliferation of nineteenth-century hilltop denominational colleges was based precisely on the belief that the integration of piety and learning was possible. The most recent round of challenges which led to a widening disassociation of faith from learning in the academic establishment came after the passage of the Land Grant Act of 1862 which involved the state in the widespread founding of institutions of higher education.[57] Despite the growing influence of secularism in the late nineteenth century, it has only been since World War II that the clear statements of purpose by many of these denominational schools began to waver.[58] Many colleges severed denominational relationship while others maintained a nominal connection yet attenuated their religious ambience to the point that the total impact on the student's thought, personality, character and values differed little from that in the secular institutions. Christian educators blamed several recent developments in American society for the denigration of Christian higher education since 1945. These were compartmentalization of knowledge, the growth of destructive rationalism, the rise of secularism and the degradation of the academic dogma.

The atomizing of knowledge, reflected in the growth of departmentalization and academic specialization, left a nagging concern of those who sought an integration of faith and learning. Allan Bloom placed part of the blame for this situation on the willingness by educators to "admit all the specialities to the curriculum and given them equal status. . .causing all sense of unity and hierarchy to be abandoned, with the only unifying principle being tolerance for one another's discipline."[59] The concern growing out of this compartmentalization of knowledge for Nazarene educators was that in the very diversification and fragmentation of human interest through the modern forces of industrialization, science and technology, the aim of transmitting spiritual values was becoming a more tenuous task.

A second factor that distressed Nazarene academe was the unhindered growth of rationalism. American higher education in the early part of the twentieth century sought complete objectivity in learning, ruling out that which could not be measured with the methods and instruments of science. The methods developed and nourished in the natural sciences had after 1880 spread into the study of religion and the social sciences as well. With the widening gap between objectivity and subjectivity, the impact on many Protestant bodies was to weaken the original ties which bound college and church together.[60] The root of the dilemma was that the scientific method and the methodology of Christianity were starting from different premises, employing different methods and arriving at different conclusions as science has become metaphysically neutral and emancipated from the grip of any unifying philosophy. The avidity with which many Protestants embraced this new methodology proved to further disintegrate the alliance between

faith and learning.

The rise of rationalism in higher education led to a secular spirit which pervaded the Christian campus. Sociologist Robin Williams' analysis of the current scene was that modern secularism has destroyed belief in a transcendental being, which removed both the supernatural sanction for our ethical systems and the central force for established beliefs among Protestants.[61]

The compartmentalization of knowledge created barriers so that one discipline found it difficult if not impossible to inform another. Rationalism stressed objectivity to the point of ignoring those aspects of reality not susceptible to the crucible of scientism. The secularization of learning negated the possibility of metaphysical concerns being more than mystical ideals and spurned any attempts to discover an ethic with an absolutistic mooring. These factors, interacting along with an increased materialism, as expressed in the growth of careerism in higher education, and a declining certainty of the value of education, led to what Robert Nisbet called the "degradation of the academic dogma."[62] Nisbet maintained that the dogma which once informed higher education in the United States is gone. This dogma was the belief that "knowledge was important. . .not relevant knowledge, not practical knowledge, not knowledge that leads to power, success, or wealth. . . not scientifically verifiable knowledge, but knowledge!"[63]

With such lucid commentary on the decline of a unified Christian world view and calls for the rediscovery of a heuristic for once again realizing the unity of all truth, the call for Christian educators to address this issue made given. The status of Christian higher education was of grave concern. It was studied understatement which led a Christian scholar to conclude that

Protestant efforts in higher education were in a state of considerable disrepair. It seemed apparent that the necessary re-consideration of the policy and mission of higher education had not kept pace with change. The result was that ". . .it was not difficult to discover pervasive uncertainty, manifestations of drift which indicate a loss of direction and coherent policy and a growing failure of nerve."[64] The response of Christian scholars, and more specifically Nazarene educators, was to make various attempts at defining the nature of truth as the basis for re-integrating faith and learning.

Frank Gaebelein believed that the reassertion of the fact that all truth is of God is the premier concern of the contemporary Christian educator, whereby ". . .a dichotomy between sacred and secular truth has no place in a consistent Christian philosophy of education. . . it is the only basis for a Christian liberal arts education."[65] Merrimon Cuninggim took the approach that faith and learning were reconcilable because the path of inquiry and the path of revelation both led to the same end: "Faith calls upon inquiry to strengthen and inform its sense of revelation. Learning calls on revelation to guide and interpret its inquiry."[66]

Bernard Ramm, noted Christian apologist, stated that the split between faith and learning has deep historical roots but had been exacerbated in modern times by the rising concern for objectivity and bias-free research:

> Christianity has been in conflict between two principles, an anthropocentric one and a theocentric one, between human wisdom and divine revelation. This conflict rages in the university and the Christian educator ought not to circumvent it. . .it is no use trying to save the upper stories of a building if the first floor is on fire. Therefore the Christian college

> must be built on a Christian life system, a coherent, comprehensive and consistent world-view.[67]

The essence of this coherent and consistent world-view was to be found in the notion that all thinking proceeds from presuppositions. There can be no thinking without presuppositions and therefore all respectable thinking is from sound presuppositions. Any supposed neutrality in science, religion or philosophy is fictional. The only respectable procedure is to admit that one thinks from presuppositions and to choose one's presuppositions in a responsible manner.[68]

Likewise, Nazarene scholars and educators have labored to find an intellectually defensible basis to reconstruct a consistent rationale for the integration of faith and learning. W.T. Purkiser, Nazarene college president and noted editor and speaker in the Church, believed that the tension in Nazarene education was due to a false bifurcation between faith and learning within the academic mainstream. Nazarenes fin it difficult, Purkiser stated, "to find and maintain a balance between warm hearts and cool heads, a deep devotion and high professional ideals."[69] He believed that the life of the Spirit and the culture of the mind were not mutually exclusive. He also concluded that a "false dichotomy [existed] between faith and learning [which] leads to fanatacism on the one hand or rationalism on the other. . .and I refuse to debate which is [the] worse."[70] The task that fell into the hands of the Church colleges was greater, not lesser than secular counterparts.

William Greathouse warned Christian pietism in the Church of the Nazarene against a "neo-gnosticism"[71] which was prone to deny the importance of the intellectual in favor of the spiritual. Greathouse

believed such an ideology sought to create a division between the secular and the sacred; its defensiveness, however, usually led to anti-intellectualism.[72] Greathouse proposed an alternative point of view which perceived reason to be the God-given capacity for self-understanding and for organizing and utilizing what had been revealed. Faith then became man's open and wholehearted response to God's self-revelation, but in no way canceled reason. Instead, it motivated, purified and guided the intellect. The ideal was that ". . .Christian commitment would not restrict intellectual opportunity, but free it with purpose."[73]

The crisis facing the Christian liberal arts college in light of the current split in the world of learning makes it the "most decisive intellectual phenomenon of our time"[74] for evangelicals.

Efforts to bring about some consensus regarding the nature of truth and the purpose of Nazarene education in light of that reality was partly responsible for the origin of periodic efforts, beginning in 1950, to bring Nazarene educators together. The trend to restore more of a religious perspective to learning was evident across denominational lines after the war. From 1948 to 1960, over 300 studies were conducted nationally by Christian colleges and Christian college organizations to examine efforts to integrate faith and learning.[75] It was in this spirit that a history-making conference was held at Eastern Nazarene College, Wollaston, Massachusetts, on October 11-13, 1950. This meeting of Nazarene college presidents, business managers and academic deans marked the first time in the history of the Church of the Nazarene

that a united front had been called into being to discuss mutual concerns.[76]

By the October, 1951, educational conference held at Pasadena College, the college leaders were discussing among other topics the role of a consistent philosophy of education for Nazarene higher education. It was reported that "the crowning event of the meeting was a paper on the unique purposes of Christian higher education by Bertha Munroe, Dean of Eastern Nazarene College."[77] The matter of educational philosophy was a prime topic of the Fourth Annual Educational Conference held at Bethany Peniel College, October 7-9, 1951. General Superintendent Samuel Young delivered an address at the Fourth meeting entitled "Maintaining And Extending The Ideal Of Our Holiness Colleges," in which he outlined a conservative view of Nazarene higher education consistent with opinions of Christian pietists within the Church.[78]

It was out of the Nazarene Educator Conference that the decision was made to plan a faculty luncheon at the Fourteenth General Assembly in 1956. It was the first time in the history of the Church that the faculty from all the colleges had gathered. While little beyond socializing was done, it did establish a precedent for later efforts to involve the faculty in invigorating and refining objectives and mission within the church's educational institutions. The Seventh Nazarene Educational Conference held October 12-15, 1959, at Trevecca Nazarene College in Nashville, Tennessee, focused on the theme "Looking Ahead - A Decade of Decision."[79] The theme of the conference was that Nazarene colleges were not in competition but must act in unison to address the intellectual and administrative problems faced by them all.

By 1960, the first decade of the era of the Nazarene Educational Conference was history. It had achieved the purpose of establishing a pattern of cooperative endeavor in tackling not only practical problems such as administration, recruitment and finance, but it had paved the way for more serious discussions in the future regarding the renovation of Nazarene higher educational objectives. During 1958 and 1959, Nazarene theologians began periodic meetings in which scholarly papers were read and critical intellectual issues debated.[80]

In 1961, two additional organizations were established to encourage greater cooperation among educators. The Council of Education, which consisted only of college presidents and the six general superintendents of the Church, along with a Fellowship of Nazarene Theologians, began regular meetings.[81] The concerns of faith and learning were again the central theme at the Eighth Educational Conference of the Church convened April 23-27, 1962 in Kansas City, Missouri. The theme of "Projecting our Spriritual Dynamic on the College Campus" was intended to build a sense of unity among Nazarenes to make the commitment to faith and learning "even stronger and deeper as Nazarenes vouchsafe for future generations the concept of education with a Christian plus."[82]

The work of the educational conferences and the general concern of the Church by 1964 concluded that perceptible drift away from its original mandate had taken place in Nazarene higher education, and that this drift had to be arrested. The General Assembly of 1964 reflected that profound concern by creating two new junior colleges to prevent the largest two Nazarene colleges, Bethany and Olivet, from growing unmanageably large and away from denominational control. This same Assembly voted, upon the recommendation of the Nazarene

Educational Commission Report of 1953, that the colleges and Seminary be reminded of the distinctive features of Nazarene education. These features were based on the fact the Nazarene colleges were church colleges, not church-related colleges. As such they were expected to preach and teach two crisis experiences of regeneration or new birth and entire sanctification. Similarly, all fields of study in Nazarene colleges were to be "viewed through the eyes of faith grounded in Scripture, with all theories subjected to the test of Biblical truth."[83]

During the quadrennium following the 1964 General Assembly, three more educational conferences were held; four meetings of the Council of Education were held as in the previous quadrennium. In addition, two significant meetings were called which demonstrated the concern of Nazarenes that some consensus be hammered out regarding the integration of faith and learning, an integration which appeared to be in jeopardy. Plans were laid in 1965 and completed in 1967 for the first Theological Conference of the Church. From August 27-29, 1967, Nazarene theologians gathered in Kansas City to hold a conference on the theme of "A Wesleyan Critique of Contemporary Theology."[84] The conference dealth with the articulation of Wesleyan thought in light of existential philosophy. The conference itself was held in the context of explicating the impact of existential philosophy on theology and developing some consensus on how Nazarene colleges would deal with modern challenges to historical and theological suppositions of the Church.

The second novel conference held between 1964 and 1968 was a biennial Conference on Education, held in October, 1967, in Winnipeg, Canada. The conference theme was "Science and Religion."[85] This

was the first time the science and religion teachers in the Nazarene college system had been brought together. The purpose was to build a consensus on vital issues, especially the issue of the teaching of evolution. While there was no adversary relationship at the conference, the free and mutual interchange of ideas by both sides revealed that an agreement could not be reached except on the largest of issues. Both groups agreed that God was involved in the process of creation, but difference both in interpretation and in substance prevented the conference from achieving its stated purpose.[86] Despite the efforts of a theological and scientific conference, the task of establishing a consensus among Nazarene educators that would lead to a defensible and winsome integration of faith and learning failed. Nazarenes were discovering that they could disagree agreeably and still be Nazarenes; the question which concerned church leaders was the extent to which such benevolent toleration might extend it left unchecked.

After 1968, there was a seven year hiatus in efforts to deal with the abstract and troublesome issues which had led to the practical dissolution of the faith-learning synthesis. This state of affairs was due not to any lessened concern on the part of Nazarene church leaders and college educators. It was primarily due to the overwhelming problems of finance, organization, administration, accreditation and federal involvement in higher education which preempted concern for the less tangible debates regarding faith and learning.

The conferences from 1968 to 1972 were distinguishable by several trends. The first trend was the effort by Nazarene colleges to formally cooperate with one another to address and find solutions for problems of mutual concern. On August 5, 1971, a Nazarene College

Consortium was created to facilitate the application process for federal funds which might not be otherwise available.[87] Funds were procured under this arrangement from both the National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Robert Crabtree's study of interinstitutional cooperation among Nazarene colleges suggested that this formalized arrangement had its origins as far back as 1948, when the need for an association of Nazarene colleges was discussed at the Twelfth General Assembly in St. Louis.[88] The organization of consortiums became increasingly common in the academic mainstream, and as Nazarene colleges entered that mainstream they, too, adopted this suprastructure to facilitate their cause.

A second trend was the proliferation of special interest groups within the Nazarene system of education. In addition to the regular meetings of the Educational Conference and the Council of Education, meetings emerged between Teachers of Education in Nazarene colleges, the business managers of Nazarene colleges, the Nazarene Student Leadership Conference, Nazarene recruiters, Nazarene Deans of Students, Nazarene Academic Deans, Nazarene financial aid officers, Phi Delta Lambda Honor Society, the Nazarene Athletic Association, the International Association of Nazarene College English Teachers, and the Biennial Conference of Nazarene Theologians. This represented not only a desire to share interest-group information and solutions to problems, but perhaps unwittingly a lessening of the efforts to reconstruct a holistic educational consensus by bringing together across disciplinary and functional lines. The goals of the conferences between 1968 and 1975 were aimed at problem-solving and the upgrading of

administrative practice.

One hopeful sign that the educational system of the Church would confront again the larger issues of intellect and piety was the continuing emphasis by the biennial conferences of Nazarene theologians of issues related to this subject. In November, 1972, the group discussed papers presented on the general topic "Current Issues and Trends in the Theology of the Church" which dealt with the relationship of the Church to cultural forces and the educational task of the Church.[89] The theologians meeting in December, 1975, focused on the theme "The Nature of Biblical Authority", which was the most important issue at stake in effectively recreating a meaningful integration of the academic and the spiritual.[90] While concerned with somewhat different issues, the Nazarene Student Leadership Conference of 1973 forecast the renewed mood and interest in the subject of intellectual integration with a theme entitled "Diversity in Unity by the Power of the Spirit."[91]

A clear indicator of the revived interest of the General Church in efforts at consensus-building was the denominational extravaganza known as the Pastor's Leadership Conference or "PALCON." The first "PALCON" conferences were held in all the educational zones of the Church both in North America and Great Britain during late 1976 and 1977.[92] The main purpose of these conventions was to provide continuing education and inspiration for Nazarene ministers. A secondary motivation was to provide a forum to build consensus and convey the will of the Church leadership in crucial theological and administrative matters. These denomination-wide gatherings became the model for the first serious attempt to address the issue of Faith and Learning on a grand scale.

The dilemma facing Nazarene higher education after 1976 was sym-

bolically expressed in the allegorical significance of the two classical cities of Athens and Jerusalem. Christian education today finds itself between the spiritual understanding of reality, represented by Jerusalem, and the intellectualistic, rationalistic conception represented by Athens. The future well-being of these institutions will be determined by how successfully they . . ."resolve the philosophic opposition between Jerusalem and Athens between faith and reason."[93]

McGrath rejected the disclaimer by skeptics of this integrative task who believed that scholarship of necessity militated against piety and that piety invariably stands in the way of learning.[94] The skeptics were not without support. Studies conducted by Hobbs and Meeth among Christian colleges concluded that the "integration of faith and learning does not appear to be a top priority of most Christian colleges . . .and only a few have actually incorporated it into their curriculum."[95] Such is the difficulty in reaching a consensus on interpenetrating the intellectual with the spiritual that Hobbs and Meeth discovered that only 3.5 per cent of the colleges in the United States who called themselves Christian made any formal attempt to integrate systematically faith and reason.[96] The other colleges either sought the conjunction of faith with learning as a viable alternative, sought to create a type of evangelical humanism, or had no clear plan for such an integrative endeavor.[97]

Undeterred by the difficulty of the task, the Church of the Nazarene held the first Faith and Leaning Conference on the campus of Mid America Nazarene College during August of 1978. This historic conference brought together almost all of the faculty and administration

of the Nazarene schools in North America and Canada for the purpose of fellowship, worship and addressing the real problem of finding a means to accomplish the evasive task at hand. Over six hundred faculty were divided by academic expertise to meet, hear papers read, and discuss how they could bring the Christian faith as the Nazarene Church interpreted it to bear in an ongoing and substantive way to their several disciplines. General leaders of the Church addressed assemblies of the Nazarene educators urging that some agreements be reached on vital issues affecting the future of the Church.

The closing session of the conference on August 7 ended with a mass gathering which participated in a reaffirmation litany that affirmed that the educators would pursue the high purpose of Christian education by integrating faith and learning in their fields of specialization. More specifically, this articulation was to be done in a manner that buttressed the precepts and perceptions of the Church of the Nazarene. The Litany ended with the statement that:

> . . .All learning must be approached theologically, which is the unifying premise of education. We reaffirm that Christian higher education is especially needed in the modern world of science and philosophy. . .where the hearts of our fellow man cry for what is unchanging and secure. We believe that the truth of the Bible as interpreted in our Wesleyan tradition provides the only viable response to that plea for understanding and inner confidence.

Though no common note of substance came from the conference, several suggestions emerged. In general, the importance of a well-rounded, committed faculty has more to do with integration of faith and learning at the classroom level than any plan or mandate. It was recognized that such a combination of consecration and intellect is

hard to find in the academic marketplace. Another theme that emerged from the conference was that anything as demanding as academic integration does not occur by happenstance. Resolve and planning are essential elements in any attempt to take God into account in connection with every area of life. Another idea which emerged was the importance of freedom to the integrative process. A resolve to press for conformity to dogma at all costs was likely to result either in shallowness and sterility if it succeeded or cynicism and rejection if such instruction failed. It is a thin line that Nazarene educators must sometimes walk between integrity in one's faith and integrity in one's mind.

In seeking to join the academic mainstream, Nazarene educators have struggled to keep from joining the moral mainstream. That remains the task which the Church of the Nazarene felt it must do. Despite the difficulty of the task and the trepidation from certain quarters that integration is a possibility without degrading one side of the equation, the Nazarenes had firmly set their course toward integrating faith and learning into the whole of life. They sought to be "dynamic without being destructuve, moral without being monastic, committed without being closed, religious without being rigid and pure without being prudish."[99] There are a limited number of options for the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene. They can first of all accept the secularization process and allow the colleges to become institutions of higher education with little or no reference to the faith that spawned them. Second, they can turn the Nazarene college into an institution which is primarily a training school for Church workers and a vocational school for young people seeking immediate, gainful employment. Third, they can maintain the colleges of the Church of the Nazarene as viable liberal

arts institutions which seek excellence in the arts and sciences, yet strive " to influence the course of civilization positively by not separating knowledge from its religious roots"[100], but reveling in the philosophy of wonder which such a realization occasions. In retrospect, those who advocate the first alternative have either left the Church or represent a very small fraction of the Church's constituency. A somewhat larger number would be satisfied with the second alternative. The majority of Nazarenes, however, seem to be committed to the proposition that excellence in intellect and in spirit are in no way inimical to each other. The future of the Church of the Nazarene's effectiveness in serving the cause which brought it into existence is directly related to the ultimate disposition of this task.

ENDNOTES

[1]Stow Persons, American Minds: A History of Ideas (New York, 1958), p. 409.

[2]C. Harold Ripper, "A Study of the Regliious Educacional Program of the Church of the Nazarene," (An unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Wichita, 1942), p. 147. Ripper was Vice-President and Academic Dean of Bethany Nazarene College from 1947 to 1952.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Mendell Taylor, Handbook of Historical Documents of the Church of the Nazarene (Unpublished mimeographed document, Nazarene Archives, Kansas City, N.D.), p. 215.

[5]Interview with Paul Bassett, June 4, 1980, in Kansas City. Bassett is Professor of European Christianity at Nazarene Theological SEminary.

[6]Taylor, p. 215.

[7]Bassett interview.

[8]Proceedings of the Nineteenth General Assembly of the Church of the Nazarene (Dallas, 1976), pp. 184 ff.

[9]Taylor, p. 117.

[10]Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Church, I (New York, 1931), p. 331. This trend towards moving from the status of sects to the denominational mainstream was characterized by the following observations:

1. From membership composed chiefly of the propertyless to membership composed of property owners.
2. From economic poverty to economic wealth, as disclosed especially in the value of church property and the salary paid to ministers.
3. From the cultural periphery toward the cultural center of the community.
4. From renunciation of prevailing culture. . .or indiference to it, to affirmation of prevailing culture and social organization.
5 From self-centered (or personal) religion to culture-centered religion, from "experience" to a social institution [experientialism to religion as a social institution.]

6. From noncooperation, or positive ridicule, toward established religious institutions to cooperation with the established churches of the community.
7. From suspicion of rival sects to disdain or pity for all sects.
8. From a moral community excluding unworthy members to a social institution embracing all who are socially compatible with it.
9. From an unspecialized, unprofessionalized, part-time ministry to a specialized, professional, full-time ministry.
10. From a psychology of persecution to a psychology of success and dominance.
11. From voluntary, confessional bases of membership to ritual or social prerequisites only such as certificates of membership in a previous denomination or training in an educative process.
12. From principal concern with adult membership to equal concern for children of members.
13. From emphasis on evangelism and conversion to emphasis on religious education.
14. From stress on a future in the next world to primary interest in a future in this world--a future for the institution, for its members, and for their children; from emphasis on death to emphasis on successful earthly life.
15 From adherence to strict Biblical standards, . . .to acceptance of general cultural standards. . .
16. From a high degree of congregational participation in the services and administration of the religious group to delegation of responsibility to a. . .small percentage of the membership.
17. From fervor in worship services to restraint; from positive action to passive listening.
18. From a comparatively large number of special religious services to a program of regular services at stated intervals.
19. From reliance on spontaneous "leadings of the Spirit" in religious services and administration to a fixed order of worship and of administrative procedure.
20. From the use of hymns resembling contemporary folk music to the use of slower, more stately hymns coming [from the] liturgical tradition.
21. From emphasis on religion in the home to delegation of responsibility for religion to church officials and organizations.

The above taxonomy is paraphrased from Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven, 1942), p. 122-4.

[11]H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York, 1926), p. 59.

[12]Ibid., p. 71.

[13]Ibid., p. 63.

[14]Ibid., p. 72.

[15]Niebuhr, p. 70-71.

[16]Harold Reed, "The Growth of A Contemporary Sect - Type Institution as Reflected in the Development of the Church of the Nazarene" (Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1943), pp. 333 ff. Reed defined accommodation in his study as an adaptation and adjustment of institutional social processes to outside environmental pressures.

[17]Ibid., pp. 335-6.

[18]Oscar Reed, "Some Religious Assumptions of the Church of the Nazarene and their Impact upon the Objectives of Religious Education," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1946), p. 218.

[19]Ibid. The most striking feature of this was the growing appeal of progressive educational ideals which was a shift from a former reactionary point of view.

[20]George Hedley, The Christian Heritage in America (New York, 1946), p. 142.

[21]Walter G. Muelder, "A Study of Christian Colleges in America," cited in Christendom, XXXIII, 2 (154), p. 455.

[22]Ibid., p. 46.

[23]Kenneth Armstrong, Face to Face With the Church of the Nazarene (Boulder, 1958), p. iii.

[24]Timothy Smith, Called Unto Holiness (Kansas City, 1962), p. 349.

[25]Russell V. DeLong, "Shall We Keep the Faith With Our Founders?" (Founder's Day Address [Nampa, Idaho], September, 19660, pp. 12-13.

[26]David Riesman and Christopher Jencks, The Academic Revolution (New York, 1969), p. 314 ff.

[27]President's Report, Olivet Nazarene College, (Kankakee, 1964), pp. 13-4.

[28]Catalog, Northwest Nazarene College. 1945-6, p. 10.

[29]Catalog, Eastern Nazarene College, 1948, p. 7.

[30]Catalog, Bethany-Peniel College, 1948, p. 13.

[31]Catalog, Pasadena College, 1944-5, p. 13-4.

[32]Catalog, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1947-8, p. 16.

[33]Catalog, Nazarene Theological Seminary, 1945-6, p. 10-1.

[34]Catalog, Northwest Nazarene College, 1978, p. 10.

[35]Catalog, Eastern Nazarene College, 1978, p. 12

[36]Catalog, Bethany Nazarene College, 1978, pp. 8-9.

[37]Catalog, Point Loma College, 1978, p. 9.

[38]Catalog, Olivet Nazarene College, 1978, p. 9.

[39]Catalog, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1978, p. 9.

[40]Catalog, Mid America Nazarene College, 1978, p. 2.

[41]Catalog, Mount Vernon Nazarene College, 1978, p. 5.

[42]L.C. Philo, "The Historical Development and Present Status of the Educational Institutions of the Church of the Nazarene," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Oklahoma, 1958), p. 26.

[43]Catalog, Bethany-Peniel College, 1948, p. 13.

[44]Catalog, Pasadena College, 1944-5, pp. 13-4.

[45]Catalog, Olivet Nazarene College, 1945-6, p. 6.

[46]Catalog, Trevecca Nazarene College, 1947-8, p. 17.

[47]Catalog, Eastern Nazarene College, 1978, p. 14.

[48]Catalog, Bethany Nazarene College, 1978, pp. 7-8.

[49]Catalog, Point Loma College, 1978, pp. 9-10.

[50]Catalog, Mid America Nazarene College, 1978, p. 3.

[51]The College Communicator, Mount Vernon Nazarene College, XIII, 6 (1978), p. 23.

[52]Catalog, Olivet Nazarene College, 1978, pp. 9-10.

[53]Earl J. McGrath, pp. 75-8.

[54]Roy Fremont Ray, "The Church of the Nazarene and its Colleges," (An unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Central Baptist Seminary, 1958), pp. 42-3.

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[56]Frank E. Gaebelein, "Education," in Carl F.H. Henry (ed.), Contemporary Evangelical Thought (New York, 1957), p. 168.

[57]Earl J. McGrath, p. 16.

[58]Ibid.

[59]Allan Bloom, "The Crisis of Liberal Education," in R.A. Goldwin, Higher Education and Modern Democracy (New York, 1956), p. 126.

[60]Report of the First Quadrennial Convocation of Christian Colleges (New York, July, 1959), p. 1.

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[68]Ibid., p. 63

[69]W.T. Purkiser, "Teaching in a Nazarene College," (An unpublished paper given at the Eighth Nazarene Educational Conference) [Kansas City, 1960]), p. 12.

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[72]William Greathouse, "Faith and Learning: A Theological Word." (An unpublished paper presented at the Faith and Learning Conference, Olathe, 1978), p. 11.

[73]Emil Brunner, Revelation and Reason (Philadelphia, 1946), p. 29.

[74]Allan Bloom, p. 128.

[75]First Quadrennial Convocation, p. 6.

[76]Northwest Nazarene College Messenger, XXIX, 1 (1950), p. 3.

[77]Phi Delta Lambda Newsletter, II, 2 (Dec. 1951), p. 1.

[78]Samuel Young, "Maintaining and Extending the Ideals of our Holiness College," (Unpublished paper presented at the Third Educational Conference [Bethany, 1953]), p. 1.

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[90]Together, XX, (1975), pp. 1-2.

[91]Together, XVIII, (1973), p. 3.

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[93]Earl J. McGrath, p. 1.

[94]M. Hegland, p. 3.

[95]Walter Hobbs and L. Richard Meeth, Diversity Among Christian Colleges (Arlington, VA, 1980), p. 41.

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[97]Arthur Holmes, p. 1.

[98]"Litany of Faith and Learning," (An unpublished paper, Conference on Faith and Learning [August, 1978]), p. 5.

[99]Kenneth Armstrong, p. 189.

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CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

The present study was designed to analyze higher education in the Church of the Nazarene from 1945 to 1978 in order to ascertain the status and trends in the intellectual, social and institutional profiles of its North American schools. The burden of this study was to compare and contrast two sets of variables. The first was an analysis of Nazarene higher education before World War II with that which developed after World War II. The study suggested that significant changes would occur which demonstrated a tendency in the latter period toward educational pluralism with attempts by certain elements in the Church to stem the tide under the aegis of cooperative endeavors culminating in efforts to integrate faith and learning. The second set of variables was to compare and contrast Nazarene higher education since 1945 with trends in American higher education during the same period.

The study hypothesized that the development of Nazarene higher education and its responses to the growing pluralism of American society would follow certain patterns which were attributable to the developmental stages in the life of the denomination since its origin in 1907. The first hypothesis was that in the period from 1900 to 1920, tensions

between Christian intellectuals and Christian anti-intellectuals had not surfaced due to the fact that in the conflict stage of its development, the pressures of external struggles tended, in most cases, to overshadow internal divisions in the Church.

The study also hypothesized that in the second distinguishable period of the Church's development from 1920 to 1945, retrenchment occurred in which the anti-intellectual and pietistic segments of the denomination dominated, due in part to fears aroused regarding the modernist-fundamentalist controversy and the general decline of the depression years. During this period the emphasis of the Nazarene church and colleges was on uniformity, orthodoxy and retrenchment.

During the period following World War II, the study hypothesized that numerous social and economic forces were released which had a profound effect not only on American higher education but on Nazarene higher education as well. The result was a pendulum-like process in the Church of the Nazarene in which Christian intellectualism and Christian pietism struggled to shape the character of its educational institutions. Prior to 1960, the study suggested that the forces of Christian intellectualism made tacit gains, only to be checked at the General Assembly of 1964. Despite efforts since 1964 to style Nazarene higher education in the pietistic spirit, such attempts proved less than successful. The most recent effort within the Church was an attempt to mollify differences by finding some common basis on which to integrate pietism with intellectualism.

Chapter II sought to describe the developments in American higher education since 1945. The study found that the most important

factors impacting education could be classified as financial, numerical, presuppositional, organization and social. The financial changes which most impacted American higher education were a rapid rise in costs, coupled with declining endowments and growing federal funding and involvement. These financial increases were directly linked to the tremendous numerical gains registered by all parts of higher education. Higher education became, to a large degree, the heart of the American dream. Yet the rapid expansion of higher education through the creation of new institutions and the expansion of existing ones led to a burst of individualistic and diverse programs in the United States. This study reiterated the sociological belief that the period since 1945 paradoxically witnessed a diminution of individuality by efforts to standardize this rapid growth.

The countervailing forces of diversity and conformity were also at work in the intellectual life of American higher education. The study suggested that the presuppositions that had governed the academic mission of higher education were being significantly modified. The importance of the post-War era was that the forces which had been building momentum such as scientism, research-orientation, the denigration of liberal and general education, the rise of vocationalism, and the fragmentation of the curriculum were intensified and accelerated.

The organizational response to the growth of higher education was the bureaucratization and professionalism of higher educational administration and governance. The growth led to increasing interrelationships between federal and state governments, corporate America and the university. As higher education reached out for funds and out to serve, the issues of autonomy and institutional integrity were

seriously questioned. As higher education restructured itself to deal with the massive problems of modern education, the resulting social milieu also changed. Students achieved greater authority, and were increasingly treated like responsible adults. The university was moving out of the shadows and into the mainstream of American society.

Chapter III analyzed Nazarene higher education prior to 1945 and reaffirmed previous studies done on this period. Despite these post-War forces which were rooted in pre-War trends in American society, the institutions of the Church of the Nazarene were relatively isolated and insulated from the mainstream of society. The typical Nazarene was from the lower income classes with a set of values and outlooks within fairly defined boundaries that can be generally characterized as provincial and reactive. The major shift which this study reaffirmed was that there was a change from a Bible school mentality towards a liberal arts college mentality.

Chapter IV dealt with the institutional profiles of Nazarene higher education from 1945 to 1978. The research demonstrated that substantial evidence existed to validate the hypothesis that the institutional developments in post-war Nazarene higher education were much more in line with developments nationally than they were prior to 1940. This suggested that in the period from 1945 to 1978, Nazarene higher education, both consciously and sometimes unconsciously, purposed to enter the academic mainstream of American higher education.

Chapter V dealt with the social profiles of Nazarene higher education from 1945 to 1978. This study found that Nazarene students since 1945 were clearly more identifiable with their counterpart in

secular institutions than was the Nazarene student prior to 1940. The reasons for this shift were partly the upward social mobility of Nazarenes which since the early days of the Church had changed a lower class sect into a middle class institutionalized denomination. Likewise, faculty in Nazarene higher education have become more like their counterparts in non-denominational higher education as demonstrated by the growing concerns expressed for professionalism among the faculty. Prior to 1940 professionalism was not only largely ignored in Nazarene higher education but was often seen as a highly undesirable trait. It was in the profile of Nazarene administrators that similarities before and after the war were the most obvious.

Chapter VI considered the intellectual profile of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene since 1945. This study referred to studies done in the 1940's and 1950's, which indicated that the Church of the Nazarene was proceeding normally through the life cycle which, to observers of denominational development, seemed an inexorable process. This study, while not purposing to investigate this factor, found evidence to suggest that the process by which sects move from the cultural periphery to the denominational mainstream is continuing unabated in the Church of the Nazarene. The fact that the colleges were moving towards the academic mainstream becomes more understandable when considering developments within the denomination as a whole. This chapter contrasted the more general statement of missions of the Nazarene schools at the beginning and end of the period under consideration. The most noticeable shift was a pluralization of mission, including increased emphasis on vocational preparation and a somewhat lessened expressed

concern about such things as character building. A comparative study of the objectives of Nazarene higher education between 1945 and 1978 revealed similar trends toward pluralization of concerns and lessened denominational emphasis.

The chapter concluded by suggesting that the primary intellectual crisis of Nazarene higher education occurred directly because of the institutional and social forces which moved Nazarene higher education more toward the academic mainstream. The issue was how the Church's colleges could move into the academic mainstream in terms of intellectual achievement and yet retain a deep, warm-hearted piety which could resist dilution from secularism, rationalism and value-free research. The study concluded that despite numerous efforts to reconcile the two, efforts to bring about a unity of faith and learning had not succeeded.

Conclusions

This study concluded that the five hypotheses stated in Chapter I were affirmed by the evidence examined. In the period from 1900 to 1920 the conflict-consciousness of the Church was sufficiently pronounced that internal incongruities were largely suppressed. The fact that they had little chance of being expressed during the second period of the Church from 1920 to 1945 was guaranteed by the reactionary retrenchment the Church took in response to larger social and economic forces such as modernism and the Great Depression.

World War II acted as a catalyst to release social, economic and intellectual forces which were to shatter the isolation of the Nazarene colleges and bring them into the academic mainstream by degrees. The

realization of these developments led to a pendulum-like process in the Church whereby those who favored such changes, the Christian intellectuals, were engaged in a struggle of ideas with the Christian pietists who saw these changes as destructive. This study demonstrated that until the General Assembly of 1964, the concepts held by Christian intellectuals were making slow yet steady progress. The institutional changes of that General Assembly was a reaction against the academic mainstreaming of Nazarene higher education. The study also concluded that during the 1970's, the growing trend to identify with the mainstream of higher education caused concerted efforts to build some consensus among the various academic groups in the Church of the Nazarene. This effort culminated with the Faith and Learning Conference in 1978. The study also concluded that the efforts at achieving such a consensus seemed at present to have been unsuccessful.

The changes which occurred in Nazarene higher education since 1945 revealed a growing trend toward educational pluralism. Educational pluralism is a concept which expresses the idea of diversity rather than uniformity and breadth rather than narrowness in educational dogma. Though the colleges of the Church were not secular by any sense of that term, the trends toward secularism and educational pluralism were unmistakable.

The institutional expansion of the Church reflected this pluralism with the creation of a Bible College and two new junior colleges to serve not only newer segments of the Church but to cater to the more diverse notions about what constituted a proper Nazarene college education.

Some of the more pietistic elements in the Church were responsible for the three new institutions created at the 1964 General Assembly.

The curricular developments since 1945 demonstrated a growing pluralism among Nazarene college students. The broadening of the curriculum coupled with a proportional decline in the liberal arts and religious studies among Nazarene college students indicated that the growing diversity of interest among students attending these institutions was continuing. While solidly based on support from the denomination, the attempt to establish endowment funds by some of the colleges and appeals to federal and state sources of finance indicated a broadening of interest beyond those which were purely denominational. The impact of the federal and state fundings was naturally increased concern for those factors which guaranteed maintenance of these sources of income. The latent problem of conflict of interest between the newer sources of funding and the denominational interests was obvious.

The growing pluralism of Nazarene higher education was seen in the increased emphasis on the concept of Nazarene college faculty with professional status and a concomitant lessening of emphasis on denominational approval. The changing role of students in response to educational pluralism was demonstrated by the demise of _in loco parentis_. This process graphically demonstrated the fact that a narrow view of behavior pattern for students was no longer acceptable in light of the increasing diversity of the students attending Nazarene colleges.

The impact of educational pluralism on the intellectual life of higher education in the Church of the Nazarene was suggested by the attempts to re-define the academic mission of Nazarene higher education

in light of the increased disparity between intellectualism and pietism. The culmination of this effort were concerted efforts to integrate the intellectual and pietistic elements within the Church. The prospects for these efforts by 1978 were uncertain.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

HISTORICAL SUMMARY OF FACULTY, STUDENTS, DEGREES, AND FINANCES IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: UNITED STATES 1869-70 to 1976-77

Item	1869-70	1879-80	1889-90	1899-1900	1909-10	1919-20	1929-30	1939-40	1949-50	1959-60	1969-70	1976-77
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	Institutions (excluding branch campuses)											
Total	563	811	998	977	951	1,041	1,409	1,708	1,851	2,008	2,528	2,785
	Faculty[1]											
Total	[2] 5,553	[3] 11,522	[2] 15,809	23,868	36,480	48,615	82,386	146,929	246,722	380,554	[2] 825,000	1,073,119
Men	[2] 4,887	[2] 7,328	[2] 12,704	19,151	29,132	35,807	60,017	106,328	186,189	296,773	[2] 619,000	729,169
Women	[2] 666	[2] 4,194	[2] 3,105	4,717	7,348	12,808	22,369	40,601	60,533	83,781	[2] 206,000	343,950
	Resident degree-credit enrollment[3]											
Total	[2] 52,286	[2] 115,817	156,756	237,592	355,213	597,880	1,100,737	1,494,203	2,659,021	[4] 3,215,544	[5] 7,136,075	[6] 11,012,137
Men	[2] 41,160	[2] 77,972	[2] 100,453	152,254	[2] 214,648	314,938	619,935	893,250	1,853,068	[4] 2,079,788	[5] 4,247,018	[6] 5,810,828
Women	[2] 11,126	[2] 37,845	[2] 56,303	85,338	[2] 140,565	282,942	480,802	600,953	805,953	[4] 1,135,756	[5] 2,889,057	[6] 5,201,309
	Earned degrees conferred											
Bachelor's and first-professional:												
Total	9,371	12,896	15,539	27,410	37,199	48,622	122,484	186,500	432,058	392,440	827,234	983,908
Men	7,993	10,411	12,857	22,173	28,762	31,980	73,615	109,546	328,841	254,063	484,174	547,919
Women	1,378	2,485	2,682	5,237	8,437	16,642	48,869	76,954	103,217	138,377	343,060	435,989
Master's except first-professional:[7]												
Total	0	879	1,015	1,583	2,113	4,279	14,969	26,731	58,183	74,435	208,291	317,164
Men	0	868	821	1,280	1,555	2,985	8,925	16,508	41,220	50,898	125,624	167,783
Women	0	11	194	303	558	1,294	6,044	10,223	16,963	23,537	82,667	149,381
Doctor's:												
Total	1	54	149	382	443	615	2,299	3,290	6,420	9,829	29,866	33,232
Men	1	51	147	359	399	522	1,946	2,861	5,804	8,801	25,890	25,142
Women	0	3	2	23	44	93	353	429	616	1,028	3,976	8,090
	Finances (in thousands of dollars)											
Total current income	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	$76,883	$199,922	$554,511	$715,211	$2,374,645	$5,785,537	$21,515,242	[8] 43,436,827
Educational and general income	([8])	([8])	$21,464	$35,084	67,917	172,929	483,065	571,288	1,833,845	4,688,352	16,486,177	([8])
Total current expenditures	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	507,142	674,688	2,245,661	5,601,376	21,043,113	42,599,816
Educational and general expenditures	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	([8])	377,903	521,990	1,706,444	4,513,208	15,788,699	33,151,681
Value of physical property	([8])	([8])	95,426	253,599	460,532	741,333	2,065,050	[9] 2,753,780	4,799,964	13,448,548	42,093,580	70,739,427
Endowment and other nonexpendable funds[10]	([8])	([8])	78,788	194,998	323,661	569,071	1,612,023	1,764,604	2,644,323	5,571,121	[11] 10,853,816	[11] 14,747,123

SOURCE: W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind, Digest of Education Statistics 1979 (Washington, 1979) p. 100.

APPENDIX B

EARNED DEGREES CONFERRED BY INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION BY LEVEL OF DEGREE: UNITED STATES

1869-70 to 1976-77

Year	Earned degrees conferred				
	All degrees	Bachelor's[1]	First-professional[1]	Master's except first-professional[2]	Doctor's
1	2	3	4	5	6
1869-70	9,372	9,371	---	0	1
1879-80	13,829	12,896	---	879	54
1889-90	16,703	15,539	---	1,015	149
1899-1900	29,375	27,410	---	1,583	382
1909-10	39,755	37,199	---	2,113	443
1919-20	53,516	48,622	---	4,279	615
1929-30	139,752	122,484	---	14,969	2,299
1939-40	216,521	186,500	---	26,731	3,290
1941-42	213,491	185,346	---	24,648	3,497
1943-44	141,582	125,863	---	13,414	2,305
1945-46	157,349	136,174	---	19,209	1,966
1947-48	317,607	271,019	---	42,400	4,188
1949-50	496,661	432,058	---	58,183	6,420
1951-52	401,203	329,986	---	63,534	7,683
1953-54	356,608	290,825	---	56,788	8,995
1955-56	376,973	308,812	---	59,258	8,903
1957-58	436,979	362,554	---	65,487	8,938
1959-60	476,704	392,440	---	74,435	9,829
1961-62	514,323	417,846	---	84,855	11,622
1963-64	614,194	498,654	---	101,050	14,490
1965-66	709,832	519,804	31,236	140,555	18,237
1967-68	866,548	632,289	34,421	176,749	23,089
1969-70	1,065,391	792,316	34,918	208,291	29,866
1971-72	1,215,680	887,273	43,411	251,633	33,363
1973-74	1,310,441	945,776	53,816	277,033	33,816
1975-76	1,334,230	925,746	62,649	311,771	34,064
1976-77	1,334,304	919,549	64,359	317,164	33,232

SOURCE: W. Vance Grand and C. Vance Lind
Digest of Education Statistics 1979 (Washington, 1979), p. 111.

APPENDIX C

GENERAL STATISTICAL TRENDS IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION 1899-1970

	1889–1890	1899–1900	1909–1910	1919–1920	1929–1930	1939–1940	1949–1950	1959–1960	1969–1970
Resident college enrollment	156,756	237,592	355,213	597,880	1,100,737	1,494,203	2,659,021	3,216,000	8,498,000
Percentage of 18–21-year-olds in college		4.01	4.84	8.14	12.19	15.32	19.27	33.2	48.0
Staff, instruction and administration	15,809	23,868	36,480	48,615	82,386	131,152	210,349	298,910	551,000
Income*	21,464	35,084	76,053	172,929	483,065	571,288	1,833,845	5,786,000	21,515,000
Expenditures*					377,903	521,990	1,706,444	5,601,000	21,043,000
Value of physical property*	95,426	253,599	460,532	741,333	1,925,095	2,753,780	5,272,590	14,612,000	46,054,000
Endowment*	78,788	197,998	323,661	569,071	1,512,023	1,764,604	2,644,323	5,445,000	10,884,000

SOURCE: J.S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition* (New York, Harper and Ros), p. 378.

APPENDIX D

EXPENDITURES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: UNITED STATES, 1929-30 to 1973-74

Item	1929-30	1939-40	1949-50	1959-60	1965-66	1967-68	1969-70	1971-72	1973-74
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Current-fund expenditures	$507,142	$674,688	$2,245,661	$5,601,376	$12,509,489	$16,480,786	$21,043,112	$25,559,560	$30,713,581
Educational and general	377,903	521,990	1,706,444	4,513,208	9,951,106	13,190,420	15,788,699	19,200,505	23,257,361
General administration and general expense	42,633	62,827	213,070	583,224	1,251,107	1,738,946	2,627,993	3,344,215	4,200,955
Instruction and departmental research	221,598	280,248	780,994	1,793,320	[1]3,911,377	[1]5,653,473	[1]7,653,097	[1]9,503,250	[1]11,574,145
Extension and public services	24,982	35,325	86,674	205,595	438,385	597,544	521,148	615,997	730,560
Libraries	9,654	19,487	56,147	135,384	346,248	493,266	652,596	764,481	939,023
Plant operation and maintenance	60,919	69,612	225,110	469,943	844,506	1,127,290	1,541,698	1,927,553	2,494,057
Separately organized research	18,117	27,266	225,341	1,022,353	2,448,300	2,698,963	2,144,076	2,265,282	2,480,451
Related activities	([3])	27,225	119,108	294,255	558,170	640,711	648,039	779,728	838,170
Other educational and general	([3])	([3])	([3])	[3]9,134	153,013	240,222	([3])	([3])	([3])
Auxiliary enterprises	([4])	124,184	476,401	916,117	1,887,744	2,302,419	2,769,276	3,178,272	3,613,256
Student-aid expenditures	([4])	([4])	([4])	172,050	425,524	712,425	984,594	1,241,372	1,396,488
Other current expenditures	129,239	28,514	62,816	.....	245,115	275,523	[5]1,500,544	[5]1,939,411	[5]2,446,476
Gross additions to plant value[6]	125,106	83,765	416,831	1,314,717	3,124,631	4,093,957	4,232,526	4,162,626	4,312,142

SOURCE: W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind
Digest of Education Statistics 1979 (Washington, 1979), p. 135.

APPENDIX E

INCOMES OF INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION: UNITED STATES

1919-20 to 1976-77

Item	1919-20	1929-30	1939-40	1949-50	1959-60	1969-70	1971-72	1973-74	1975-76	1976-77
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Current-fund income	$199,922	$554,511	$715,211	$2,374,645	$5,785,537	$21,515,242	$28,234,259	$31,712,452	$39,703,166	$43,433,827
Educational and general	172,929	483,065	571,288	1,833,845	4,688,352	16,485,177	20,200,209	24,627,843	....	...
Student tuition and fees[1]	42,255	144,126	200,897	394,610	1,157,482	4,419,845	5,594,095	6,500,101	8,171,942	9,024,932
Federal Government:										
Veterans' tuition and fees[1]	....	....	....	307,325	3,422	....	....	....	...	...
Research[2]	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	827,263	2,682,384	3,098,891	3,519,541	5,413,848	5,729,818
Other purposes	12,783	20,658	38,860	216,994	206,305					
State governments[4]	[5]61,690	[5]150,847	151,222	491,636	1,374,476	5,787,910	7,120,982	9,182,189	12,260,886	13,285,684
Local governments	(5)	(5)	24,392	61,700	151,715	774,803	991,034	1,263,145	1,616,975	1,626,908
Endowment earnings	26,482	68,605	71,304	96,341	206,619	447,275	480,806	576,915	687,470	764,787
Private gifts and grants[6]	7,584	26,172	40,453	118,627	332,569	1,001,454	1,208,070	1,430,982	1,917,038	2,105,070
Related activities	(3)	(3)	32,777	111,987	244,872	484,977	590,448	611,678	(3)	(3)
Sales and services of educational departments	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	45,423	127,800	148,711	222,382	645,420	779,058
Other educational and general	22,135	72,657	11,383	34,625	88,207	759,730	967,231	1,320,912	...	...
Auxiliary enterprises	26,993	60,419	143,923	511,265	1,004,283	2,900,390	3,308,957	3,734,229	4,547,622	4,919,602
Student-aid income[7]	(3)	(3)	(3)	16,289	92,902	658,016	764,590	882,585	(3)	(3)
Other current income	....	11,027	....	13,247	....	[8]1,470,660	[8]1,960,442	[8]2,467,785	[8]4,441,970	[8]5,200,968
Plant-fund receipts	19,194	82,078	66,209	528,747	1,308,506	(9)	(9)	(9)	7,286,363	6,835,917
Federal Government		....	22,987	12,358	57,599	....	....	....		
State governments	11,294	30,621	18,404	283,920	319,513	....	....	....		
Local governments			2,154	19,373	36,304	....	....	....	6,400,819	5,789,384
Private gifts and grants	7 900	51,457	22,663	72,620	196,408	....	....	....		
Loans—noninstitutional sources	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	361,112	....	....	....		
Loans—institutional sources	(3)	(3)	(3)	(3)	31,873	....	....	....		
Transfers from other funds	(3)	(3)	(3)	60,582	228,576				885,544	1,046,533
Miscellaneous receipts	(3)	(3)	(3)	79,894	77,122	....	....	....	...	...
Other fund receipts	(9)	(9)	44,518	[10]116,932	498,950	(9)	(9)	(9)	1,312,947	1,506,394
Private gifts and grants	50,907	63,512	36,376	66,850	209,146	....	....	....	(9)	(9)
Other sources	(9)	(9)	8,142	50,082	289,804	....	....	....	(9)	(9)
Net increase in principal of funds	(9)	(9)	(9)	(9)	419,310	367,978	729,641	338,233	958,887	1,117,197
Endowment funds[11]	....	....	....	....	375,178	367,978	729,641	338,233	648,887	802,141
Annuity funds	....	....	....	....	11,854	(9)	(9)	(9)	52,963	52,463
Student loan funds	....	....	....	....	32,279	(9)	(9)	(9)	257,037	262,593

SOURCE: W. Vance Grant and C. George Lind
Digest of Education Statistics 1979 (Washington, 1979), p. 131

APPENDIX F

FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR EDUCATION AND RELATED ACTIVITY

1943 Vocational Rehabilitation Act (P.L. 78-16)-provided assistance to disabled veterans.

1944 Servicemen's Readjustment Act (P.L. 78-129)-provided assistance for education of veterans.

1944 Surplus Property Act (P.L. 78-457)-authorized transfer of surplus property to educational institutions.

1948 United States Information and Educational Exhange Act (P.L. 80-402)-provided for the interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills between the United States and other countries.

1949 Federal Property and Administrative Services Act (P.L. 81-152)-provided for donation of surplus property to educational institutions and for other public uses.

1950 Financial assistance for local educational agencies by Federal activities (P.L. 81-815 and P.L. 81-874)-provided assistance for construction (P.L. 815) and operation(P.L. 874) of schools in federally affected areas.

1950 Housing Act (P.L. 81-475)-authorized loans for construction of college housing facilities.

1954 An act for the establishment of a United States Air Force Academy and other purposes (P.L. 83-325)-established the U.S. Air Force Academy.

1954 Cooperative Research Act (P.L. 83-531)-authorized cooperative arrangements with universities, colleges, and State education agencies for educational research.

1954 National Advisory Committee on Education Act (P.L. 83-532)-established a National Advisory Committee on Education to recommend to the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare needed studies of national concern in the field of education and to propose appropriate action indicated by such studies.

1956 Library Services Act (P.L. 84-597)-authorized grants to States for extension and improvement of rural public library services.

1957 Practical Nurse Training Act (P.L. 84-911)-provided grants to the States for practical nurse training.

1958 National Defense Education Act (P.L. 85-865)-provided assistance to State and local school systems for strengthening instruction in science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and other critical subjects; improvement of State statistical services; guidance and counseling; higher education student loans and fellowship : foreign language institutes, and advance foreign language study and training provided by universities; experimentation and dissemination of information on more effective utilization of television, motion pictures and related media for educational pruposes; and vocational education for technical occupations necessary to the national defense.

1961 Area Redevelopment Act (P.L. 87-27)-included provisions for training or retraining of persons in redevelopment areas.

1962 Migration and Refugee Act of 1962 (P.L. 87-510)-authorized loans, advances and grants for education and training of refugees.

1963 Health Professions Educational Assistance Act (P.L. 88-129)-provided funds to expand teaching facilities and loans to students in the health professions.

1963 Vocational Educational Act of 1963 (P.L.88-210)-increased Federal support of vocational schools, including support of residential vocational schools, vocational work-study programs, and research training and demonstrations in vocational education.

1963 Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (P.L. 88-204)-authorized grantes and loans for classrooms, libraries, and laboratories in public community colleges and technical institutes as well as undergraduate and graduate facilities in other institutions of higher education.

1964 Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L.88-352)-authorized the Commissioner of Education to arrange, through grants or contracts with institutions of higher education, for the operation of short-term or regular session institutes for special training to improve ability of elementary and secondary school instructional staff to deal effectively with special education problems occasioned by desegregation.

1964 Economic Opportunity of 1964 (P.L. 88-452)-authorized grants for college work-study programs for students from low-income families, etc.

1965 Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments (P.L. 89-290)-authorized scholarships to aid needy students in the health professions and grants to improve the quality of teaching in schools of medicine, dentistry, osteopathy, optometry and podiatry.

1965 Higher Education Act of 1965 (P.L. 89-329)-provided grants for university community services programs, college library assistance, library training and research, strengthening developing institutions; teacher training programs; and undergraduate instructional

equipment. Authorized insured student loans, established a National Teacher Corps, and provided for graduate teacher training fellowships.

1965 Medical Library Assistance Act (P.L. 89-291)-provided assistance for construction and improvement of health sciences libraries.

1965 National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act (P.L. 89-209)-authorized grants and loans for projects in the creative and performing arts, and for research, training, and scholarly publications in the humanities.

1965 National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act (P.L. 89-36)-provided for the establishment, construction and equipping, and operation of a residential school of postseconcary education and technical training of the deaf.

1965 National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act (P.L. 89-287)-encouraged State and nonprofit private institution and organizations to establish adequate loan insurance programs to assist students to attend postsecondary business, trade, technical and other vocational schools.

1966 International Education Act (P.L. 89-698)-provided grants to institutions of higher education for the establishment, strengthening, and operation of centers for research and training in international studies and the international aspects of other fields of study.

1966 National Sea Grant College and Program Act (P.L. 89-698)- authorized the establishment and operation of sea grant colleges and programs by initiating and supporting programs of education and research in the various fields relating to the development of marine resources.

1966 Adult Education Act (P.L. 89-750)-authorized grants to States for the encouragement and expansion of educational programs for adults, including training of teachers of adults and demonstration in adult education.

1967 Education Professions Development Act (P.L. 90-35)-amended the Higher Education Act of 1965 for the purpose of improving the quality of teaching and to help meet critical shortages of adequately trained educational personnel.

1967 Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-129)-established a Corporation for Public Broadcasting to: assume major responsibility in channeling Federal funds to noncommercial radio and television stations, program production groups, and ETV networks directly or through contract; conduct research, demonstration, or training in matters related to noncommercial broadcasting; and award grants for construction of educational radio as well as television facilities.

1968 Higher Education Amendments of 1968 (P.L. 90-575)- authorized new

programs to assist disadvantaged college students through special counseling and summer tutorial programs, and programs to assist colleges to combine resources for cooperative uses, including closed-circuit television and computer networks. Also authorized grants to expand and strengthen student cooperation programs and to expand programs which provide clinical experiences to law students.

1970 National Commission on Libraries and Information Science Act (P.L. 91-345)-established a National Commission on Libraries and Information Science to deal effectively utilize the Nation's educational resources and to cooperate with State and local governments and public and private agencies in assuring optimum provisions of services.

1970 Environmental Education Act (P.L. 91-516)-established an Office of Environment Education to: develop curriculum and initiate and maintain environmental education programs at the elementary-secondary levels; disseminate information; provide training programs for teachers and other educational, public, community, labor and industrial leaders and employees, provide community education programs, and distribute material dealing with environment and ecology.

1970 Drug Abuse Education Act of 1970 (P.L. 91-527)-provided for development and evaluation of curriculums on drug abuse, including support of training programs for teachers.

1971 Comprehensive Health Manpower Training Act of 1971 (P.L. 92-257) amended Title VII of the Public Health Service Act, increasing and expanding provisions for health manpower training and training facilities.

1972 Education Amendments of 1972 (P.L. 92-318)-established the Education Division and a National Institute of Education; general aid for institutions of higher educaton; Federal matching grants for State student incentive grants; a National Commission on Financing Postsecondary education; State Advisory Councils on Community Colleges; a Bureau of Occupational and Adult Education and State grants for the design, establishment, and conduct of postsecondary education; created a Bureau-level Office of Indian Education; to prohibit sex bias in adimission to vocational professional and graduate schools, and public institutions of undergraduate education.

1974 Educational Amendments of 1974 (P.L. 93-380)-provided for the consolidation of certain programs; established a National Center for Education Statistics in the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Education and transferred to the center the responsibility for the collection and diffusion of education statistics; specified that the Office of Education shall be the primary Federal agency responsible for the administration of programs of financial assistance to educational agencies, institutions, and organizations.

1975 Harry S. Truman Memorial Scholarship Act (P.L. 93-642)-established the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation and created a perpetual education scholarship fund for young Americans to prepare and pursue careers in public service.

1976 Educational Broadcasting Facilities and Telecommunications Demonstration Act of 1976 (P.L. 94-309)-established a telecommunications demonstration program to promote the development of nonbroadcast telecommunications facilities and services for the transmission, distribution and delivery of education information.

1976 Education Amendments of 1976 (P.L. 94-432)-extended and revised Federal programs for educations assistance for higher education, vocational education, and a variety of other programs. Provided for payments to institutions of higher education for administration expenses for federal student assistance, establishment of higher education centers and services for education information to assist students and teachers, collection of vocational and occupational data, control and coordination of data collection activities between the Office of Education and the Office of Civil Rights, and a report to the Office of Civil Rights, and a report to Congress containing analyses and recommendations for a reorganization of the Education Division.

W. Vance Grand and C. George Lind, Digest of Education Statistics (Washington, 1979), pp. 157-163.

APPENDIX G

AN HISTORICAL STATEMENT OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

I. Near the close of the nineteenth century, a movement for the spread and conservation of scriptural holiness in organized church form developed almost simultaneously in various parts of the United States. This movement was similar to the Wesleyan revival of the previous century. The manifestation everywhere of a spontaneous drawing in the unity of the Spirit towards closer affiliation of those of like precious faith culminated finally in the organization of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

The great impulse of this movement has been the emphasis placed by the Scriptures upon the fact that, in the atonement, Jesus Christ made provision, not only to save men from their sins, but also to perfect them in love.

II. On May 12, 1886, a number of the brethren in Providence, R.I., interested in promoting the Wesleyan doctrine and experience of entire santification, organized and held weekly religious services, first in private homes, but after a few months in a rented store on Oxford Street. On January 16, 1887, a Sunday school was organized with 95 members. On July 21, 1887, the People's Evangelical Church was organized with 51 members, Rev. F. A. Hillery acting as pastor. On November 25, 1888, the Mission Church, Lynn, Mass., was organized with Rev. C. Howard Davis as pastor. On March 13 and 14, 1890, representatives from these churches and other evangelical holiness organizations in southern New England assembled at Rock, Mass., and organized the Central Evangelical Holiness Association. Rev. W. C. Ryder, pastor of the Independent Congregational Church of that place, was elected president. Within the following year the Mission Church, Malden, Mass., the Emmanuel Mission Church, North Attleboro, Mass., and the Bethany Mission Church, Keene, N. H., were organized.

In January, 1894, William Howard Hoople, a businessman in New York City, founded a mission in Brooklyn, which, in the following May, was organized as an independent church with a membership of 32, and was called the Utica Avenue Pentecostal Tabernacle. After a church edifice was erected, Mr. Hoople was called to the pastorate. The following February, in an abandoned church building, the Bedford Avenue Pentecostal Church was organized, and a little later the Emmanuel Pentecostal Tabernacle. In December, 1895, delegates from these three churches adopted a constitution, summary of doctrines, and bylaws, and formed the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America. This association was duly incorporated. Associated with Rev. William Howard Hoople in this work were Rev. H. B. Hosley, Rev. John Norberry, Rev. Charles BeVier, and Rev. H. F. Reynolds.

On November 12, 1896, a joint committee from these two associations met in the city of Brooklyn, N. Y., to formulate some plan of union. For the benefit of their counsel and cooperation, several brethren prominent in the work were invited to act with the joint committee...this meeting resulted in the union of the Association of Pentecostal Churches and the Central Evangelical Holiness Association under the name of the former group.

III. In October, 1895, a number of persons under the leadership of Rev. Phineas F. Bresee, D.D., and J. P. Widney, M.D., formed the First Church of the Nazarene at Los Angeles, Calif., with 135 charter members. They adopted statements of belief, and agreed to such general rules as seemed proper and needful for their immediate guidance, leaving to the future the making of such provisions as the work and its conditions might necessitate. As a result of this organization a number of churches sprang into existence, reaching as far east as Chicago.

IV. As the group from the West and the group from the East came to know each other better, the feeling grew that they should unite. After delegates from both areas had conferred, the following basis of union was prepared and adopted unanimously by both bodies:

BASIS OF UNION

It is agreed that the two churches are one in the doctrines essential to salvation especially the doctrines of justification by faith and entire sanctification subsequent to justification, also by faith, and, as a result, the precious experience of entire santification as a normal condition of the churches. Both churches recognize that the right of church membership rests upon experience and that persons who have born of the Spirit are entitled to its privileges...we are agreed on the necessity of a superintendency, which shall foster and care for churches...it is agreed that any church of the Association of Pentecostal Churches of America going into this organization which may feel it imperative with them to continue to hold their property in like manner as at present, shall be at liberty to do so.

The first union assembly was held in Chicago in October, 1907. It was agreed that the name of the united body should be the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene.

V. In 1894 at Milan, Tenn., the New Testament Church of Christ was organized with 14 members by Rev. R. L. Harris to conserve and promote scriptural holiness. The influence of this church soon spread throughout western Texas and Arkansas. Prominent among the leaders were Mary Lee Cagle, formerly the wife of Rev. R. L. Harris, who continued the work after her husband's death.

In 1888 the first holiness churches in Texas were organized by Rev. Thomas Rogers and Rev. Dennis Rogers, who came from California. In 1901 the first Independent Holiness church was organized as Van Alstyne, Tex., by Rev. C. B. Jernigan. This denomination grew and prospered until, in 1903, there were 20 church organizations. The legal representatives of the Independent Holiness Church and the New Testament Church of Christ met at Rising Star, Tex., in November, 1904, where a joint committee framed a Manual and statement of doctrine and basis of union. The union was fully consummated at Pilot Point, Tex., in November, 1905, and the united body adopted the name The Holiness Church of Christ.

VI. In 1907, several representatives from the Holiness Church of Christ accepted the invitation of the Pentecostal Church of the Nazarene to attend its General Assembly in Chicago, but were not authorized to take any action with reference to organic union. After the assembly invited them into counsel, provisional arrangements were made to incorporate the two churches into one body, when proper action could be taken. Upon the invitation of the Holiness Church of Christ, the Second General Assembly convened at Pilot Point, Tex., at two o'clock, Thursday afternoon, October 8, 1908. On the following Tuesday morning, R. B. Mitchum moved: "That the union of the two churches be now consummated," and the motion was seconded by Rev. C. W. Ruth.... On Tuesday, October 13, 1908, at 10:40 a.m., amid great enthusiasm, the motion to unite was adopted by a unanimous rising vote.

VII. In November, 1901, the first stage in the present holiness church movement in the Brisish Isles began, when Rev. George Sharpe, who had been for 13½ years a preacher in the Methodist Episcopal Church, accepted a call to the Congregational Church at Ardrossan, Scotland. In September, 1905, he bacame minister of the Parkhead Congregational Church, Glascow; but after a strenuous, successful and glorious ministry of 13 months, he was evicted for preaching Bible holiness.

On September 30, 1906, the first services of the first distinctively holiness church were held in the Great Eastern Roads Hall, Glasgow. The charter members numbered 80. Other churches were organized and became the Pentecostal Church of Scotland. Visits of Dr. E. F. Walker and Dr. H. F. Reynolds to Scotland, and a visit of Rev. George Sharpe and Mrs. Sharpe to the Fourth General Assembly at Kansas City, Mo., led the way to union with the Church of the Nazarene, which was consummated in November, 1915.

IX. The General Assembly of 1919, in response to memorials from 35 district assemblies, changed the name of the organization to "The Church of the Nazarene."

X. For many years a holiness movement had been developing in Minnesota, the Dakotas, and Montana. It was originated by a group of Methodist laymen, and was formally organized in 1917 at Jamestown, N. D., as the Laymen's Holiness Association. Rev. J. G. Morrison was immediately elected field evangelist and, in 1919, president of the association. In 1922, under the leadership of these ministers, more than 1,000 people identified with the Laymen's Holiness Asosciation united with the Church of the Nazarene.

XI. During the quadrennium 1952-56, two holiness groups in Britain merged with the Church of the Nazarene.

The International Holiness Mission, founded in London, England, in 1907 by Mr. David Thomas, businessman and lay preacher, consummated union with the Church of the Nazarene in Leeds, England, October 29, 1952, with General Superintendent Hardy C. Powers officiating. At the time of the union, Mr. John Place was president of the I.H.M., and Rev. J. B. MacLagan was superintendent. The union brought 28 churches, over 1,000 constituents, and 36 missionaries in South Africa into the Church of the Nazarene.

For about 25 years the Calvary Holiness church of Britain carried on its ministry of holiness evangelism under the leadership of Rev. Maynard James and Rev. Jack Ford. Union of the Calvary Holiness church with the Church of the Nazarene was consummated June 11, 1955, at Manchester, England, with General Superintendent Samuel Young officiating. About 22 churches and over 600 members came into the church as a result of this union.

XII. The Gospel Workers church of Cnaada united with the Church of the Nazarene on September 7, 1958. Under the leadership of Rev. Albert Mills, president, and Rev. C. J. McNichol, secretary, the union took place with Mr. Samuel Goff, son of the founder, acting as attorney in the negotiations. The union was completed under the supervision of General Superintendent Samuel Young and added five churches and 200 members to the Canada Central District.

MANUAL, Church of the Nazarene, 1972, pp. 15-23.

APPENDIX H

PREAMBLE OF CONSTITUTION

AND ARTICLES OF FAITH

Preamble:

In order that we may preserve our God-given heritage, the faith once delivered to the saints, especially the doctrine and experience of sanctification as a second work of grace, and also that we may cooperate effectually with other branches of the Church of Jesus Christ in advancing God's kingdom among men, we, the ministers and lay members of the Church of the Nazarene, in accordance with the principle of constitutional legislation, established among us, do hereby ordain, adopt, and set forth as the fundamental law or constitution of the Church of the Nazarene the Articles of Organization and Government here following, to wit.:

Articles of Faith:

I. The Triune God

1. We believe in one eternally existent, infininte God, Sovereign of the universe; that He only is God, creative and administrative, holy in nature attributes, and purpose; that He, as God, is Triune in essential being, revealed as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

II. Jesus Christ

2. We believe in Jesus Christ, the Second Person of the Triune Godhead; that He was eternally one with the Father; that He became incarnate by the Holy Spirit and was born of the Virgin Mary, so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say the Godhead and manhood are thus united in one person very God and very man, the God-man.

We believe that Jesus Christ died for our sins, and that He truly arose from the dead and took again His body, together with all things appertaining to the perfection of man's nature, wherewith He ascended into heaven and is there engaged in intercession for us.

III. The Holy Spirit

3. We believe in the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Triune Godhead, that He is ever present and efficiently active in and with the Church of Christ, convincing the world of sin, regenerating those who repent and believe, santifying believers, and guiding into all truth as it is in Jesus.

IV. The Holy Scriptures

4. We believe in the plenary inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, by which we understand the sixty-six books of the Old and New Testament, given by divine inspiration, inerrantly revealing the will of God concerning us in all things necessary to our salvation, so that whatever is not contained therein is not to be enjoined as an article of faith.

V. Original Sin, or Depravity

5. We believe that original sin, or depravity, is that corruption of the nature of all the offspring of Adam by reason of which every one is very far gaone from original righteousness or the pure state of our first parents at the time of their creation, is averse to God, is without spiritual life, and inclined to evil, and that continually. We further believe that original sin continues to exist with the new life of the regenerate, until eradicated by the baptism of the Holy Spirit.

VI. Atonement

6. We believe that Jesus Christ, by His sufferings, by the shedding of His own blood, and by His meritorious death on the Cross, made a full atonement for all human sin, and that this atonement is the only ground of salvation, and that it is sufficient for every individual of Adam's race. The atonement is graciously efficacious for the salvation of the irresponsible and for the children in innocency, but is efficacious for the salvation of those who reach the age of responsibility only when they repent and believe.

VII. Free Agency

7. We believe that man's creation in Godliness included ability to choose between right and wrong, and that thus he was made morally responsible; that through the fall of Adam he became depraved so that he cannot now turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and works to faith and calling upon God. But we also believe that the grace of God through Jesus Christ is freely bestowed upon all men, enabling all who will to turn from sin to righteousness, believe on Jesus Christ for pardon and cleansing from sin, and follow good works pleasing and acceptable in His sight.

We believe that man, though in possession of the experience of regeneration and entire sanctification, may fall from grace and apostasize and, unless he repent of his sin, be hopelessly and eternally lost.

VIII. Repentance

8. We believe that repentance, which is sincere and thorough change of mind in regard to sin, involving a sense of personal guilt and a voluntary turning away from sin, is demanded of all who have by act or purpose become sinners against God. The Spirit of God gives to all who will repent the gracious help of penitence of heart and hope of mercy, that they may believe unto pardon and spiritual life.

IX. Justification, Regeneration, and Adoption

9. We believe that justification is the gracious and judicial act of God by which He grants full pardon of all guilt and complete release from the

penalty of sins committed, and acceptance as righteous, to all who believe on Jesus Christ and receive Him as Lord and Saviour.
10. We believe that regeneration, or the new birth, is that gracious work of God whereby the moral nature of the repentant believer is spiritually quickened and given a distinctively spiritual life, capable of faith, love and obedience.
11. We believe that adoption is that gracious act of God by which the justified and regenerated believer is constituted a son of God.
12. We believe that justification, regeneration and adoption are simultaneous in the experience of seekers after God and are obtained upon the condition of faith, preceded by repentance; and that to this work and state of grace the Holy Spirit bears witness.

X. Entire Santification

13. We believe that entire santification is that act of God, subsequent to regeneration, by which believers are made free from oritignal sin, or depravity, and brought into a state of entire devotement to God, and the holy obedience of love made perfect.

It is wrought by the baptism with the Holy Spirit, and comprehends in one experience the cleansing of the heart from sin and the abiding indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit, empowering the believer for life and service.

Entire sanctification is provided by the blood of Jesus, is wrought instantaneously by faith preceded by entire consecration; and to this work and state of grace the Holy Spirit bears witness.

This experience is also known by various terms representing its diferenct phases, such as "Christian perfection", "perfect love", "heart purity", "the baptism with the Holy Spirit", "the fullness of the blessing", and "Christian holiness".

XI. Second Coming of Christ

14. We believe that the Lord Jesus Christ will come again; that we who are alive at His coming shall not precede them that are asleep in Christ Jesus; but that, if we are abiding in Him, we shall be caught up with the risen saints to meet the Lord in the air, so that we shall ever be with the Lord.

XII. Resurrection, Judgment, and Destiny

15. We believe in the resurrection of the dead, that the bodies of both and of the unjust shall be raised to life and united with their spirits--"they that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of damnation."
16. We believe in future judgment in which every man shall appear before God to be judged according to his deeds in this life.
17. We believe that glorious and everlasting life is assured to all who savingly believe in, and obediently follow, Jesus Christ our Lord; and that the finally impenitent shall suffer eternally in hell.

XIII. Baptism

18. We believe that Christian baptism is a sacrament signifying accept-ance of the benefits of the atonement of Jesus Christ, to be administered to believers as declarative of their faith in Jesus Christ as their Saviour, and full purpose in holiness and righteousness.

Baptism being the symbol of the New Testament, young children may be baptized, upon request of parents or guardians who shall give assurance for them of necessary Christian training.

Baptism may be admininstered by sprinkling, pouring, or immersion, according to the choice of the applicant.

XIV. The Lord's Supper

19. We believe that the Memorial and Communion Supper instituted by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is essentially a New Testament sacra-ment, declarative of His sacrificial death, through the merits of which believers have life and salvation and promise of all spiritual blessings in Christ. It is distinctively for those who are prepared for reverent appreciation of its significance and by it they show the Lord's death till He come again. It being the Communion feast, only those have faith in Christ and love for the saints should be called to participate therein.

XV. Diving Healing

20. We believe in the Bible doctrine of divine healing and urge out people to seek to offer the prayer of faith for the healing of the sick. Providential means and agencies when deemed necessary should not be refused.

THE CHURCH

21. The church of God is composed of all spiritually regenerate persons, whose names are written in heaven.
22. The churches severally are to be composed of such regenerate persons as by providential permission, and by the leadings of the Holy Spirit, become associated together for holy fellowship and ministries.
23. The Church of the Nazarene is composed of those persons who have voluntarily associated themselves together according to the doctrines and polity of said church, and who seek holy Christian fellowship, the conversion of sinners, the entire santification of believers, their upbuild-ing in holiness,and the simplicity and spiritual power manifest in the primitive New Testament Church, together with the preaching of the gos-pel to every Creature.

MANUAL, Church of the Nazarene, 1960, pp. 27-34.

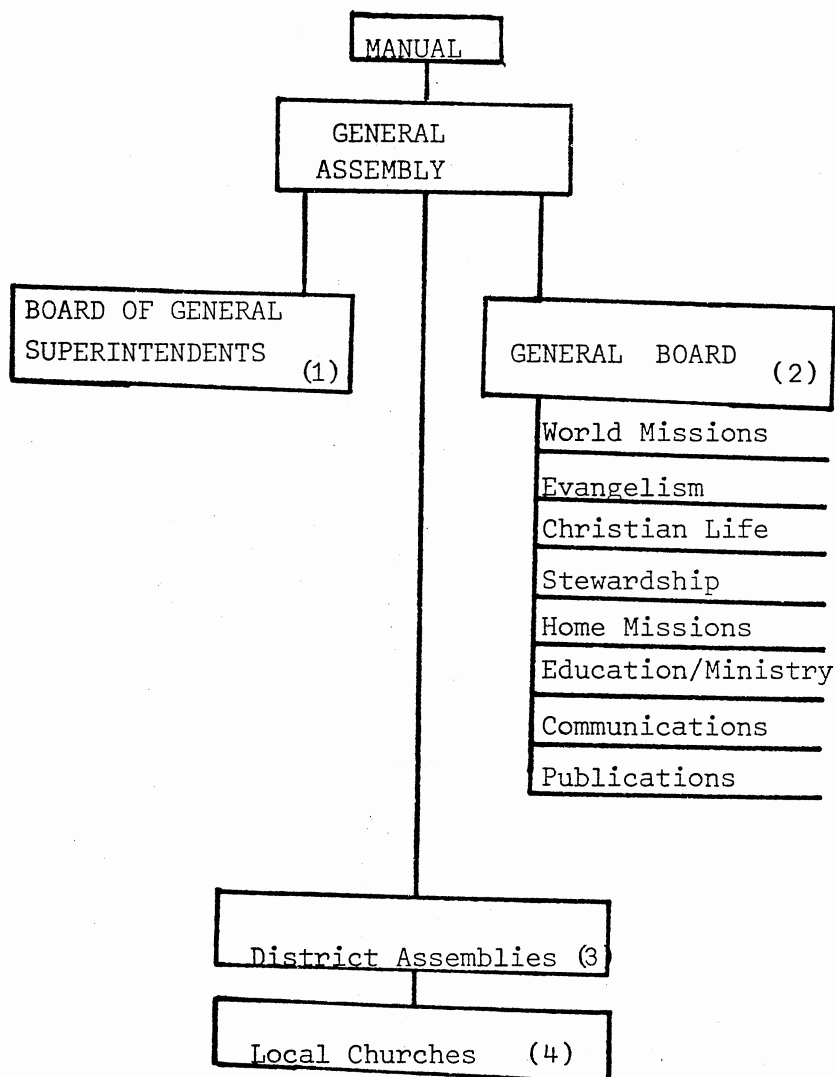
APPENDIX I

A COMPARISON OF COURSE OFFERINGS IN COLLEGES OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE BETWEEN 1920-1940

	PC	BPC	ONC	NNC	ENC	Total	% +/-
I. Arts	20/40	20/40	20/40	20/40	20/40	20/40	
Modern Language	23/124	12/80	110/84	32/80	64/81	241/449	+103
Classical Language	60/50	12/12	78/14	92/12	92/39	324/127	+39
Social & Behav. Science	10/141	12/22	28/47	0/57	24/56	74/285	+285
Humanities	110/154	31/130	93/172	105/139	134/155	463/781	+69
Education	48/42	12/21	28/64	36/30	25/36	149/223	+49
Business	0	0	0	0/47	0	0/47	–
Total	251/511	79/265	337/381	265/395	339/367	1251/1912	+52
II. Science							
Math	14/23	12/28	16/55	18/60	34/45	94/211	+124
Physical Science	41/69	0/55	36/72	23/58	24/84	124/392	+216
Biological Science	31/62	0/13	32/78	9/50	20/52	92/255	+177
Total	86/154	12/96	84/205	50/168	78/181	310/858	+176
III. Religion							
Bible	63/66	34/35	52/68	38/29	18/30	205/228	+11
Theology	38/42	18/31	54/90	32/26	35/12	176/201	+14
Practics	86/52	10/16	32/43	38/57	31/15	197/183	-7
Total	187/160	62/82	138/201	108/112	84/57	579/612	+5

APPENDIX J

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE



(1) Six ordained elders elected quadrennially
(2) General Boards governs the Church in the interum between General Assemblies, with the general superintendents as their executive leaders
(3) There are 97 regular districts world-wide
(4) There are 661,114 members in 7090 churches world-wide

SOURCE: MANUAL, Church of the Nazarene (Kansas City, 1972)

APPENDIX K

NAZARENE REVIVALISM

On Thursday, November 5, Evangelist Montgomery gave a heart-stirring message on influence. A number of so-called "hard cases" sought and found Jesus Christ precious to their hearts. It began to look as though things were moving.

One of the young men in the dormitory, on leaving the evening church service, was so convicted for sin that he returned to take home with him a Christian student in whom he had confidence. Once in the dean's office in the dorm, when fellows from their own little prayer meetings heard the heart cries of this soul, and when they came in to help, God himself heard and answered. Shouts and cries rolled. Another hungry soul came in; another, and another! The Holy Spirit was there. Prayers ascended easily. These other three found peace, and the minature revival was dismissed at one o'clock A.M.

On Tuesday, November 10, classes became general places of prayer. Simultaneously prayers of burden for the morning chapel service merged with one might cry and ascended to the throne of mercy. The spirit was contagious. Carried over into a classroom of seventy-five in Biblical Literature, it permeated the atmosphere until the whole class cried out for God to answer the prayer for the lost that was by that time going up in other classes. In chapel it was the Christians who came to the altar. The service broke up at 1:30 P.M. with victory.

The evening service began quietly enough. During the singing of the special song by a college women's quartet, the spirit began to touch the service. Folks sang choruses and shouted. Brother E.E. Martin, pastor, stood helplessly trying to direct things, but succeeding not at all. It was evident that no preaching could be started.

The evangelist came to the front of the platform and demanded of Brother Martin, "Step aside, man, I want to give an altar call." When finally he succeeded in making himself understood above the din, the people began to flock to the front. Seventy souls came within a very few minutes. Twenty knelt in the pews, for the front was overflowing with seekers.

Students and local church members alike shouted their way to the campus at 9:30 to attend an all-night prayer meeting in the dining club. More than two hundred and fifty assembled. Within a few minutes the pressures on the unsaved became heavy. Many of them had gone home to bed, but either a delegation went after them and brought them in, or they could not sleep and they came of their own accord. We have never heard such a volume of prayers as ascended from that dining room that evening. Every few minutes someone would receive the victory and would add a little extra to the clamor. Every few minutes another would enter who was not a Christian. Most were in tears.

In two hours, Brother Montgomery attempted to stop the uproar long enough to hold a testimony meeting, but he found it as useless as trying to stop an avalanche. At last, after several efforts, he succeeded in obtaining silence long enough to announce his wishes, but the first one who testified touched off the thing again. Not all was exhilaration, for many were under a heavy burden for souls. Some who were saved testified to the experience and almost immediately knelt to be sanctified. At two o'clock A.M., Brother Montgomery tried almost in vain to dismiss the gathering. Finally, he forcibly "shooed" the reluctant multitude out the door. We heard the noise of shouting long after that. Prayer meetings and songs were in order the next day. . .How the glory continued to roll, and roll, and roll! At 5:45 P.M. as usual, the students gathered in the club for dinner. While waiting for the signal to be seated for dinner, the students began to sing some choruses. The music professor called for all who had received an answer to prayer to sing. Hands raised, they sang. The fire fell. Some started around the hall with hands in the air; others began to shout. The spirit of praise spread so rapidly that food was forgotten. Almost every unsaved student either made a hasty exit or found a chair to use as an altar. Others gathered round and rather shouted the seekers through than prayed them through.

The deans called for all to eat who could and everyone sat down. Every moment, however, a new seeker would be discovered or someone would have a new spell of shouting. Waitresses, instead of serving food, went around the room shouting or crying.

A member of the Senior class sought sanctification over his plate. Receiving the blessing, he stood on his chair, hands up, and the mightiest cry of victory ever heard on the campus arose. The thing was simultaneous, and so was the hand of fellowship that followed.

The din became greater than ever. One strode around the hall with a chair over his shoulder, then with a book, shouting at the top of his voice. Some walked up and down waving plates or spoons. It was truly the most remarkable scene ever witnessed on campus. Whitefield, Finney, Knox and Moody had not more successful climax to their revival efforts than were witnessed [here]. . .

SOURCE: Russell V. DeLong, Twenty-five Years of Progress (Nampa, 1938), p. 6.

APPENDIX L

A CUMULATIVE FINANCIAL SUMMARY OF NAZARENE HIGHER EDUCATION, 1950 – 1978

Valuation and Debt (columns 1 - 11) (in 1000's of dollars)												Sources of Income (columns 12 - 20)							
Year	Buildings and Land	Equipment	Total Gross Valuation	Capital Debt	Current Debt	Total Indebtedness	Gen. Giv. per capita	% high.ed.$ to total giv.	per capita Educ.Giving	Net Worth	Capital Income - Church	Capital Income - Loan	Total Capital Income	Current Income Church	Current Income - Gen. Ed.	Current Auxiliary	Total Income
1950-1	5145	878	6024	434	292	727	53	1.6	1.84	5296	163	81	244	275	1372	2058	2303
1952-3	5770	1025	6800	387	374	822	58	2.2	2.77	5977	290	30	320	421	1454	2275	2595
1954-5	10150	1255	8177	532	426	1670	62	2.3	2.89	7043	275	101	376	514	1788	2660	3036
1956-7	7928	1534	9462	844	406	1250	66	2.1	2.82	8212	250	155	405	1402	600	3071	3477
1958-9	8815	1796	10564	1245	366	1612	134	2.1	2.93	8953	318	264	583	578	2738	3809	4391
1960-1	13650	2513	16164	3823	711	4535	143	2.5	3.48	11629	244	606	848	774	3834	5661	6510
1962-3	15319	2727	18046	4434	1233	5667	150	2.1	3.08	12380	316	554	869	732	4554	6433	7302
1964-5	24410	3445	27991	11030	1262	12293	164	1.9	4.40	15698	495	2877	4004	1013	6084	8688	12961
1966-7	30811	4919	38412	17524	1597	19119	185	3.1	6.63	19293	830	1854	3635	1498	7705	12729	16414
1968-9	38306	6096	46631	24022	1766	25743	208	3.8	8.43	20888	1312	3149	6128	1910	8729	15722	21350
1970-1	49838	7371	58239	26525	2822	29346	228	4.2	9.47	42835	1491	3376	5596	3062	10115	19498	25219
1972-3	62849	8674	71553	29314	3653	32966	250	4.5	11.41	38401	2101	3201	5248	4534	11571	23614	30501
1974-5	87743	11766	99508	45383	5266	50649	269	5.0	13.27	48680	2186	3922	6429	5310	14211	28697	36812
1976-7	99656	13996	113652	48253	6592	55453	296	5.3	14.53	58198	2124	4711	7560	6512	15171	31560	39708
1978	105429	16442	123589	55671	7908	61034	303	5.5	16.44	66306	2512	5113	8612	6995	17148	37419	44745

Compiled from Statistical Reports, Department of Education and the Ministry, Church of the Nazarene, 1950-1978. All averages are biennial except 1978.

APPENDIX M

GRANTS AND GIFTS TO NAZARENE HIGHER EDUCATION, 1973-1978

	Bi-Annual Summaries	Church Support Budgets (in 1000's)	Church Support Other (in 1000's)	Federal Support Student Aid (in 1000's)	Federal Support Other (in 1000's)	Corporate Support Student Aid (in 1000's)	Corporate Support Other (in 1000's)	Miscellaneous Support (in 1000's)	Total Support (in 1000's)
Bethany	1973-4	878.6	682.6	138.3	49.9	11.2	112.6	279.6	2147.8
	1975-6	1248.1	317.5	476.2	243.3	112.6	120.4	65.6	2592.9
	1977-8	1664.3	188.1	414.6	87.8	35.0	104.6	245.9	2740.8
	Total	3791.0	1197.2	1029.2	381.3	158.8	338.0	591.1	7496.5
Trevecca	1973-4	836.5	16.6	153.3	34.1	-	74.9	39.2	1141.9
	1975-6	982.5	-	414.5	227.0	-	118.2	214.5	1765.6
	1977-8	1086.0	140.8	157.1	138.6	50.7	60.5	459.8	2094.6
	Total	2905.0	157.4	725.3	196.4	50.7	253.9	713.5	5002.2
Eastern	1973-4	932.3	120.5	226.2	300.2	43.0	84.0	211.6	1918.0
	1975-6	1094.1	173.9	399.5	49.2	29.1	43.2	382.2	2171.6
	1976-8	1062.4	252.2	575.2	45.1	-	13.2	347.6	2295.8
	Total	3088.8	546.8	1200.9	394.8	72.1	140.4	941.4	6385.4
Mid-America	1973-4	526.1	668.7	72.8	56.2	-	10.0	147.0	1480.8
	1975-6	797.6	498.3	403.7	26.4	11.4	41.8	488.0	2288.2
	1977-8	1300.2	415.4	982.5	211.1	95.1	179.1	804.0	3980.7
	Total	3621.6	633.4	1583.8	345.0	200.5	299.5	1647.9	8326.7
Northwest	1973-4	723.1	106.0	209.3	73.4	107.0	131.4	100.0	1448.3
	1975-6	994.6	71.1	248.9	61.2	137.0	113.5	27.5	1823.5
	1977-8	1332.0	132.3	798.1	9.3	237.4	102.8	80.9	2692.1
	Total	3049.4	309.4	1424.4	143.9	482.4	347.7	208.4	6675.9
Olivet	1973-4	889.1	568.3	-	135.0	-	181.0	213.5	1987.8
	1975-6	1019.3	598.5	-	24.5	-	257.4	239.0	2138.8
	1977-8	1380.2	433.1	38.4	155.7	-	11.9	256.8	2276.8
	Total	3288.6	1600.0	38.4	315.9	-	450.3	727.3	6403.3
Point Loma	1973-4	796.9	435.2	396.6	53.1	23.2	58.8	461.3	2198.2
	1975-6	1033.1	415.2	454.9	-	54.9	79.1	1280.3	3317.5
	1977-8	1434.0	193.0	184.0	38.5	26.2	67.7	799.9	2742.1
	Total	3264.0	1043.0	1008.3	91.6	13.3	205.2	2541.5	8258.8
Mount Vernon	1973-4	994.0	160.7	160.9	66.1	54.8	48.0	295.5	1780.3
	1975-6	1327.4	59.3	440.3	67.7	50.6	72.3	548.9	2534.7
	1977-8	1000.2	561.1	763.6	86.0	-	220.6	509.1	3140.6
	Total	3321.6	781.1	1364.8	219.8	105.4	340.6	1353.5	7486.8

APPENDIX N

A COMPARISON OF COURSE OFFERINGS IN COLLEGES OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE BETWEEN 1940-1978

I. The Arts	P.L.C.		T.N.C.		B.N.C.		O.N.C.		E.N.C.		N.N.C.		M.V.N.C.		M.A.N.C.	
	1940	1978	1940	1978	1940	1978	1940	1978	1940	1978	1940	1978	1968	1978	1968	1978
English/Lit.	50	70	54	54	52	119	64	79	83	57	43	155	12	106	21	123
Psych-Socio.	51	118	12	117	13	122	13	87	54	115	38	114	21	107	18	115
Modern Lang.	124	60	24	41	80	76	89	87	81	82	60	120	18	60	36	59
Classical Lang.	70	23	12	28	12	24	26	26	46	14	16	30	6	18	-	21
Business-Eco.	21	111	33	172	4	265	49	109	6	78	58	151	18	122	43	199
Hist- Po. Sci.	70	65	54	120	35	96	132	65	59	51	50	125	9	81	48	83
Ed.-P.E.	38	230	40	196	21	278	54	204	36	129	75	364	5	193	39	201
Speech	36	40	-	59	22	72	41	48	20	33	44	22	3	48	3	69
Music-F.A.	97	123	40	90	76	180	91	213	48	106	129	199	9	220	23	135
Philosophy	49	53	21	2	326	42	34	36	43	30	40	48	9	21	24	21
Home Economics	-	45	-	16	-	83	-	78	-	-	41	105	-	24	-	58
Arts Summary	622	922	290	1062	268	1468	595	1165	465	659	600	1512	110	1002	255	1086
II. Sciences																
Math-Astronomy	48	60	72	45	28	64	56	136	45	83	58	113	12	129	16	98
Physical Sci.	68	108	25	91	55	93	65	148	78	108	54	225	17	72	44	141
Biological Sci.	80	135	12	203	13	116	33	144	53	72	52	109	11	67	29	77
Science Summary	116	303	109	331	96	273	154	428	175	203	164	497	41	268	89	375
III. Religion																
Bible	82	30	81	45	35	89	34	60	30	30	26	44	18	34	6	49
Theol-Ch. Hist.	51	44	48	42	31	53	41	59	12	30	28	59	6	26	21	39
Practics	61	33	29	103	16	99	24	91	15	39	70	34	3	69	15	64
Rel. Summary	194	107	158	190	82	241	97	210	57	99	124	137	27	129	42	152
Grand Totals	1012	1332	557	1611	446	1982	848	1803	708	1021	888	2146	205	1399	386	1613

Compiled from Annual Statistical Reports, Department of Education and the Ministry, Church of the Nazarene, 1940-1978.

APPENDIX O

CUMULATIVE STUDENT STATISTICS OF NAZARENE HIGHER EDUCATION 1945 - 1978

Year	Graduate Enrollment	Undergraduate Enrollment	Total Enrollment	Total F.T.E.	Total Nazarene Enrollment	% of Nazarenes to Enrollment	Associate Degrees	Bachelors Degrees	Graduate Degrees	Total Degrees	% Preparing for Christian Service
45-46	61	2197	3258	2942	2720	83.5	-	177	26	203	1271
46-47	101	3288	3389	3128	2833	83.6	-	179	33	212	1240
47-48	135	3841	3976	3590	3340	84.0	-	205	35	240	1425
48-49	135	3781	3916	3489	3191	81.5	-	177	49	226	1304
49-50	151	3968	4119	3752	3402	82.6	-	146	70	216	1428
50-51	199	3596	3795	3499	3191	84.1	-	162	76	238	1377
51-52	196	3511	3707	3225	3062	82.6	-	164	83	247	1295
52-53	233	3563	3796	3378	3151	83.0	-	201	88	289	1304
53-54	245	3645	3890	3555	3193	82.1	-	208	92	300	1348
54-55	229	3714	3943	3486	3158	80.1	-	262	79	341	1295
55-56	199	3809	3999	3611	3171	79.3	-	295	68	363	1333
56-57	194	3995	4189	3866	3351	80.0	-	366	71	437	1461
57-58	185	4173	4358	3935	3525	80.9	-	422	67	489	1391
58-59	170	4397	4567	4069	3699	81.0	16	454	68	538	1552
59-60	172	4630	4802	4374	3870	80.6	29	502	81	612	1544
60-61	222	5067	5289	4601	4241	80.2	32	666	98	791	1490
61-62	253	5148	5401	4737	4423	81.9	44	674	101	869	1477
62-63	239	5469	5708	5114	4600	80.6	51	748	99	898	1519
63-64	368	5551	5920	5352	4754	80.3	39	839	111	989	1500
64-65	496	7168	7664	6897	6200	80.9	67	817	128	1012	1525
65-66	486	7225	7711	6886	6361	81.9	79	922	133	1055	1303
66-67	439	7712	8151	7443	6699	82.0	93	1004	182	1186	1198
67-68	510	8384	8894	7940	7328	81.3	92	1046	121	1172	1156
68-69	512	8314	8826	7951	7266	81.1	105	1236	143	1379	1244
69-70	536	9089	9625	8548	7729	80.3	111	1151	139	1401	1309
70-71	524	8963	9487	8556	7735	80.0	107	1249	127	1483	1106
71-72	492	9384	9876	9009	7799	78.0	110	1254	151	1515	1126
72-73	543	8947	9490	8220	7607	80.0	134	1370	198	1752	1512
73-78	731	9911	10638	9423	8298	77.9	158	1321	337	1827	1867

Compiled from statistical reports from the various colleges and from the Department of Education.

APPENDIX P

GENERAL RULES OF THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE

25. Tobe identified with the visible Church is the blessed privilege and sacred duty of all who are saved from their sins, and are seeking completeness in Christ Jesus. It is required of all who desire to unite with the Church of the Nazarene, and thus to walk in fellowship with us, that they shall show evidence of salvation from their sins by a godly walk and vital piety; that they shall be, or earnestly desire to be, cleansed from all indwelling sin; and they shall evidence this--

(1) First. By avoiding evil of every kind including:
 (a) taking the name of God in vain.
 (b) profaning of the Lord's day, either by unnecessary labor, or by the patronizing or reading of secular papers, or by holiday diversions.
 (c) using of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, or trafficking therein; giving influence to or voting for, the licensing of places for the sale of the same; using of tobacco in any of its form, or trafficking therein.
 (d) quarreling, returning evil for evil, gossiping, slandering, spreading surmises injurious to the good name of others.
 (e) dishonsty, taking advantage in buying and selling, bearing false witness, and like works of darkness.
 (f) the indulging of pride of dress or behavior. Our people are to dress with the Christian simplicity and modesty that become holiness. (see I Timothy 2:9-10, I Peter 3:3-4).
 (g) songs, literature, and entertainments not to the glory of God; the theater, the ballroom, the circus and like place; also lotteries and games of chance; looseness and impropriety of conduct; membership in or fellowship with oath-bound secret orders or fraternities. (see James 4:9 and II Corinthians 6:14-17).

(2) Second. By doing that which is enjoined in the Word of God, which is both our rule of faith and practice including:
 (a) being courteous to all men.
 (b) contributing to the support of the ministry and the church and its work, according to the ability which God giveth.
 (c) being helpful to those who are of the household of faith, in love forebearing one another.
 (d) loving God with all the heart, soul, mind and strength.
 (e) attending faithfully all the ordinances of God, and the means of grace,including the public worship of God, the ministry of the Word, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; searching the Scriptures and meditating thereon; family and private devotions.
 (f) seeking to do good to the bodies and souls of men; feeding the

hungry, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and imprisoned, and ministering to the needy, as opportunity and ability are given.

(g) pressing upon the attention of the unsaved the claims of the gospel, inviting them to the house of the Lord, and trying to compass their salvation.

(3) Third. By abiding in hearty fellowship with the church, not inveighing against its doctrines and usages, but being in full sympathy and conformity therewith.

MANUAL, Church of the Nazarene, 1972, pp. 36-39.

APPENDIX Q

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE I

STUDENT ENROLLMENTS AT THE SIX NAZARENE COLLEGES

Year	Men	Women	Total
1932-3	474	502	976
1933-4	641	714	1355
1934-5	966	1094	2060
1935-6	1094	1184	2278
1936-7	966	1157	2123
1937-8	1007	1311	2318
1938-9	1136	1289	2425
Total	6284	7251	13535

Compiled from Comparative Studies of Nazarene Higher Education, A.B. Mackey, (Nashville, 1963).

TABLE II

TOTAL NUMBER OF FACULTY IN THE SIX NAZARENE COLLEGES

Rank	1927	1937	1947
1st	ONC	NNC	BPC
2nd	NNC	PC	ONC
3rd	PC	BPC/ENC/ONC	NNC
4th	BPC	-	ENC
5th	ENC	-	PC
6th	TNC	TNC	TNC

Compiled from Comparative Studies of Nazarene Higher Education, A.B. Mackey, (Nashville, 1963).

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF FACULTY MEMBERS HOLDING M.A. DEGREES

Rank	1927	1937	1947
1st	PC	PC	PC
2nd	NNC	ENC	ENC
3rd	TNC	TNC	TNC
4th	ENC	NNC	NNC
5th	BPC/ONC	BPC/ONC	ONC
6th	--	--	BPC

Compiled from Comparative Studies of Nazarene Higher Education by A.B.Mackey (Nashville, 1963).

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF FACULTY MEMBERS HOLDING THE DOCTORATE

Rank	1927	1937	1947
1st	PC	PC	PC
2nd	NNC	NNC	ENC
3rd	TNC	ENC	NNC/ONC
4th	--	BPC/ONC/TNC	--
5th	BPC/ONC	--	BPC/TNC
6th	--	--	--

Compiled from Comparative Studies of Nazarene Higher Education by A.B. Mackey (Nashville, 1963)

TABLE V

COMPARISON (PERCENTAGE AND NUMERICAL) OF FACULTY IN THE SIX NAZARENE COLLEGES

1927, 1937, 1947

Coll	Year	5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55	Total	# A.B.	# M.A.	# Doc.
BPC	1927		19	21	6	0
ENC			18	10	4	1
NNC			23	23	4	3
ONC			27	26	3	0
PC			22	24	8	9
TNC			14	14	9	1
BPC	1937		20	23	11	2
ENC			20	21	10	4
NNC			32	28	11	5
ONC			20	26	9	2
PC			31	29	18	10
TNC			12	14	5	2
BPC	1947		47	53	22	3
ENC			35	40	23	6
NNC			44	52	19	5
ONC			46	48	27	5
PC			29	28	25	10
TNC			22	26	13	3

Compiled from Comparative Studies of Nazarene Higher Education, A.B. Mackey, (Nashville, 1963).

TABLE VI

COMPARISON INCREASES IN COURSE OFFERINGS-NAZARENE COLLEGES

	PNC		TNC		BNC		ONC		ENC		NNC		MVNC		MANC	
	40	78	40	78	40	78	40	78	40	78	40	78	40	78	40	78
I	622	922	290	1082	268	1468	595	1165	476	659	600	1562	110	1002	255	1086
		+48		+273		+448		+96		+38		+160		+811		+326
	61.5	69.2	52.1	67.1	60.	74.1	70.2	64.6	67.2	64.5	67.6	72.8	61.8	71.6	66.1	67.3
II	196	303	109	339	96	273	154	428	175	263	164	447	41	268	89	375
		+55		+211		+184		+178		+50		+173		+554		+321
	19.4	22.7	9.5	21.1	21.5	13.8	18.1	23.7	24.7	25.8	18.5	20.8	23.0	19.1	23.1	23.2
III	194	107	158	190	82	241	99	210	57	99	124	137	27	129	42	152
		-45		+20		+194		+112		+73		+10		+377		+262
	19.1	8.1	28.4	11.8	18.5	12.1	11.7	11.7	8.1	9.7	13.9	6.4	15.2	9.2	10.8	9.5
	1012	1332	557	1611	446	1982	848	1803	708	1021	888	2146	178	1399	386	1613

SOURCES: College catalogs of the various institutions. I. is for course work in the Arts, II. is for the sciences and III. is for religion. The upper numbers in each category represent the number of hours; the bottom numbers indicate what percentage the upper figure was of the total curriculum. The middle figure with either a plus or minus sign in front of it represents the increased or decreased percentage of courses offered for a given subject area between 1940 and 1978.

TABLE VII

A COMPARISON OF NAZARENE FACULTY, 1948-1978

Year		Fac w/ Bach.	Fac w/ Masters	Fac w/ Doct.	Total Faculty	Fac w/ Naz.Ed.	at Alma Mater	M/F Ratio	FT/PT Ratio
1948	B	45	22	3	47	33	22	27/20	–
	O	46	27	5	48	26	16	27/21	–
	P	51	39	11	56	30	27	34/22	–
	T	23	16	1	24	11	9	11/13	–
	E	36	29	2	37	19	18	27/10	–
	N	42	19	5	45	34	16	18/27	–
	NT	6	6	5	6	6	6	6/0	–
1978	B	83	77	30	83	53/30	42	52/31	70/13
	O	101	93	34	101	61/40	45	70/31	92/9
	P	112	106	54	112	55/57	33	79/33	97/15
	T	91	81	33	91	56/35	31	68/23	58/33
	E	70	67	26	70	57/113	43	51/19	61/9
	N	74	68	31	74	58/16	38	41/33	68/6
	NT	–	–	21	27	21/6	–	24/3	19/8
	MV	62	62	23	62	35/27	2	47/15	56/6
	MA	88	37	37	88	56/22	5	53/35	63/25
	NB	25	14	33	26	22/4	–	18/8	25/1

TABLE VIII

TOTAL CASH COMPENSATION FOR ADMINISTARTORS, 1978
NAZARENE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Inst.	Aca. Dean	Dean/Student	Bus. Mgr.	Dir. Dev.
BNC	26,446	23,031	26,184	26,184
ENC	25,348	23,055	25,348	-
MANC	27,348	26,323	26,458	26,408
MVNC	27,893	20,399	28,003	18,031
NNC	25,138	24,055	19,252	20,057
ONC	29,842	23,548	25,684	22,360
PLC	28,172	24,642	27,846	24,488
TNC	24,901	24,809	23,709	23,355
NTS	25,281	-	24,375	-
NBC	23,816	20,593	22,122	-

TABLE IX

BENEFITS FOR THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICERS IN THE NAZARENE INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION, 1978

Inst.	Salary	Total Cash	Hous.	Util.	Car	Gas
BNC	31,896	35,841	X	X	X	X
ENC	25,000	30,799	X	X	X	X
MANC	25,000	30.164	X	X	X	X
MVNC	27,000	30,587	X	X	X	X
NBC	20,813	27,351	X	X		
NNC	23,760	27,508	X		X	
NTS	17,614	33,426			X	
ONC	30.500	36,620	X	X	X	X
PLC	27,000	33,632	X	X	X	X
TNC	25,000	29,420	X	X	X	X

APPENDIX R

LIST OF FIGURES

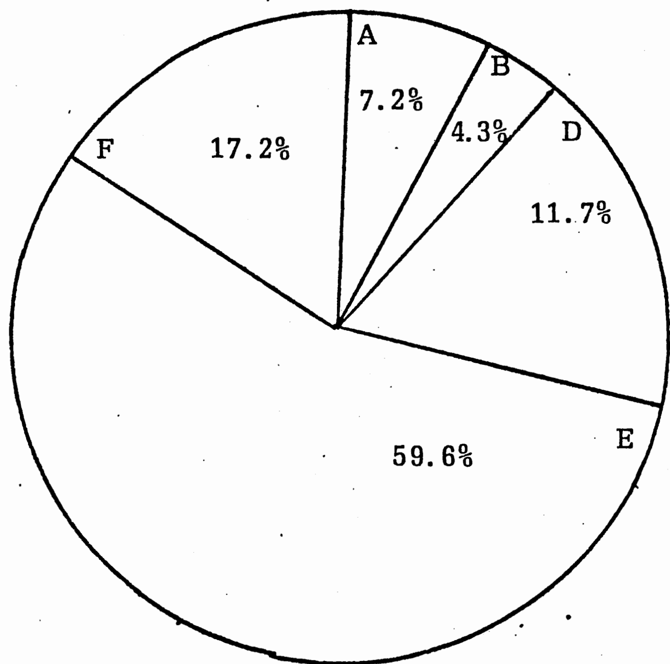


Figure 1. Sources of Income for Nazarene Colleges-1950

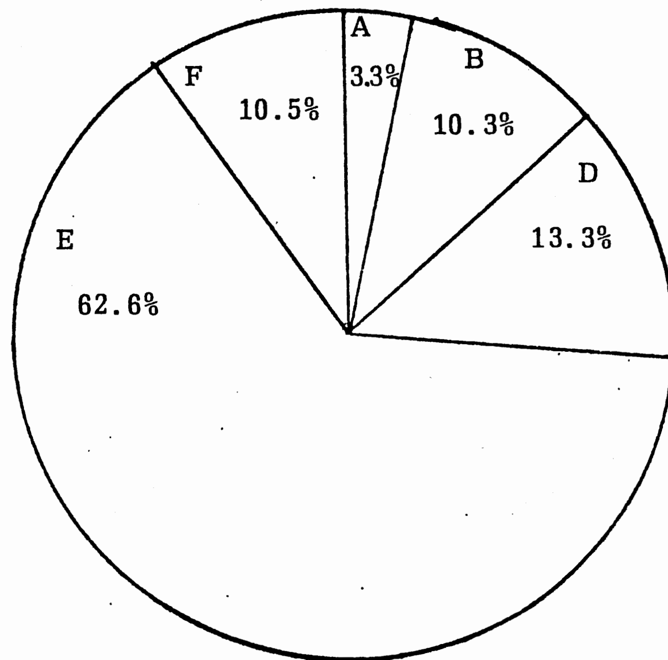


Figure 2: Sources of Income For Nazarene Colleges-1960

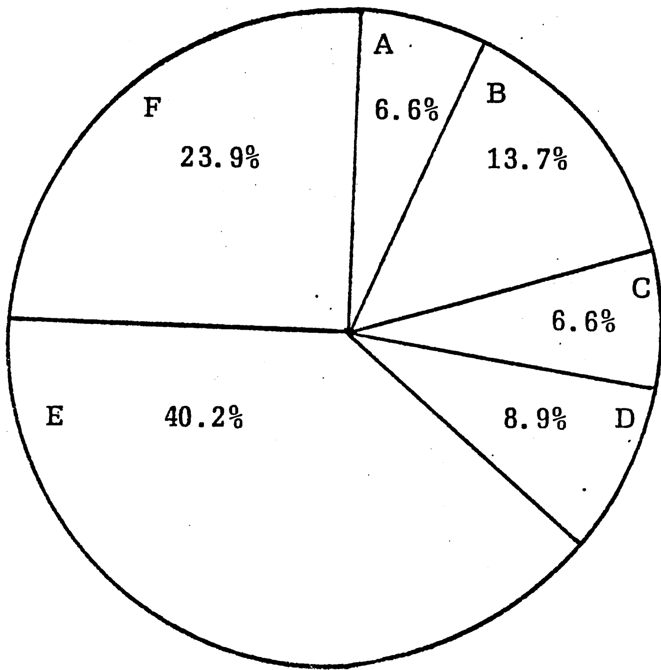


Figure 3. Sources of Income For Nazarene Colleges- 1970

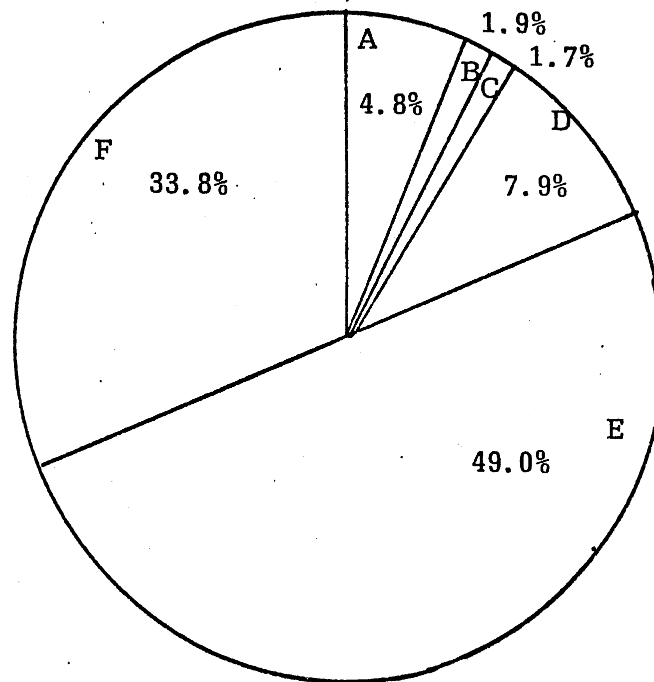


Figure 4. Sources of Income For Nazarene Colleges - 1978

VITA

Oran Randall Spindle

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: AN ANALYSIS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE CHURCH OF THE NAZARENE, 1945-1978

Major Field: History Minor Field: Higher Education

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Ranger, Texas, April 27, 1951, the son of Mr. and Mrs. T. J. Spindle.

Education: Graduated from Putnam City High School, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in May, 1969; received the Bachelor of Arts degree in religion from Bethany Nazarene College in Bethany; Oklahoma, in May, 1973; selected as Robert H. Taft Scholar, Summer, 1974; received the Master of Arts degree in Education from Bethany Nazarene College in May, 1977; completed requirements for the Doctor of Education degree at Oklahoma State University, June, 1981.

Professional Experience: Ordained Elder, Church of the Nazarene, since 1978; Pastorate in Shattuck, Oklahoma, 1975-6; associate pastorates in Kingfisher, Oklahoma, 1974-5; and Weatherford, Oklahoma, 1979-1980; residence counselor, Bethany Nazarene College, 1976-1979; assistant professor of history and education, Bethany Nazarene College, since 1978.