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EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION, CULTURE,

AND SOCIAL CONFLICT:

A NIEBUHRIAN ANALYSIS

OF

THREE COLLEGES IN THE 1960S

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

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BY

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VITA

The author, David Alan Larsen, was born in Chicago, Illinois, in 1947.

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EVANGELICAL HIGHER EDUCATION, CULTURE, AND SOCIAL CONFLICT:

A NIEBUHRIAN ANALYSIS OF THREE COLLEGES IN THE 1960S

Through a comparative study of selected evangelical Christian colleges, I attempt to determine the impact of the social movements of the 1960s on evangelical higher education. I use the analytical paradigm of H. Richard Niebuhr's Christ and Culture to compare and contrast the histories of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton colleges during the period, paying particular attention to the impact of the cultural/historical movements of the decade on the development of student leadership and institutional policies. Finally, I comment on the impact of the Nieburhian paradigm on the process of character formation within the mission of evangelical Christian colleges.

The dissertation will give opportunity for integrative research, since it combines the history of American higher education with theological issues, with the purpose of understanding historical movements against the background of an interpretive framework. The result will be a contribution to the overall history of evangelical Christian higher education in America.

INTRODUCTION

There is in the complex and varied world of American higher education one small segment which draws little attention, is infrequently researched, yet is rich in academic heritage and contribution. It took root in the very beginnings of higher education in colonial America, grew among the developing universities of the nineteenth century, and its branches today represent a resurgent force with a distinctive mission. This quietly effective quarter of higher education in America is that grouping of colleges which identify with the evangelical Christian movement. [1]   While evangelicalism is more recently the subject of an ever-broadening stream of scholarship, evangelical higher education is only beginning to receive corresponding attention.[2]

In this work a portion of the history of evangelical Christian higher education is presented through an examination of three representative midwestern evangelical colleges, each rich in history and tradition. These colleges are first viewed through a theoretical paradigm developed by H. Richard Niebuhr in his

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[1] The term "evangelical" has been variously defined, and will be explained in more detail later in this chapter.

[2] Leading scholars in the area of evangelical studies include Joel Carpenter, Donald Dayton, James Davison Hunter, George Marsden, Mark A. Knoll, Richard Quebedeaux, and Kenneth W. Shipps.

Christ and Culture.[3] The paradigm is selected to provide a context for comparing and contrasting each college in terms of their heritage and practice.

Following the description of the Niebuhrian paradigm, the three institutions of evangelical higher education are considered for their place within it. These colleges--Calvin in Grand Rapids, Michigan; Goshen in Goshen, Indiana; and Wheaton, in Wheaton, Illinois--represent clearly identifiable traditions and beliefs within the evangelical Christian world. Each institution has earned its place of distinction within evangelicalism.

The analysis provided serves as backdrop and context for the further consideration, in later chapters, of these three colleges and their reactions to the social conflicts of the decade of the 1960s. The case is made that Niebuhr's paradigm provides an insightful, interpretive framework for analyzing the colleges' responses to social conflict, as evidenced by institutional policy development, student reaction, and administrative decision-making. In each instance, the three colleges are examined in their historical context, their experience of the 1960s, and their place within the Niebuhrian paradigm.

Finally, the subject and challenge of character formation in college students is considered in the context of how each college responded to questions asked and challenges offered by the students of the 1960s. Based largely on the tradition to which it belonged and its distinctive approach to the question of the

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[3] H. Richard Niebuhr, Christ and Culture (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).

Christian and culture, each institution responded in consistent ways. Generally, the response of each institution, filtered through their views of a Christian's approach to culture as described in the Niebuhrian paradigm, seized or lost opportunities for shaping character in the students of the 1960s.

The Niebuhrian paradigm is selected because it offers a framework within which similarities and differences between institutions can be understood and analyzed. It enables the scholar to focus on distinctive institutional tendencies and traits, the sort of raw material which shapes history. While Niebuhr's framework is instructive, it is not intended to establish absolute categories of black and white where shades of gray are more descriptive. Significant overlap in the patterns of the paradigm is not only possible, but likely.

The paradigm is also selected because of its significant and continuing influence on scholars in evangelical higher education. Richard Mouw cites a survey of faculty members at evangelical colleges in which they were asked to name books which had most influenced their thinking and scholarship. A book which consistently drew significant mention was Niebuhr's:

> This choice is quite understandable. Evangelical Christians, as heirs to the pietist tradition, have struggled in very intense ways with the proper ways of relating the Christian gospel to the prevailing cultural patterns. Niebuhr's discussion, with its handy scheme for classifying various Christ-and-culture options, speaks to issues that have long been of interest to evangelicals.[4]

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[4] Richard Mouw, "Preaching Christ or Packaging Jesus?" Christianity Today 35 (11 February 1991): 29.

The purpose is, therefore, to make a contribution to the understanding of this infrequently researched portion of American higher education through an examination of representative responses to one of the most formative decades of this century. By noting the responses and comparing them, one gains a sense of the unity and diversity within this branch of higher education, and their influential position as institutions which shape character in students. Mark N. Noll, in his introduction to one of the few volumes published on the history of evangelical higher education, points to the need for such scholarship:

> Such an institutional history is necessary not because it can tell us everything we need to know about the Christian liberal arts colleges, but rather, as a framework for organizing the diffuse experience of these institutions and as a map for charting the educational landscape they occupy.[5]

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[5] Mark N. Noll, introduction to <u>The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America</u>, by William C. Ringenburg (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Christian University Press, 1984), 1.

CHAPTER ONE

EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN HIGHER EDUCATION AND CULTURE:
AN OVERVIEW

The Niebuhrian Paradigm Explained

Christ and Culture, which develops the analytical framework for this

study, was first presented by H. Richard Niebuhr in the form of lectures at Austin

Theological Seminary in January, 1949. He was at the time, and until his death in

1962, professor of ethics at Yale Divinity School. Earlier in his career he served

as President of Elmhurst (IL) College.[6] Both his older brother Reinhold, and H.

Richard Niebuhr were leading American Protestant ethicists and theologians,

particularly with regard to social ethics and the sociology of religion.

Niebuhr's paradigm in Christ and Culture addresses the continual

tension created by the call given to the followers of Jesus Christ to be, in the

classic Christian paraphrase of the New Testament, "in the world but not of the

world." As Niebuhr describes it,

> Belief in him and loyalty to his cause involves men in the
> double movement from world to God and from God to world.
> Even when theologies fail to do justice to this fact, Christians

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[6]Daniel G. Reid, ed., Dictionary of Christianity in America (Downers
Grove, IL.: Inter-Varsity Press, 1990), 825.

living with Christ in their cultures are aware of it. For they are forever being challenged to abandon all things for the sake of God; and forever being sent back into the world to teach and practice all the things that have been commanded them.[7]

This tension is clearly experienced on a personal level as the Christian develops an individual social ethic. Niebuhr's focus, however, is on social organizations and institutions which also live with the predicament of involvement with the world. Institutions such as Christian colleges, it is argued, face this tension, and the ways in which they engage their surrounding culture shape policy decisions and form the raw material of institutional history. That engagement with culture has a corresponding impact on the ways in which Christian colleges shape character in their students. Culture is for Niebuhr "that total process of human activity and that total result of such activity to which now the name *culture*, now the name *civilization*, is applied in common speech."[8] He suggests that culture is social, valuative, and pluralistic.

Niebuhr offers five types of responses to the "enduring problem" of Christ and culture: Christ against culture; Christ above culture; Christ of culture; Christ and culture in paradox; and Christ the transformer of culture. While Niebuhr cautions against hard and fast categories by stating that the types are

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[7]Niebuhr, <u>Christ and Culture</u>, 29.

[8]Ibid., 32.

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somewhat artificial and that the distinctions often overlap, the types are recognizable enough to serve as helpful analytical paradigms.[9]

The first type, "Christ against culture," is an approach taken by some Christians whereby an antithesis between Christ and culture is presented. It is an interpretation represented in evangelical higher education. This calls for an "either-or" approach, in which one either fights or flees from culture. It leads, in extreme cases, to a monastic existence, and withdrawal from the surrounding culture is viewed as the best alternative. There is a sense in which the prevailing culture will always be "pagan and corrupt," and must therefore be rejected, most often in favor of an alternative culture created by the withdrawing community of faith. The community of faith is the operative influence in the shaping of character.

Niebuhr finds an element of this approach attractive precisely because of its emphasis on consistency between what one professes and how one acts. It is conducive to the building of an identifiable community of faith which stresses an all-encompassing value on establishing an alternative approach to life.

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[9] Two more recent works, both from the Anabaptist tradition, have challenged Niebuhr's understanding of the "Christ against culture" approach, particularly on the question of the authority of culture compared with the authority of Christ. See Charles Scriven, The Transformation of Culture, (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1988), and John Howard Yoder, The Politics of Jesus, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972). Still, the overall perspective provided by Niebuhr remains incisive and foundational for the consideration of Christian social ethics and character formation.

The "Christ against culture" stance, however, creates an additional, continual tension between the culture it establishes and the culture from which it withdraws, one in which the perverse culture is a much too frequent frame of reference. It also, Niebuhr suggests, ignores the fact that Christ always comes to a person as one who is the product of a culture, since one becomes fully human in the context of culture. This tendency to withdraw into a community of faith can become an exclusivistic ethic, whereby the inclination is "to confine the commandments of loyalty to Christ, of love of God and neighbor, to the fellowship of Christians."[10]

The second type of response to the problem of Christ and culture Niebuhr classifies as the "Christ of culture" approach. In this view there is an essential agreement or identification with Christ and the prevailing culture. Jesus is seen as the "hero" of human culture, the culmination of mankind's best values. Thus, one finds among certain theologians the argument that the best of Western civilization epitomizes what Jesus is all about, while others find radical identification between Jesus and Eastern religions, or Jesus and Marxist ideology. Jesus becomes Everyman and sanctifies, in one sense, whatever men and women consider to be the epitome of cultural development. In this scheme he is an exemplary educator, a wise philosopher, a great reformer.

The effect of this second type, of course, is the removal of tension between Christ and culture, as Christianity becomes merely one religion among

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[10]Ibid., 71.

the smorgasbord the world has to offer. The "Christ of culture" approach is not a type with any affinity toward the character of evangelical Christian higher education, since evangelical Christianity, as we will discover, makes claims about truth which rule out the possibility that Christianity is to be viewed as one religion among many.

The third type is classified by Niebuhr as "Christ above culture." This too is a type not represented in the circles of evangelical Christian higher education. It is a synthetic approach in the sense that its best representative is Thomas Aquinas who, more than any other, attempted to combine reason and revelation in understanding the relationship between Christ and culture. Niebuhr finds this approach attractive in many ways, this among them:

> In the synthesis of reason and revelation, in which the philosopher's inquiry and the prophet's proclamation are combined without confusion, reason seems to be promised the satisfaction of its hunger. With the drives toward moral and intellectual integrity the social demand for the unity of society is inseparably connected.[11]

The deficit of this third type, in Niebuhr's estimation, is that the synthesis, as a sort of natural law which all men can discover, is always being filtered through culture itself, which "tends, perhaps inevitably, to the absolutizing of what is relative, the reduction of the infinite to a finite form, and the

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[11]Ibid., 142.

materialization of the dynamic."[12] Ultimately, this attempt fails because it gives

insufficient recognition of the "radical evil present in all human work."[13]

The fourth type does find representation in the circles of evangelical

Christian higher education. This type is "Christ and culture in paradox." Its

affinity toward culture is half-hearted, since this world and its experiences are

transitory. Culture is of benefit in measured ways, but is basically something to be

endured while awaiting the best to come. Mankind exists with feet tentatively

planted in two worlds, wishing that both feet would land in the world of salvation.

As individuals become tainted with the manifestations of apostate culture,

character is destroyed. Niebuhr describes it:

> Hence man is seen as subject to two moralities and as a
> citizen of two worlds that are not only discontinuous with
> each other but largely opposed. In the *polarity* and *tension* of
> Christ and culture life must be lived precariously and sinfully
> in the hope of a justification which lies beyond history.[14]

Whereas the synthetic approach of "Christ above culture" is overly

optimistic about what it considers to be the minimal effects of sin on mankind's

ability to reason and the possibility of human perfectibility, the paradox approach

is radically pessimistic about the godless, sinful tendencies of mankind and cultural

creations. As a result, this type is continually aware of the dynamics of law and

grace, divine wrath and mercy. The world and culture exist only by the sustaining

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[12]Ibid., 145.

[13]Ibid., 148.

[14]Ibid., 43.

grace of God, who not only tolerates rebellion but loves it to death in his son, Jesus Christ.

Critics of this dualistic approach, as Niebuhr points out, suggest that it logically leads in either of two directions: antinomianism or cultural conservatism. If human laws are so thoroughly tainted as the sinful product of culture, then one can become selectively obedient, and primarily obedient to ones understanding of divine law. If, however, human law and the state are viewed primarily as preventive forces against tyranny and sin, then there is little room for a view of the state and law as a force for positive change, with the result being cultural conservatism.

The fifth and final type of approach to the problem of Christ and culture is that of the conversionist, which views "Christ as the transformer of culture." This approach has elements in common with the first and fourth types, and is also representative of certain forms of evangelical higher education. It too senses the antithesis between Christ and fallen humanity and culture. What distinguishes the conversionist approach is what it does with this fact. "Yet the antithesis does not lead either to Christian separation from the world as with the first group, or to mere endurance in the expectation of a transhistorical salvation, as with the fourth."[15]

The conversionist type proceeds to view Christ as the one who not only transforms man in his culture but offers the potential to transform culture

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[15]Ibid., 45.

itself, while involving converted mankind in the process. Redeemed humanity thereby becomes a partner in the process of restoring creation and culture to God's original intentions. The process is, essentially, character building in itself.

In summary, then, the operative categories for this analysis, in the sense that the categories are represented among evangelical higher education are the "Christ against culture" (radical), "Christ and culture in paradox" (dualist), and "Christ the transformer of culture" (conversionist). Further shades of distinction provide additional material for later evaluations of policies and practices at Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton in the decade of the 1960s, and help classify each college in terms of the operative categories.

A contrast may be drawn, for example, between the radical and dualist approaches. Both agree that human culture is fallen and godless. Yet only the dualist " . . . knows that he belongs to that culture and cannot get out of it, that God indeed sustains him in it and by it; for if God in his grace did not sustain the world in its sin it would not exist for a moment."[16] The dualist endures culture in the hope for something better. The radical creates a better and exemplary alternative culture.

A contrast may also be drawn between the dualist and the conversionist. The dualist explanations logically " . . . lead to the idea that in all temporal work in culture men are dealing only with the transitory and the dying. Hence, however important cultural duties are for Christians, their life is not in

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[16]Ibid., 156.

them."[17] Whereas dualists view cultural involvement somewhat tentatively,

conversionists view it as part of their calling as Christians. Niebuhr characterizes

the conversionist's view of culture as "more positive . . . hopeful . . .

affirmative."[18]

A final contrast which bears on this study is the representative view

of history itself which results from each posture toward Christ and culture. For

the radical Christian, history is " . . . the story of a rising church or culture and a

dying pagan civilization." [19] For the dualist Christian, it is " . . . the time of

struggle between faith and unbelief, a period between the giving of the promise of

life and its fulfillment."[20] And for the conversionist, history is " . . . the story of

God's mighty deeds and of man's responses to them."[21] Such distinctions inform

an institution's view of itself in terms of its own history or its place in surrounding

culture.

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[17]Ibid., 189.

[18]Ibid., 191.

[19]Ibid., 194.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Ibid., 195.

The Place of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton within the Niebuhrian

Paradigm

If Niebuhr's paradigm is a helpful analytical framework, and there are in fact institutions within evangelical Christian higher education which represent the types he has identified, then such theoretical postures and nuances ought to be the source for policy and practice at colleges faced with social conflict, the ideological frame of reference for decision making, and ideally the frame of reference for student protest and involvement with surrounding culture. On what basis does an institution respond to cultural conflicts over movements such as civil rights, free speech, and protest of the Vietnam war? When faced with such culturally formative issues in the decade of the 1960s, did Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges act on the basis of a particular view of culture? Did matters of theology and tradition make any difference at all to students? And in what ways does one's approach to culture encourage or frustrate the building of character in college students?

Of the five types suggested by Niebuhr three find representation in the evangelical Christian colleges which serve as the focus of this study. Goshen, representing the radical approach of "Christ against culture," stands in the Anabaptist radical reform tradition. Generally, within this frame of reference, one either fights culture, flees from it, or creates an alternative culture in the context of Christian community. Wheaton, representing the dualism of "Christ and culture

in paradox," grew out of the fundamentalist struggle with worldliness. This struggle views culture as something transitory, impermanent experiences to be endured in this fallen world while the faithful await the perfection to come. Calvin, representing "Christ as the transformer of culture," the conversionist approach, is the heir of the reformation tradition which engages culture in the hope of changing it. Humanity assumes partnership with the divine in the restoration of fallen culture.

Evangelicalism and Its Institutions of Higher Education
in the American Religious Ecology

Before each college--Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton--is examined for its place within the paradigm, further definitions and context will aid in understanding the issue at hand. The first is the movement known as evangelicalism and the place of its institutions of higher education in the broader American religious ecology. This will be followed by an examination of the place of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton within the narrower scope of evangelical Christian higher education.

Contemporary evangelicalism is typically defined in contrast with and as an outgrowth of the Fundamentalist movement of the 1920s, although its roots go much deeper into the Reformation movements of the sixteenth century. To give a very simple yet instructive definition of evangelicalism is to describe it as

fundamentalism with a social conscience. The distinction between fundamentalism

and evangelicalism is significant, and has very much to do with the development of

this particular segment of American higher education, especially with regard to the

relationship of faith to intellect and engagement with culture. Generally,

fundamentalism is hostile to culture and scholarship. Evangelicalism is culturally

aware, is typically involved, and places a value on scholarship and research.

If early twentieth-century fundamentalism is the parent of

evangelicalism, the more distant ancestry is clearly the Protestant Reformation of

the sixteenth century. It is, in fact, where some trace the heritage of evangelical

higher education:

> This, then, was the educational ideal of Reformation
> Protestantism: a comprehensive study of human knowledge in
> all its branches within a context of biblical revelation . . . The
> result was what today we would call Christian liberal arts
> education--the pursuit of the integration of all human
> knowledge with the Christian faith, and the formation of
> people qualified to function competently in all areas of life.[22]

The Christian college is the descendant of the Protestant

Reformation by way of the colonial American college.[23] It is commonly

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[22]Joel A. Carpenter and Kenneth W. Shipps, eds., <u>Making Higher Education Christian: The History and Mission of Evangelical Colleges in America</u>. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Christian University Press, 1987), 48.

[23]This is, of course, a rather narrow and somewhat parochial definition of the Christian college. It refers to the predominantly white Protestant colleges which serve as the prototypes for the faith expression of evangelical colleges today, and ignores the black evangelical, Roman Catholic colleges and universities, and mainline Protestant schools with roots in denominations such as the United Methodist, United Church of Christ, or Presbyterian.

understood that colonial American colleges were established with evangelical purposes in mind. Brubacher and Rudy point out that "the role of organized Christianity was important in the founding of eight of the nine pre-Revolutionary colleges."[24] For the Puritans in particular, the aim of education was a transformative one. They had in mind the reforming of society, a sense of social responsibility, and the shaping of character:

> Both the curriculum and the campus climate were governed by a religious purpose aimed at the glory of God and the Christian nurture of the student by a tone of moral earnestness, and by an anti-secular bias that refused to separate education from religious concerns.[25]

The establishment and development of colonial colleges was characterized by the post-Reformation practice of establishing youth in a foundation of faith and providing for a trained and orthodox clergy. Such clearly religious concerns are found in the charters of representative colonial colleges, in the historical roots of these colleges, and in the instruction and instructional staff which gave shape to the vision of the sponsoring communities.

Religious concerns are apparent in the college charters, the best and clearest statements of an institution's original purpose. Harvard, the first of the colonial colleges, was chartered in 1650. The charter, prepared by President Dunster, contains this statement of purpose:

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[24]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, <u>Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976</u> (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 7.

[25]Carpenter and Shipps, 43.

> . . . for the advancement of all good literature, arts and sciences . . . that may conduce to the education of the English & Indian youth of this Country in knowledge: and godliness.[26]

Earlier, each year from 1642 through 1646, the Statutes of Harvard were affirmed as those "laws" by which the school was to be governed. Clearly, the college viewed itself as a religious institution:

> 2.   Every one shall consider the main End of his life and studies, to know God and Jesus Christ which is Eternal Life. John 17:3
>
> 4.   Every one shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day that they be ready to give an account of their proficiency therein   . . . [27]

Additional statements in the Statutes speak of proper conduct in public worship, the seriousness of profaning God's name, and the benefits of a personal devotional life.

The College of William and Mary in Virginia received royal charter in 1693. Again, it is clear that the charter is bathed with statements of religious purpose:

> . . . to the End that the church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel, and that the Youth may be piously educated in good Letters and Manners, and that the Christian Faith may be propagated amongst the Western Indians, to the Glory of Almighty God . . . [28]

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[26]Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, American Higher Education: A Documentary History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 10.

[27]Ibid., 8.

[28]Ibid., 33.

One final illustration, that of the Collegiate School at New Haven, Yale College, again emphasizes the religious intent. The context behind the charter of 1745, which drew upon its first charter of 1701, was a deep concern for the apostasy at Harvard. The charter reveals a self-image of particular divine and well-heeled benediction:

> . . . Yale College, which has received the favourable benefactions of many liberal and piously disposed persons, and under the blessing of Almighty God has trained up many worthy persons for the service of God in the state as well as in church.[29]

The influence of religion is seen not only in the clear purpose statements of charters and statutes; it is also apparent in the religious roots of the founding communities. Harvard as an institution reflected the values and world-view of the Puritans of the Congregation, those who had emigrated to the colonies from England because of religious persecution at the hands of Charles I. The opportunity to form society afresh required a learned ministry and a literate community so that one could come in direct contact with the Word of God. The Pilgrims, in contrast with the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, were non-dissenting Anglicans. They too desired an educated clergy and piously educated youth.

Yale was founded when Harvard became suspiciously liberal, more a school for gentlemen than saints. Ironically, the religious revivals of the Great Awakening were perceived as a threat by the Yale administration. Not so for the

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[29]Ibid., 49.

College of New Jersey (Princeton) which was, in large measure, a result of the Great Awakening. King's College in New York, while Anglican in orientation, represented the religious diversity of colonial New York. Religion was a driving force behind the founding of the college in 1754, as attested to by the assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The striking exception to the pattern of the religious-historical roots is the College of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1751. If there is an influence of religion in its founding, the creed was one of toleration for all.

The College of Philadelphia serves to illustrate as well a final observation concerning the role of religion in the founding of colonial colleges. Because Franklin's school was not founded in any one religious community or as the result of theological controversy, it was not only diverse in students and staff, but also developed the most distinctive curriculum of all the colonial colleges. Most colonial colleges demonstrated the influence of religion by way of curriculum and instruction. The course of study was a very prescribed classical education, designed to prepare one for the masterly study of the Word of God. Instruction came most often through clergy, either those who were waiting to serve a church or those who had proven incapable of doing so. Franklin's school, by way of contrast, was the most radical in terms of curriculum development. The College of Philadelphia avoided the classics in favor of a curriculum with a decidedly practical orientation, offering courses in commerce, science, mathematics, political thought, and history.

Most colonial colleges offered a curriculum which looked much the same as the next college. Courses of study in logic, classical rhetoric, the classical languages, and theology assumed a Protestant Christian religious frame of reference and an orthodoxy of faith and practice. All were concerned that the collegiate experience shape character in students.

Eventually the Christian world-view and the belief that Scripture was the foundation for learning gave way to the primacy of reason, science, and religious pluralism. The colonial colleges distanced themselves from the religious educational vision of their charters. Religion was no longer a driving force and shaping influence determining institutional character, but an academic discipline carving out a portion of life as an object of study. Faith became a museum piece. Charters became historical documents rather than marching orders.

As a result, a growing secularization was evident in the historical development of the colonial colleges. Clergy influence declined, and the American experience was becoming more diverse and pluralistic as the frontier moved west. Accompanying the westward expansion was a deep concern on the part of denominations in the east for the conversion of the West. This concern followed the resurgence of the Second Great Awakening (ca.1795-1820), and denominations were anxious that the good work of their missionaries in the West not be lost. To that end they founded colleges, a boon to the local communities and a spiritual foothold for future generations. It was common practice for such institutions to be founded far from the deadly attractions and sinful snares of the

urban environment, which accounts in large measure for the relatively rural, now

suburban location of many evangelical colleges today. In many ways, these

colleges were an attempt to recover what had been lost in the colleges of the East.

A somewhat stable period followed the Second Great Awakening,

up to the period of transition during which the modern American university was

appearing on the higher education scene. In a very real sense, the stage was set

for the fundamentalist debate with the arrival of the modern American research

university. It introduced a secular frame of reference to challenge the religious

underpinnings of a predominantly Protestant culture. Mark Noll writes of the

significance of the period:

> In sum, more than just thirty-five years separated the new
> university at the turn of the century from the old college at
> the close of the Civil War. The new university was
> professional; it offered technical training in a wide variety of
> separate fields; it had laid aside the external marks of
> Christianity; its professors sought to become well known in
> their fields and to speak expertly to society as a whole; its
> new science purported to illuminate a better way to truth,
> progress, and perhaps even happiness; and it was offering its
> wares to an ever-growing part of the American population.[30]

The next significant milestone in the historical context of evangelical

higher education came with the sensational Scopes trial in 1925, in many ways the

logical outgrowth of the impact of the new, research universities and their

perceived threat to the conservative Protestant religious establishment. The

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[30]William C. Ringenburg, The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, Christian University Press, 1984), 29.

Scopes trial is a watershed event from which one could mark the solidifying of a vigorous, obscurantist fundamentalism, and the beginnings of a more reactive evangelicalism which sought to establish dialogue and synthesis with the world of American higher education while establishing its own educational agenda.

At issue in the Scopes trial in the minds of many conservative Protestants were essential doctrines such as the authority of Scripture and the origins of the universe. Investigations in the areas of the natural sciences and documentary literary analysis, the result of scholarship produced by the modern research university, posed problems for conservative Christians predisposed toward an anti-intellectual bent.

The Scopes trial made several things clear to those who were known as the Fundamentalists. A siege mentality arose which placed them in the role of defenders of the faith against hostile forces, often within the ranks of Protestant Christianity itself. It also served to confirm their worst fears about the direction of world events, and added fuel to the evangelistic flame which saw the world in need of salvation. Finally, it confirmed the obscurantist tendencies within the ranks of fundamentalists, a strong suspicion and distrust of higher learning because of its skeptical bent.

The term "Fundamentalist" itself can be traced to the publication of The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth, a series of ten volumes published in 1910 which attempted to define doctrinal orthodoxy in the years preceding the

1925 Scopes trial.[31] Five doctrines detailed in this series came to be known as the "fundamentals of the faith." They were: the verbal inspiration of the Bible, the virgin birth of Christ, the substitutionary atonement of Christ, his bodily resurrection, and his near and visible return. These doctrines became the litmus test of orthodoxy for denominations, seminaries, and colleges.

Hutchison suggests that the publication of The Fundamentals did not foster any sort of dialogue with the liberal combatants. The ninety articles in the ten volumes were more an exposition of orthodoxy than an attempt at refuting the claims of modernism, especially with regard to its doctrinal challenges or philosophy of history.

> Only a small proportion of the ninety articles in *The Fundamentals* attacked particular liberals or specific liberal doctrines with any degree of explicitness. Among those that did, the largest number assailed the Higher Criticism of the Bible. Others accused liberals of minimizing the virgin birth, the deity of Christ, the seriousness of sin, the justice of divine punishment, or the miraculous effect of Christ's atoning death. Still others directed their attacks more generally against modern philosophy, worldly learning, evolutionary and materialist thought, and liberal over-adjustment as allegedly shown, for example, in the secularizing of the Sabbath.[32]

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[31]The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth. (Chicago: Testimony Publishing Company, 1909). Also see Richard Quebedeaux, The Young Evangelicals: The Story of the Emergence of a New Generation of Evangelicals (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). Quebedeaux's work is a helpful survey of the transition from fundamentalism to evangelicalism in American Protestantism.

[32]William R. Hutchison, The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 197.

Suspicions of higher learning and doctrinal fidelity were not to be the only distinguishing marks of fundamentalism, however. Another prominent feature was its premillenial eschatology, a view of the end times which taught that Jesus would return to rescue believers from the world while establishing a thousand-year reign on earth.[33] This teaching contributed to the pessimism about culture which was to become an issue in evangelical higher education. If Christ's return was immanent, then the chief concern could not be involvement in the conversion of culture. The first priority was the conversion of souls.

In the final analysis, it is probably most accurate to say that fundamentalism was and is an American cultural phenomenon which traces its origins to the protests generated in opposition to the ideologies of evolutionism and theological modernism. So argues George Marsden, who sees these issues to be the measure of fundamentalist affiliation then and now. He describes fundamentalism in bellicose terms:

> Fundamentalism was a loose, diverse, and changing federation of co-belligerents united by their fierce opposition to modernist attempts to bring Christianity into line with modern thought.[34]

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[33]Sandeen argues that fundamentalism has too often been interpreted as a series of events rather than a pervasive theology focused on millennial views with British origins. Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970).

[34]George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 4.

Marsden views fundamentalism as a movement that was wrestling with contrary self-images. On the one hand, it saw itself as part of the mainstream Christian establishment. On the other, it was often strategically to its advantage to assume the role of the outsider, and position itself as the "beleaguered minority." A second image concerns fundamentalist roots, which he traces to revivalism, pietism, and Calvinism. He acknowledges the earlier contribution of Sandeen in analyzing the heritage, but differs with him in the measure of importance placed on premillenialism as an organizing principle. The third image comes closest to our concern with higher education. Marsden also sees within the movement a distrust of the intellect and, as a direct corollary, a certain ambivalence toward culture.

Marsden develops his case by seeing the issues embodied in the lives of representatives of the fundamentalist movement, one of whom figures prominently in the present examination of evangelical higher education, and shows the link between the Niebuhrian paradigm and the practice of education. Characters such as the Hodges of Princeton, the Beechers, the Blanchards of Wheaton College, D.L. Moody, and Billy Sunday lend the human element to social and theological concerns. Each representative also contributed his or her own view of the Christian's relation to culture, either through a formulation of belief or clear practice. Thus we see in Charles Blanchard of Wheaton a tendency to separate from American culture as opposed to an earlier Calvinist tendency to seek engagement in culture with a view toward transforming it.

Marsden offers J. Gresham Machen, a Princeton Seminary professor who was put out of the Presbyterian church, as an example of a culture transformer. He makes the point, illustrating the strange bedfellow alliances of fundamentalism, that Machen's views on intellectual respectability and the importance of addressing the university community with evangelical Christianity were unwelcome topics at the revivalist summer camps to which he was invited, and he soon felt out of his element. At times the enthusiasm for an assault on a common enemy blinded the enthusiasts to the contrasting arsenals and strategies.

Marsden contrasted the mature, philosophical reasonings of a Machen with the narrow, moralistic views of Charles Blanchard, president of Wheaton College from 1877 to 1925. Blanchard struggled to account for the failure of Scottish Common Sense philosophy, which argued that all men are endowed with sufficient common sense to see the virtue of virtue and the reality of God. It was increasingly clear that culture was turning from God instead of to God, prompting Blanchard to join ranks with those finding logical villains in the corrupting and blinding influences of false teachers and the polluting effects of alcohol and tobacco. The net result was an age gone "insane." The logical extension of such fundamentalistic, moralistic thinking was a clear view of the purpose to be served by Christian higher education. Ideally it would provide orthodox, trustworthy faculty and an environment of unquestioned moral purpose and behavior. Character was developed in students not through engagement with culture but by moralistic rules and regulations. As we will discover, one need only

study the student handbooks and college catalogs of institutions shaped in the fundamentalist-modernist struggle to find evidence of a lasting effect on higher education, often focusing on a moralistic and legalistic approach to campus life and character formation.

If the family tree of evangelical colleges can be traced from the Reformation through the colonial colleges and the travails of the fundamentalist-modernist controversy, the final formative influence is the development of the modern evangelical movement.

In the late 1930s and early 1940s, as neo-orthodoxy was causing liberal Christians to rethink its naive optimism about human nature, a number of leading conservative theologians who were educated in the center of the fundamentalist-modernist debate began a dialogue that soon came to be labeled "evangelicalism."

> Led by a handful of younger theologians, this dynamic expression of Orthodox Christianity became known as *Evangelicalism* to distinguish itself from the extreme separatism, bad manners, obscurantism and anti-intellectualism so characteristic of Fundamentalism, but not from the Fundamentalist insistence on the authority and inspiration of Scripture, the necessity of conversion, and the mandate for evangelism.[35]

The mission of the evangelicals was, in part, to offer an orthodox alternative to fundamentalism and liberalism for the educated American, especially those who were in mainline liberal denominations but were looking for

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[35]Quebedeaux, 12.

a way out which would honor their faith expression and beliefs. Associated with the movement were people like Carl F. H. Henry, Harold Ockenga, Billy Graham, and the journal *Christianity Today*. It was to be a movement which avoided the negative posture of fundamentalism, gave positive explanations for the beliefs of orthodoxy, and argued for a social as well as personal ethic.

Quebedeaux presents a persuasive case that since the beginnings of the evangelical movement in the late 1930s and early 1940s, several "schools of orthodoxy" have emerged and solidified on the American Protestant landscape. They are separatist fundamentalism, open fundamentalism, establishment evangelicalism, and the new evangelism led by the "young evangelicals."

Separatist fundamentalism most closely resembles the fundamentalism current during the Scopes trial. It is in many ways an anachronism of conservative Christianity. Separatist fundamentalism is characterized by social and political conservatism, strict adherence to the King James Version of the Bible, a pessimistic view of culture and world events, a personal ethic dominated by cultural taboos, and the complete absence of a social conscience.

Open fundamentalism is separatist fundamentalism with a sanctified college degree. It is not afraid of scholarship, and often views scholarship as a way to bolster the claims of Scripture and the faith. It shares many of the same theological and political views with separatist fundamentalism but is less strident about it and more open to dialogue with other segments of orthodoxy and, on

occasion, with what it considers to be liberalism. Yet it too remains aloof from any kind of social ethic and is basically pessimistic about the possibilities of cultural renewal, unless it is accomplished by the political right.

Establishment evangelicalism is the direct descendant of the evangelical movement which took root in the 1930s and 1940s. It stands as a bridge between the excesses of both separatist and open fundamentalism and the openness of Protestant liberalism. Establishment evangelicalism is the driving force behind the Christian college movement in the United States, maintains some of the largest and most respected seminaries, and as such places a high value on the positive contributions of scholarship to the renewal of society and its structures. It also encourages informed dialogue over political and social issues.

Quebedeaux suggests that the new or young evangelicals, first identified by Donald Bloesch[36], are as much interested in social justice and "revolutionary social transformation"[37] as they are in perpetuating the doctrinal beliefs and insistence on individual conversion found in establishment evangelicalism. In addition, they welcome the research results of the natural and biological sciences. It is important to note that many of these new or young evangelicals are those who emerged from the college and university experiences of the 1960s:

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[36]Donald Bloesch, The Evangelical Renaissance. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1973).

[37]Richard Quebedeaux, 38.

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If the New Evangelicalism is a very important stance within
Orthodoxy in its own right, it is even more notable for its
influence on an emerging generation of college and university
students, recent seminary graduates, "street people,"
intellectuals, activists, pastors, evangelists, politicians, and
concerned laypersons in general, all of whom we shall call the
Young Evangelicals.[38]

Fundamentalism and evangelicalism spawned or shaped three forms

of higher education: the Bible institute or college, the theological seminary, and

the Christian college. Each type continues to play a shaping role in the world of

American fundamentalist and evangelical Christianity, and their differences relate

to the issue of comfort or discomfort with culture and scholarship.

The Bible School Movement arose in the post-civil war period and

flourished soon after the turn of the century, fueled by the success of Chicago's

Moody Bible Institute. Dayton observes that revivalists before the civil war

founded liberal arts colleges and those after the war tended to establish Bible

colleges. The post-war movement was fueled by a pre-millennial vision for Bible

knowledge to accomplish the critical task of gathering as many souls as possible in

the inner cities or on mission fields before the return of Christ, which was, in their

scheme of things, imminent. Liberal arts colleges, to their way of thinking, spent

too much time on peripheral matters and were too affirming of culture.[39]

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[38]Ibid., 39.

[39]Donald W. Dayton, <u>Discovering an Evangelical Heritage</u> (New York:
Harper and Row, 1976), 128.

Brereton draws the analogy of the community or junior college in comparing the Bible schools with the liberal arts colleges. Contemporary analysts of higher education would say that the Bible schools were quite clear about their mission and their particular "market niche." They were self-consciously less expensive and tended to accept anyone, regardless of personal academic history. The most significant factor for admitting students was a clear commitment to the practical side of Christianity, preparing the worker of God for the fields of harvest. For many fundamentalists, it was the preferred educational program, if not the most prestigious:

> With few exceptions, fundamentalists did not as a matter of preference substitute Bible schools for colleges and seminaries. They well knew where academic respectability resided . . . The Bible school proved to be a satisfactory educational vehicle for those groups with limited budgets and an urgent desire to instruct the faithful in as brief a time as possible.[40]

The Moody Bible Institute in Chicago became the model for the growing number of Bible schools throughout the United States. This was due in part to the powerful influence of Moody and his effective team of evangelists. It was also the case that individual churches and new, small denominations which had become disillusioned with the liberalism of major denominations and their

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[40]Virginia Lieson Brereton, Training God's Army: The American Bible School, 1880-1940 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 36.

denominational colleges were beginning their own schools and lacked experience.
They looked to Moody and other early schools for a model.[41]

> The result was a distinctive Bible school curriculum and
> ethos. Three goals in particular infused the Bible schools'
> sense of purpose: they wished to offer popularly oriented,
> practical training; they demanded a curriculum centered on
> the Bible; and through the first two goals they hoped to
> prepare their students for service in Christian ministry.[42]

The seminaries were often founded with denominational purposes, funding, and control, especially those which had ethnic ties to Northern European immigration. One seminary which stands apart as an example of the fundamentalist-evangelical struggle is Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, a seminary founded in the fundamentalist heritage yet intended from the start to serve as a focal point for evangelical scholarship. It was not an easy marriage, and the history of the institution serves to illustrate in microcosm the transition from fundamentalism to the new evangelicalism. Drawing on an image from Fuller's geological location, Marsden makes this observation:

> The seminary had been built on a fault, a fine ideological
> fissure that underlay the attempted fusion of the more
> malleable positive emphases of the new reformist
> evangelicalism and the hard rock of stricter
> fundamentalism.[43]

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[41]Ringenburg, 158.

[42]Carpenter and Shipps, 113.

[43]George M. Marsden, <u>Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism.</u> (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 147.

The evangelical Christian colleges were not immune from the controversies of the transitional period which brought evangelical Christianity into prominence from the reform of fundamentalism. The most significant challenge faced by these colleges was the building of trust from a constituency conditioned to distrust and suspicion. This confidence was restored in a very interesting and effective way, by recalling its historical origins and legacy:

> In securing the confidence of the evangelical public, the conservative Christian colleges also recaptured a historical legitimacy, claiming origins in the colonial and nineteenth-century colleges, and ultimately reaching back to Geneva, Cambridge, Oxford and the medieval heritage of Christian learning. In doing so these campuses sought an identity, not as something novel on the educational scene, but as the inheritor of a long, noble tradition.[44]

The tension remains, however, whenever one is party to parlaying truth, and the specter of fundamentalism will always loom large to evangelical academics who are accused on the one hand of being unfaithful to the truth by those fundamentalists who claim to hold it, and find their scholarship diminished in secular academic circles because they are unjustly associated with obscurantist fundamentalism. To return to an earlier theme, evangelical higher education is infrequently researched precisely for this reason. Proper distinctions are not drawn between fundamentalism and evangelicalism, and some scholars and some centers of scholarship are ignored because of it. Evangelical scholars often labor

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[44]Carpenter and Shipps, 146.

in the shadow of fundamentalism whether they want to or not, and on occasion they do:

> Evangelical academicians are often children of reaction against the stern parent of fundamentalism--its inbred suspicion of the intellect, its retreat from liberal arts education, its hostility to aesthetics, its inability to confront modern science in constructive ways, its crabbed legalism, and most importantly, its parochial religious vision.[45]

There was a time in the history of American higher education when evangelical colleges did not have to make a case for their existence, primarily because they were for all intents and purposes in colonial times the sum total of American higher education. As American higher education diversified with the research universities, land grant institutions, private colleges, and community colleges, evangelical higher education often found itself in a defensive posture, especially when subject to guilt by association with fundamentalism. Critics would claim that evangelical Christian colleges did not educate. They would indoctrinate and isolate, serving a protective function rather than exposing students to the broad spectrum of cultural involvement. While there may be some legitimacy to such claims, critics ignore the ways in which Christian colleges have

> . . . harnessed group identity and traditions of mutual aid to help common people, and sometimes very poor people, push their children far beyond their parents' social position into a multitude of professions, including teaching, medicine, law, and the ministry.[46]

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[45]Ibid., 165.

[46]Ibid., 11.

Those who have attended evangelical Christian colleges, in other words, have developed an expanded, not protected, understanding of the world and their place in it.

Evangelical higher education has undergone other forms of transition besides the reforming of fundamentalism. In the volume edited by Carpenter and Shipps, Thomas Askew identifies three distinct phases. [47] The first is a period which characterized most member colleges of the present Christian College Coalition at the end of the Second World War. In this phase the college was an "insular, church-focused institution," and there was very little formal contact with other colleges unlike itself. The second phase was a time of definition of purpose and mission, accompanied by an emphasis on credentialing and limited cooperation and contact with other colleges unlike itself. This phase took place in most institutions after World War II. The final phase, which has occurred in the last fifteen to twenty-five years, features "professionalization, expansion of networks, and theoretical development."

These phases were noticed by others as evangelical Christian colleges sought legitimacy in the scholarly world. In 1966, M. M. Patillo and D. M. MacKenzie published Church Sponsored Higher Education in the United States, and made the distinction between more fundamentalist institutions and the legitimate but rarely noticed evangelical colleges. Their differentiations were noted in the volume by Carpenter and Shipps:

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[47]Ibid., 138.

Among the Christian colleges themselves and within the higher education community in general, distinctions began to be made between "faith-affirming" and "defender of the faith" institutions, the latter group including those that were more defensive, sectarian, and reductionist in their approach to learning.[48]

The evangelical Christian colleges today, as Ringenburg points out, have achieved a measure of quality and respect in higher education circles, although they will never occupy the almost monopolistic position they held immediately following the Civil War.[49] What they have accomplished is a surer sense of purpose, a refined understanding of their niche in the world of American higher education, and an appreciation for institutional history and heritage. They clearly understand that they offer a means to "filter" culture and shape character:

There is no discipline called the meaning of life, but all liberal arts colleges that claim to be Christian, and maybe other colleges too, have an unannounced course of study required of all students . . . What is taught in this unannounced, uncertified, unaccredited program of study for which no professors have any formal training is probably the most important part of the curriculum, certainly the colleges' reason for being.[50]

Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton each occupy a distinctive place in the American religious ecology in terms of their relative ease or discomfort in identifying with American fundamentalism or evangelicalism.

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[48]Ibid., 145.

[49]Ringenburg, 146.

[50]John K. Sherif. "Mennonites, Free Methodists, and Liberal Education." *Faculty Dialogue* 7 (1986-87): 92.

Calvin College, for example, viewed its identity more in line with its historical ties to the Christian Reformed Church. As the denominational college of this Calvinistic branch of Protestantism, its beginnings were essentially focused on preparing pastors and teachers for the needs of the church and the Christian day schools associated with the denomination. While certainly sympathetic with the cause espoused by J. Gresham Machen in his controversy with the alleged modernism of the Presbyterian Church, the Christian Reformed Church, and thus its college, remained aloof from the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. This was, in part, because it did not share the millennial perspective of much of fundamentalism, but even more so because it was for many years a church characterized by isolationism, attempting to preserve as much of its Dutch Reformed character as possible in a foreign and often hostile land. Its frame of reference as a denomination and college was more often the theological developments in the Netherlands than the intricacies of American Protestantism.

In later years, Calvin College, like Wheaton, would provide scholarly leadership for the new evangelicals. For most of its history, however, the struggles of fundamentalism and modernism were of little concern to Calvin College in a direct way, and only later, as evangelicalism took hold after the Second World War, was the college to begin relating to the broader evangelical world.

Goshen, true to its tradition, maintained its distance from the fundamentalist-modernist debate but also struggled with a heritage which distrusted higher education. Ringenburg observes that "most of the early

Mennonite and Brethren leaders in this country distrusted advanced learning under any circumstances."[51] This made the early efforts of Goshen College extraordinarily difficult, as we will come to see, precisely at the point of earning constituents' trust that the College was promoting a culture of nonconformity.

Niebuhr sees the Mennonites as the classic example of the "Christ against culture" motif, and thus Goshen College as a Mennonite institution would logically follow the instinct to withdraw from external controversies, usually having enough internal ones to keep it occupied:

> The Mennonites have come to represent the attitude most
> purely, since they not only renounce all participation in
> politics and refuse to be drawn into military service, but
> follow their own distinctive customs and regulations in
> economics and education.[52]

Goshen remains an enigma in other ways, however. While clearly a college in the "Christ against culture" motif, it exhibits a consistent history of involvement with surrounding culture, but on its terms and language. This, as we will notice, allows Goshen College to cross the borders of the "Christ against culture" motif into the "Christ the transformer of culture" motif quite easily:

> The language of the Mennonites reflects their this- worldly
> preoccupation. They speak of service, peace, justice, which
> are of course the ingredients of a this-worldly utopia.[53]

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[51]Ringenburg, 100.

[52]Niebuhr, 56.

[53]Sherif, 86.

Wheaton, much more so than either Calvin or Goshen, was a bellwether institution in the fundamentalist-modernist controversy. According to the Niebuhrian paradigm, it too was a logical extension of its ideological orientation. Cultural conservatism and a pervasive pessimism about human nature characterized Wheaton's approach. In addition, its premillenial tendencies fit the fundamentalist scheme and view of the transitory nature of culture. Add to these factors the prominent role of the Wheaton College presidency as a statesman for orthodoxy in the fundamentalist/evangelical world, and it is soon evident that Wheaton College assumed a significant role in the development of evangelical higher education.

Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges each stand as a representative of one of the motifs identified by Niebuhr in Christ and Culture. Each college also finds its own identity with reference to the development of evangelical higher education, particularly with regard to its distance from or affinity with the fundamentalist-modernist debate. It remains, then, to observe how each institution with its particular heritage and view of culture responded to a decade of pervasive cultural change, whether or not its response was consistent with its ideological orientation, and how each response aided or hindered character formation in its students. Before this can be more carefully examined, it is necessary to provide a perspective on the decade under investigation: the 1960s.

CHAPTER TWO

A CULTURAL CHRONOLOGY OF THE 1960S

AND THE IMPACT OF THE DECADE ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES

It was an unlikely source of prophecy, and it almost went unnoticed. However, Robert J. Havighurst observed the significance of a report to President Eisenhower published in 1957 by The Presidents' Committee on Education Beyond the High School. He quoted this statement from the report in his own work on what higher education in the 1960s was to become:

> Revolutionary changes are occurring in American education of which even yet we are only dimly aware. This Nation has been propelled into a challenging new educational era since World War II by the convergence of powerful forces-an explosion of knowledge and population, a burst of technological and economical advance, the outbreak of ideological conflict and the uprooting of old political and cultural patterns on a worldwide scale, and an unparalleled demand by Americans for more and better education.[54]

In compact language this one paragraph captures what was to be a most significant decade in the twentieth century. Its use of words like "revolutionary," "conflict," and "uprooting" would foreshadow themes later identified by those reflecting on the era. It is the concern of this chapter to identify the culturally

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[54]Robert J.Havighurst, American Higher Education in the 1960's (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1960), 1.

formative movements which gave shape to the decade, measure its impact on higher education, and set the stage for a consideration of the campuses of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges in the 1960s.

A current popular music lyric by the group U2 aptly summarizes the dilemma posed by any examination of the decade of the 1960s:

"I don't believe in the 60's in the golden age of pop.

You glorify the past when the future dries up."[55]

The temptation to resist in looking back, if one considers the flood of popular histories of the 1960s, is that of viewing the decade with nostalgic fondness. The decade has been too often uncritically glorified as a time of cultural renaissance and, until recently, charitably characterized as an era of profitable reform in higher education. The college student who participated in higher education in the 1960s can be given mythic stature, a mistaken notion that has not escaped Arthur Levine:

> Myths can be damaging. Bearing in mind this and Simone Signoret's observation, *Nostalgia Isn't What It Used to Be* (1978), the myth of the 1960s college student should be left behind. As an epitaph it might simply be acknowledged that if today's college students seem puny in the shadow of the recollected 1960s, so too would the actual students of that decade in comparison to the myths that have grown up about them.[56]

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[55]Bono, "God Part II," U2: Rattle and Hum, (Island Records Ltd., 1988), sound cassette and compact disc.

[56]Arthur Levine, When Dreams and Heroes Died: A Portrait of Today's College Student (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1980), 5.

More current assessments, generally, speak either to an inflated view of the era or to the long-term damage done to higher education by some of the decade's developments. Alan Bloom's reaction typifies such a view:

> The sixties have now faded from the current student imagination. What remains is a certain self-promotion by people who took part in it all, now in their forties, having come to terms with the 'establishment' but dispersing a nostalgic essence in the media, where, of course, many of them are still flourishing, admitting that it was unreal but asserting that it was the moment of significance.[57]

A cursory survey of books written on the subject reveals a commonality of perspective on at least one matter: the decade was not one of comfort and calm. Book titles frequently include words and phrases like: dust of death, days of rage, coming apart, power struggle, radicals, activism, and revolution. There seems to be agreement on one issue. The decade was one of conflict and change.

If nostalgia is not serviceable, a simple chronology of the decade will not suffice, either. Events beg analysis. What is needed is some sort of interpretive framework which provides a structure for assessing the cultural and social changes, the political and economic developments, and religious roots behind the dynamics of the period. Fortunately, there are such attempts at describing the decade, efforts which avoid the pettiness of nostalgia and the simplicity of unassimilated chronology.

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[57]Alan Bloom, The Closing of the American Mind. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987) p. 333.

Cultural Formation in the Decade

One such framework is offered by Theodore Roszak in his The Making of a Counter Culture. The psychological enemy which galvanized the counter-cultural youth movement of the 1960s and gave rise to events on college and university campuses, in his view, was the distorted assumptions of a scientific world view and its corresponding sources of knowledge:

> In order, then, to root out those distortive assumptions, nothing less is required than the subversion of the scientific world view, with its entrenched commitment to an egocentric and cerebral mode of consciousness. In its place, there must be a new culture in which the non-intellective capacities of the personality--those capacities that take fire from visionary splendor and the experience of human communion--become the arbiters of the good, the true, and the beautiful.[58]

Roszak observes that American youth had a rather short history of radical activism, especially when compared with their counterparts in Western Europe, yet were able to identify the real, long-term enemy in the 1960s, even while fighting immediate crises like civil rights, the Vietnam war, and poverty. The enemy which results from an all-encompassing scientific world-view, he terms "technocracy:"

> But for our purposes here it will be enough to define the technocracy as that society in which those who govern justify themselves by appeal to technical experts who, in turn, justify

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[58]Theodore Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture: Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1969), 50.

themselves by appeal to scientific forms of knowledge. And beyond the authority of science, there is no appeal.[59]

Technocracy, according to Roszak, operates on three basic premises. First, human needs are technical in nature, and solutions to those needs are either technical or else there is no real problem. Second, problems and tensions in society are most often the result of misunderstandings and lack of communication, for which rational dialogue is the solution. And, finally, only experts can help solve problems through rational discourse or technology, and experts are to be found within corporate or governmental settings and structures.

The reaction to this sort of technocratic view of the world is, of course, what Roszak characterizes as the counterculture, an identifiable segment of society which lives by different and better rules. This segment of society is young and "so radically disaffiliated from the mainstream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a barbaric intrusion."[60] Accurately or not, Roszak sees this cohort of disaffiliated and dissenting youth as a prominent element in the culture of the 1960s. Because society is getting younger, the young realize the power they possess as consumers, and the expanding opportunities of higher education defined a youth culture for the first time in American history. This growing youth culture in

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[59]Ibid., 8.

[60]Ibid., 42.

turn provides a magnet for dissenting adult radicals looking for a place to call home.

If dissenting youth proved the magnet, the magnetic force according to Roszak was the investigation of non-intellective consciousness. The reaction against the scientific world-view had turned full-circle in a curious ecumenism of political thought, psychedelic chemistry, and immersion in Eastern religions. It was a peculiar, eclectic, rogues gallery which provided the ideological fuel for the decade:

> One can discern, then, a continuum of thought and experience among the young which links together the new Left sociology of Mills, the Freudian Marxism of Herbert Marcuse, the Gestalt-therapy anarchism of Paul Goodman, the apocalyptic body mysticism of Norman Brown, the Zen-based psychotherapy of Alan Watts, and finally Timothy Leary's impenetrably occult narcissism, wherein the world and its woes may shrink at last to the size of a mote in one's private psychedelic void. As we move along the continuum, we find sociology giving way steadily to psychology, political collectivities yielding to the person, conscious and articulate behavior falling away before the forces of the non-intellective deep.[61]

While the impact and size of the counter culture is open to debate, others also point to the increased emphasis on science and technology prompted by the Sputnik scare of the 1950s as a source of ideology to which the 1960s was a response. The deliverance and security at first promised by the technological developments soon gave way to a frustration over what such innovations could not do.

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[61]Ibid., 64.

At the same time there was a growing disillusionment among students with the "knowledge" or "research" society which had aroused so much enthusiasm in the 1950s. It became obvious that there were limits to the usefulness of learning and research, and that college study, about to become universal, was not a gateway to universal happiness. External conditions, especially, the deterioration of the urban situation and the inconclusive war in Vietnam, exacerbated these feelings.[62]

If science and technology provided empty answers, were there other voices filling the void? Roszak is honest enough to observe that the counterculture, in his view, did not include conservative religious youth, or politically liberal youth, or militant black voices. The counterculture was a "cultural constellation" characterized by an emotional mindset of alienation, a fascination with eastern mysticism, an indulgence in psychedelic drugs, and a communitarian dynamic. What is of special interest to this study is the sense in which the Christian faith and, by extension, Christian higher education, is by definition a counterculture. Roszak himself characterizes the origins of Christianity in such terms. Christian higher education has always self-consciously promoted itself as an alternative. One senses that alienation is a dynamic common to any Christian understanding of its relation to culture, and some traditions more than others are characterized by a "counter-cultural" history of withdrawal from society.

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[62]Joseph Ben-David, Trends in American Higher Education, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 83.

Other critics also see the significance of the decade in the culturally formative ideas which helped to shape the events of the period. The counter culture, however defined, proved revolutionary in a comprehensive sense:

> When people talk about "*The Sixties,*" they are not really talking about a decade, but about a revolution in culture . . . summarizing a range of ideas, social and cultural realignments, and changes in popular consciousness.[63]

Popular consciousness was often shaped by the art and entertainment of the period and, at some Christian colleges, proved to be a pivotal vehicle in understanding and defining a Christian student's relation to culture. What was art and what was entertainment, and how each related to the morality of the period was often unclear and confusing and, to some, was again linked to the shaping influence of the counterculture. Here, too, something new arrived on the scene, for good or ill.

> The resulting inability to distinguish between art and entertainment was one of the two most important cultural facts of the 1960s. The other was the growth of what became known as the counter-culture. It was related to the first in that critical standards had to blur if what the counter-culture did was to be called art. And, as morality followed art, the old moral values had to give way if the new standards were to be called virtuous.[64]

What was to characterize much of the art (or pop art) of the decade, emerging from the thread of beliefs which drove the counterculture, was a

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[63]Kenneth A. Meyers, <u>All God's Children and Blue Suede Shoes: Christians and Popular Culture</u>. (Westchester, IL: Crossway Books, 1989), p. 104.

[64]William L. O'Neill, <u>Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960's</u>. (New York: Times Books, 1971), 200.

glorification of the present. The 1960s were viewed by many as the nihilistic age

of "now." Living for the moment with little thought for the future and no

rootedness in the past promoted a morality which argued for immediate

gratification and immediate results. The implications for character formation on

college campuses are obvious. Such a posture naturally ignited movements for

change and encouraged conflict over accepted and traditional standards.

> This future-and past-denying, present celebrating side of
> nihilism is what ended up informing much of the spirit of The
> Sixties *and beyond*. The *Zeitgeist* of The Sixties is one in
> which the future has no power to intimidate and the past has
> no power to inspire.[65]

One of the areas of imprecision when dealing with the decade of the

Sixties is determining the extent to which the counterculture had a following and

where and how its agenda overlapped with the student activism of the period.

There is evidence to suggest that the activism fueled by the questioning and

challenges of the counterculture was taken up by a small but well-organized,

visible and vocal minority. The response to the countercultural movement on the

whole was seen by some to be an overreaction, an unwarranted indulgence that

would eventually characterize some of the attitudes of college administrators to

campus activists:

> It was, instead, a decade for angry posturing, for declamation
> and manifestos. What is most surprising about The Sixties in
> retrospect is how seriously its pretensions were taken by
> relatively intelligent people. A sense of guilt about racism,
> about Vietnam, about materialism certainly contributed to the

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[65]Meyers, 126.

gullibility with which "The Establishment" generally accepted the criticism of some very noisy brats.[66]

Noisy brats notwithstanding, it is clear that campus activism through the decade was driven by a triumvirate of causes: the alienation and existential experimentation of the counterculture, the powerful moral indignation and example of the civil rights movement, and the galvanizing force of the Vietnam War protest movement. These three factors combined to form a student culture which transcended any one campus and, through organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, suggested that there was political strength to be found in a united student effort. What is also clear is that not all students took part in the campus activism of the decade, and that those who did tended to fit a definite profile. Since most of the studies of campus activism were conducted on campuses other than the type under consideration in this study, one is left to extend the characteristics of student activists to the evidence found on the campuses of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton.

The nature of dissent and the extent of activism during the decade did appear to be limited, while the ideology which generated the activism was pervasive:

> To say that the revolution reaches deep and far is not to say, however, that it directly involves a majority of students. The results of several studies and data from our study of high school graduates across the nation all lead to the same

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[66]Meyers, 125.

conclusion: that up to 1966, student activism, however defined, involved a very few select students in a very few select colleges and universities.[67]

Student activism and protest could take shape in at least four ways.[68] Early involvement came by way of on and off-campus participation in the civil rights movement. Other signs were heightened interest in politics and political organizations, and not necessarily those of the two-party system. Later in the decade, however, student activism in Presidential campaigns heightened. Students also lobbied for educational reform, participation in decision-making, and membership on campus committees. And, as the attacks on *in loco parentis* mounted, students protested policies which restricted their individual, social behavior.

Who were these activists and protestors? Care must be exercised to avoid stereotypes, but studies do indicate a fairly consistent pattern.

> Activists, or those most likely to be sympathetic to activism, now, as in the recent past, are marked by traits of leadership, autonomy, intellectual-esthetic interests, social awareness, and involvement with social issues.[69]

Studies cited by Sampson and Korn repeatedly show that students with a higher than average grade point and with a record of outstanding academic achievement were the most likely to become involved in political demonstrations. This was true

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[67]Edward E. Sampson and Harold A. Korda, and Associates, <u>Student Activism and Protest</u>. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1970), 29.

[68]Herbert H. Stroup, <u>Campus Values</u>, ed. Charles Havice (New York: Scribners, 1968), 29.

[69]Sampson and Korda, 46.

across the spectrum of student dissent, whether the protest was conducted by the political activist or artistic protests of the alienated, culturally withdrawn student. Not all highly motivated and successful academic achievers protested, of course. But in any sampling of campus activists, the profile seemed to be consistent.

There is evidence to suggest, as will be shown, that the Christian college student activists at the three colleges under consideration did, indeed, fit the profile, although at Wheaton in particular, the majority of students could be described as highly successful academic achievers. This continuity of profile also supports the argument that the Christian colleges participated in some measure with the growing student culture which flourished across campuses in the 1960s.

If the assumptions of the countercultural worldview provided the impetus to conflict on campuses across the country over student life policies and curricular judgments, it also raised questions over definitions of art and morality. The decade was to witness some new things under the sun, and controversy seemed to be around every corner. The freedom of the moment espoused by the countercultural movement overlapped with an increasingly open and permissive society.

> As the '60s began, Americans were growing steadily more permissive and expressive in their sexual and emotional lives, more open and experimental in their responses to literature and art, more playful and extravagant in the styles and manners with which they lived their everyday lives.[70]

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[70]Marshall Berman, "Faust in the '60s," in Gerald Howard, ed. The Sixties: The Art, Attitudes, Politics, and Media of Our Most Explosive Decade. (New York: Pocket Books, 1982), 497.

In 1961 "The Untouchables" was the most violent show to yet appear on television, and drew cries of protest and scores of sponsors. That same year The Chicago Tribune removed The Tropic of Cancer and The Carpetbaggers from the list of bestsellers in its books section because the paper deemed them morally objectionable.[71] The next found strong language on Broadway, as Edward Albee's Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? shocked audiences. The art world wondered about and welcomed the comic strip blow-ups of Roy Lichtenstein and the Campbell's soup cans of Andy Warhol.

Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique appeared in 1963, and the women's liberation movement had its marching orders. Within five years the movement was organized to the point of demonstrating against the "cattle parade" at the annual Miss America pageant in Atlantic City.

In 1964 Ed Sullivan welcomed a band from Liverpool to his Sunday evening variety show, and the British invasion of American rock and roll began. Through the decade the Beatles began to mirror the countercultural developments in their ever evolving musical styles and trend-setting media manipulation. This was also the year of Dr. Strangelove and Fail-Safe, films which served as reminders that the Cuban missile crisis could have ended it all, and that the potential for nuclear annihilation still existed.

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[71]For the chronology of the decade I am indebted to the excellent survey by Paul Sann in The Angry Decade: The Sixties. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1979).

The Rolling Stones brought raunch to rock and roll and delivered on all the warnings about suggestive lyrics and the devil's music when they caught on in 1965. For the first time in the decade popular books began to appear which were critical of U.S. policy in Vietnam, and the public discussion on the war heated up.

Responding to the 1966 "God is Dead" discussion in theological circles, Billy Graham countered that he couldn't be dead because "I spoke with him this morning." John Lennon of the Beatles caused a different sort of theological stir with his infamous statement: "We're more popular than Jesus now. I don't know which will go first--rock n'roll or Christianity. Jesus was all right, but his disciples were thick and ordinary."[72]

In 1967 things heated up in film and in music. Four milestone movies questioned traditional sexual morality or featured violence in graphic images: The Graduate, Bonnie and Clyde, In Cold Blood, and Blow-Up. At the same time an aggressive rock and roll linked boldly and boastfully with the psychedelic drug experience gained immense popularity:

> On the pop scene, rock kept flying. It was tough keeping up with the new heavy-hitters: the Grateful Dead, the Jefferson Airplane, the Who, Canned Heat, Moby Grape, and Jim Morrison and The Doors. The Beatle album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* hit it big but that was the semester in which the Liverpool tycoons decided to end their live performances.[73]

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[72]Quoted in Sanns, p.193.

[73]Ibid., 219.

The decade which began with the thoughtful lyrics and sweet sounds of a Joan Baez ended with the raucous, no holds-barred raspiness of a Janis Joplin, the goddess of the hippie/drug culture. In the space of ten years popular music had moved from the folk strains of the Kingston Trio to the marathon orgy at Woodstock and the violent Rolling Stones concert at Altamont. Too often in the 1960s life imitated that which called itself art, and the student culture was left to make choices. In the making of choices character is formed, and Christian colleges and their students were not exempt from choices.

However powerful and persuasive the influences of popular culture were over matters of art and morality, it was the moral indignation of the civil rights movement and the politicizing effect of the Vietnam War protest which was to persuade students that things can and should change, and that education extended beyond the boundaries of any one campus.

Writing from the Roman Catholic Christian perspective, Francis Carling speaks eloquently of the seeds planted in the student movement which grew out of participation in the civil rights struggle:

> The first great experience of political activity for my
> generation was the civil rights movement. This had been
> started earlier on a much smaller scale by black people and a
> relatively few white adults and students. It was our training
> ground, and we developed a good many of our tactics there,
> especially the art of demonstrating. Moreover, for Christian
> students the civil rights movement increased their
> identification of political and religious values, and the struggle
> developed a strong moral overtone that was eventually
> carried over into other areas of politics. Its overall
> significance for our study lies in the fact that it was the first
> student movement in American history of any significant

proportion, and its occasional successes gave us our first experience of political power and our introduction to the mechanics of social change.[74]

Carling saw in student involvement with the civil rights struggle an altruistic, moral motivation related to the justice issues which prompted the movement in the beginning. For those who participated from this drive, it opened doors of awareness previously closed. Others saw in student involvement a connection more related to late adolescent development and personal growth, an individualized motivation somewhat removed from the justice concerns of the blacks involved. Mallery offers this explanation of the noticeable involvement of students with the civil rights struggle:

> The fact remains that, with apparent suddenness in the past few years, the subject has come to the center of the American public consciousness, and conscience, and with it has come the extraordinary identification of students with this cause. It seems to link up with some students' drives for their own individual rights, freedom, identity, and opportunity, which, when looked at logically, seem quite remote from the actual feelings, the actual struggle, of American Negroes in the Civil Rights struggle.[75]

From whatever motivation and with whatever benefit to themselves, the movement, and future student activism, it is clear that student participation in the civil rights struggle intensified in the summers of 1963 and 1964. The significant result of this involvement was a cohort of students who returned to campus with

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[74]Francis Carling, "Move Over": Students, Politics, Religion. (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969), 35.

[75]David Mallery. Ferment on the Campus: An Encounter with the New College Generation. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 128.

organizational skills and a sense of responsibility, convinced that making a difference remained a real possibility.[76] Given the sequence of events in the decade which served as milestones in the civil rights struggle, one would almost have to be comatose not to have been moved to tears, if not involvement. The simulated experience of walking in another person's shoes shaped character in countless students with resulting impact on college and university campuses.

As the decade began not much had changed since the historic 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* case had been decided before the Warren court. While students from the all-black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College decided to sit at the lunch counter of the local Woolworth store in violation of local laws, having been refused service at the local bus station, the educational situation for blacks in America reflected the glacial pace of the judicial process:

> What it all added up to as the year ended was pretty bleak: 6.3 percent of the 3,097,534 black pupils in the seventeen states that at long last had started to pay a little more heed to the law of the land were in integrated classes, an increase of a minuscule 0.3 percent over 1959. And worse--six years after the Warren Court's ruling-- there were still no less than forty-six desegregation cases grinding their way through the crowded federal judicial mill.[77]

Civil rights legislation had been passed under the Eisenhower administration, but with little impact. It merely required states to keep voting records for twenty-two

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[76]Ibid., 129.

[77]Ibid., 2.

months after an election in the event that the Justice Department wanted to review them, and gave anyone who felt that he or she had been denied the ballot because of color the right to sue. Real change did not occur until the courageous stepped forward to push and persuade.

Some of the first, in addition to the North Carolina A & T students, were Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes who, in 1961 applied for admission to the University of Georgia. They were denied admission, went to court with the assistance of the NAACP, and eventually enrolled as sophomores. Demonstrations and riots ensued, but both students graduated. 1961 also witnessed the Freedom Riders, who moved the fight for integration from the lunch counter sit-ins to the public facilities required for interstate travel.

In 1962 the names James Meredith and Ross Barnett became household words, as Meredith sought admission as the first black student to enroll at the University of Mississippi. Governor Barnett refused, prompting the federal government to send five thousand U.S. troops and four hundred U.S. marshals for protection and persuasion. The next year the State of Alabama lost a similar battle in spite of the efforts of Governor George Wallace to prevent integration at the University of Alabama.

The civil rights movement had its congregation of heroes and martyrs. Medgar Evers was assassinated in 1963, the same year in which the cause was joined by the American Jewish Congress, the National Council of Churches, the AFL-CIO, and the Negro American Labor Council in a massive

march on Washington. The march itself was organized by the leading civil rights activists of the early 1960s: A. Phillip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Whitney Young, Jr. It was at the conclusion of the march that 210,000 in attendance and millions afterward on television and radio news were to hear the stirring "I Have a Dream" speech by Martin Luther King, Jr. It stirred passions in many quarters. Fifteen days after the speech a terrorist bomb exploded in a Birmingham, Alabama, church, killing four young girls.

The first of the long, hot summers and northern urban riots took place in 1964, as the major civil rights organizations planned for a new tactic in the voter registration campaign. The NAACP, CORE, and SCLC solicited northern whites to assist in voter registration in the south. Clearly they hoped that the Justice Department and the FBI would look with more interest on the prospect of whites and blacks working together. Unfortunately this demand on their attention was necessitated by the murders of Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman. Also this year Martin Luther King, Jr., received the Nobel Peace Prize. He was thirty-five years old and had a police record of fifteen arrests.

A foreshadowing of different voices and tactics on the horizon occurred when the powerful voice of Malcolm X was silenced by assassination in 1965. The civil rights struggle was characterized by violence at every turn, and the worst was yet to come. The Watts area of Los Angeles went up in flames of rage to the cries of "Burn, Baby, Burn." Five days of rioting left staggering statistics: 34

were dead, 898 injured, and more than 4,000 arrested by some of the 15,000

National Guard and police called out to restore order. This tragedy followed the

historic voting rights march on Selma, Alabama, which according to Sann,

prompted President Johnson's best speech: "At times history and fate meet at a

single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for

freedom."[78] The two events taken together indicate the divergent strategies and

styles of the rest of the civil rights movement. It came to focus in 1966 in two

words: Black Power.

> Now some drops of white blood would stain the pavements,
> North and South, as Martin Luther King and his forces came
> up against younger, extremely militant elements. Nonviolence
> was going out of style, and a white backlash set in.[79]

Whether or not it was reactionary white backlash or the long

entrenched hatred of racism, an incident that seemed to serve as a turning point

occurred in 1966 when James Meredith, who had successfully integrated the

University of Mississippi in nonviolent fashion was wounded in an assassination

attempt while participating in a voter registration drive. New, younger, impatient

voices expressed disenchantment with the tactics of nonviolence, and the rallying

cry became "Black Power" for Stokely Charmicael of SNCC and the originators of

the phrase, the Oakland-based Black Panther Party and its leaders: Bobby Seale,

Huey Newton, and Eldridge Cleaver. That summer race riots occurred in

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[78]Quoted in Sann, 159.

[79]Ibid., 179.

Chicago, Cleveland, San Francisco, Omaha, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Providence, Dayton, Waukegan, Benton Harbor, and New Jersey's Perth Amboy. The geographical range is evidence of the widespread rage, and the increasing frustration of those still espousing non-violence.

As bad as things were in 1966, it was worse in 1967. This was the summer of the Detroit riots, during which 15,000 troops were called out to settle the mobs. That summer, in Detroit and elsewhere, 83 deaths were recorded in urban rioting. People throughout America were outraged at the rage and senseless destruction, and non-violence as a tactic for social change seemed a far distant memory.

The violence surrounding the civil rights movement reached its peak in 1968. Martin Luther King, Jr., the eloquent voice of reason and nonviolence, was silenced by an assassin. His leadership of the movement had diminished as Black Power took center stage, and some viewed his tactics and principles as museum relics of an earlier day. None could deny, however, his courage, achievements, or symbolic power. The response to his assassination in the urban ghettos was predictable, instantaneous and, again, widespread. Rioting occurred in 125 cities in 25 states, some of it continuing day and night for a full week.

Some of the most violent reaction to King took place in Chicago, as he marched through portions of the city and suburbs and met with racial slurs and physical abuse. And it was in Chicago in 1968 that an early morning raid on the local Black Panther Party headquarters led to the death of two leaders and the

wounding of four others. Some charged that the deaths were homicides. The police claimed that they were met with weapons. The growing impression in America was that the nation was at war between whites and blacks, those in power and those who sought it.

At least one campus was not immune to the power struggle. In the spring of 1969 approximately 250 blacks occupied the student union at Cornell University in protest of campus racism and to demand an independent Afro-American college. That there were 250 blacks on the campus itself was testimony that the University had done something right along the way. When those occupying the student union were negotiated out, only to emerge with rifles and ammunition belts over shoulders, the image made a lasting impression on many campuses, with a resulting "trickle-down" impact:

> No one knew what to make of this. Scores of colleges and universities rushed to install Black Studies programs out of fear or enthusiasm. Few were able to recruit enough black scholars to man them. Those that did often had to raid black colleges.[80]

For many in academia, and especially those on almost exclusively white, conservative Christian college campuses, the just demands of the civil rights movement required remedial education in values, politics, and sociology. This involvement in character formation around a justice issue was for many akin to learning a foreign language and a foreign culture. Yet one could not remain a dispassionate observer when faced with the realities of urban violence and an

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[80]O,Neill, <u>Coming Apart</u>, 191.

ethical debate over the virtues of nonviolence. As the decade drew to a close,

many were still wondering if and how anything would change.

The politicizing effect of the Vietnam War protest also served to

persuade students that things should change and, perhaps in this instance, could.

Already in 1962 the Students for a Democratic Society had issued the Port Huron

Statement, a statement of Marxist New Left rhetoric to some, but to others,

> This statement was a clarion call to college students
> everywhere to concern themselves with social issues, to
> become involved in society's problems outside the university,
> and to devote themselves to the task of constructing a more
> just, more humane society than that which surrounded
> them.[81]

At the very least the Port Huron Statement and the Students for a Democratic

Society raised the specter that students across the country were an identifiable

force with political clout. It was to become evident toward the close of the decade

as student involvement in the Vietnam War protest movement and campaigning

for peace candidates were lively campus and national issues.

As with student involvement in the civil rights struggle, the

motivation for engagement in war protest was not always clear. At times one

heard claims to a moral higher ground and a calling of the nation to political

justice. At other times the protest movement seemed more closely tied to the

personal needs and agenda of the students involved, particularly those of draftable

age. Still, the evidence seemed to mount as the decade progressed that the

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[81]Paul D. Knott, ed. Student Activism. (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company, 1971), 3.

involvement of the United States in Vietnam was misguided and immoral. Without student involvement in the moral outrage, the United States may have chosen a different course.

Again, the decade is filled with events, dates, and names forever etched on the collective memories of those who lived through the period. During the first one hundred days of John F. Kennedy's presidency he presided over the news that the Russians had put a man in space and the United States was unable to put anyone ashore at the Bay of Pigs. Tensions also existed in Southeast Asia, with the Russians supplying arms to forces in Laos and Kennedy inheriting over 1,000 non-fighting military advisers in Vietnam, with his own military advisers suggesting that more were needed. Kennedy was to die before Vietnam became a political complication and presidential liability.

The United States officially entered the fray in 1964 when Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin resolution, authorizing the president to use "all necessary measures" in response to an attack by the North Vietnamese on U.S. destroyers in the Gulf, essentially a blank check which was to be a harbinger of future presidential actions.

> Whatever the actual facts, the Gulf of Tonkin affair became a dry run which showed military escalation in Vietnam to be a politically viable policy at home. And, since the excuse for it was so feeble, it suggested that almost any pretext would do.[82]

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[82]O'Neill, 122.

Escalation was evident in casualties alone. Sann compares statistics from 1964, when 164 fatalities were reported, with 1965, when there were 1,365 fatalities, 5,300 wounded, and 148 missing or captured.[83] The Tet offensive of 1965 removed any doubt that the U.S. was at war, yet protest against involvement in Vietnam was still a decidedly minority view. When the casualties from 1966 mounted to 4,800, protest mounted as well. It was the Tet offensive of 1968 which many mark as the beginning of the end for Lyndon Johnson, and the foot in the door needed by both Robert Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Student protests had swelled, and it was a rare campus that did not face the issue of American involvement in Vietnam.

It is difficult to determine with certainty whether the involvement of students in the war protest movement had a positive impact on bringing the war to a speedier end, or whether the war ended under the weight of its own incompetencies. O'Neil gives no significance to student involvement whatsoever.[84] Burns sees something quite different, especially in combination with the growing draft resistance movement:

> During the first hundred days of the Nixon administration, white and "Third World" student activism escalated in size and militance. About one-third of all students took part in protests on 300 campuses, a quarter of which included strikes

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[83]Sann, 156.

[84]O'Neill, 319 ff.

or building takeovers. In many cases these actions involved property destruction or violence.[85]

Gitlin sees the significance of the student movement in the transition it took from peaceful protest to active resistance in the form of civil disobedience, and the solid base it provided for a growing coalition of Americans against the war:

> On April 26, 1968, up to a million college and high school students took part in a national student strike. Profuse and varied were the efforts to give the antiwar movement a presence in common American life, from the tough-talking militance of draft-resistance organizers in working-class communities to the plainspoken work of antiwar workers in unions, town meetings, local party caucuses, and in the heart of the military itself.[86]

Whatever the final assessment, it is clear that the war protest movement, the civil rights movement, and the remnant of the countercultural movement in the arts and morality, served as the triumvirate of culturally formative issues with which colleges and universities grappled in the decade of the 1960s. The campuses of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton were no exceptions, and each in varying degrees attempted to view these movements through the theoretical and theological filter of its own tradition.

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[85]Stewart Burns, Social Movements of the 1960s: Searching for Democracy. (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990), 102.

[86]Todd Gitlin, The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage. (New York: Bantam Books, 1989), 293.

The Impact of the Decade on American Higher Education

American higher education changed dramatically during the decade, and some would say not for the better. Alan Bloom reflects on the period as a turning point, not so much for the politics of the era, but for the negative impact on curricular development and its residue in the current "politically correct" controversy in higher education. In his judgment, familiarity with the essential classics of Western civilization was sacrificed at the altar of relevancy and immediacy for a valueless, adrift, pointless "dismantling of the structure of rational inquiry."

> The university had abandoned all claim to study or inform about value-undermining the sense of the value of what it taught, while turning over the *decision* about values to the folk, the *Zeitgeist*, the relevant.[87]

In the decade's attempt at developing a "relevant" education, according to Bloom, a common heritage of knowledge was abandoned, a situation from which American higher education has yet to extricate itself. In explaining to a colleague why something should be taught and not abandoned in spite of the fact that Bloom himself recognized the material to be boring to students, he offered this measure of the issue at hand:

> It was because they were, I said, a threadbare reminiscence of the unity of knowledge and provided an obstinate little hint that there are some things one must know about if one is to be educated. You don't replace something with nothing. Of

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[87]Bloom, p.313.

course, that was exactly what the educational reform of the sixties was doing.[88]

Bloom's summary assessment of the 1960s may be idiosyncratic, but it is direct and to the point:

> About the sixties it is now fashionable to say that although there were indeed excesses, many good things resulted. But, so far as universities are concerned, I know of nothing positive coming from that period; it was an unmitigated disaster for them.[89]

Professor Bloom's exposure to higher education in the 1960s was limited to major universities, especially Cornell. As a result, his view of the impact of the decade on American higher education is somewhat skewed. There appear to be other patterns. Had he been more familiar with the discussions and decisions of colleges like Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton, for example, he might have realized that educational reform could occur without surrendering traditional values or familiarity with Western civilization. At the same time, such institutions would serve notice that familiarity with the classics of Western civilization is entirely inadequate to the task of developing character and values in students, as if simple exposure to a body of literature and thought has, by osmosis, shaping value in itself. Arthur Holmes makes just this sort of observation:

> We take nothing from the importance of that liberal arts tradition by questioning whether it alone can restore identity to persons created to image God and to live in relationship to him. For the problem of personal identity is ultimately a

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[88]Ibid., p.320.

[89]Ibid., p.320.

psychological, moral, and spiritual one, not just one of *cultural literacy* and identity.[90]

Diane Ravitch captures campus developments "from Berkeley to Kent State," indicating by her geographical choices a frame of reference for the decade.[91]   Her study is essentially a commentary on the political activism of the radical student left and its influence on major university campuses and the nation, yet she too concludes that one of the major impacts of the decade on the educational process was exactly what Bloom decried. She, however, attributes the source less to student radicalism than to the nature of the research university:

> In many institutions, there was genuine confusion or disagreement about what knowledge was of most worth; in the large universities, the retreat from requirements was a triumph of specialized research over the liberal arts curriculum, rather than a response to student pressure.[92]

John Fischer agrees with this assessment and reaches a similar conclusion as the result of observing that the majority of campus activists were students in the humanities. They were asking "big questions" of professors who had neither the time nor the answers because their purpose at the university was a

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[90]Arthur F. Holmes, Shaping Character: Moral Education in the Christian College. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 69.

[91]Diane Ravitch, The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980. (New York: Basic Books, 1983) p. 182.

[92]Ravitch, p.225.

devotion to their particular specialized discipline, and students were forced to turn elsewhere.[93]

What was in the offing during the 1960s, in other words, was a new canon. In the place of a canon of literature or culture supplied by general, liberal education, students gravitated toward a growing canon of causes. As higher education became more specialized, technical, and scientific, a growing disaffected and at times alienated student culture developed, fueled by certain professors who shared student views or imparted them to those they taught. The nature and content of education had changed, and the value and values of the educational process were called into question:

> But instead of a list of "great books" or events that one had to be acquainted with in the old idea of general education, there is now a fixed list of issues with which one has to be "concerned," and about which one has to "do something"-- such as the race issue, the Vietnam War, air pollution, and poverty. The issues are similarly canonized as the great books of Hutchins were supposed to be. There is a binding consensus about what is and what is not an important issue, and there are standard ways of evaluating them. This new trend is, therefore, another search for a "general education" that is supposed to mold the "whole man," rather than teach him some specialized knowledge.[94]

The other major change Ravitch cites in this "period of disruption" is a growing student autonomy and participation in the decision-making process in higher education, as witnessed by the declining influence of *in loco parentis*

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[93]John Fischer, "The Case for the Rebellious Students and their Counterrevolution." Harpers, August, 1968. 9.

[94]Ben-David, 84.

policies, less supervision in matters of student life, participation on college and

university policy-making committees, and some voice in curricular decisions.

Ravitch presents a careful analysis of the growing educational

bureaucracy which developed as a result of the expanding government regulation

during the decade, and describes in detail the powerful special interest groups

who, through organizational prowess, accomplished reform for blacks, women, and

the disabled. She also provides amusing descriptions of ineffective college

administrators who were frequently "snatching defeat from the jaws of victory."[95]

It seemed, too, that the preponderancy of campus protests occurred in springtime,

usually in April, as if something about spring turned a young radical's fancy toward

administration buildings.

Although her view of the decade's turmoil argues for the root cause

as academic specialization and a corresponding alienation, it was her description

of the typical student radical activist in the 1960s that proved particularly

instructive:

> Compared to nonradicals, the radicals were from upper
> middle-class, high-income, professional families; both father
> and mother were highly educated, with a liberal-to-radical
> political orientation (a significant number of radicals were
> "red-diaper babies," children of 1930s radicals).[96]

This observation is instructive because it is a profile unlike the typical student at

Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton in the 1960s. If the nature of education changed at

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[95]Ibid., p. 194.

[96]Ibid., 223

these colleges during the decade, it would have to be for reasons other than the involvement of the typical radical student activist. There were none that filled the bill.

In sum, the decade of the 1960s proved to be particularly significant for American higher education. It was an era far more complex than most analyses suggest. Certainly the student subcultures were far from monolithic. In a study by west coast deans of students, some of whom saw confirmation of what was in the press, some of whom saw nothing like what was supposed to be happening as reported,

> All saw a picture far more complex, intricate, and interesting than was being offered by and to the commentators and observers off-campus.[97]

Levine focused on the impact of the decade on the succeeding one. Writing in the late 1970s, he was disturbed by what he found:

> Particularly disconcerting was the long-lasting and profoundly negative impact exerted by the Vietnam War, the turbulence of the 1960s, and the Watergate era on today's college students.[98]

The impression left on the succeeding generation seems to have been one of despair, that for all the turmoil and activism which took place in the 1960s not much had changed. As a result, the next generation seemed devoted less to altruism and more to self.

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[97]David Mallery, Ferment on the Campus: An Encounter with the New College Generation. (New York:Harper and Row, 1966) p.6.

[98]Levine, xvii.

Havighurst saw something very similar on the horizon when he wrote in 1960:

> In contrast, the student and the professor of today have a strong statistical likelihood of being upward-mobile persons who are interested in achieving higher socioeconomic status, and have the *doing* or striving kind of personality. This alteration in social composition of the colleges may account at least in part for the changes in student values which are reported in recent studies.[99]

Havighurst could not have been more mistaken. His description is apt, perhaps, for the yuppie generation of the 1980s, but not the student activists of the 1960s. While students may have had the "doing or striving" kind of personality, the witness of the 1960s was that upward mobility was not the motivator, unless one could consider a northern trek to dodge the draft in Canada to qualify. What he was correct in observing was that student values were changing. But who could have known just how much?

Setting the Stage

Was there a parallel impact on the campuses of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges? The following chapters argue that these campuses were not immune to the vast cultural changes occurring in the United States. Instead, people and policies participated in the changes first through the filter of theological tradition, for the most part true to the paradigm set forth by Niebuhr,

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[99]Havighurst, p.37.

either very self-consciously or instinctively. They also participated in the changes through the experiences of a growing student subculture which incorporated the moral courage of the civil rights movement and the political activism of the war protest movement.

The story of each campus will also be examined, in the concluding chapter, in terms of the concept of the development of character in students, showing by comparison and contrast the relative impact of the Niebuhrian paradigm and the growing student subculture. In this connection, character development took shape in a particularly interesting crucible in the 1960s.

CHAPTER THREE

CALVIN COLLEGE

Historical Context

Calvin College, like Goshen College, is understood only against the backdrop of the history of a particular Protestant denomination. For Goshen, it is the Anabaptist heritage of the radical Reformation as manifested in the Mennonite fellowships of North America. For Calvin, it is the Reformed heritage of the Dutch branch of Calvinism as evidenced in the Christian Reformed Church of North America. This ecclesiastical bloodline is important to keep in mind, since the denomination itself was born amid controversy and dissension in the United States, and not, at first, the transformative vision identified by Niebuhr.

This particular denomination arose out of twin immigrant fears: the fear of Americanization and the fear of decline in orthodoxy. Its definition of orthodoxy went beyond the typical loyalty to a confessional, doctrinal position to encompass a reluctance toward innovation.[100] Ironically, it was to rediscover its transformative roots in the Protestant Reformation only as it matured, largely

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[100]John Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Church: A Study in Orthodoxy (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1947), 39.

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through the leadership of the College and Seminary it first established to preserve its isolationistic orthodoxy.

The Christian Reformed Church seceded from the Reformed Church in America on 7 October, 1857. On this date, five relatively small congregations formed an ecclesiastical governing body known as a Classis. There was only one minister to serve these five churches in Western Michigan, one pastor to hold the line of orthodoxy first drawn in 1834 in the Netherlands when a small band seceded from the state church which, in their view, no longer upheld the Reformed confessions. Then, in 1857, the immigrant's disenchantment with the Reformed Church in America over similar issues brought them to the point of a new beginning as a fledgling denomination in a still strange land.

Calvin College had its start when the True Holland Reformed Church, as the Christian Reformed Church was first called after the secession of 1857, appointed the Rev. Mr. Egbert Boer its first docent, instructing seven students in nineteen subjects. This overwhelming educational challenge began on 18 February 1876 in Grand Rapids, Michigan, the Dutch epicenter for a denomination in its infancy, only a few years beyond its secession from the long-established Reformed Church in America.[101]

One of the pressing needs of a young, struggling, largely immigrant denomination was a continuing supply of educated clergy and, eventually, teachers

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[101]John J. Timmerman, Promises to Keep: A Centennial History of Calvin College (Grand Rapids: Calvin College and Seminary and Eerdmans, 1975).

for the growing network of Christian day schools throughout North America. The evolution of denominational needs translated into a developing college and its curriculum:

> In 1894 the privilege of studying in that school was given to those who were not training for the ministry. In 1914 the first Bachelor of Arts degree was conferred, and Calvin College has since that time remained the largest single source of teacher supply for the Christian schools.[102]

It was a second secession, this time in the mother country of the Netherlands, which was to shape Calvin College in the tranformational tradition. The influence of the breakaway movement in the Reformed Churches of the Netherlands in 1886 known as the *Doleantie*, as it filtered to the immigrants in America over the years, was largely the influence of Abraham Kuyper, a Reformed pastor, theologian, statesman, and prime minister of the Netherlands. It was his understanding of the Calvinistic tradition which argued against those who "saw in worldly culture a threat and were inclined to a policy of quarantine."[103]

> Kuyper was no separatist in the early sense; he believed in involvement with and transformation of the world about him. He wished to give Christ preeminence in all walks of life: the shop and the factory; the home and school; the church and state; the arts and the life of the mind. He affirmed the reality of common grace, whereby the non-Christian world produces good things which the Christian may appropriate and transform to the glory of God.[104]

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[102]Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Church, 142.

[103]Timmerman, Promises to Keep, 21.

[104]Ibid., 20.

It was to this transformative approach that Calvin College was drawn, and it provided the foundational dynamic for scholarship from the beginning. Kuyper, interpreting John Calvin's teachings on the role of the Christian in the world, distanced himself from what Niebuhr would call the "Christ Against Culture" and the "Christ and Culture in Paradox" positions. This, according to Timmerman, is the grid through which the history of Calvin College must be understood.

> The key words in Calvin's history, as I see it, have been *antithesis, integration, commitment,* and *involvement.* All suggest struggle and connote the danger of a spiritual dichotomy in which one says that faith is important in church and in the study of literature and philosophy, but of less use in our pragmatic daily lives and in certain subjects where direct relationships are hard to see or emphasize.[105]

Had it not been for the second secession and its shaping influence in the transformational tradition, Calvin College might have been defined more along the lines of those Christian colleges which sought isolation from surrounding culture. This was, after all, the nature of the Christian Reformed denomination in its earlier stages, dominated by an isolationistic concern over doctrinal fidelity.[106] Instead, Calvin College, philosophically, stood in a tradition which offered a unique Christian perspective on the cultural changes and conflicts of the 1960s. Whether or not the school and its students responded within this framework is the subject of the following investigation.

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[105]Ibid., 21.

[106]Kromminga, The Christian Reformed Church, 150.

<u>The Institution in the 1960s</u>

In his delightful and affectionate centennial history of Calvin, former Professor of English John Timmerman characterizes the decade of the 1960s for Calvin as "a new era of conflict, challenge, and change."[107] He could have mentioned confrontation and culture as well, because the pivotal points for the College during the decade had to do with student reaction to and involvement with not only the issues of race, war and Christian witness to urban life, but to a significant degree, the culturally shaping art forms of the decade. More so than Goshen or Wheaton, Calvin students welcomed and promoted involvement with the arts and popular culture, at times as a tool for confrontation, but more often as vehicles for understanding their world, a principle which stands at the heart of a transformative approach to culture. Whether this was the motivation for student involvement in these art forms is a matter of debate, but that they often served as a focal point is without question.

Timmerman devotes a chapter to this decade and its developments. As a faculty member during the 1960s he makes a plea for understanding as he attempts to capture the time:

> This chapter is very difficult to write because of the recency of the events, the plethora of data, the visceral nature of the debates on complex issues, and the fact that there are one hundred and fifty faculty observers, who have their own notions about the way it was. It is therefore only an attempt

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[107]Timmerman, <u>Promises to Keep</u>, 13.

to detect and relate some cardinal patterns on a crowded canvas.[108]

The cardinal patterns detected by Timmerman were several. All were characterized by the overarching concern of students for "involvement" and "relevance," and came at a time when the College was in physical, if not philosophical, transition. Calvin was in the final stages of the realization of a master campus plan conceived in the 1950s to move the campus from its city location in a long-established neighborhood to the open acres of the Knollcrest Farm, at that time on the eastern, undeveloped fringe of the Grand Rapids metropolitan area. The move provided an occasion for both irony and insight:

> Ironically, as Calvin moved to a campus almost idyllically isolated and apparently sealed from the potentially explosive neighborhood it was leaving, the word most loudly and frequently heard on the new campus was *involvement*. In this new place, the old faith was asked to illuminate and influence a new day, to shed light on the passion-packed issues of the times, to be "relevant" to students who wanted immediate answers largely derived from current thought. The shift of the college was going to involve more than a locality.[109]

Timmerman noted the significance of an old faith illuminating and influencing something new. It was the nature of the tradition to which Calvin College belongs to think and act in those terms. And it is against this background that Timmerman sees the several cardinal patterns, the first being the adjustment to a split campus and then a new campus at Knollcrest.

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[108]Ibid., 146.

[109]Ibid., 144.

Another noticeable pattern was the incredible growth which accompanied the move to the new campus. Timmerman reports that "the enrollment rose from 2,537 in 1962 to 3,575 in 1968, a high point in enrollment."[110] The number of faculty increased dramatically. With the growth in student body and faculty came attempts at restructuring the curriculum to a "4-1-4" design and reorganizing the governance structure of the college community. Calvin in the 1960s was a campus at once growing, moving, and changing.

Timmerman makes the point that the move from the city to Knollcrest made a deep impression on the collective conscience of the Calvin community. During the transition years the campus and its surrounding population experienced the tensions and transformations which accompany a racially changing neighborhood. In spite of the fact that the move to Knollcrest had been decided by the Calvin board of trustees long before the neighborhood changed, many felt that the college was turning its back on its social commitments and betraying the transformative heritage it held so dear. Muggings, thefts, and vandalism notwithstanding, there was work to be done in and around the old campus, many argued, and the move to Knollcrest appeared to resemble too closely the pattern of suburban white flight at a time when there was an awakening to the issues of race and social justice.

Timmerman argues that this mood of self-doubt, in combination with a national mood of self-examination over race and an unpopular war, captured the

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[110]Ibid., 146.

attention of bright students who had been raised permissively. While this was
evident at Calvin, his measure of the Calvin student body in comparison with
others he observed was one which set the temper of the Calvin student apart:

> This temper was not indigenous on the campus and never
> erupted into the crudity some college campuses encountered
> because of the Christian spirit and innate decency of the vast
> majority of the student body and the wise responses on the
> part of the president, administration, and faculty.[111]

Timmerman detected a change in mood and spirit on campus with
the year 1967, when the frame of reference for thought and behavior was no
longer the policy formulations of the college and the moral distinctives of
Scripture but, for some, an individualism and "romantic sentimentalism" for which
he had little sympathy or appreciation. There were other students, however, who
set a different, more admirable tone. Pointing out that many students, including
many very capable students, never became directly involved in the campus
"tempest," he favorably described those who shaped the mood of campus opinion
in the latter years of the decade:

> There was also, however, a sizable group brilliant in thought
> and expression, spiritually sensitive, and deeply concerned
> about fundamental social and theological problems. Some of
> them were, unfortunately, noisy, ill-mannered, and enamored
> with the tactics of overkill and shock. These students set the
> tone of student opinion; all had to be taken seriously,
> especially in the mood of the times.[112]

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[111]Ibid., 150.

[112]Ibid., 151.

Both the president of the college during the decade, William Spoelhof, and the dean of students in the crisis years, Phillip Lucasse, made almost too similar assessments of the students who attended Calvin. Spoelhof noticed this:

> The Calvin student of today, compared with the student of ten years ago, shows the effect of this educational revolution and the change of curriculum and emphasis on excellence in the high schools; therefore he comes to us just a bit better prepared than he used to; he has become much more interested in education problems . . . There is now a greater interest of student involvement in educational problems and a desire for students to voice their opinions concerning the college. And therefore the students are a bit more assertive and vocal. They are articulate-very articulate-about what they think and what they believe ought to be the role of the college . . . And I think this is all very good . . . But along with this, I must admit, our college students have also become part of the tension of the age, the social upheaval of the times, the international picture, the kind of insecurity in which they dwell, and the great stress of academic competition to get into graduate schools.[113]

Lucasse, leaving for post graduate studies at the University of Michigan after thirteen years as dean of students at Calvin, offered this assessment:

> "Students are more competent, more real, more dedicated, and more serious than when I came," he said. "Students today are much more concerned with matters of substance-the curriculum, student involvement in the direction of the college, concern for the quality of their education, willingness to work at changing the status quo."[114]

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[113]Interview with Dr. William Spoelhof, Calvin College Chimes, 62 no.12, 12 January 1968, 6.

[114]Ibid., 64 no.4, 25 April 1969, p.1.

We have, then, respected leaders of the Calvin community, the president, dean of students, and a senior member of the faculty, each speaking individually yet in concert about the changes in Calvin students during the decade of the 1960s. What, in this transformative environment, contributed to the transformation?

Certainly the decade began at Calvin in ways quite similar to other Christian colleges at the time. Larger than most--its enrollment in 1960 was 2,232--Calvin was conservative in its politics and expectations for student behavior. It was as Republican a campus as Wheaton, for example. A 1960 <u>Chimes</u> reported the results of a mock Presidential election on campus. The Nixon-Lodge ticket recorded 1,197 votes: Kennedy-Johnson only gained 130.[115] At the same time the Calvin board of trustees dealt with the issue of the political leanings of faculty, occasioned by public statements made by faculty in support of the Roman Catholic candidate for President and the resulting protest of many local Christian Reformed Church consistories. First considered by the board of trustees in November of 1960, it was resolved three months later with an endorsement of political freedom of choice while encouraging caution and discretion on the part of faculty in expressing their views.[116]

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[115]Ibid., 55 no. 8, 4 November 1960, p.1.

[116]Calvin College Board of Trustee Minutes, Calvin College Archives, Heritage Hall, 9 February 1961.

The college student handbooks of the first years of the decade sound like other Christian college handbooks in their description of conduct expected of the Calvin college student. Calvin went so far as to have separate handbooks for "coeds" and "Knights." This instruction to coeds in 1960, under the heading of "Christian Living," says volumes about gender distinctions and the context of a church-related institution still struggling with whether or not it was comfortable with culture in spite of its transformational stance:

> As a student of Calvin College you have a responsibility to conduct yourself at all times as a Christian. The reputation of your College can be made or broken by you, and more important than this is that the cause of Christ can be injured by your conduct. This will mean that you must be very careful of the places you visit--in short, no theatre attendance, night clubs or taverns. May we add to this that Calvin women students do not smoke or drink.[117]

The handbook for men said nothing of the sort, as male students may have noticed over a cigarette and beer.

Chapel attendance was mandatory, social outings and parties where men and women were present had to be reported to and scheduled with the dean of men, and the handbook for coeds even offered etiquette suggestions of a strikingly paternalistic sort:

> At the end of your date when you are ordering that snack, don't forget that your man is not a millionaire--he's just a poor student like you. And remember, try to apportion your time so that you'll get in before the deadline.[118]

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[117]Calvin College Student Handbook, 1960-61, p. 6.

[118]Ibid., 1962, p. 47.

"Worldliness" and "worldly amusements" were to be pivotal issues for those who governed the college and those who attended it throughout the decade. One of the significant tensions and transformations during the 1960s was to focus on the role of theatre and film, and whether or not Christians were to be involved in a redemptive way or not at all. This was due in large measure to the relationship of the college to the Christian Reformed church. The denomination made a significant statement on the film arts in 1967, but until that time its official stance reflected more of the fundamentalistic avoidance of culture than the Kuyperian transformative approach, as reflected in this statement from the 1960 Student Handbook:

> The faculty of Calvin College has been instructed by the Synod (1940) to deal in the spirit of love, yet also, in view of the strong tide of worldliness which is threatening our churches, very firmly with all cases of misdemeanor and offensive conduct in the matter of amusements, particularly theater attendance, card playing and dancing, and to finally expel all students who refuse to heed the admonition of the school authorities in this matter.[119]

With the Student Handbook of 1961 reference to "worldly amusements" was dropped, but a new wrinkle was added. A concern surfaced for the abuse of alcoholic beverages and the avoidance of "establishments which exist to sell them." In 1962 a separate alcohol policy section appeared. Significantly, it applied to both coeds and knights.

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[119]Ibid., p. 19.

Appropriate and inappropriate dress also seemed to be a campus concern, at least to some. The Associated Womens Student Board discussed the issue, with the results reported in the student newspaper:

> At the meeting of the Associated Womens Student Board, held on September 29, 1960, it was decided by the board that the wearing of kilts, shorts, and culottes is as much a violation of the Calvin code of good dress as is the wearing of bermudas and slacks on campus. The board asks the cooperation of all women students in complying with this regulation.[120]

Complying with regulations was still part of the picture of campus life as the decade began, even to the point of a student organization serving as an organ for the college administration. There was, however, this harbinger of things to come from the 1961 college yearbook, a foreshadowing incorporating key words of the decade such as "escape," "rebellions," "irrelevant," and "conform."

> calvin (sic) had also become, in a peculiar sense, the symbol of escape, where, faced with a different kind of discipline, we substitute new rebellions for old, finding it difficult to worship under pressure and to conform to what seem to be irrelevant restrictions, we protest in slight but satisfying ways. but (sic) then, in time, we acknowledge our private resentments to be a battle with ourselves, and we reach a kind of independence and a more mature resolve.[121]

This yearbook opened with photos of Richard Nixon, John F. Kennedy, and a local favorite, Gerald R. Ford. A growing political awareness was just around the

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[120]Calvin College <u>Chimes</u>, 55 no. 5, 14 October 1960, p. 1.

[121]Calvin College <u>Prism</u>, 1961, p. 34.

corner. During the 1960-61 academic year it was announced that Dr. Henry Ippel

was appointed liaison between Calvin College and the Peace Corps.

Others noted that students had their own means of protesting

administrative policies and expectations, means which distanced them from other

practices on campuses around the country, yet proved effective from a certain

point of view:

> Calvin students are not easily given to placard parades or sit-
> down strikes as a means of righting what they believe to be
> administrative wrongs. A more insidious mode of rebellion is
> a private defiance in which students deliberately "do" it
> anyway, but behind shuttered windows and under avowed
> secrecy.[122]

Within a month protest came out from behind shuttered windows and the first

editorial of the decade decrying *in loco parentis* appeared.[123]

Calvin worked to maintain an outstanding academic reputation,

especially with graduate schools throughout the nation. In October of 1961 the

Executive Committee of the Calvin Board of Trustees noted with appreciation the

report of the North Central Association accreditation team. It recorded a quote

from the report:

> Calvin College has developed an enviable reputation as a
> first-class liberal arts college where students, faculty, and
> administration together reach a high level of academic

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[122]Calvin College Chimes, 66 no. 21 16 March 1962, p. 3.

[123]Ibid., 66 no. 24, 20 April 1962, p. 2.

achievement. The review team believes the reputation is deserved.[124]

It would not take long for the combination of an intelligent and curious student body and faculty, social and cultural changes, and the transformative theological tradition to coalesce. Things began to happen along these lines in the 1962-63 academic year, when the issues of race and the film arts rubbed shoulders with events on campus.

In 1962 the first students took up residence at the Knollcrest campus. At the same time two Calvin professors, both of whom were to be significant student mentors during the decade of the 1960s, increased their involvement with the Grand Rapids Urban League. The Rev. Dr. Lewis Smedes, Associate Professor of Bible, served as the Urban League President. On its board was Dr. Henry Holstege of Calvin's Sociology Department. An issue of the Chimes recorded their urging of Calvin students to become members of the league and join its efforts at a housing integration drive.[125]

An editorial in the same newspaper called for students, even those now removed from the city at Knollcrest, to become involved in the cause of racial integration. Complacency was dissolving:

> The only way in which the College could possibly meet a significant part of its obligation to the Christian Reformed Church is by conscientiously fulfilling its obligation to Grand

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[124]Minutes, Calvin College Board of Trustees Executive Committee, Article 7.b., 12 October 1961.

[125]Chimes, 57 no. 1, 12 September 1962, p. 1.

Rapids, that is, by thoroughly informing the city of Grand Rapids with its Christian principles and ideals.[126]

In the same academic year "Christ in the City" served as the theme of the mission emphasis week activities.

One of the first organized student protests of the decade was reported by the local newspaper, which took note of students' tendencies to look at their heritage with a healthy sense of self-deprecating humor. The protest was organized to coincide with the annual Reformation Day observances, and proved to be mild indeed in comparison with others that were to take place at the end of the decade:

> A group of Calvin College students is "protesting" the 16th century burning of a Spanish theologian, ordered by John Calvin, religious leader for whom the school is named.
>
> A group of 35 students paid their Reformation Day "tribute" Wednesday to Servetus by wearing so-called "Servetus sweatshirts," bearing a sketch of a bonfire licking upon the face of Servetus.
>
> Under the picture is printed: "Servetus-warmed by the Calvin spark." Calvin "Spark" is the name of the alumni magazine and also is a loose designation for school spirit.[127]

The film arts first emerged as an issue when a November, 1962 issue of Chimes featured a review article on Ingmar Bergman and an advertisement for the film "Through a Glass Darkly" at a local movie theater. Four Christian Reformed Church consistories, the local church governing bodies, and one

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[126]Ibid., p. 2.

[127]The Grand Rapids Press, 12 November 1962.

individual registered protests with the board of trustees. When it became a matter of trustee discussion in both December of 1962 and April of 1963, and the <u>Chimes</u> persisted in publicizing a series of Bergman films in a local theater, President Spoelhof censored three issues of the student newspaper. The student council went on record with a vote of confidence in the newspaper editor. The board of trustee minutes of May, 1963 record President Spoelhof putting the issue in perspective for the governing board, a perspective with clear reference to the transformative approach to culture:

> In his report to the Board President Spoelhof pointed out that the major issue on campus and off, this past year, centered around <u>Chimes</u>' treatment of the motion picture matter.
>
> The President noted that these violations of propriety were not prompted by a spirit of worldliness, or rebellions, or by an intent to harm the College, but were rather, in the minds of some of the students, a concern about our broad cultural obligation as Christians living in the world.[128]

It is significant to note that the president not only gave credit to the students for grasping the issue at the level of a Christian response to culture. He ruled out the possibility that their motives were either mean-spirited, rebellious, or belonging to that branch of the Christian faith which would view such activities as "worldliness," even though the trustees might. Students saw involvement in the world, according to President Spoelhof, as the proper calling of the Christian.

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[128]Calvin College Board of Trustee Minutes, "Student Publications", Article 43 R, Calvin College Archives, Heritage Hall, 23 May 1963.

The 1963-64 academic year witnessed a growing political and social justice awareness on the part of some within the Calvin community, and it was an involvement which called for broader participation. Professor Lewis Smedes was again involved in stirring the pot. Smedes urged participation in a nationwide protest over the killing of four innocent black girls in a church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama. The response was significant. Three hundred Calvin students and professors marched with others in Grand Rapids, prompting this Chimes editorial urging continued involvement:

> The march Sunday was only a beginning. If we who marched were simply like sheep following some unknown herd instinct, then it was a waste of time. If we marched only to indicate that we think the Negro is right and integration is necessary because of social justice, we have not done enough. We have only taken the first step by marching. And how we act now-- what we do with whatever it was that made us march or stay at home Sunday-- will ultimately show what Birmingham and Grand Rapids have to do with Calvin.[129]

Typically, Sunday was a day during which very little was done in most Christian Reformed homes other than attend worship services twice. The participation of students in a Sunday protest march likely indicated a step of liberation or rebellion from the strictures of home rule as much as a social justice motivation.

Within a month a Chimes editorial was calling for the eager endorsement of the nuclear test ban treaty by all Calvin students, and a review article featured a new album by an emerging artist named Bob Dylan. Following the assassination of President Kennedy twenty-three students traveled to

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[129]Chimes, 58 no. 3, 27 September 1963, p. 2.

Washington and, as <u>Chimes</u> noted in the fashion of trendy historical trivia, "were among the first fifty to view the late President's remains."[130]

Controversy over the film arts would not go away during this academic year either. In an editorial entitled "Let's call bad movies bad movies," a <u>Chimes</u> editor questioned the involvement of the college's religious and social committee in the censoring of the movie "On the Waterfront." College authorities seemed to be unsure at this point. Should they encourage students in their investigation of the film arts or endorse the prevailing sentiment of the denomination that anything coming from Hollywood smacked of worldliness and sin and ought to be rejected out of hand? The college was still several years away from a pivotal synodical study report, submitted to the Christian Reformed Church, which offered a transformational view of the Christian and the film arts.

The 1964-65 academic year witnessed a continuation of the urban awareness and civil rights involvement first noticed on campus in 1962. Once again, Calvin professor Dr. Henry Holstege from the sociology department provided an example of involvement and a persistent voice to which some students gave ear. Noting that Dr. Holstege was chairman of the fair housing committee of the Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission, an extensive article in <u>Chimes</u> described the integrated housing programs in the developing stages for the immediate neighborhood around the older Calvin campus.[131] Since many Calvin

[130]Ibid., 58 no. 12, 6 December 1963, p. 1.

[131]Ibid., 59 no. 3, 2 October 1964, p. 1.

professors and their families continued to live in this neighborhood long past the point of integration and, in some instances, white flight, the issue was kept vividly in front of the student body. An editorial in the same issue of Chimes commented on the candidacy of Barry Goldwater in the light of civil rights legislation.

In March of 1965 approximately 200 members of the Calvin community joined a sympathy march of 3,000 in Grand Rapids over the death of the Reverend James Reed, the victim of a beating in Selma, Alabama.[132] One month later the student newspaper was calling the Christian Reformed Church to a consistent witness in view of the link between Calvinist churches in North America and sister churches in South Africa. The editorial made these observations:

> The membership of American Calvinist churches with the Dutch Reformed Churches of South Africa in the Reformed Ecumenical Synod is an example of this racist approval by association, which may also be called guilt by association.
>
> Anyone apathetic about the apartheid problem and the connection of Calvinistic churches with apartheid-supporting churches cannot claim really to be sympathetic with the civil rights movement in this country.[133]

It was during the 1964-65 academic year that the KIDS program was begun, a program that marked the beginning of a comprehensive student volunteer organization on the Calvin campus. Taking its cue from the urban awareness and sense of mission to the city that was part of the Calvin campus

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[132]Ibid., 59 no. 20, 19 March 1965, p. 3.

[133]Ibid., 59 no. 24, 30 April 1965, p. 2.

consciousness of the early 1960s, KIDS (Kindling Intellectual Desire in Schools) was begun by the Student Council as a tutoring program in inner city schools intended to help alleviate the problem of school drop-outs. It was a meaningful vehicle for the transformative vision of the faith, and throughout the decade the number of student volunteers increased and the programs offered through the organization diversified.

A significant factor in the growing social awareness among Calvin students was the steady stream of campus speakers, many of whom were figures involved in contemporary social struggles. In the 1964-65 academic year this parade of prominence visited campus: Dr. Walter Judd, ex-congressman from Minnesota; Neil Stabler, Democratic candidate for Governor of Michigan; the Reverend Herbert Oliver from Miles College in Birmingham, Alabama, speaking on "The Responsibility of the Christian in the Current Civil Rights Struggle"; Dr. Mortimer Adler; Dr. Amry Vanden Bosch, a Calvin alumnus and head of the Political Science department at the University of Kentucky, speaking on Vietnam; the Reverend Carl McIntire, controversial politically far-right fundamentalist preacher; and Fr. Roland De Vaux, famous scholar associated with the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. These visits reinforced the vision that education extended beyond the classroom into the world of change, controversy, and diversity, including the diversity of Christian tradition. A Roman Catholic scholar, for example, was now welcome on campus only several years after faculty support for a Roman Catholic presidential candidate caused dismay among Calvin trustees.

Several examples from this year serve to illustrate the point that while social conflict and controversy were never far below the surface, the mundane concerns of student life at a denominational college were also very evident. In a review of a Student Senate meeting, a <u>Chimes</u> reporter noted the obfuscation of terms designed to lessen the negative impact of campus social activities. Dancing of any variety might too closely approximate worldliness in the view of a watchful denomination:

> The Social Activities committee is scheduling an all-school party November 6, which will feature food and square-dancing in the Knollcrest dining hall and snack shop. At the suggestion of Dean Phillip R. Lucasse, the jargon term "square-dancing" was replaced by the jargon term "folk games."[134]

In February of 1965 the students published the results of a study committee commissioned to provoke a change in the women's residence hall hours policy. Their conclusion was that the policy was generally the same as most colleges of the same persuasion, but that others had more lenient weekend curfews. It was the beginning of a discussion to last well beyond the decade of the 1960s.

Finally, in April of 1965 <u>Chimes</u> noted that the Student Religious and Social Committee would now give approval to Saturday night organized student activities, provided that they were completed by 10:30 p.m., thus allowing

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[134]Ibid., 59 no. 4, 9 October 1964, p. 2.

for proper preparation of body and soul for worship on the morrow.[135] It was

quite clear that while Calvin was making moves toward liberalizing student life

policies, it still operated under the extensive and thorough "protection" of the

Christian Reformed Church.

Concerns over the regulations of student life and the role of women

students in the college continued into the next academic year. The Student

Handbook of 1965-66 included a section on dress regulations complete with a

handy chart developed by the Association of Women Students. The chart listed

examples of thirteen possible locations where women students might find

themselves while at Calvin, with illustrative examples of the sort of thing the

appropriately dressed Calvin woman would wear. The following year the chart

was dropped, although the listing of locations continued. Added in 1966-67 were

suggestions for men. By the 1969-70 year, the Student Handbook included a few

sentences, and enforcement of the remaining regulations became the responsibility

of food service personnel and professors.

During the 1965-66 academic year a male assistant editor of the

Chimes offered a stinging commentary on the significance of the Association of

Women Students at Calvin:

> Not to be forgotten are the achievements which have been
> made over the years. Besides supporting the tea industry,
> they have elected officers, sponsored monthly socials,
> sponsored hair demonstrations, and elected officers. In short,
> it is a real comfort in these days of a bifurcated campus, the

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[135]Ibid., 59 no. 22, 16 April 1965, p. 2.

flu, and creeping liberalism to know that the girls of Calvin
College are doing their part, however puny, insignificant, and
trivial, to promote something.[136]

One of the things Calvin women students were not generally

concerned about was the military draft, since only men were affected. The subject

of the draft and U.S. policy in Vietnam intensified on the Calvin campus in the

1965-66 academic year, and the campus was not often of one mind in the early

stages of discussion. Calvin was generally a politically conservative campus,

reflecting the views of the largely Republican constituency in the Christian

Reformed Church. Yet some of the campus leaders among faculty and students

were thinking independently, and felt some kinship with what was happening on

the not-too-distant University of Michigan campus at Ann Arbor.

Comparisons with Ann Arbor were frequently made. An editorial in

Chimes in October of 1965 asked the question "Anyone here for sit-ins?" and

noted the large number of demonstrations on other college campuses on October

15, including the disruption of the homecoming parade at Ann Arbor in protest of

U.S. policy in Vietnam.[137] Later in the year a Chimes editorial decried the

spontaneous shut-down of the campus when Calvin won the Michigan

Intercollegiate Athletic Association basketball championship. The editor was of

the opinion that there were better reasons to shut a campus down, and Calvin had

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[136]Ibid., 60 no. 17, 25 February 1966, p. 3.

[137]Ibid., 60 no. 6, 22 October 1965, p. 2.

some lessons to learn from the larger secular campuses about what it meant to get

involved with contemporary events:

> One thing a majority of Calvin students pride themselves on is that they are unlike the students of secular American universities. Unlike students at some of these institutions, Calvin students do not flaunt authority or flagrantly challenge the sanctity of religion, democracy, or the draft. They do not have to create a disturbance in order to present the Calvinistic answer or any other answer to the problems of the world.

> In effect, Calvin students are unlike students at Ann Arbor, Berkeley, or any other place. If students at Calvin take any action at all, it is done both orderly and respectably, in the fashion of signing a petition on one's way to coffee or walking in downtown Grand Rapids on a Sunday afternoon.[138]

In other words, Calvin students were unlike other students for all the wrong

reasons. They were, in the opinion of the editor, lethargic and far too polite.

There were some students who did not fit this disconcerting description, however.

Four freshmen, in a letter to the Chimes editor, urged action in the form of

discussions, debates, organized marches and demonstrations, and the growth of

social justice groups on campus like the Peace Corps and VISTA. Their reason

for promoting this sort of involvement was tied to the transformative brand of

Christianity at least some had noticed as a distinctive trait of Calvin:

> Calvin teachers often point out that Christianity means not isolation from, but rather involvement in world affairs.[139]

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[138]Ibid., 60 no. 18, 4 March 1966, p. 2.

[139]Ibid., 60 no. 19, 11 March 1966, p. 4.

U.S. policy in Vietnam proved to be a lightning rod issue for the campus in the 1965-66 academic year. Early in the year a campus forum on Vietnam was held in the college auditorium, featuring invited guests, among whom was then-Congressman Gerald R. Ford. Student interest ran high, but was quickly grounded:

> Six hundred students, faculty members, and interested spectators filled the auditorium, eagerly anticipating definitive, authoritative policy statements on the nature of our Vietnam policy, with positive proposals for resolving the crisis. The audience was anticipating steak. They were fed pablum.[140]

While there was growing sentiment against U.S. policy on campus, a later issue of Chimes observed that the campus was divided on the issue. An editorial in December noted that a letter to the editor challenged the initiators of a campus petition supporting U.S. policy to at least provide a Christian articulation as to why the U.S. has the right to intervene in a foreign country. The explanation was not produced, but this fact did not stop more than one thousand students to sign it and have it delivered to Washington, D.C.[141] Chimes would note two months later that an appearance at liberal downtown Fountain Street Church by General Lewis B. Hershey, the director of the Selective Service System, was attended by approximately 1500 potential draftees, many of them Calvin students.[142]

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[140]Ibid., 60 no. 4, 8 October 1965, p. 2.

[141]Ibid., 60 no. 11, 3 December 1965, p. 2.

[142]Ibid., 60 no. 16, 18 February 1966, p. 1.

It was during this academic year that Calvin student scholarship was distinguished by an unusually high rate of Woodrow Wilson and Danforth award winners, third in the state behind only the University of Michigan and Michigan State University. During the 1965-66 academic year three students were awarded the Woodrow Wilson Scholarship, nine received honorable mention, and one received a Danforth Graduate Award.[143] One of the reasons for the flood of interest was the encouragement of faculty mentors, many of whom were fresh from the rigors of graduate study, who took special care for the development of young scholars on Calvin's campus.

One of the strongest student editorials of the decade, prompting an equally robust administrative response, came in April of 1966. It followed by a month an editorial observation that two films which had been banned from campus in previous years had been shown this year: "On the Waterfront" and "Through a Glass Darkly."[144] Student editors were particularly fond of reminding the college and, by extension, the Christian Reformed Church, of its inconsistencies and shifting standards. This pattern of benevolent reminders reached a pinnacle with the publication of "The Great Gap" editorial in April, which tore into the practice of faith and theology in the Christian Reformed Church, infuriating many who could not understand how someone would be

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[143]Ibid., 60 no. 19, 11 March 1966, p. 1.

[144]Ibid., 60 no. 20, 18 March 1966, p. 2.

permitted to print such opinion, let alone hold it.[145] The college acted on the advice of a joint judicial committee of faculty and students to suspend the circulation of the issue in which the editorial appeared, call a moratorium on discussing in the paper the particular topics of the editorial for the remainder of the year, relegate the editor to reporter status (and assigned to a mentor), and appoint a committee to review editorial policy.

Other important elements of student life continued to flourish with positive results. The KIDS program expanded beyond the elementary school level to include high schools for the first time. Special speakers graced the campus and provided provocative points of view. Tran Van Dinh, former South Vietnamese ambassador to the United States and chief Washington correspondent for the Washington Post spoke, as did James Farmer, a founder and director of the Congress of Racial Equality. Neither speaker would prove as controversial, however, as the invited speaker who, two years later, was prevented from uttering a word.

The Calvin College campus continued to be a very divided campus on the issue of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, although the student press remained a strong voice against U.S. policy. Student editors were aware, if only by the volume of letters opposed to their stance, that their views were unpopular and unrepresentative:

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[145]Ibid., 60 no. 23, 22 April 1966, p. 2.

> In recent weeks editorials in <u>Chimes</u> have been commenting on and questioning the foreign policy of the United States with particular attention to the policy-makers of our country's administration. However, certain feelings and vociferations in the Christian Reformed community and on this campus have indicated that one need not look to Washington to find the prevailing opinion that would drop more bombs and kill more people. There are many misguided students and clergymen who still believe in the intrinsic integrity and moral uprightness of the United States, and consequently support its actions unthinkingly.[146]

One of the reasons for the strong difference of opinion was the consistently strong Republican conservatism which characterized the Christian Reformed Church constituency and the predominantly Republican district in which Calvin resided. This was exemplified by a visit of prominent Republican leaders to the Franklin Street campus for a rally in support of Republican candidates. Present on the steps of the administration building to greet a "throng of strongly partisan Republicans" who "covered the Franklin campus lawn" were Richard Nixon, Representative Gerald Ford, Governor George Romney, and Senator Robert Griffin. The <u>Chimes</u> issue which covered the event included a photo with a small group of Calvin students placed conspicuously in front of the group, carrying signs such as "Would Napalm Convert You to Democracy?", "Make Love, Not War," and "Only 61 More Bombing Days 'Til Christmas."[147]

Engagement with culture and opposing points of view was viewed by some student leaders as an essential feature of the transformative expression of

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[146]Ibid., 61 no. 5, 14 October 1966, p. 2.

[147]Ibid., 61 no. 7, 28 October 1966, p. 1.

the Christian faith that was Calvinism. When college policies worked at cross-

purposes with this vision they were quick to point out the incongruities. That

Christian college students might have something to learn from non-Christians

made sense to them, as this editorial comment argued:

> The present Speakers Program best illustrates, I think, the malaise that exists. Because members of the constituency might show up at a Calvin-sponsored lecture, the policymakers have proclaimed it necessary for every speaker to "present a Christian witness to the community." The horror of being confronted with different views from and challenges to the traditional Reformed position we are all expected to hold is obvious-and ridiculous. There is no meaningful reason why anyone should not be allowed to speak at a Christian institution of higher learning like Calvin. The possibility that an inter-Christian dialogue might be aroused is exciting, not frightening.[148]

The speakers program policy was later changed in November of 1966 to reflect

the editors suggestion.

1966 was also the year when the Death of God movement in

theology became a heated topic of discussion, and at Calvin there was a noticeable

increase in activities and groups more often associated with a pietistic or

fundamentalist expression of the Christian faith. Since this was something new on

the scene, it was weighed against what others considered the unique vision of

transformative Christianity and, to some, found wanting. In an editorial entitled

"Creeping Fundamentalism," a Chimes editor commented on the proliferation of

campus Bible study groups and the appearance of parachurch organizations like

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[148]Ibid., 61 no. 9, 11 November 1966, p. 2.

Campus Crusade, Navigators, and Inter-Varsity Christian Fellowship on the Calvin

campus:

> Accompanying this is a feeling that education is somewhat foreign to what Christianity is all about. But the best way one can exercise his Christianity here is not by wondering how he can witness to his unsaved neighbor; it is by being a scholar. Learning and teaching from a Christian point of view is an excellent way of telling others of Christ. It is for this reason that Religious Emphasis Weeks are inevitably failures-because they are completely unrelated to what an educated Christian's life should be like. I am not saying that devotion-witness activities should be scrapped. But they should not be attended by students unless they also understand, and are trying to fulfill, the demands of establishing a Christian culture.[149]

In December of 1966, the Calvin Student Council developed a campus petition which identified four elements deemed especially significant for a growing student voice in campus decision-making and policy-setting. In many ways the demands paralleled efforts at increased student power on any number of campuses across the country. The crucial areas for the Calvin student body were greater student representation on the Student Religious and Social Activities Committee and the campus Discipline committee; an autonomous student film committee; a student administered non-binding referendum on compulsory chapel; and a student administered faculty evaluation program.[150]

Again this academic year Calvin students distinguished themselves for academic achievement. Three students received Woodrow Wilson Fellowships

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[149]Ibid., 61 no. 10, 18 November 1966, p. 2.

[150]Ibid., 61 no. 13, 16 December 1966, p. 1.

and one was awarded a Danforth Graduate Fellowship, replicating the accomplishments of the class of the 1965-66 academic year.[151] Calvin was a campus alive with intellectual curiosity, at least among some elements of the student body. During the 1966-67 academic year the following books were reviewed in the student newspaper, often at length and regularly with insight:

The Vietnam War: Christian Perspectives, Michael Hamilton.
A Modern Priest Looks at His Outdated Church, J. Kavanaugh.
The Vale of Laughter, Peter De Vries.
Poems 1957-1967, James Dickey.
Who Speaks for the Church?, Paul Ramsey.
The Confessions of Nat Turner, William Styron.
Ergo, Jacob Lini.
Autobiography of Malcolm X, Malcolm X.
Miss Lonely Hearts, Nathaniel West.
In a Time of Torrent, I.F. Stone.
This Sunday, Jose Donoso.
Cat's Cradle, Kurt Vonnegut.
Theology of Hope, Jurgen Moltmann.
Naked Ape, Desmond Morris.
African Genesis, Robert Ardey.
Letters to an American Lady, C.S. Lewis.
Malcolm, James Purdy.
The Dissenting Academy, Theodore Roszak.
End of the Road, John Barth.
The American Far Right, John Redekop.
Couples, John Updike.
The Jewess, Bernard Malamud.[152]

The list reflects a characteristic of the transformative understanding of the Christian faith in terms of an engagement with the surrounding culture as the starting point for transforming it. Because the list includes titles from

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[151]Ibid., 61 320, 17 March 1967, p. 1.

[152]This listing is a compilation of titles reviewed in issues of the Chimes in the 1966-67 academic year, Volume 61.

contemporary literature, theological discussion, and political thought, it also reflects the fact that the student press did not hesitate to reach broadly and deeply into American culture for an understanding of its world.

An influential aspect of American culture which was to play a significant role on the Calvin campus in the 1960s was the changing nature and increasing impact of American film. Earlier in the decade the promotion of films on and off campus led to controversy and debate. The 1961 Synod of the Christian Reformed Church

> decided that movies are not always sinful in themselves and that they may therefore be discriminately attended. When Synod reached that decision, they sang the doxology. Warnings about attending improper movies were solemnly uttered; but discrimination is a large word, and it allowed enough stretching so that the problem evaporated at the college in the sixties, although faculty members who went discriminately to the movies still wondered who might see them go.[153]

Timmerman correctly locates the problem: the Christian and culture. It was the source of tension on both a personal and institutional level, and came to particular focus on Calvin's campus when students were both vitally interested in the medium and more skilled than most in the denomination at understanding it. The synod's action in 1961 was not the end of the matter. In 1966 another synodical step was taken which reflected Calvin's leadership position in and for the Christian Reformed Church, and gave encouragement to students and staff to engage culture at the very point of most students' curiosity and interest.

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[153]Timmerman, <u>Promises to Keep</u>, 157.

In 1966 Synod forged ahead and adopted a report "The Church and the Film Arts," in which it stated that the film is "a legitimate cultural medium to be used by the Christian in the fulfillment of the cultural mandate." It stated, furthermore, that mature Christians are "to exercise a responsible personal freedom in the use of the film arts." Somehow "film arts" acts like an antiseptic. Furthermore, Synod said that there should be a "constructive critique of the film arts" through which "specialists in art and Christian ethics" give leadership to the church and society.[154]

One of the immediate results of the synodical decision on the Calvin campus was the appointment of a Calvin Film Council whose task it was to establish a procedure for the viewing and discussion of films on campus. During the 1966-67 academic year the following films were screened and discussed: *Two for the Road; The War Game; Spartacus; Khartoum; Bonnie and Clyde; Taming of the Shrew; In the Heat of the Night*. To some, allowing films on campus was a clear example of allowing the camel's nose under the tent. To others, it was entirely consistent with the transformative approach to Christianity. For a Christian college, it was at least unusual.

Students had been campaigning for an autonomous film committee for several years. In November of 1966 the seeds of a growing controversy were planted when the Student Council film committee, which selected films for the approval of a subcommittee of the college Religious and Social Activities committee, elected Paul Schrader as chairman.[155] It was not the first time that

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[154]Ibid., 157.

[155]Ibid., 61 no. 10, 18 November 1966, p. 1.

Schrader, who was to eventually become a screenwriter and director in Hollywood, with credits including *Taxi Driver* and *The Last Temptation of Christ*, had been appointed to some film position only to be rejected. <u>Chimes</u> was quick to note the fact:

> Junior Paul Schrader was rejected yesterday by the Student Religious and Social Activities committee as chairman of the Calvin Film Council. This marked the fourth defeat Schrader has suffered at the hands of the R & S committee in the two years of prospective film programs.
>
> The reasons for Schrader's rejection were not immediately apparent. While admitting Schrader's qualifications, Dean of Students Phillip R. Lucasse stated that he "is not ready for the job."[156]

In this same academic year Jeannine Oppewall, an English major and Assistant Editor of the campus newspaper with three years of staff experience, was appointed Editor-in-Chief for the 1967-68 academic year, becoming the first female to hold the position since <u>Chimes</u> became a weekly newspaper in 1946.[157] Oppewall, along with Schrader, Wayne Te Brake, and William Brashler, two other visible and omnipresent student leaders, were to merge their considerable talents and familiarity with the broader American student and popular culture in an unceasing pressure on the Calvin community to come to grips with events around them, especially in the arts, film, and politics.

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[156]Ibid., 61 no. 25, 12 May 1967, p. 1.

[157]Ibid., 61 no. 12, 10 March 1967, p. 3.

While influential, these students were not the only element of the Calvin community to direct attention toward the world outside the campus. The Vietnam War and the military draft were frequently discussed and debated on campus, at times because professors initiated the discussion outside of the normal channels of committees and invited guest lecturers. <u>Chimes</u> noted that a campus forum organized by six Calvin professors, one of whom was the indefatigable Lewis Smedes, was the first time the issue had been discussed publicly apart from a guest lecture format.[158] The professors, representing the departments of History, Philosophy, Political Science, Religion, and Speech, organized an informal forum in the lobby of the Franklin campus commons.

It was clear that a majority of students still supported the nation's policy and the war effort, at least during the 1966-67 academic year. An editorial in <u>Chimes</u> called for a conscientious examination of ones' position, if not conscientious objection:

> Practically none of Calvin's draft eligible students, it seems safe to say, would join some of their fellow Americans in going to jail (or Canada) in order to avoid serving in the United States Armed Forces. As opinion polls and petitions have demonstrated, the majority of students here support our country's policies in Vietnam, and few students have ever protested it. No one, consequently, has to fear that induction into the army would be a compromise of his conscience.
>
> But, just as it is wrong for a Christian to violate his conscience by fighting in an immoral war, it is also wrong for

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[158]Ibid., 61 no. 12, 14 April 1967, p. 1.

a Christian to participate without carefully considering the issues involved.[159]

The war was becoming much more a personal moral dilemma for students than a topic of intellectual debate over U.S. political policy making. While support for U.S. policy continued to characterize most of the student body, many were beginning to ask questions of it, especially in terms of the implications for their own future. This led to the scheduling of a second faculty forum, significant for what was not discussed adequately at the first:

> According to Mr. Van't Hull (the moderator) this forum is partly a result of popular demand and partly a result of the fact that in last weeks' forum questions of the legality and morality of the United States armed forces in Vietnam were not adequately dealt with. This forum is aimed more at discussing the moral problem that war poses than at debating the justice or necessity of US (sic) involvement in Vietnam.[160]

An ironic twist of history also occurred in the 1966-67 academic year, one which foreshadowed events not only on the Calvin campus but on campuses across the country. The man who was to give the fateful order to send in the bulldozer crew at the Peoples' Park in Berkeley, California, came to speak at Calvin. He was soon to practice the subject of his speech:

> Dr. Roger Heyns, Chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, will be on campus next Tuesday, April 25 to address faculty and students.

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[159]Ibid., 61 no. 21, 14 April 1967, p. 2.

[160]Ibid., 61 no. 22, 21 April 1967, p. 5.

Dr. Heyns, a 1940 graduate of Calvin, will . . . discuss campus problems with special emphasis placed upon administration-student and faculty-student relationships.[161]

If the mood at Berkeley was about to change, the spirit at Calvin was also becoming a bit testy. Early in the 1967-68 academic year the student newspaper noted, and almost gloated over, the fact that the enrollment at Calvin had fallen short of expectations by approximately 170 students, and this at a time of bountiful high school graduating classes. Because the most significant decline came in the attrition of students already at Calvin, not from the new freshman class, the culprit was, in the view of the student press, paternalism.

This is a decade of student mobility, of student activism. While past generations were content to "stay put," to complete their studies in the college to which their parents sent them, today's students are not sitting around waiting for things to happen. The hippie philosophy of "don't blow your cool, blow your mind" has informed student sensibility more than most colleges know. Translated into academic jargon, this means that instead of merely mumbling about an unsatisfactory college policy and resigning themselves to it, students will simply leave Calvin for a school they find more congenial.[162]

Whether or not the student editor had correctly interpreted the data, it was clear that in her view most students were more aware of the surrounding student culture and the broader world of higher education than Calvin authorities seemed to realize. If Calvin wouldn't or couldn't change, students would go where policies

[161]Ibid., 61 no. 22, 21 April 1967, p. 1.

[162]Ibid., 62 no. 7, 27 October 1967, p. 2.

weren't so restrictive, and in line with the quoted hippie philosophy, the grass might actually be greener, or more mellow, as the case might be.

There were obvious points of tension and conflict over policies and procedures, often viewed by students as unnecessary hindrances to matters of great urgency. In one case, students wanted to distribute material on campus which described alternatives to active military service under the draft system. The request was brought to the Dean of Students, who brought it to the Student Social Activities Committee, which had the right to approve it or ban it. This student committee appointed a subcommittee which recommended that it should go to the full faculty for a vote. The request was thus met with a month-long wait through layers of administrative and student bureaucracy, all the while creating the impression of a delaying tactic. Confrontational politics became a Calvin experience:

> Until now the student group has been very cooperative and compromising. But they feel they can be manipulated just so long. Thus the students involved in the project have asked Chimes to make it known that they will distribute their materials Friday, November 17, from 10 am to 4 pm, with or without a decision from the SSA committee.[163]

It is significant to note that the gauntlet was laid as much before student intransigence as before administrative meddling. The Calvin student body was not of one voice, and the majority voice was not always that of the students in student leadership positions. The majority of the Calvin students continued to

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[163]Ibid., 62 no. 9, 10 November 1967, p. 2.

reflect the conservative Republican politics of their parents and the district surrounding the campus. In the view of the <u>Chimes</u> editor, the typical Calvin student too closely resembled the local congressman and the constituency he represented, rather than the student culture to be found on most campuses around the country:

> No public servant has so well represented a confused, complacent, and conservative citizenry. If Joe Grand Rapids cannot figure out this Vietnam and race business, he can rest assured that neither can Gerry Ford.[164]

The <u>Chimes</u> editorial style during the 1967-68 academic year was consistently well-written, caustic, curt, and cynical. It was also not always appreciated. Head basketball coach Donald Vroon took exception to the satirical coverage given his team, especially in photo captions which were both inaccurately ridiculous and editorially sublime. He had his own game plan when it came to the freedom of the student press:

> In a recent interview with a <u>Chimes</u> reporter Vroon served an astounding ultimatum concerning <u>Chimes</u> coverage of the upcoming basketball season. Vroon stated that he would tolerate no derisive headlines, captions, or player criticisms. He said that if the games were not given "straight" coverage, he would refuse to talk to <u>Chimes</u> reporters and also forbid reserve coach James Czanko from doing so. Vroon also added that if any ridiculous pictures were printed, he would take every effort to ban <u>Chimes</u> photographers from all home games.[165]

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[164]Ibid., 62 no. 11, 8 December 1967, p. 2.

[165]Ibid., 62 no. 11, 8 December 1967, p. 8.

Vroon's views were not shared by distinguished authors such as Peter De Vries (a Calvin alum) and William Styron. An issue of <u>Chimes</u> during this academic year contained letters from both authors complimenting students for the reviews of their most recent works. Said Styron of Paul Schrader's review of <u>The Confessions of Nat Turner</u>, for which Schrader was to receive a national award from *The Atlantic Monthly*: "Thank you for sending the witty, perceptive review." De Vries offered this characteristic comment: "But this (review) struck me as well thought out and sensitive and meaty--probably meatier than the book."[166] The student press was alive and well.

An essay in the 1968 *Prism*, the student yearbook, suggested that something new had come to the Calvin campus during the 1967-68 academic year: a focus on the present. Circumstances in society had contributed to it, according to the essay, especially when students had to deal with two assassinations of national leaders, urban rioting, the fourth year of Vietnam, the nuances of the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* album, and the immanence of nuclear holocaust. But there were also campus influences such as the first Interim offerings in the revised curriculum, the first approved film series, and the <u>Chimes,</u> which seemed to epitomize the trend, at least to this essayist:

> An artist's awareness is an awareness of place. It is for this reason, perhaps, that this year's <u>Chimes</u> provided the most dramatic instance of awareness of "the present." The <u>Chimes</u> created and defined a community of problems which were more immediate to the contemporary scene than the

[166]Ibid., 62 no. 10, 1 December 1967, p. 4.

orientation of former <u>Chimes</u>. <u>Chimes</u> stirred the campus and became an organ of rebellion rather than an organ of ideas. There was no conceptual serenity, no intellectual stability or sense of tradition. In many ways <u>Chimes</u> presented a world of pitiless confusion and opted only for definite action with clear, immediate ends.[167]

If <u>Chimes</u> was indeed the vehicle which "created and defined a community of problems" it was also true that its solutions were not always welcomed. Its stirring of campus rebellion came to a head with the infamous controversy over the Dick Gregory incident.

The comedian turned civil rights activist was "disinvited" to speak on Calvin's campus by action of the Calvin Board of Trustees. While it is fair to say that the forces which held sway on the Calvin Board of Trustees would have kept Gregory from campus with or without the <u>Chimes</u>, the student newspaper did have the effect of rallying students around a cause, of organizing campus thought in such a way that the student culture became a force no longer docile and dormant.

<u>Chimes</u> was sensitive to the unavoidable link between events on Calvin's campus and the broader context of events occurring within the Christian Reformed Church. The denomination was observing, in 1968, the Centennial Year celebration of the founding of Calvin College, its denominational school. The college was conducting a Centennial Fund Drive throughout the denomination. At the same time, Christian Reformed Churches in the Chicago western suburbs of Cicero and Berwyn, were wrestling with an opportunity, and

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[167]Calvin College *Prism*, 1968, p. 129.

pressures from various sources, to admit black students to the local Christian

elementary and secondary schools. While many in these communities were of a

mind to do so, the school board was also faced with threats from area residents of

violence to the schools and school children if blacks were admitted. Fueled by

racist reactions to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s march through Cicero, the heavily

ethnic, blue-collar neighborhood viewed an integrated school in its midst as a

threat to their existence, especially because of fears over declining property value.

The dilemma at Calvin posed by the Dick Gregory incident seemed

to be a part of this broader denominational issue. Chimes made the connection

plain:

> The Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees overruled
> the administration's decision to allow Dick Gregory to speak
> on campus in a precedent-setting decision reached at its
> monthly meeting on Nov. 9.
>
> The Executive Committee, acting for the entire Board, voted
> unanimously to cancel Mr. Gregory's appearance because,
> according to committee chairman Rev. Charles Greenfield,
> "We do not consider it to be in the best interests of the
> college." No rationale was given.[168]

The article reported on the persuasive powers of the Chicago area Calvin trustees,

all pastors, who asked that Greenfield report the following:

> Gregory's reputation in the Chicago area was highly
> instrumental in swinging the decision. Chicago area
> representatives were very vocal in this matter. Gregory's not
> a popular man there among whites or Negroes.[169]

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[168]Ibid., 62 no. 10, 1 December 1967, p. 1.

[169]Ibid.

Other reasons cited by the Rev. Greenfield were Gregory's suspected communist leanings, the possibility that he might alienate elements of the constituency, his tendency to be vulgar and/or blasphemous and, for these reasons, an unsuitable spokesman for the civil rights movement.

The reaction of Calvin students was not earthshaking or in any way similar to what might have happened on other campuses, largely because the trustees' decision was one which reversed a prior administrative decision in favor of Gregory's appearance. The "enemy" was not, therefore, an insensitive and irrelevant college administration. The administration tended to see things much the same as the students. Those who protested the decision were challenging a moving target, anonymous men with only an occasional presence on campus. The point was not lost on the Student Council President, Gerben De Jong, who offered an editorial in Chimes under the title of "Christian Academic Freedom." In it he calls upon the transformative tradition as the foundation for an argument in favor of Gregory's appearance:

> To deny Mr. Gregory's appearance at Calvin College is not only to disregard a valuable educational instrument; more significantly, it casts doubt on the ability of this institution to meet the challenge posed by such men as Dick Gregory. It is a disservice to our community and an insult to our students' intellectual and spiritual maturity. This decision undermines the students' confidence, disregards our tradition, and is inconsistent with our own principles. Surely such a decision cannot be considered in the best interests of the college.[170]

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[170]Ibid., 62 no. 10, 1 December 1967, p. 2.

The tradition that was disregarded and the principles to which De Jong appealed were part of the fabric of the transformative approach to the Christian faith. It made little sense to talk about redeeming and transforming culture if contact with cultural influences was interdicted.

The board of trustees' action was met with a peaceful, small, and colorful demonstration on the steps of student commons on the Franklin street campus. One of the placards carried by a student demonstrator linked contemporary dissent with that of the archetypal rebel and patron saint of Chimes editors through the years, Peter De Vries, novelist, humorist and Chimes staffer in an earlier era. Quoting and updating De Vries, the placard described the current Board of Trustees: "This is the (1967) vestpocket edition of the Sanhedrin."[171] The demonstration attracted only a few hundred students but was thoroughly covered by the local media, hungry for stories of dissent on Calvin's campus, and even gained mention on a national radio network.

The board of trustees recognized that the students deserved an official explanation for its action, and issued its rationale to Student Council President Gerben De Jong. The board conceded that students had the right to hear and discuss varying views and recognized Gregory's ability to speak knowledgeably about civil rights. But the board's basic motivation, in the view of the student press, was unsatisfactory:

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[171]Ibid., 62 no. 12, 12 January 1968, p. 1.

This concession was followed with perhaps the only direct statement divulging the Board's basic motivation for its decision. It read: "However, the abrasively vulgar manner of his presentation and style, known to members of the Executive Committee from having read his books, makes his presentation at Calvin College inconsistent with the College's Christian profession and purpose. Knowingly consenting to the type of performance Mr. Gregory as a night-club entertainer is likely to give would constitute a dereliction of duty and conscience on our part."[172]

In the same issue of Chimes an editorial pointed to four levels of difficulty with the decision. First, the decision had major public relations consequences for the Centennial Fund Crusade being conducted by the college, as the *Grand Rapids Press* was fond of pointing out.[173] Second, the decision effectively made the board of trustees the college speakers' committee. Third, the editor spoke for students in arguing that the decision was at heart a concession to those trustees who were in the thick of controversy in the near-western suburbs of Chicago. And, finally, the board's decision called into question administrative judgment, since the college administration had already approved Gregory's appearance, only to have it overruled by the board.

Adding insult to injury, arch-rival Hope College, a denominational college of the Reformed Church in America, announced that it had scheduled Gregory for a campus appearance in March, unencumbered by trustee

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[172]Ibid., 62 no. 12, 12 January 1968, p. 1.

[173]The Grand Rapids Press, 15 December, 1967.

interference. <u>Chimes</u> noted with quiet restraint this observation of the Hope

representative to the National Student Association:

> I heard Mr. Gregory speak for two and a half hours at the twentieth National Student Congress held at the University of Maryland in August, 1967. Here is a man . . . who is one of the most intelligent and kindest peace activists in America.[174]

Issues of peace and war became a source of intense campus

discussion during the 1967-68 academic year, largely because persistent students

and faculty, and the student press, linked the campus with the broader cultural

context. The Calvin community was made aware of denominational and national

discussions of the issues surrounding the Vietnam War.

The weekly magazine of the Christian Reformed Church, *The*

Banner, presented an editorial defense of the United States policy in Vietnam in a

September issue. <u>Chimes</u> tore into this argument pointing to the fallacies of the

domino theory.[175] The newspaper then sent sixteen observers to Washington,

D.C., to participate in the massive October demonstration, indicating an affiliation

with the growing student culture rather than a quasi-official denominational point

of view.

Student activists sought and received approval from the Student

Social Activities Committee to set up a booth in the student center which would

distribute information on alternatives to the draft. <u>Chimes</u> reported that the

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[174]Calvin College <u>Chimes</u>, 62 no. 13, 19 January 1968, p. 1.

[175]Ibid., 62 no. 3, 29 September 1967, p. 2.

booth was approved with the stipulation that the students promoting it participate

in a forum on the draft. The forum was attended by fifty people, including

professor Lewis Smedes as a faculty participant, by now a familiar name

associated with social issues throughout the decade. Earlier in the draft

alternative discussion a letter signed by seventeen faculty members was printed in

the Chimes affirming the "right and necessity of responsible dissent."[176]

The Chimes continued its role as the catalyst for anti-war sentiment.

It offered a book review of Mary McCarthy's Vietnam.[177] It ran an

advertisement entitled "An Open Letter to the Calvin Community" which was

purchased by alumni opposed to the war in Vietnam, listing their eight-two

signatures, many of them the names of former Chimes staffers.[178] An editorial

entitled "A Navy Flyer's Creed" contrasted the ease with which U.S. Navy

recruiters visited campus without having any of their material examined while in

the previous November a student group distributing conscientious objector

material was "subjugated to a picayune and dilatory examination."[179] Soon after

the newspaper noted that the Dean of Students office itself was offering

[176]Ibid., 62 no. 10, 1 December 1967, p. 4.

[177]Ibid., 62 no. 11, 8 December 1967, p. 3.

[178]Ibid., 62 no. 15, 9 February 1968, p. 3.

[179]Ibid., 62 no. 16, 16 February 1968, p. 2.

information on conscientious objection.[180] The student press was relentless in pursuit of the cause.

Students were not the only ones to use the power of the press. Chimes reported that forty-seven Calvin professors had placed an anti-war advertisement in the Grand Rapids Press, a bold move in a small city with one newspaper read thoroughly by the large Dutch Reformed population of the area, including the students of Calvin College.[181] The very next day the local paper noted that the winds of change seemed to be blowing on the Calvin campus, particularly with regard to attitudes toward the war:

> Perhaps signifying a change in some Calvin College student attitudes, more than 230 persons signed petitions at the college Friday denouncing American involvement in Vietnam.
>
> Two years ago, more than 1,000 students and faculty signed a petition backing President Johnson and the war.
>
> The difference, however, is that the 1,000 signatures were garnered after a month of petitioning; the signatures Friday were collected in a little more than four hours on the Franklin campus.[182]

Calvin faculty were instrumental in carrying the institution through the turbulent decade, largely through their willingness to become involved with students outside the formal classroom setting. They seemed to recognize the

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[180]Ibid., 62 no. 19, 8 March 1968, p. 1.

[181]Ibid., 62 no. 20, 15 March 1968, p. 1.

[182]The Grand Rapids Press, 16 March 1968.

formative influence of such contact and the powerful moral struggles students were facing.

> More than thirty Calvin professors have volunteered to serve in a number of faculty-student forums which will be held throughout the year at the Knollcrest campus.
>
> The programs will deal with topics of contemporary moral interest, such as the Vietnam War, the draft, the new morality, and LSD.[183]

Faculty and administration received a favorable review by the Chimes for a policy decision banning the use of psychedelic drugs by Calvin students. The report, approved at a faculty meeting, spoke of causes for use, explained the variety of drugs and their effects, and established disciplinary policy. Chimes described the report and policy decision as "sane."[184]

Notwithstanding the generally positive relationship between students, administration, and faculty, senior Calvin student affairs personnel were led to make career changes, as was the case with many such professionals at any number of colleges in this decade. After twenty years as Dean of Women, Catherine Van Opynen resigned to join the psychology faculty.[185] The next year Dean of Students Philip Lucasse left for a Ph.D. program at the University of Michigan after thirteen years at the position. Perhaps this student reaction to Calvin residence hall policy had something to do with the decision:

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[183]Calvin College Chimes, 62 no. 5, 13 October 1967, p. 4.

[184]Ibid., 62 no. 11, 8 December 1967, p. 3.

[185]Ibid., 62 no. 13, 19 January 1968, p. 1.

> Approximately 150 students burned the Dean of Students in effigy Wednesday night at Knollcrest. The crowd of chanting, jeering residents formed to give vent to dissatisfaction at Calvin student residence policy.[186]

The 1967-68 academic year proved to be particularly stressful for the Calvin community, yet perhaps at the same time the year most illustrative of the tensions which characterized the decade. The constant pressure of the student press concerning the Vietnam war, the faculty-student discussions in and out of the classroom over significant moral questions and social issues, and the pivotal controversy over the Dick Gregory invitation focused attention on the students' relationship to the denomination which supported the college with prayer and purse. It also focused attention on the students' relationship to the world around them. For some students, it was clear that the frame of reference for finding ones way through this labyrinth of decision-making was the transformative approach to culture which argued for redemptive change, an approach reinforced by the teaching and example of Calvin faculty. For other students, the reference point was pragmatism, pure and simple.

The tensions peaked with the forced resignation of Chimes editor Jeannine Oppewall and her staff. She resigned on 21 March 1968, at the request of the college president, who acted on the unanimous recommendation of a student council/faculty judicial session. Among the issues raised against Oppewall were no evident change following a formal reprimand in February, financial

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[186]Ibid., 64 no. 4, 25 April 1969, p. 3.

irresponsibility, use of the paper for personal vendettas, printing information known to be erroneous, printing of a questionable advertisement, and an inaccurate attack on the board of trustees. The student council president, who earlier in the year had been given the privilege of a guest editorial for the purpose of decrying the Board of Trustees' decision regarding Dick Gregory, took issue with the former editors' charges that their requested resignation was due to the Dick Gregory issue.[187]

The resignation of the Chimes staff was necessary, administered fairly, but was at the same time a loss for the Calvin community. The editorial staff was highly gifted, provocative, and very familiar with the cultural developments going on around them, particularly in the arts and literature. They served as a window to the broader world for a student body raised in large measure by an isolationistic denomination, home churches, and families. In many ways the students grew up with a more pietistic and other-worldly form of Christianity. Their years at Calvin introduced them to the transformational branch of Reformed theology. While Chimes only occasionally referred to the transformational approach, the editorial staff during the 1967-68 academic year more than others took the surrounding culture seriously and urged others to do the same. To ignore culture, at the very least, was to be an irresponsible Christian.

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[187]Ibid., 62 no. 21, 28 April 1968, p. 3.

In reporting the paper's imminent obituary, the local press paid a compliment to the soon-departed staff:

> A struggle over editorial policy of the Calvin College student newspaper, Chimes, is being waged between the college administrators and student editors.
>
> Although generally considered to be one of the best student newspapers in Western Michigan, the Chimes has been embroiled in controversy this year over its editorial policy.[188]

The next editorial staff was sensitive to the legacy it inherited. It was cautious enough to distance itself from the sardonic recent past while establishing its purpose for the immediate future:

> A college newspaper attempts to reflect and promote awareness of the students' place in the academic community. Through news reporting a newspaper describes what is, and through editorializing it prescribes what ought to be. Its goal should be the stimulation and expression of student awareness of and concern for the academic community.[189]

The new Chimes staff noted with some degree of admiration that Paul Schrader's essay review of William Styron's Confessions of Nat Turner received the first prize in the *Atlantic Monthly* creative writing contest, and recognized the debut of The Spectacle, an independently financed and produced publication modeled after the New York Times Review of Books. The initial press run of 6,000 copies was financed through minimal advertising and contributions from Calvin students and alumni. Its editorial staff was the recently

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[188]The Grand Rapids Press, 21 March, 1968.

[189]Calvin College Chimes, 62 no. 21, 12 April 1968, p. 2.

deposed <u>Chimes</u> staff.[190] This was yet another example of creatively involved students who hardly fit the myth of the typically apathetic college student. In addition to <u>The Spectacle</u>, students during this year established an off-campus theater, the Edwin Booth Experimental Workshop Theater, in a leased turkey barn east of the Knollcrest campus, Gallery 610, a student art gallery, and the Degage', a downtown Christian "artsy" coffee house established in conjunction with students from other area colleges.[191] Student initiative and involvement with the arts was alive and well.

The local press noted the debut of <u>The Spectacle</u>, observing that the initial reaction at the college was quite tame. Perhaps this was in part because the editors of the new publication were not intending to provoke a reaction. They were quoted as saying:

> Since the names on our masthead represent the last remnants of the old Chimes tradition, many of you will expect the Spectacle to be a sour grapes reaction to the end of that tradition. But we have no desire to begin a new publication with a vindictive harangue against Calvin College. With the Spectacle we hope to start a new tradition of positive criticism.[192]

Positive criticism or vindictive harangue, the Calvin community came to expect a self-critical posture from the on-campus press and the newest member of the alternative press.

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[190]Ibid., 62 no. 23, 10 May 1968, p. 1.

[191]Ibid., 62 no. 23, 10 May 1968, p. 5.

[192]The <u>Grand Rapids Press</u>, 9 May, 1968.

The 1967-68 academic year had made its mark. A clue to the extent of that imprint appeared in the Student Handbook for the 1968-69 academic year. For the first time the Handbook discussed the place of drugs in American society and urged students to become informed by reading appropriate scientific literature.[193] It also offered a section on the method and manner of dissent, calling on the heritage of the particular tradition to which the Calvin community belonged to encourage responsible dissent:

> Constructive protest and the open discussion of issues vital to a college community is not only allowable but is desirable at Calvin College, where such discussion can be carried on within a Christian educational framework. Calvin College recognizes the integral part that protest and reform have played in its Protestant heritage, and it encourages its students to protest when necessary in a Christian and constructive manner.[194]

Calvin reached an all-time high in enrollment during the 1968-69 academic year: 3,535 students.[195] Other statistics from this year reveal something of what the campus was like as the decade came to a close. Volunteerism was on the rise. The KIDS program was now responsible for placing 165 volunteers, and the committee which coordinated this effort recommended to the Administration that a full-time director be hired to manage the work.[196] Approximately 100 Knollcrest campus residents were also tutoring

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[193]Calvin College Student Handbook, 1968-69, p.27.

[194]Ibid., p. 22.

[195]Chimes, 63 no. 1, 10 September 1968, p. 1.

[196]Ibid., 63 no. 4, 11 October 1968, p. 3.

inner-city elementary and high school students who were bussed to campus each week.[197] Twenty-one student teachers participated in an experimental teaching project in an inner-city junior high school.[198]

There was also a noticeable increase in the number of males considering teaching as a career. The student press quoted the chairperson of the Education Department who reported a ten to fifteen per cent increase in the male population, attributing the rise to the influence of draft policies.[199]

Finally, what now seemed to be an annual event continued when two seniors were announced as Woodrow Wilson Scholarship Designates, another received Honorable Mention, and two more were the recipients of Danforth Foundation Fellowships.[200] Calvin thus continued to produce gifted students who would go on to distinguish themselves in graduate research and teaching positions.

Campus student life policies began to shift somewhat in the 1968-69 academic year, as *in loco parentis* faded and women students demanded and began to receive more equitable treatment. New Dean of Women Linda Dykstra was instrumental in the effort to change residence hall policies, citing its significant

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[197]Ibid., 63 no. 14, 7 February 1969, p. 8.

[198]Ibid., 63 no. 9, 26 November 1968, p. 4.

[199]Ibid., 63 no. 14, 7 February 1969, p. 10.

[200]Ibid., 63 no. 18, 21 March 1969, p. 1.

role in an academic community. The student newspaper interviewed her and reported the following:

> The fact that library closing times and the length of concerts does not correspond with when some women students are required to be in the residences is one matter of attention to her.[201]

By November the desired change had occurred, the first change of this sort in twenty years. In addition, dining hall dress codes were relaxed.[202]

The situation at Chimes remained unstable. In October of 1968 three editors announced their resignation, citing unsatisfactory working conditions and restrictive editorial policies.[203] Within the space of two academic years, then, the editorial leadership of the student press had gone through twice the normal transitions in leadership.

The Chimes editors during each transition continued to comment on the relationship between the Calvin community and the views of the Christian Reformed Church, often represented by the editorial positions taken in the denominational weekly, The Banner. The student newspaper was of the opinion that Calvin students did not share the views of the broader denomination. Whether this was an accurate and quantifiable observation, or whether students tended to adopt the views of their parents was not considered. The student press tended to measure the divergence in levels of intensity:

[201]Ibid., 63 no. 1, 10 September 1968, p. 2.

[202]Ibid., 63 no. 9, 26 November 1968, p. 1.

[203]Ibid., 63 no. 5, 18 October 1968, p. 1.

> A recent <u>Banner</u> article decrying opposition to the Vietnam War as "treasonable propaganda" and "anarchistic actions" has provoked considerable response from Calvin students and faculty.[204]

In the same month an editorial was to call on the Christian Reformed Church Synod, the ruling body which convened annually in June, to apply its favorable stance on conscientious objection, adopted formally in its meeting in 1939, to the Vietnam War situation.[205]

The student press was capable of defending denominational decision making, although it was more the exception than the rule. An editorial on the controversy surrounding the sale of the city Franklin Street campus supported the decision of the board of trustees, which acted on behalf of the denomination. It pointed out that the decision had first been reached in 1956, long before the neighborhood around the campus began to experience racial change.

> Selling the city campus does not entail a neglect of our Christian commitment to the community any more than keeping the campus entails conscientious fulfillment of that commitment. The key to involvement is student participation, not campus location.[206]

An indication of the significant ties of students to the denomination was the large advertisement taken by twenty-eight students in the homecoming issue of <u>Chimes</u>, (typically well-read by hundreds of visiting alumni), announcing a student petition drive for the purpose of calling on the denomination to establish

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[204]Ibid., 63 no. 5, 18 October 1968, p. 1.

[205]Ibid., 63 no. 6, 25 October 1968, p. 2.

[206]Ibid., 63 no. 8, 15 November 1968, p. 2.

guidelines for the selection of the new editor of the denominational weekly. The

guidelines were both an indictment of the outgoing editor and an indication of a

Calvin student's social, cultural, and political agenda:

> We believe that he should be sensitive to their (youth and
> young adult) needs and well-informed of their interests,
> especially relevant interests such as theology, sociology,
> politics, entertainment, race-relations, poverty, and war. He
> should be able to speak to these needs and interests with
> skill, imagination, and appeal.[207]

Who would have predicted that theology, three years after the "Death of God"

movement, would be included in the list of relevant interests?

Eventually the petitions garnered 1060 signatures, and led to the

inclusion of questions such as these in the interview session with candidates for the

position: "Who loved Mrs. Robinson?"; "Who are Simon and Garfunkel?"; and

"Who is Joe Namath?".[208] Popular culture familiar to Calvin students was

injected into the selection process.

Social involvement and social action in justice issues served as a

focal point for the 1968-69 academic year. In November a Social Action

Committee was formed "to stimulate positive Christian action wherever social

injustice is found within our community and nation."[209] Protest was no longer

the final word. Students were finding ways to turn words into action. The theme

for Homecoming 1969 was "Involvement with a Purpose."

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[207]Ibid., 63 no. 14, 7 February 1969, p. 4.

[208]Ibid., 63 no. 17, 7 March 1969, p. 1.

[209]Ibid., 63 no. 8, 15 November 1968, p. 1.

This transition from protest to service was not lost on the college president, who greeted the alumni returning to campus for homecoming with this assessment of the current crop of students:

> Generally, the present students are more serious, better prepared, more purposeful, more involved in their world than were students a generation ago. Not only are they in greater number; they are also in stronger voice than formerly. And, with all their changed demeanor, they are more communally minded than ever before, yet emphasizing more strongly their own individual response to Christ's claim on each of their lives for service to God and man.[210]

President Spoelhof, interestingly, observed that these students were more involved in their world. Again, the general impression one receives about Calvin College students in the 1960s is one of a campus more closely in touch with the general student culture which developed throughout the colleges and universities in the United States. While not always articulating the reasons for this involvement in terms of the transformative vision, it is clear that involvement with the world was not to be feared or avoided. Rather, engagement with the world was clearly something to which the Christian was called.

That world continued to struggle with matters of racial conflict, but for Calvin students the call was to involvement rather than discussion. While Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice was reviewed in Chimes, students were attracted more to activism than dialogue.[211] In contrast to the earlier controversy over

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[210]Ibid., 63 no. 14, 7 February 1969, p. 1.

[211]Ibid., 63 no. 18, 21 March 1969, p. 5.

Dick Gregory, a visit to campus by black Congressman Adam Clayton Powell was more whimper than bang.

> On Thursday, January 6, Adam Clayton Powell advocated black power to an embarrassingly half-filled auditorium at Knollcrest's fieldhouse.[212]

An interesting sidelight to the events of the decade was the growing awareness of and comfort with diversity and variety. Calvin students, most of whom came from homogeneous communities, discovered through involvement with volunteer projects, civil rights activism, and inter-faith war protests, that there were other devout Christians involved in redeeming society, if not from a similar theological framework, then at least from sanctified instinct. Students were to understand what many faculty had exemplified from the earliest days of the decade: ecumenical involvement was not to be feared but welcomed, and often the best way to work out the transformative vision. One of the spin-off effects was a growing interest during the 1968-69 academic year in alternative worship services, even to the point of an ecumenical spiritual retreat with the local Roman Catholic college, Aquinas.

The decade ended with the war in Vietnam as the focal point for campus attention. During the 1969-70 academic year protest of one sort or another dominated the landscape, never more visibly than the huge "End the War" slogan painted three-stories high on the wall of the new science building. The college yearbook devoted a six-page spread to a photo essay on the incident and

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[212]Ibid., 63 no. 14, 7 February 1969, p. 1.

the demonstrations associated with the protests of that year.[213] The student

senate passed a resolution in support of the Vietnam Moratorium, noting in

particular that isolation is not an option for the Christian academic community:

> We are members of a Christian academic community, but we
> do not exist as an isolated subculture. We cannot ignore the
> national policy that is producing so much discontent in our
> society. We cannot remain silent concerning the war in
> Vietnam, a war that many Christians consider unjust and
> immoral, a war that continues to produce death and damage
> that all Christians must decry. Thus, we believe that we at
> Calvin should participate in this national movement
> expressing the strong desire for peace in Vietnam.[214]

The same yearbook reproduced what was to become one of the

classic photographs of the decade.[215] Calvin Theological Seminary, the

denominational seminary of the Christian Reformed Church, shared the same

Knollcrest campus and library with the college. The seminary choir that year

performed at the White House for a worship service, arrangements courtesy of

Congressman Gerald Ford. The fact that they appeared at the White House at all

prompted a student and faculty protest march from the college to the seminary

across the road, much to the delight of the local print and electronic media.[216]

The straw that broke the proverbial camel's back, however, was a photo of a

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[213]Prism, 1970, p. 48.

[214]Ibid., p. 47.

[215]Ibid., p. 200.

[216]The Grand Rapids Press (8 May 1970), incorrectly estimated the crowd size to be 4,300 demonstrators, more than the enrollment of the college itself. A photo of the demonstration in the next day's edition offered a more accurate approximation of 300.

smiling President Nixon surrounded by the seminary choir, at the very same time that many in the college were protesting the president's war policy.

Even the Republican loyalists on Calvin's campus were beginning to wonder about U.S. policy, enough to bring the campus to the cancellation of classes on October 15 to coincide with the national moratorium to end the war. In place of the regular class schedule, the college sponsored an organized protest march on campus, a delegation to Washington, D.C., and discussions on the history of the war and options for peace. The 1970 college yearbook recorded this poignant letter from a student to his father, a letter which resonates with the nuances of the transformative view:

> You will say that my purpose in being here is to receive an education, that I should be attending classes and studying. What I must persuade you of is that my going to Washington is the inevitable product of the education that I have already received. Education is not a storage process of many bits of data in a memory bank. Rather, after all my years in Christian schools and several years at Calvin, the only abiding results, I think, are a sensitivity to the moral dimensions of human problems, a realization that Christ works on earth through his people, and the understanding of our goal to be, no matter how quixotic, the bringing about of Christ's kingdom in human society.[217]

Protest extended beyond the concerns over war to include an extended parody of the denominational weekly, *The Banner*, produced by the editors of the campus newspaper. This, too, became a classic example of the generational differences highlighted by the events of the decade. On this occasion,

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[217]Ibid., p. 58.

however, the protest was registered by those outside of the college community, as Timmerman records:

> This parody, a masterpiece of overkill, galvanized a massive voltage of protest that hit the college with searing impact. In his report to the Board of Trustees, President Spoelhof says, "In my twenty years as President of Calvin College, no one college incident touched off a greater storm than did the production of the student spoof last May . . . Never has my mail been heavier."[218]

One protest was more whimper than bang. As reported in the local newspaper, student objections to compulsory chapel services failed to stir the emotions or bring out the crowds:

> About 17 Calvin College students sunned themselves on doorsteps of the Franklin Campus Administration Building Wednesday and complained about the school's compulsory chapel policy.
>
> Students who left chapel at 10:30 were expected to join the sun-in, but few did. A petition, supposedly signed by 450 Calvin students from Franklin and Knollcrest campuses was read to about 30 onlookers.[219]

Protest extended right up to and including commencement, or at least that was the intention of students. Having caught wind of a plot to make commencement a stage for another demonstration, a faculty committee handed students this announcement before they entered the Physical Education Building in order to be assembled for the procession:

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[218]Timmerman, Promises to Keep, 180.

[219]The Grand Rapids Press, 30 April, 1969.

Dear Senior,

Although we recognize your right to protest, it is our judgment that the Commencement program is not the occasion for such activity. We have therefore ruled that armbands, placards, etc., are an inappropriate part of the academic gear for this occasion, and that students wearing such additions will not be allowed into the Physical Education Building. We therefore ask you to remove it at this time.

Sincerely,

The Faculty Special Academic
Activities Committee[220]

It was a fitting end of sorts to a decade of conflict, challenge, and change, as Timmerman had described it. A college which moved itself physically to a new campus discovered other moving experiences, including moving beyond the stereotypical, predictable and acceptable ways of thinking to a reexamination of the Christian's role in a society of social conflict and cultural upheaval. The reexamination was fueled by the transformative vision, refined in the learning laboratory of a denominational college, and issued into changes in the denomination itself. Bratt's description of the changes within the Christian Reformed Church serves to illustrate the parallel experience of the college:

Part of the reason (for examining the role of theology in the community) lay in the growing concern with politics. The crisis of the '60s bore hard upon the Dutch on all counts, from their most recently acquired civil religion to their ancestral conservatism. For this era, accordingly, it was

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[220]Ibid., p. 108.

politics that served to disclose internal differences and the twisting uses of tradition.[221]

If internal differences throughout the history of the denomination and college centered on the isolationistic versus transformational points of view, then the decade of the 1960s served to tilt the college and denomination in the direction of transformation. The crucible of social conflict and cultural involvement made the difference and forced the issue.

The Paradigm Considered

The essence of the transformative approach to Christ and culture is the pervasive tension that exists in the antithesis between Christ and fallen humanity with its cultural expressions. In this scheme, the Christian is not only **not** to flee from or avoid the world as manifested in culture. The Christian is to be instrumental in the conversion or transformation of culture, and influential in all culturally formative expressions, including politics, social structures, and the arts.

> The vision itself is not particularly difficult to grasp; it is that familiar cluster of doctrines about creation, fall and redemption. Unlike fundamentalists, the Kuyperians affirmed creation and they construed human culture as in part an expression of the original integrity of the cosmos. Unlike liberals, however, they also strongly affirmed the doctrine of

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[221]James D. Bratt, Dutch Calvinism in Modern America: A History of a Conservative Subculture (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 208.

the fall and the Protestant idea of the totality of sin's wreckage.[222]

More than Goshen or Wheaton, the arts at Calvin seemed to function as a catalyst for reflection and tension over the engagement between Christianity and culture. By nature, the arts roam the borders of freedom of expression and license in thought. And if the arts provided the disciplinary focus, it was students in the arts who often gave impetus to the conflict. For Calvin in the 1960s, the transformative vision surfaced most prominently in students familiar with the artistic expressions of popular culture, who found a vehicle for their views in a well-established organ of student controversy, the student press.

> The artistic student is often hypersensitive and hypercritical. He wants to beat his own thought and rhythm out. Frequently mistaking sensibility for insight and rebellion for wisdom when he bursts upon the scene long-haired and loud-mouthed, he strikes some supporters of Calvin as something demonic. When the work he produces is at variance with the professed ideals of the college, he becomes a problem not only in public relations but in spiritual loyalties.[223]

The conflict of loyalties was vigorous and steady throughout the decade. When students seemed to be at variance with the mission of the college, it was usually because the professed ideals of the college seemed more tied to tradition than the redemptive work of shaping culture. The transformative vision inspired and motivated students and faculty alike, although students were rarely as

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[222]John R. Schneider, "The Leap of Vision," Faculty Dialogue 15 (Fall 1991): 34.

[223]Timmerman, Promises to Keep, 182.

adept at citing the source, or as sophisticated in the ways of institutional politics in bringing about change. Generally, students would act first and reflect later, letting the chips fall and gall where they might. As Timmerman views it, it was a struggle at once vital and substantial:

> However incorrect one may view their probing, I think Calvin College has given its rebels a tough tradition to rebel against. They weren't slugging it out with styrofoam.[224]

The transformative vision also coalesced nicely with the continual cry for change from the growing student culture on campuses across the country, and from counter-culture movements which served to critique existing social institutions. The transformative vision linked change with the ideal of restoring things to the way they were designed to be. A fallen creation was to be restored and renewed. This, then, in contrast to the otherworldly approach of fundamentalism, gave students a reason for involvement in their changing world and in changing their world. They shared a sense of responsibility for the future, and this too is at the heart of the transformative approach.

> The saints are responsible for the structure of the social world in which they find themselves. That structure is not simply part of the order of nature; to the contrary, it is the result of human decision and by concerted effort it can be altered. Indeed, it *should* be altered, for it is a fallen structure, in need of reform. The responsibility of the saints to struggle for the reform of the social order in which they find themselves is one facet of the discipleship to which their Lord Jesus Christ has called them. It is not an addition to

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[224]Ibid., 182.

their religion; it is there among the very motions of Christian spirituality.[225]

Differing views of Christian spirituality continued to dominate the theological landscape of the Christian Reformed Church up to and including the decade of the 1960s. For many, even within the Reformed tradition, spirituality was very much an otherworldly matter, and Americanization had left its influence not on the liberal, social gospel end of the spectrum but through American fundamentalism. The Kuyperian, transformative vision still persuaded many in educational roles within the denomination, but had not made a significant impact beyond it. The decade of the 1960s, as played out on the campuses of Calvin College, was a visual aid of theological, ideological struggle. In searching for a faith to live by in the face of social conflict, the transformative vision gave greater hope and a framework for interpreting the world to students and a denomination. Neither would be the same.

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[225]Nicholas Wolterstorff, Until Justice and Peace Embrace (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1983), 3.

CHAPTER FOUR

GOSHEN COLLEGE

Several Goshen students in the mid-1960s, some of whom were later to become professors at the college, undertook the publication and promotion of a literary magazine called "Foolscap." In an ambitious attempt at building circulation they placed an advertisement for subscriptions in *The New Republic*. A letter from Isaac G. Obletz from Brooklyn, New York, responding to the appeal, identified what may be the distinctive marks of the tradition, the college, and its approach to the decade of the 1960s:

> In studying Mennonites I have become convinced that their message is an essential one in the 1960s. The world needs a group who will stand apart from it and speak a message of peace simply and dauntlessly. Moreover, with the experience of two wars behind us and the threat of one to come, we are ready to listen.
>
> Burdened by the neuroses of sophistication, we are looking back to the simple people with their simple ways, their simple dress, and their timeless message. We are looking to you to take us back to the good life. Theologians are expounding your doctrines. Fashion designers are copying your dress. Minority groups are using your methods.[226]

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[226]Isaac G. Obletz letter, Foolscap 4 (Spring 1965): 5.

While it may have been an idealized, utopian view of Mennonite culture, Obletz naively identified what are clearly hallmarks of the Mennonite tradition: its "standing apart" from the world and its simplicity of purpose and action. The appeal of the Mennonite tradition, in Obletz's view, is exactly what Niebuhr found attractive-a consistency between what one professes about belief and one's conduct, an alternative approach to life which builds an identifiable community of faith.

If Goshen College does indeed serve as a representative of the "Christ against culture" motif identified by Niebuhr, it is curious that the college motto is "Culture for Service," for it would seem impossible to be for and against culture at one and the same time. The motto itself seems to have come from the closing words of the inaugural address by the first college President, Noah Ellsworth Byers (1903-1913). Over the years the phrase came to symbolize the transitional stages experienced by the college as it moved from an isolationistic approach to culture in an "against culture" posture, to an "engagement with culture" stance which emphasized opportunities for Christian service.[227] This tension, centered on the responsibilities of the college community with regard to its surrounding culture, came into particular focus in the 1960s, a decade in which much of what was new to Calvin and Wheaton in terms of engagement with contemporary cultural issues had long been the quietly effective experience of

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[227]John S. Umble, Goshen College, 1894-1954: A Venture in Christian Higher Education. (Scottdale: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955), 32.

Goshen. Still, the decade posed a threat to the college as never before. At risk was the potential for Goshen to lose its distinctive link to the Anabaptist tradition in a student initiated movement which came dangerously close to blending with the common concerns of many other colleges and their students, even to the point of selling its unique birthright for the pottage of common social activism. Though they were without doubt simple people accustomed to a simple lifestyle, complexity came to the community at Goshen in the 1960s.

Historical Context

Umble's history of Goshen College is the only one in print, and its publication predates the 1960s. Yet the seeds of the dilemma which presented itself in the 1960s are present in the earliest days of the college.

Its beginnings belie the stereotypical image of the rural, Amish-like, Mennonite community. Goshen began as "The Elkhart Institute of Science, Industry, and the Arts," essentially a private school established after the model of the then popular private normal schools or evening institutes. It was intended to be a profit-making venture, and its founder was an entrepreneurial homeopathic physician, Dr. Henry Mumaw, who also happened to be a member of the Prairie Street Mennonite Church in Elkhart, Indiana. At its inception in 1894 the Elkhart Institute was not designed to be a church-related, let alone church-controlled, institution.

Although it is more the stuff of tradition than documentation, the story has it that the good doctor was persuaded by community leaders that the institute would prosper with stronger Mennonite ties. As a result, Mumaw organized a stock company complete with a governing board of fourteen for the purpose of establishing an educational institution with a decidedly Mennonite Christian influence.

It was the nature of this Christian influence and its ability or inability to relate to the surrounding culture which was to be the source of tension for decades, up to and including the 1960s. An underground student newspaper in the 1960s, for example, featured in its first issue (there were only a few) a graph chart which traced the alarming decline in the presence of "coverings"-thin, white, gauze head caps worn by some women students at Goshen. Their "scientific" evidence for this trend was a count of the number of women clothed with coverings in pictures found in the college yearbooks of the decade. The evidence was cited not out of sincere concern, of course, but rather to point out from a students' cynical perspective that this was the stuff of a Mennonite college experience. One looked for such tangible signs as evidence that the world was creeping in and that the sentinels had abandoned the towers.

In much the same way, and for many of the same cultural issues, the early years of the Elkhart Institute were marked by conflict between it and members of the Prairie Street Mennonite Church, largely over the cultural

differences between the simple lifestyle of the immigrants, and the suspicions

brought about by the specter of education which seemed to challenge it.

> Not only at the Elkhart Institute but during the first twenty-five years of the history of the school at Goshen this cultural lag of the Church was to a large degree responsible for the unhappy relations between the church and school.[228]

The suspicions over education, and higher education in particular,

can be traced to the distinctions between the Amish and the Mennonites.

Doctrinally quite similar, these two branches of the Anabaptist tradition shared a

common history in Switzerland from 1525 until sharp differences arose over

matters of dress, means of transportation, and similar practices of the faith caused

a division between them in 1693. Certain Mennonites became followers of Jacob

Ammann, and came to be called the Amish Mennonites, or Amish.[229] To this

day they interpret more strictly such matters as simplicity in dress, beards for men,

and the practice of foot washing. They also value rural life for the possibilities it

affords for avoiding the corrupting influence of the world and the need for higher

education:

> There is no place as desirable as the farm. It is all right to enter such trades as carpentry, if one can do so while maintaining a rural base. Anything which does not call for higher education is legitimate: a small business like harness-making, or being a blacksmith or welder, or painting buildings; but any profession which would call for higher education is suspect. The wisdom of this world has a

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[228]Ibid., 7.

[229]Cornelius J. Dyck, ed., An Introduction to Mennonite History (Scottdale: Herald Press, 1967), 114.

corrupting influence on the soul of man; it tends to make him proud, dissatisfied with the Amish way of plainness and simplicity.[230]

In spite of the tensions brought about by festering conflicts over rural-urban choices, the Institute began to grow, until in 1901 it moved from governance by a local board to a twenty-nine member board more representative of the Mennonite denominational districts in the United States and Canada. The change to church control was complete in 1904, when the title of property to the Elkhart Institute was turned over to the Mennonite denomination. In his report to the board that year, Principal/President Byers presented a case for expanding the facilities and program offerings in view of a growing enrollment. As the school outgrew the institute building in Elkhart, other locales made offers to the school in the hope of convincing it to move. Its prestige had grown, having been told by the Indiana state universities, Oberlin College, and Northwestern University that its academic credits would be recognized by them. Securing a lively institution of higher education for communities like Wadsworth and West Liberty, Ohio was a pleasant prospect to local promoters, and they made attractive offers to the institute. They were attempting to lure it away from Elkhart in spite of the pleas of the Elkhart Chamber of Commerce and the endorsement of the *Elkhart Review*. The neighboring town of Goshen offered four different potential locations. In the final analysis, Ohio wasn't seriously

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[230]Ibid., 185.

considered, Elkhart raised its price, and Goshen raised funds. Goshen landed the college.

The new college at Goshen prospered. In 1908 the Mennonite Board of Education announced that a full course of educational offerings leading to a bachelors degree would be offered in 1909. It assigned four persons as fund-raisers and increased the number of faculty. In addition, the board made plans to start a feeder school in Hesston, Kansas.

In the midst of this good fortune and growth the issues of culture and faith were never far beneath the surface. The college continually dealt with the reality that its growing student body came from a common denominational base with a variety of local rules and regulations with regard to the encroachments of culture. Especially with reference to customs of dress, the college had to maintain a receptiveness to the students' home experience, a caution exercised well into the 1960s and codified in student handbook policies.

On 26 May 1913, President N.E. Byers wrote a letter of resignation, which " . . . came after many years of nagging criticism, misunderstanding, and even misrepresentation directed at him and the administration."[231] As Umble observes,

> These issues--dress, liberal theology, and the employment of
> non-Mennonite lecturers and chapel speakers--continued to

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[231]Ibid., 51.

harass the institution to a greater or lesser degree for the first thirty years of its existence.[232]

Goshen's second President, John Ellsworth Hartzler (1913-1918), struggled to keep the blessed ties that bind from becoming the burgeoning ties that strangle:

> It was Hartzler's policy to urge every student to remain faithful to his home conference and not to decide that absence from home gave him license to throw off all responsibility for obedience to the regulations of the home congregation.[233]

Sensitive though he was, it was Hartzler's fate to resign the Presidency of Goshen on 6 February 1918 because of the constant suspicion of his leadership, the burden of criticism, and daunting financial burdens. At the time of his resignation the college was $150,000 in debt, a fund-raising effort had faltered in the face of war-time, and a small pox epidemic had infested the school. The end result of this crisis of confidence seems to have been a shift in the board's self-perception from one of an overseer to one of ownership for financial stability and institutional purpose.

This sense of institutional purpose, so bound up in the Mennonite Anabaptist tradition which emphasized an alternative culture for service to the corrupt world around it, was to continually rub against the events of life outside the community. Goshen endured three wars before the 1960s as a community of

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[232]Ibid.

[233]Ibid., 76.

faith determined to consistently witness to the possibilities of peace and the resolution of conflict. Its role in society as a college was to offer relief in action and in a new way of thinking about perennial struggles. What is striking about the history of the college, both prior to and during the 1960s, is that conflict was usually front and center within the Goshen community itself. It began in a milieu of controversy, and endured through years of internal conflict. Its distinguishing trait was knowing how to handle such disagreements. Byers foreshadowed the events of the 1960s in his commentary on change, a perennial source of turmoil for a tradition surrounded by a changing culture:

> The inability of the College to satisfy some of the demands of its critics stemmed in part from the past history of the Church. It was another example of the age-old problem of accommodation to changing cultural conditions. From the beginning (in 1525) of that branch of the Anabaptist movement from which the later Mennonite Church emerged, the leaders had emphasized Scriptural concepts like nonresistance and nonconformity to the world order. Later their adherence to these concepts took the form of resistance to change.[234]

Change, conflict, and culture were to be themes of the 1960s at Goshen College.

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[234]Ibid., 105.

The Institution in the 1960s

The decade of the 1960s was no different in terms of conflict and controversy except, perhaps, in intensity. The College continued its internal dialogue of faith and questioning of identity, often at the insistence of insightful and articulate students who asked questions concerning institutional purpose and mission. From an editorial in the student newspaper in 1959, the college motto "Culture for Service" again came under scrutiny:

> One of the central purposes of the foundation of Goshen College is tersely expressed in the motto "Culture for Service." But, in many respects, this has been rendered an ineffectual cliche', not because it does not express a profound truth, but because we have stumbled on the first word. The contents of a full culture have been siphoned off through tales of lethargy, superficial complacency, and false religiosity.[235]

It is significant to note that the issue of one's relation to culture was identified as a stumbling block. Just what would it take to experience a "full culture?" If the concept of service was relatively clear, it appeared that the communal response to culture was less so.

An issue that was to occupy everyone's attention during the 1960s was the civil rights struggle, and it was one that had particular affinity to the ideological roots of Mennonite Anabaptism. Passive nonresistance, loving an enemy, and bringing peace to situations of conflict were all part of the fabric of

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[235]Editorial, Goshen College Record, 16 October, 1959.

Mennonite culture and some of the tools of the early civil rights movement. It seems only natural, therefore, that one of the featured speakers at Goshen College in January, 1960, was a rising representative of the Civil Rights movement, a young black pastor from Birmingham, Alabama named Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Later that year the student newspaper featured an article on the injustices of the apartheid policies of South Africa.

Students gravitated toward activists like King and issues like apartheid, partly because of their affinity toward the Mennonite tradition of concern for justice, but also because the time was right. Students left the close confines of their often rural religious communities to attend a college which broadened their faith in the context of an enlarged world. At an Intercollegiate Conference of Mennonite College Students held at Goshen College in 1963, Goshen's Dean of Students, Atlee Beechy, gave a paper which focused on the makeup of the typical Mennonite student, based on the results of psychological adjustment studies. The paper was summarized in the denominational periodical *The Gospel Herald*, and the description of Mennonite students sounds like a profile of contemporary conservative Christian college students beyond Mennonite circles:

> Common to most results were several recurring motifs: a need for improved parent-child communications, a strong aversion to authoritarianism, the effect of home and church discipline on the college students' social and spiritual adjustment, and finally, the demand of Mennonite youth for

the church to reexamine its mission and position in today's society.[236]

Of particular interest here is the urgency of the "demand" of Mennonite youth for a redefinition of the church's role in contemporary society, and the need for improved communications. If the college operated *in loco parentis* then, by extension, communication with the college needed improvement. Such concerns served as themes for the Goshen College student of the 1960s.

An innovation which typified the sense of community and the need for campus communication was the Campus Opinion Bulletin Board, introduced in 1961. It is still in operation today. The concept was simple enough: provide a centrally located place for students or staff to submit their opinions for posting and/or react to opinions posted. It caught the attention of the denominational weekly and was featured in the college yearbook.[237] So did another approach to communication:

> Organized to provide opportunity for creative discussion of the problems of the college community, the eight faculty members and fourteen elected students of the student faculty council met bi-weekly to consider these problems with a view to making recommendations to the administration.[238]

Peace concerns and issues of international communication caught the attention of 1961 students as well. An editorial in the student newspaper, "Nuclear Testing--Action!" encouraged students to go to Washington, D. C., in

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[236]Gospel Herald 56, no.47 (26 November 1963): 1061.

[237]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1961, 11.

[238]Ibid., 32.

January to meet with congressmen, "carry placards," and undergo a three-day period of fasting.[239] They were accompanied by Dr. C. Norman Kraus, another of those instrumental professors who would serve as mentor for the growing numbers of student activists.

For Goshen College, the decade was shaping up to be one of complexity over moral choices and the relationship of their traditional beliefs and the needs of society. The point was not lost on students who tried to encapsulate the college for the school yearbook:

> Christian discipleship is the point of reference for the complex life of Goshen College. Faith is the assumed attitude; service to a world in need is the accepted motivation. Chapel is part of the school schedule, and Christ's demands upon the scholar kindles controversial and influential conversation.[240]

Contributing to the complexity, especially in view of Dean Beechy's description of the typical Mennonite student and his or her concern over home and church discipline and authoritarianism, was the extensive list of regulations governing student life at Goshen. If the concerns of society weren't enough to overwhelm, the expectations placed on Goshen students, to their way of thinking, were certainly more than enough. The 1960-61 Student Handbook listed regulations requiring approval of the College for on--and off--campus socials, parties, or outings. Students were "requested to abstain from practices which tend

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[239]Goshen College Record, 1 December 1961.

[240]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1961, 74.

toward the weakening of the body or the lowering of moral standards," and gambling, the use of alcoholic beverages, tobacco, and the use of profane language were cited as examples of such practices. They were warned against "commercialized entertainment" which "militates against spiritual growth," prohibited from social dancing, and encouraged to practice modesty and simplicity in dress. Finally, students were strongly discouraged from becoming married during the school year, and required to receive permission from the College for weekend leaves beyond thirty-five miles.[241]

It is ironic that the college would be concerned about behavior beyond the thirty-five mile limit when its students were given opportunity, at the same time, to exercise the implications of their faith in distant places. An editorial in the student newspaper at the beginning of the school year compared the events at the University of Mississippi and its attempt to bar James Meredith with the opportunity afforded Goshen students to participate in a student exchange program with Morehouse University in Atlanta.[242] Students also went to Washington, D.C., to speak to their Congressmen about issues of foreign aid and nuclear disarmament as the result of discussions held by the campus Peace Society.[243] Later in the year a feature article described the work of two students who had served with PAX in Vietnam. This was a Mennonite alternative service

[241]Goshen College Student Handbook, 1960-61, 58.

[242]Goshen College Record, 5 October, 1962, 2.

[243]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1962, 76.

organization involved in constructing new roads, schools and hospitals as well as medical and agricultural relief work.[244] These examples serve to illustrate the point that a Goshen College education in the 1960s had a decidedly experiential and international dimension to it. Such opportunities were frequently afforded the Goshen College student, and later in the decade these features would become part and parcel of the required curricular program, a distinctive characteristic of the college.

The student press kept the issues of segregation and race clearly in front of the Goshen College community during the 1962-63 academic year. In addition to regularly promoting the exchange program with Morehouse University in Atlanta, it commented on an editorial appearing in the student newspaper of Indiana State University in which a Negro student described his encounter with segregated facilities in northern Indiana. The Goshen College paper raised questions about practices in the immediate vicinity of the college.[245] It also reported on a seminar attended by six Goshen students in Atlanta, "The Church on Frontiers of Ferment." It made the point that Goshen was the only College out of fourteen at the conference which came from north of the Mason-Dixon line.[246] Once again, the borders of conscience were extended well beyond the thirty-five mile limit.

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[244]Goshen College Record, 30 March, 1962.

[245]Ibid., 29 March, 1963.

[246]Ibid., 26 April, 1963.

The growing crisis in Vietnam was kept front and center in the Goshen College student press, also, and from a unique perspective. It is relatively rare for a college newspaper to have "foreign correspondents," yet frequently this was the case. One of the first issues of the Record in the 1963-64 academic year featured the report of a Goshen College professor who had spent a year teaching at the University of Hue in Vietnam. He made comparisons between the situation there and that in Yugoslavia after World War II.[247] Goshen students were thus given an opportunity to not only hear their professors speak on academic issues, but realize that the words came from the weightier perspective of one who had lived there.

Professors were also instrumental on the "home front." Professors Kraus and Kreider, who had earlier led students in visiting their Congressmen in Washington to speak about nuclear disarmament, regularly led the way in encouraging thoughtful activism in the immediate communities of Goshen and Elkhart, Indiana. The Record reported that they served as mentors to the Goshen College Peace Society, and that the society "plans to inquire what Goshen's policies are in areas of housing, employment, and public accommodations concerning minority groups."[248] Peace was clearly more broadly defined than merely the absence of war. Instead, peace had much to do with the presence of justice.

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[247]Ibid., 13 September, 1963.

[248]Ibid., 27 September 1963.

Domestic turmoil was viewed most often as an opportunity for a reexamination of the Mennonite ethos. Goshen's self-conscious identity as a distinctive Christian college came through in a special edition of the Record prompted by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. The events surrounding the assassination provided an occasion for serious soul-searching:

> This issue of the Record is not just another paper attempting to capitalize on a momentous political event. Beyond the political sentiment and press coverage which has engulfed the incident is a deep need for a redefinition in terms of our faith. We are doing this because Goshen College, being a Mennonite Christian college, advocates a unique position towards life, death, and the state. The occasion has risen in which it becomes our decidedly serious obligation and responsibility to express our unique position and to examine its continued relevance.[232]

The continued relevance of the unique Mennonite position was a constant student concern throughout the decade. The 1963 College yearbook, the Maple Leaf, paid tribute to Harold Stauffer Bender, Dean of the Faculty, who died in 1962. His formative influence on "a generation of Goshen College students" was the shaping of a vision which "for them, became a twentieth century vision." The themes of this Mennonite vision as heralded by Bender and incorporated by students as "a part of their being:"

> (1) the essence of Christianity is discipleship, following after Christ. (2) The church is a brotherhood; its membership must be voluntary, based on true conversion and involving a

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[232]Ibid., 6 December, 1963.

commitment to holy living. (3) The ethic of love and nonresistance is to be applied to all human relationships.[233]

The decade of the 1960s was a period of growth at Goshen College. Student enrollment in 1963, however, was smaller than in 1962: it had declined from 881 to 846. Yet in 1964 President Paul Mininger announced a five year, three and one-half million dollar development program leading up to the celebration in 1969 of the 75th anniversary of the founding of the college. The announced projects were the construction of a new library and two new residence halls. Goshen College was planning to grow to 1200 students by the anniversary year.[234]

In 1965 President Mininger announced a gift of $1,000,000 for the construction of what was to be the Harold and Wilma Good Library, and enrollment in that year had already reached 1,097, with almost half of the student body new. The overall enrollment goal was surpassed in the anniversary year, 1969, when enrollment reached 1251. It was also the year in which President Mininger, who had nurtured the growth of the college in enrollment and buildings, resigned. He announced his resignation to the Board of Overseers at their meeting of 23 July 1969.[235] While there is nothing to suggest that the decade at Goshen did him in, he was one of countless college and university presidents throughout the land who left the position in this period.

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[233]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1963, 88.

[234]Gospel Herald 57, no.45 (17 November 1964): 1011.

[235]Goshen College Record, 19 September, 1969.

One of the more significant ventures in the 1963-64 academic year took place during the students' spring vacation, when the campus Peace Society commissioned seven students to spend their break period in the Chicago area to study, as the Record put it, the "race situation and negro problems."[236] The students, under the tutelage of a Mennonite pastor from Evanston, Illinois, visited the editors of Ebony and the Chicago Defender, toured Farragut High School, and dialogued with students at Wilson Junior College, Urban Renewal officials, and Chicago Housing Authority administrators. It is significant to note, again, that there is an underlying emphasis on experiential education which is based on the Mennonite understanding of community reconciliation. Reconciliation takes place in those face-to-face encounters where one can exchange commitment and trust. It is also of interest that this experience came under the sponsorship of the campus Peace Society, indicating that the concept of peace operative among Mennonites is broader than the absence of war and intimately bound up in concepts of justice and community.

Issues of race and peace continued into the middle years of the decade, and it was during this period that contrasting tendencies first came to public attention and notice. The tendencies were on the one hand a continuation of activism and involvement and, on the other, a noticeable inclination toward disinterest and reticence, linked in the view of more activist Mennonites as something inherently wrong with Mennonite culture.

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[236]Ibid., 17 April, 1964.

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There was, for example, a standing-room-only response to a campus visit from John Howard Griffin, the white journalist who chemically darkened his skin pigmentation and posed as a black person in the South, publishing his experiences in the book <u>Black Like Me</u>.

The <u>Record</u> reported that the 1964-65 school year began with an increased political awareness and activity on campus:

> Goshen College seemed to be more conscious of political affairs. Students read the news magazines, editorial columns, and listened to newscasts. They discussed the foreign and domestic issues confronting the country. In some cases they helped local Republican and Democratic committees register voters. There were rumors of forming Young Democrats and Republicans Clubs.[237]

Yet there were other voices on campus arguing that student activism involved but a fragment of the student body. Blame was laid squarely at the door of the other side of the Mennonite ethos, the eternal question of whether the emphasis on pacifism tends to breed pacifity, and whether activism is an inherent contradiction among those who preach peace:

> Another factor, mentioned even more frequently than heavy assignments and deductive teaching methods, is social pressure. Repeated reference is made to cultural environment as a basic cause of the Goshen students' reticence. "It has been drilled into us," said Mary Beechy, "that Mennonites are the quiet people."[238]

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[237]Ibid., 6 November, 1964, 1.

[238]Ibid., 20 November, 1964, 4.

Whatever the precise level of continuing involvement and activism, the Record reported specific numbers as the school year ended, with five students joining the famous civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama,[239] and seventeen Goshen College students picketing in front of the South Bend, Indiana, hotel lodging visiting Alabama Governor George Wallace. An accompanying editorial called for Goshen students to go beyond picketing into action against segregation.[240]

Midway through the decade Dean of Students Atlee Beechy, who was soon to undergo a major shift in his responsibilities, amended his welcome message in the Student Handbook to more accurately reflect both the times and the sort of education Goshen College could bring to them:

> Ours is an age of educational revolution. The frontiers of knowledge are being pushed back. The hunger for education which gives meaning and direction is universal.[241]

The same handbook for the first time included a city church directory which included non-Mennonite and non-Protestant churches to perhaps reflect the growing diversity of the Goshen student body.

The 1965-66 academic year also witnessed something new to Goshen College student life, another indication of increased linkages to what was taking place on other campuses around the country and in society at large. A campus

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[239]Ibid., 9 April, 1965, 1.

[240]Ibid., 1 May, 1965.

[241]Goshen College Student Handbook, 1965-66, 2.

coffee house was established in the basement of North Hall, one of the residence halls. Called the Sprouter Inn, the format was typical coffee house fare. Opening night featured five Mennonite white boys singing Chicago blues, as close to an on-campus cross-cultural experience as could be had at the time.

A somewhat ominous note was struck by the report of the North Central Accreditation Team during the 1965-66 academic year, as noted by the student press. It quoted the indicting assessment of the report: "The Goshen College faculty, though competent, is not as deeply involved in the ferment and excitement concerning social and intellectual matters as it should be." Apparently the same phenomenon taking place among the students was observed among faculty--a small percentage of faculty were the ones involved and the rest suffered from the Mennonite cultural affliction of reticence, the end product of an ethos that promotes pacifism and not activism. This cultural conditioning was cited by several faculty when interviewed by the student press in response to the North Central report:

> Professor John Oyer suggested that a lack of sharp give-and-take between faculty members and between students and professors arises partly from a desire to be "kind" and to not make a personal attack on another individual.

> Professor Norman Kraus also noted that Mennonite students often have too much respect for a professor's authority and question his ideas too little.

> Professor Al Albrecht said that "we have not learned to give a sharp exchange graciously," and suggested that speech and

writing skills need to be developed to increase self-confidence.[242]

The war in Vietnam, the internationalizing of the curriculum, and a brief but illustrative courtship with the Students for a Democratic Society preoccupied campus discussions during the 1965-66 academic year. Three carloads of students went to Washington, D.C., to attend the November March for Peace. In mid-January the student newspaper announced that Dean of Students Beechy had been "drafted" by the Mennonite Central Committee, the international relief organization of the Mennonite Church, to serve for eight months as the chief coordinator of the Protestant relief effort in South Vietnam.[243] Beechy had first come to Goshen in 1949 as Dean of Men and became Dean of Students in 1955. His service provided a vivid example to students of the Mennonite faith in action.

In part because of Beechy's example and also because of the growing student interest in the situation in Vietnam a new committee was formed on campus: the Vietnam Project Committee. Its approach to the situation in Vietnam was characteristically non-political, something that again marked its fidelity to the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition which struggles to maintain distance from political expression or affiliation:

> The Vietnam Project Committee is presently trying to
> discover a means of expressing the concern of the Christian

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[242]Goshen College <u>Record</u>, 8 October 1965, 1.

[243]Ibid., 14 January 1966, 1.

> toward the people of Vietnam . . . The committee's major concerns will not be with the political implications of the Vietnam situation. It will try to concentrate on the material needs of the people of Vietnam instead.[244]

A curricular innovation which was to be formally adopted by the faculty during the next academic year was frequently discussed during the 1965-66 academic year. An emphasis on internationalizing the curriculum through a program of overseas study was a recurring theme in the student newspaper. In support of the concept the paper initiated a regular column on "International Affairs."

The Record issue of 25 February, 1966, contains several articles and an editorial devoted to an upcoming meeting of representatives of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and members of the Goshen College Peace Society. In addition to the standard factual reporting of the upcoming event another article explained the purpose of SDS based on an analysis of the Port Huron Statement. The editorial for this particular issue attempted to describe the difference between old liberals and the New Left, based largely on an article by Todd Gitlin in the 25 December, 1965 issue of The New Republic.

The report of the meeting in the ensuing issue of the campus newspaper was curiously glowing, given a climate in which the recently formed Vietnam Committee was self-consciously apolitical:

> Kissinger, a former national secretary of the SDS, and eleven students from the Indiana University chapter of the SDS, met

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[244]Ibid., 11 February 1966, 6.

The 1965-66 academic year drew to a close with a sense of anticipation, generated in part because of the deliberations of a campus long-range planning committee called the "Committee of the Future." An editorial in the student newspaper viewed the work of the committee in the context of the college motto "Culture for Service," and wondered if the motto had become outdated or whether the work of the Committee of the Future would provide the impetus for a revitalized vision.[248] Among the proposals under consideration by the committee were a three-month term abroad required of all Goshen College sophomores, a required term for all students on a non-Mennonite campus, a reduction in the number of majors, operating the college year-round, including summers, and revising the general education courses so that they are tailored to be relevant to the study of one country. The proposal for study abroad included a required service project as a major component. Thus the emphasis on and experience with an international awareness became part and parcel of the future planning for the college, and an appreciation for other campuses and cultures were seen as values to be integral to a Goshen education. "Culture for Service" remained relevant and service came to be the ascendent theme.

The 1965-66 academic year was a year of particular ferment and change, for it served as a source of reflection as the 1966-67 academic year began. The student newspaper editor, Sara Ann Freed, began the year by commenting on the mood of the student body the previous spring, with students skipping chapel or

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[248]Ibid., 13 April 1966, 2.

class, violating student life policies, and being characteristically apathetic from an administrative point of view or rebellious from a student perspective. She cited a spring, 1966 administrative survey prompted by an apparent disregard for student life policies, with resulting changes in the new Student Handbook.[249] Among the changes were a lengthy description of the nature and purpose of chapel and campus convocations, with corresponding expectations for student behavior reinforced by a new IBM card system for checking attendance. Also, for the first time, the thirty-six mile rule was dropped.[250]

Another significant campus issue for students during the 1967-68 academic year was the discussion of extending hours for women to stay out of their residence halls on week nights. In November the campus newspaper noted that the hours were extended from 10:15 p.m to 11:00 p.m. to coincide with the closing time of the library.[251] No doubt agitation for this change could be traced to the disparity in policy between men and women. The Student Handbook for the year, after listing the respective and differing times for men and women to return to the residence halls, said this to men:

> It is understandable that at times you will be out after these hours for a snack. This should be an occasional rather than a regular occurrence.[252]

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[249]Ibid., 23 September 1966, 2.

[250]Goshen College Student Handbook, 1967-68.

[251]The Goshen College Record, 28 November 1967, 1.

[252]Goshen College Student Handbook, 1967-68, 28.

Perhaps the portrait of Goshen students painted by certain Goshen students as rebellious crusaders was less than accurate, and more an instance of wishful thinking in view of what was happening on other campuses. One of the more activist faculty members, Theron F. Schlebach, offered his perspective in a letter to the editor in the very next issue of the student newspaper. His comments support the contention that student activists at Goshen College were a small, though visible, minority, and that the majority of students were not only pacifists, but intellectually and socially passive:

> Rather than one of decadence, my impression of a vast majority of cases, is one of sphinx-like passivity. Overt pietism is out of style, and religion is one's personal or off-campus affair; so the campus observer seldom detects any religious excitement. Few students find ideas inherently stimulating, so the observer hears only the feeblest stirring of intellectual ferment. Proper Pennsylvanians and meek Midwesterners would scarcely be caught crusading; so expressions of social concern are few and weak.[253]

Schlebach did not give up the activist cause. As did C. Norman Kraus earlier in the decade, this faculty member continued to provide an example of Mennonite active pacifism in the context of what some viewed as an intellectually and socially passive community. His leadership was to cause a considerable stir on campus and in the Goshen-Elkhart community during the 1966-67 academic year. In November of that year, perhaps in response to the discussion about apathetic students, the campus Peace Society swelled from its usually small numbers to a membership of sixty-one, and the focus of discussion

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[253]Ibid., 30 September 1966, 5.

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was how active or passive the Peace Society was to be. In response to a series of lectures by Dr. Vincent Harding there was keen interest in literacy work and supporting political candidates. The dilemma for the Peace Society was whether or not to shift from its informative and educative role to one of campus organizer and lightning rod for activism.

In order to avoid being mired in the discussion Schlebach and a handful of students organized an Ad Hoc Committee whose purpose it was " . . . to organize support and provide a way of channeling gifts to war victims in North Vietnam."[254] The same issue of the campus newspaper reprinted a letter to The Goshen News, the local community newspaper, which called for the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate this new development at Goshen College.

Other negative responses came to The Goshen News, causing quite a community-wide controversy, enough for the student press to take note:

> The usually peaceful pages of the Goshen News burst forth
> with powerful protests after the Ad Hoc Committee
> announced its plans for aiding North Vietnamese war victims.
> The vitriolic response, though thoroughly predictable, was
> nevertheless a shock. The Birchers, veteran's organizations,
> and other rightists found much to react against in the
> committee, though rational thought patterns repeatedly
> eluded their searching minds.[255]

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[254]Ibid., 16 December 1966, 3.

[255]Ibid., 3 January 1967, 2.

Rational thought patterns over matters of Christian influence in international affairs had earlier that semester won the day on campus in the faculty's approval of the thoroughly discussed and student supported study term abroad which, in the long run, has probably had the most influence on Goshen student's lives and faith. Called the Study Service Term (SST), it was a four-month term of study in a foreign culture taken by students in the middle of their college career. This graduation requirement was to become a Goshen distinctive and another way to embody the school motto, "Culture for Service."

There was in the 1966-67 academic year a clear escalation in political discussion and involvement, finding particular focus in the growing controversy over the United States militant presence in Vietnam. In December an entire issue of the campus newspaper was devoted to analysis and commentary on the war in Vietnam.[256] The next issue announced the formation of a Political Science Club whose purpose it was to inform the campus: "It seems elementary that to be an effective and responsible political activist one must have some solid knowledge of political affairs."[257] Once again, "activism" surfaced as a descriptive term for campus life.

The political activism culminated this year in a day set aside for a community discussion of Vietnam, an idea generated simultaneously by the

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[256]Goshen College Record, 12 December 1967.

[257]Ibid., 16 December 1966, 3.

Student Senate and the faculty. This April event was trumpeted in the campus

newspaper:

> The normal academic routine will be suspended to provide
> the "classless" atmosphere in which faculty and students
> together will listen, discuss and evaluate their involvement as
> world citizens. Two or three lectures of a descriptive nature
> will be given in the morning. The afternoon will be devoted
> to a more prescriptive analysis of U.S. governmental policy,
> criticism of that policy, the protest movement and its effects,
> and the appropriate Christian response.[258]

One of those who lectured was Sen. George McGovern, one of the more vocal

critics of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

The day was met with capacity crowds. IBM data cards were not

needed to check attendance. It was viewed as a success because it was a united

effort of the campus community in effort and exploration. In an editorial

reflecting on the day, one detects an ironic and unusual note of pride:

> Another first may be rightfully chalked up for Goshen
> College. The all-school Vietnam Study Day last Friday
> represents a bold experiment in liberal arts education at a
> church-related college. Like the summer-term abroad
> program, the Study Day is a further indication of the interest
> and involvement of Goshen College in the world
> community.[259]

No doubt many alumni of the era remember the 1966-67 academic

year for the Vietnam Study Day, a special experience at the close of the school

year. The next academic year began with a bang instead of a whimper as well,

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[258]Ibid., 10 March 1967, 1.

[259]Ibid., 28 April 1967, 2.

but for a very different reason. An editorial in the October 13, 1967 issue of The Record refers to "Black Thursday," a day that divided the campus for or against an administrative decision to suspend four students for the publication of an underground, mimeographed "newspaper", The Menno-Pause. It was, at least for the suspended students, a noticeable change of life.

The few issues of the underground effort to see the light of day were, in sum, a weak, sophomoric attempt at humorous criticism, fueled in part by the tensions experienced by non-Christians and non-Mennonites on the Goshen campus. Viewed by its editors as the logical extension of the popular campus opinion board begun in 1960, its purposes were clear:

> Recognizing the need for a spontaneous voice for student opposition and reaction to the Goshen College "establishment," a group of students have formed an "underground" newspaper. The Menno-Pause is a gadfly (poking and prodding the GC sacred cows), a watchdog (checking and analysing (sic) disciplinary action), a critic (positive or negative analysis of GC education), an extended student opinion board-and general all-around crap.[260]

The first issue had on its front page a quote from President Mininger: " . . . and we all need a sense of humor." The next quote, juxtaposed strategically to follow the President's, was surely a contributing factor in the resulting controversy, in spite of the fact that they were quoting a famous theologian and pastor, Martin Luther: "A Christian should and could be gay, but then the Devil shits on him."

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[260]Menno-Pause, no date.

The Thursday after the first issue appeared, the four editors of the underground newspaper were called before the President and Dean of Students Leichty to discuss the purpose of the paper and the use of "four-letter words." The second issue appeared on Monday, 9 October. The official student newspaper described what happened then:

> The Faculty Discipline Committee met for eight hours Wednesday, October 11. Members of the M-P editorial board appeared before it individually at 7:00 that evening. Faculty heard the committee's recommendation the next afternoon.
>
> At 8:30 p.m., Thursday, October 12, the students of Goshen College learned in a Presidential Forum that the four boys had been suspended for the 1967-68 term.[261]

Mennonites, whose tradition itself was a voice of dissent, found that such voices on its campus could exist only when tempered with appropriate means and language, which should have come as no surprise to anyone familiar with the heritage.

The journalistic balancing act experienced by most campus newspapers in the 1960s was also present at Goshen. It was at the same time as the Menno-Pause controversy that these words first appeared in the editorial box of The Record:

> 1967-68 Record is a bi-weekly newspaper originated by students at Goshen College. Intended primarily for the campus community; first students, then faculty, administration and staff. Opinions represented in The Record are those of

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[261]The Goshen College Record 13 October 1967, 6.

the student editors or writers of articles and letters, and not
necessarily the official viewpoint of Goshen College.[262]

Issues of war and peace and the political implications of both
continued to call for the attention of the Goshen College community during the
1967-68 school year. The college newspaper frequently featured extended
discussions on draft resistance and the Mennonite witness. Because Eugene
McCarthy was seen as the only candidate with a viable peace platform, editorials
endorsed involvement with his primary election campaign. In April, thirty students
traveled to Wisconsin to campaign for "Clean Gene."

Race relations in America were increasingly troublesome, and
Goshen College also kept this issue clearly before the campus community.
Encouraged by the success of its first all-school study day on the subject of
Vietnam, it had scheduled a similar event for 26 April 1968 on the topic of race in
America. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on 4 April magnified
the urgency of the topic, and the day was moved up. Again, it was an
overwhelming success. In an issue of the student newspaper which also featured a
center spread of opinion and commentary on race relations and the Christian, an
editorial praised the day spent in discussion, reflection and, significantly,
confession:

> The college is to be commended for its suspension of classes
> last Friday in memory of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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[262]Ibid., 6 October 1967, 2.

Friday, April 5, was what a Christian liberal arts college is all about. It may have been the most significant learning experience of the year.[263]

Matters of race relations surfaced in other ways as well. Fifteen Negro students formed a support group. The faculty senate drafted recommendations requesting "African-American course material, black faculty members, and an increase in the percentage of black students."[264] The Dean of the College and the Director of Admissions reported to the faculty that these were programs to which the college was already committed. It seems as though the faculty which was mildly chastised by the North Central accreditation team only two years earlier had quickly become socially aware and perhaps prophetic.

What contributed to change such as this? Certainly the cumulative effect of living in turbulent times and coming to grips with the spirits of the age are factors. But it could be that the seeds of activism planted in the experiential Goshen education and the quiet consistency of sacrificial witness was beginning to produce fruit. The student newspaper of 21 June 1968 featured an article on Eli Hochstedler, a Goshen graduate who had participated in the exchange program with Tougaloo College near Jackson, Mississippi, in 1963, one of the programs so fervently promoted in student newspapers earlier in the decade. While there he was one of seven non-black students out of five hundred. His college experience at Tougaloo included being jailed and beaten for entering the Metropolitan

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[263]Goshen College Record, 12 April 1968, 2.

[264]Ibid., 17 May 1968, 2.

Coliseum with a black friend and visiting churches in integrated groups. Such experiences were persuasive examples of authentic activism, often unsought but always convincing.

The 1968-69 academic year was designated as the seventy-fifth anniversary celebration year for Goshen College. It was a year characterized by international and multicultural awareness. The first celebratory event was the dedication of the Harold and Wilma Good Library. The invited speaker for the dedication program was Dr. Andrew Cordier, the acting President of Columbia University, and former dignitary at the United Nations. His topic was "Education in a Revolutionary World," and the campus newspaper made note of the fact that both the speaker and the topic were well-chosen in view of this being the year "when SST groups are being launched."[265] It was also well-chosen in view of what had occurred several months before at Columbia University.

The SST groups creatively captured the international and multicultural dimensions of Goshen's approach to education. The college yearbook for 1968, the obligatory arty yearbook of the decade, filled with images and verse in an oddly bound non-standard size volume, took the time and space to characterize the program as follows:

> . . . is an intercultural laboratory for general education . . . fourteen weeks of living in an underdeveloped foreign culture of the Western Hemisphere, with about seven weeks spent in getting acquainted with the culture through lectures, usually by native specialists, field trips, seminars, intensive language

[265]Ibid., 20 September 1968, 1.

study and collateral reading and seven weeks in a PAX, VS, or Peace Corps type of service.

SST Teams will be comprised of 12-20 students and one faculty couple. The members will normally live with a family of the host country.

In establishing the SST, the faculty voted its conviction that the educated man and the effective Christian of the future must be "detribalized"--set free from his genealogical, denominational or national tribe to join the world-wide tribe in which there is "no east nor west, neither Jew nor Greek . . ."[266]

It is significant to note that the faculty not only voted its convictions but lived them, accompanying the student groups as married couples. The first SST teams went to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Guadeloupe, Honduras, and Jamaica.

Convictions lived consistently were laudable, but could place an unusual strain on students. Admirable though these traits were, the response of this student newspaper editor was probably typical of the somewhat schizophrenic approach of deep admiration for the Mennonite ethos and a deep need for personal relief from the world-view it produced:

I'm proud of the Goshen educational system; it has seemingly made its students more aware of what is going on than most other schools have. But I cannot think constantly about the war in Viet Nam, the crisis in the ghetto, or quantum theory and remain human. It is not possible to live on that level all the time; sometimes one must let his mind coast or at least know how to divert it.

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[266]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1968 (no page).

> Sometime I will go to a Mennonite party and feel
> comfortable talking about something other than race, religion,
> politics, or ethics.[267]

It is not easy to gauge whether or not this was the typical experience of the Goshen student or an atypical expression of an unusually conscientiousness individual. There is evidence, at least, that those who may have been so "burdened" with the weight of a thoughtful tradition and its implications for one's attitudes and behaviors seemed to dominate campus leadership positions. Once again, the issue of activism seems to be at the center of campus discussion:

> The activists have gathered into their eager, reaching arms
> most of the power which has been made available to
> students. They are prominent on publication staffs, special
> seminars, faculty-student committees, and community
> government, SCA and Peace Society.[268]

Whoever in the final analysis served to represent the campus activists, and whatever the level of stress and strain caused by the thoughtful demands of the Mennonite ethos, Goshen College students were, after all, students. They may have been more internationally and multiculturally aware, but they were still persons with desires, needs, and hormones. Student social standards and student life policies were to come under review during the 1968-69 academic year, a review initiated by the president:

> "In a period of rapid social change it is necessary for a
> community to review periodically the standards of conduct
> that have guided it in the past and restate them in the light of

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[267]Goshen College Record 20 September 1968, 2.

[268]Ibid., 28 March 1969, 6.

the contemporary situation." This, according to President Minninger, is the reason for the Administration's invitation to Community Government to review the social standards and regulations presently in effect at GC.[269]

The review led to a somewhat surprising development, unless one considers the broader context and importance of Christian community. In March, 1969, an experiment in communal living was approved by the Goshen College Community Government and accepted by President Minninger as a recommendation to him.[270] The proposal was designed to bring 10-15 students together, men and women, with a faculty family to live in one of the several homes owned by the college in the area. One of the authors of the proposal was reinstated student Tom Harley, a former editor of The Menno-Pause. The program began the following fall with a note of enthusiasm:

> Among the highlights of a new school year is the Howell House communal living experiment. Consisting of 11 students and the Devon Yoder family, the project is designed to foster interpersonal sensitivity and appreciation for the opposite sex.[271]

Once again, the emphasis on community and faculty participation was evident in campus innovations.

Issues of peace and race provoked discussion as the 1968-69 academic year drew to a close. Professors C. Norman Kraus and J. R. Burkholder announced progress on a proposal calling for an independent peace studies

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[269]Goshen College Record 31 January 1969, 1.

[270]Ibid., 28 March 1989, 2.

[271]Ibid., 19 September 1969, 1.

program at the college, an educational program for and beyond the college rooted in the Anabaptist tradition of non-violence.

Goshen was also concerned that it not attract more black students until it had the cultural support programs for them, and limited the number of black students for the following year to the current level of forty. The concern was not one of alarm over a growing black student population, but rather an ethical sensitivity to welcoming students to a somewhat confusing ethnic campus which was, in many ways, an experience of culture shock. A sub-committee of the Student Personnel Policy Committee considered recommendations which were, in some ways, ahead of its time for Christian colleges: " . . . black faculty and staff members, a black student center, an inclusion of black culture in courses, and a tutorial work-study program."[272]

This year of multicultural and international awareness, combined with the events of social and political turmoil on the domestic scene, brought some students to the point of gloom and confusion. The student yearbook captured this mood in mentioning the feeling of disappointment and despair among students when faced with the needs in Biafra in spite of their labors toward assistance by means of fasting, donating funds, fund raising, a benefit concert, and pressure on relief organizations. These efforts came in response to speeches by Goshen

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[272]Ibid., 16 May 1969, 3.

alumni Evie and Wally Schellenburger, who worked in a Biafran hospital, another example of "foreign influence."[273]

Such frustration with circumstances and what appeared to some to be an overintellectualization of the faith led to campus interest this year in the Protestant charismatic movement, which some felt allowed more room for an emotional expression of one's beliefs.[274] While not widespread or longlasting, the searching represented another point of contact with developments in the broader evangelical Christian world.

It seemed to many a volatile year, a year of transition and change, a time to shake the foundations and look to the future. One dramatic event on campus during the closing days of the 1968-69 academic year seemed to capture it perfectly. North Hall, built in 1903 and already scheduled for demolition, burned to the ground. The yearbook viewed it symbolically:

> The Apocalypse!
> North Hall in flames!
> Apropos to the ending
> of an explosive year.[275]

By the end of the decade some changes had occurred in student life policies, but by and large they were distinguished by an amazing consistency from year to year. The *in loco parentis* doctrine was curiously invoked in connection

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[273]Goshen College <u>Maple Leaf</u>, 1969, 90.

[274]Ibid., p. 98.

[275]Ibid., p. 101.

with off-campus student conduct, a comfortable safety valve which was cited in each Student Handbook of the decade:

> However, the college recognizes the original jurisdiction of parents over students in the home, and consequently, although the college is deeply concerned in, it does not accept full responsibility for the enforcement of all the college regulations as they pertain to the off-campus conduct of non-resident students.[276]

Although there would be agitation for a change in policy toward the close of the decade, coed visitation was not allowed in men's and women's residence halls, except for public lounges, until the 1970s. Additional prohibitions concerning alcohol were cited. The college made clear that it neither sponsored nor permitted social dancing. Fireworks, firearms and ammunition were forbidden on campus. The campus dress code was amended to allow certain styles for informal occasions. Students were still discouraged from marrying during the school year, but the policy on travel beyond the thirty-five mile limit was dropped. One could conclude that the policies needed little amending because they had been well conceived originally, or that the Goshen administration was particularly stubborn and resistant to change. A third explanation is probably closer to the truth. Most policies at Goshen seem to have been the product of communal decision-making, so that students were involved from the outset.

Communications and community were key concepts and the essential features of the Goshen College experience. When communication was not

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[276]Goshen College Student Handbooks, 1960-1969.

forthcoming, it was cause for concern. Suspecting a hidden agenda behind the resignation of President Minninger, announced over the summer of 1969, an editorial pleaded for more openness and less fear, and noted an uncharacteristic response from the College President:

> In this issue of the <u>Record</u> we attempted to conduct an interview with resigning President Paul Minninger. When asked to discuss the highlights and the disappointments of the past 15 years at GC, Minninger politely declined.[277]

It was, at least, a polite denial.

Whether in agreement or debate, issues at Goshen were openly discussed and decided. And in the 1969-70 academic year, issues ranged from the choice of participation in the National Moratorium protesting the war in Vietnam, a growing feminism, hair length on athletes, residence hall hours, and the intricacies of conscience over commencement garb.

Many anti-war voices and organizations throughout the United States called for a massive nation-wide protest on 15 October, a Vietnam Moratorium. The Goshen College Community Government, the body comprised of students, faculty, administration, and staff, passed a recommendation which called on the faculty to indicate its support of the Moratorium by suspending all normal academic activities. On October 9, the faculty approved the recommendation, and students arranged for a meaningful participation in the

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[277]<u>The Record</u>, 19 September 1969, 2.

Moratorium through the scheduling of films, discussions, speakers, and prayer.[278]

The next month an estimated 100 Goshen students joined the imposing Vietnam

War protest in Washington, D. C.

On a less significant issue, student government also raised a protest

of a different sort. In August three coaches had ruled the following about hairy

athletes:

> Participants on intercollegiate athletic teams that represent
> Goshen College in public shall not wear beards or
> moustaches. The length of hair shall be reasonable for the
> sport in which the player participates.[279]

The protest was prompted by an incident involving a tennis player with a

moustache who was not permitted to play when he refused to shave it. In a

journalistic coup, this article covering the controversy was placed in close

proximity to a sports action photograph featuring a Goshen College soccer player

dribbling past a bearded opponent from Spring Arbor College.

A growing feminist movement is evident in several places in the

1969-70 academic year. Commenting on the Women's Liberation Movement, a

student wrote in the campus newspaper that:

> At GC the "women's liberation movement" feels there is a
> particularly strong casting of the sexes into stereo-typed roles
> of femininity and masculinity-- at least partially due to a
> strong tradition of paternalism among Mennonites.[280]

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[278]Ibid., 10 October 1969, 1.

[279]Ibid., 7 November 1969, 2.

[280]Ibid., 10 October 1969, 1.

As if to demonstrate the point most forcefully, the editorial in the same issue called for no discrimination on the basis of gender in the selection of the next college president:

> It is interesting to note that the Mennonite Board of Education, in advising the Goshen College Presidential Selection Committee, has implicitly required that the new GC president be a man.
>
> Record feels that in the interests of finding the best possible person to accupy (sic) the presidency, women as well as men must be considered.[281]

The growing feminism was also evident in the mounting pressure to have the residence hall hours for women changed or abolished. The Women's House Government Association sponsored a referendum, and the results encouraged them to attempt to have the hours ended.[282]

The balancing act of student protest would teeter from the ridiculous to the sublime throughout the year, and seemed to culminate with the tempest in a teapot controversy over whether or not to forgo the traditional commencement cap and gown in favor of donating the apparel rental costs to a worthier cause. The irony of the discussion was not lost on the student newspaper editor, and indicates something of the temper of the times and the import of a Goshen College education:

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[281]Ibid.

[282]Ibid., 25 October 1969, 2.

> The cap and gown issue is symbolic, all right--not, however, of a tradition bound majority or of a change-conscious minority, but of the exaltation of trivia.
>
> Really, now, with Vietnam and Biafra still tragedies, with cities rotting and air stinking and races hating and babies starving one would hope that the seniors could leave GC with a vision somewhat broader and a purpose a bit sturdier than the hemline of their commencement apparel.[283]

The cumulative effects of a college enduring the changes in the world around it and the transitions of the campus itself did not go unnoticed by the surrounding communities. Most often the campus activities were misunderstood or not appreciated. The college yearbook captured the quintessential approach of the Mennonite College's effort for mutual understanding when faced with this sort of predicament:

> To promote better city/college relations GCCG (Goshen College Community Government) formed Communicana Commission-- a new committee to work through local mass media to communicate opinions, ours and the townspeoples', and to present the needs of the Elkhart area to Goshen College students. The premise: effective communication leads to understanding.[284]

Such a premise might well serve as a theme for the decade at Goshen College. Communication leads to understanding. Conflict is natural, even necessary, but there is a way to resolve it. If its experience of conflict and controversy was atypical of other Christian colleges, it was not because it lived through different times. Instead, its approach to those times displayed its

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[283]Ibid., 6 March 1970, 2.

[284]Goshen College Maple Leaf, 1970, p. 43.

distinctive virtues and a determined faithfulness to its tradition. At the heart of most campus issues of the decade was an instinctive response in terms of communication and reconciliation. Its frame of reference for most of the pivotal cultural and political events of the decade was an experiential one, often seen through the international teaching or service seasoning of faculty and administration. Its approach to curricular innovation was tied to the needs of the world around it.

Was this pattern consistent with the particular view of Christ and culture as understood by Niebuhr? It is to this question that attention is now drawn.

The Paradigm Considered

The distinctive trait of the "Christ against culture" approach identified by Niebuhr is its view of an antithesis between Christ and culture, one which calls for flight from or opposition to culture in an "either-or" attitude. Because the prevailing culture and its values are viewed as "pagan and corrupt" the community of faith withdraws into itself and forms an alternative culture with strongly held values and norms. This identifiable community of faith offers an alternative approach to life, trying to create a better and exemplary option. If culture is to be transformed at all, it is because its alternative culture has proven to be attractive to those outside the community of faith.

The early history of Goshen College indicates that the struggle with culture was viewed largely in terms of the protective stance taken against the encroachment of worldly values and modernist teachings. Issues of language, dress, and theological liberalism dominated the internal controversies of its first decades.

What took place at Goshen in the 1960s, however, was a struggle of a different sort, one which blurred the distinctions between a "Christ against culture" approach and the "Christ the transformer of culture" approach. This happened because Goshen College chose not to ignore its responsibilities to its surrounding culture, as its attempts at activism challenged the isolationistic tendencies. J. Lawrence Burkholder captures the significant transition:

> The logic of Mennonite theology, ethics and history points in the direction of radical rejection of social responsibility for the sake of a "new and separated" people. However, the logic of present day social, economic and educational tendencies among Mennonites points toward greater involvement and responsible participation in the affairs of the world.[285]

What accounts for the shift in emphasis from withdrawal and separation to engagement with culture? Burkholder accounts for it by pointing to the influence of increased contact with the world through foreign mission work, relief efforts around the world, and the impact of higher education in breaking down the domination of "rural solidarity" and withdrawal. Contact with the world

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[285]J. Lawrence Burkholder, The Problem of Social Responsibility from the Perspective of the Mennonite Church (Elkhart: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989), 3.

transformed the tendencies toward isolationism and separatism. The most

significant factor was the influence of higher education:

> Still more significant is the fact that higher education is
> beginning to make its impact upon Mennonite thought. With
> the introductions of the liberal disciplines such as science, the
> arts and history in Mennonite colleges, contact is made with
> the world on a level which makes social responsibility seem
> reasonable indeed. Hence Mennonites are now found in
> nearly all professions and many of them are considerably
> integrated in world culture.[286]

The overall impact of this broadened exposure to the world, in

Burkholder's view, was a significant alteration in the traditional Mennonite

approach to culture. Since Burkholder made these observations in his 1958

doctoral thesis, one senses the winds of change blowing as the decade of the 1960s

began at Goshen:

> The "strategy of withdrawal" which has been traditional with
> Mennonites and which in fact constitutes one of the classic
> Christian approaches to culture is being dissipated by both
> the movement of world culture upon the Mennonites from
> without and the tendency of the Mennonites to move into the
> world from within.[287]

The movement of the world upon the Mennonites from without is conceivable if

only from the sociological understanding of the inevitable encroachment of a

surrounding culture on a community of withdrawal. What is particularly

noteworthy is the deliberate move of the Mennonites into the world from within,

since this would seem to demonstrate a shift from one Niebuhrian paradigm into

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[286]Ibid., 22.

[287]Ibid., 23.

another, and could explain the activism on the Goshen campus when one might

not expect it.

This witness to the social structures of the day as typified on the

Goshen College campus was something relatively new to the Anabaptist-

Mennonite tradition. Failing to carry such a witness was a source of criticism,

even from within the ranks of Anabaptists, and again focused on the sense of

responsibility for the surrounding culture when the tendency had been to withdraw

from it:

> There is one aspect of Anabaptism of which we need to be
> critical. Although they were right that we cannot build the
> kingdom by our own efforts, they did not have a strong
> enough impulse to witness to the social structures. Although
> they were very much aware of the evil and oppression that
> came from the social structures, they failed to realize that we
> can change social structures even though we cannot build the
> kingdom. This weakness can best be seen in the present
> Mennonite-Brethren churches which have tended to withdraw
> from society and not feel responsibility for it.[288]

If higher education was the primary impetus for a broadened

Mennonite exposure to the world, and the cause for the shift in emphasis, then

the notion of responsibility provided the motivation for the change. The concept

represents a modification of the Niebuhrian paradigm, yet maintains the distinctive

traits of the Anabaptist tradition to which Goshen belongs. It is the concept of

"responsibility" which ultimately proves to be the key to understanding Goshen in

the 1960s and the place of student activism on its campus.

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[288]Arthur G. Gish, <u>The New Left and Christian Radicalism</u> (Grand
Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970), 75.

Burkholder sees the modern Mennonite churches developing a concern to be socially relevant, and traces the source for this change to both external and internal factors. Externally, the needs of the world impinged on the isolationistic tendencies of the Mennonite ethic. He cites two world wars, the depression, the Korean war, and the international tension resulting from an arms race as factors pointing to an obviously needy world. Internally, Burkholder traces the change to a "Great Awakening" within the Mennonite church as the result of the late nineteenth-century evangelistic work of John S. Cofman, who delivered the church from "almost one hundred and fifty years of spiritual decline and social irrelevance."[289] These external and internal factors brought about a renewed program in social services, missions, higher education, and publications. The resulting change is the overriding sense of responsibility for redemptive involvement in the world as opposed to the traditional isolationist ethic of Mennonites throughout history.

> No cause appeals to Mennonite giving as much as missions. Because of this a high premium is also put on higher education. The average couple will borrow money, even mortgage their house or farm, in order to assist their children to get university degrees. Large numbers of young people are entering such service professions as the ministry, medicine, social work, and teaching.[290]

Still, the shift to responsibility retained elements of the traditional Mennonite ethic. The dilemma of being in but not of the world remained a

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[289]Burkholder, The Problem of Social Responsibility, p. 176.

[290]Dyck, ed. An Introduction to Mennonite History, p. 179.

source of tension, and the central tenet of withdrawal, which Niebuhr identifies, is still retained within the scope of a "responsible" community. Burkholder identifies the solution as "alternative social service" in the face of the world's needs:

> Alternative social service applies the principles of withdrawal in the more dynamic setting of the main stream of culture and under conditions which are more intimately and directly related to the world crisis. Withdrawal is not so much geographical and cultural, in this instance, as vocational and ethical . . . Thus the relation of the Mennonite church to the world is more complex than simple withdrawal. It is no longer pure isolation. It is one of withdrawal from certain areas for the sake of dynamic penetration in others.[291]

It is this "dynamic penetration" which one observes in the Goshen College campus atmosphere of the 1960s. Students, at times led by charismatic and activist faculty members, attempted to chart their course between the common activism found on many college campuses and the possibilities for responsible activism which would retain the distinctives of the Anabaptist/Mennonite heritage. Whether in dialogue with the SDS, establishing communication with the surrounding community, or thinking through the possibilities for Christian witness in the face of the Vietnam war, the Goshen College community attempted to demonstrate that it was no longer in the business of withdrawal, unless it was withdrawal from an uncritical analysis and response to the issues of its day.

"Culture for Service," therefore, came to a more responsible expression. A college with roots in an ethic of isolation discovered a way to

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[291]Ibid., 176.

maintain its emphasis on withdrawal from society in a new, creative tension with it, one in which its redemptive responsibilities developed in an atmosphere of controversy and heightened communication. Conflict was welcomed, and usually resolved. Creative solutions to community problems were explored. Curricular innovations focused the distinctives of the Mennonite approach and reinforced the example of responsible involvement through voluntary, vocational withdrawal.

Goshen College, then, acted in accord with its theological heritage as interpreted by Niebuhr, but with sufficient refinements to indicate that the tradition is fluid and flexible. The college refined and adapted the "Christ against Culture" motif in such a way that its nuances approached the "Christ, the Transformer of Culture" motif, yet retained its distinctives. "Culture for Service" took on a new formative dimension at Goshen College in the 1960s, and in so doing provided an example of a community of scholars involved with the issues of its day.

CHAPTER FIVE

WHEATON COLLEGE

Historical Context

Wheaton College has long been identified as the prototypical

evangelical Christian college, an institution which symbolically carries the weight of

American theological history on its shoulders. In many ways it is larger than life,

and continues to represent a segment of the American religious landscape which

turns to it for leadership and direction. Its reputation is well deserved, and largely

because of the influence of the College, Wheaton, Illinois serves as the

headquarters for numerous evangelical publishing and mission organizations.

> If there is a single symbol of modern Evangelicalism, it is
> Wheaton College, situated just to the west of Chicago in the
> "All-American City" of Wheaton, Illinois. This school of
> about two thousand students is the most prestigious and
> perhaps the oldest of the "Christian colleges" that lie at the
> core of Evangelical culture and tradition.[292]

Central to an understanding of the significance of the 1960s to

Wheaton College is this sense of history, tradition, and the symbolic role the

institution played beyond the boundaries of the campus. Wheaton traced its

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[292]Donald W. Dayton, Discovering an Evangelical Heritage, (New York:
Harper and Row, 1976), 7.

heritage to theological controversy and a self-conscious identification with a particular theological perspective and tradition. Fidelity to this history and practice gave shape to its mission and identity.

> During the early decades of the twentieth century, as most of the major denominations became increasingly influenced by liberal Protestant thought and as their colleges gradually became secularized, Wheaton gained a reputation as the leading fundamentalist college. Wheaton earned this reputation because of its dogged determination to resist secular influence and because its nondenominational nature made it attractive to students from orthodox homes in a broad variety of denominations.[293]

The academic year 1959-60 was, interestingly enough, the centennial year for Wheaton College. Its beginnings were linked to a small band of Wesleyans who had begun the Illinois Institute in 1851, a preparatory school founded on anti-slavery principles. It was a struggling institution until Jonathan Blanchard came to be its President in 1860 and Congregationalists assumed financial control. Its name was changed in view of the large donation of land by Warren and Jesse Wheaton.

Blanchard had served as President of Galesburg College in Galesburg, Illinois. He was not only a man of deep religious piety, but a popular firebrand social activist, frequently at the forefront of the anti-slavery struggle and

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[293]William C. Ringenburg, <u>The Christian College: A History of Protestant Higher Education in America</u> (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 174.

strong critic of the freemasonry movement because of its secret oaths and anti-democratic tendencies.

Blanchard's tenure at Wheaton extended for twenty years, and he was succeeded by his son Charles, who assumed the post at the age of thirty-three. The junior Blanchard served until 1925, when he died at the age of seventy-seven. The younger Blanchard's tenure occurred during a formative period in American Protestant history, the modernist-fundamentalist debate, and Charles Blanchard saw to it that Wheaton students maintained morally upright lives, free from doctrinal and moral impurities.[294]

It is important to note both the tenure and imprint made on Wheaton by the Blanchards, because it is soon evident in a consideration of the college in the 1960s that a key to understanding it is the strong link to the founder's faith and moral standards. In the College Bulletin for 1960, for example, we find an emphasis on scholarship, conduct, and fidelity to the founders, alumni, and Christian constituency as pieces of the campus culture intended to impress the new and continuing student:

> The founders of the College and their successors have consistently maintained that only a high type of scholarship and only a high plane of conduct are consonant with that high Christian purpose. Wheaton College is determined to maintain the following ideals and objectives both because of their truth and value, and because of the solemn obligation to

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[294]The most recent history of Wheaton College was published in honor of its one hundred twenty-fifth year. It provides significant detail on the careers of both Blanchards. Paul Bechtel, Wheaton College: A Heritage Remembered, 1860-1984. (Wheaton: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1984).

keep faith with its founders, alumni, and Christian constituency.[295]

Wheaton students and staff began their work at the institution keenly aware of the sense of history and tradition, and the college's place of leadership within the evangelical world. As the 1960s began, and Wheaton celebrated its centennial, it heralded its identity by means of a pageant. This script for this festive occasion placed Wheaton in the long line of those prophets who fought for the Lord against the apostate powers of the age, as Elijah did against the prophets of Baal, just as Wheaton would, according to the pageant, against Marxism and atheism. Ironically, the most significant battles of the next decade would be internal.

The Institution in the 1960s

The field of human resources management frequently refers to concepts such as "organizational culture" and "organizational climate" as analytical tools for understanding how and why organizations establish and implement policy, develop patterns of communication, and achieve institutional goals. These concepts will aid an investigation of Wheaton College in the decade of the 1960s, since a major preoccupation of the College and, as a result, the student affairs division, was the preservation of elements of the organization's culture and history

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[295]Wheaton College Bulletin, 1960, p.4.

in the face of social change. The student affairs division regularly found itself in the uneasy position of arbiter between the long-standing organizational culture of Wheaton College and a growing internal, informal student organizational culture which was choosing to identify with social movements of the day rather than the inherited values of the College community. As Owens points out, "in describing organizational culture we must be aware that subunits of the organization have cultures of their own which possess distinctive attributes."[296] While Calvin and Goshen each have their own organizational cultures, neither compare to the pervasive nature of Wheaton's. It is for this reason that this analytical tool, in addition to the Niebuhrian paradigm, will be employed in an effort to better understand Wheaton in the 1960s.

Owens describes organizational culture as the composite configuration of thought patterns relating to an organization's beliefs, values, norms for behavior, and operative assumptions. It is a means of socialization as well:

> Organizational culture is the body of solutions to external and internal problems that has worked consistently for a group and that is therefore taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think about, and feel in relation to those problems.[297]

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[296]Robert C. Owens, <u>Organizational Behavior in Education</u> (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1987), 170.

[297]Ibid., 166.

He is careful to distinguish organizational culture from organizational climate, the latter to be understood as those derivative perceptions which result from the culture, often assessed in terms of levels of satisfaction. Important clues to an institution's culture, he argues, are those elements of ritual, symbol, and tradition which come to embody the organization. Ritual, symbol, and tradition are also formative elements in institutional history.

This chapter provides documentary evidence for Wheaton's stated values and norms, examples of student perceptions of the campus culture, and an analysis of the chronology of events within the decade. Taken together, these elements indicate that social change in the surrounding American culture forced the student affairs division to come to grips with either challenging or supporting the prevailing organizational culture of the college. More so than at Calvin or Goshen, the Wheaton student affairs division consequently found itself between a rock and a hard place in terms of a conflict of cultural values. This chapter also notes the place of tradition and the unusual power of the Wheaton presidency for shaping the organizational culture and history.

As described above, a significant element of the organizational culture was the link to the founder's faith and moral standards. Support for this was cited from the college Bulletin of 1960. The same issue of the Bulletin in a section entitled "A First Glance at Wheaton College" describes Wheaton students as "a select group, ranking above average in nationally-administered intelligence

and general culture tests."[298] This emphasis on an academic elite has long been

a part of the Wheaton organizational culture, and a distinctive recognized by any

who study the college.

> For example, during the late 1960s, new enrollees entered
> with an average college board (SAT) score of approximately
> 1200, and nearly 75 percent of them had graduated in the top
> 10 percent of their high school class.[299]

Wheaton also promoted itself as an institution of a particular

political and economic orientation:

> Wheaton is conservative in its religious, political, and
> economic views and, in harmony with its Christian faith,
> continues firmly to uphold, with sound scholarship, the
> principles upon which our nation was founded.[300]

This stance naturally translated into faculty hiring policies and earned for

Wheaton a particular niche within evangelical circles, not the least of which turned

out to be a circle of donors.

The self-conscious values which constitute an organizational culture

are approximated in the first mention of an "atmosphere" which the college

intended to promote, especially with regard to its obligation to the students'

spiritual development. These values were clearly translated into institutional

policies, among them compulsory chapel attendance and the signing of the now

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[298]Wheaton College Bulletin, 1960, 3.

[299]Ringenburg, The Christian College, 197.

[300]Ibid.,2.

famous "pledge" of conduct while students were under the authority of Wheaton

College. This atmosphere was first described in 1962:

> Consistent with this belief and with the conviction that the
> College is responsible for the spiritual development of its
> students, Wheaton College attempts to create an atmosphere
> conducive to the purposes of a liberal arts education in the
> Christian tradition. The daily worship service, a Christian
> faculty dedicated to this ideal, a standard of conduct-all are
> part of the total College atmosphere.[301]

As we will come to see, the pledge to a standard of conduct was the single most

significant element of organizational culture for the Wheaton student and the

Wheaton student affairs staff. By 1970 the "atmosphere" became structured, and

sounded more and more like the sort of ingredients which constitute

organizational culture:

> It is recognized that within a community or institution certain
> norms and practices must be adopted which enhance the
> goals and purposes of the institution.[302]

Another noticeable feature of the Wheaton organizational culture is

the repeated reference and allusion to the Wheaton "family." The decade of the

1960s began and ended with Presidents Edman and Armerding addressing the

students as "the sons and daughters of Wheaton" in their letter of greeting in the

Student Handbook, lifting the phrase from the alma mater introduced by

President Charles Blanchard. Throughout the decade references are made to the

Wheaton "family" in printed materials, even at times of family struggle and

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[301]Wheaton College Bulletin, 1962, p. 11.

[302]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1970, preface.

differences. The import of this feature of the organizational culture for the

student affairs division is the obvious image of the college acting *in loco parentis*.

These features of the organizational culture were not lost on the

students. Writing in the 1964 Tower, an editor offers this impression of Wheaton

prior to admission. Clearly, the message was coming through:

> From afar Wheaton appears to them as a Christian finishing
> school, the apex of cultured intellectual orthodoxy, a first-rate
> educational institution with all the dangers removed.[303]

Traditions play an important role in the makeup of an organization's

culture, and Wheaton was rich in traditions, most of which revolved around

student life, and some of which were to be a source of conflict in the 1960s.

Among the Wheaton traditions which tended to reinforce the mystique of a

cultured family environment were the annual Washington banquet, the burial and

excavation of the senior cake, the senior bench, the senior sneak, and a variety of

stage presentations of a literary, dramatic, or musical nature. These were

traditions to be enjoyed by the children of alumni who were also able to return to

campus and point to the tree planted by their class. At Wheaton there were many

tangible ties to link the generations in memories of sanctified fun, safe from the

entrapments of the surrounding society. Again, perceptive students instinctively

noticed these elements of organizational culture, and in this commentary on them

we notice the growing voice of dissent and diversity, a voice which would call for

an organizational culture of its own design, with the student affairs division

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[303]Wheaton College Tower, 1964, p.104.

assuming the role of mediator between administration and student, and translator

to the languages of both cultures:

> Actually, Wheaton is a quite self-conscious place. There is a universal awareness of the traditions, prestige, and ominous burden of expectation incumbent on the "Wheaton family". There is also an ever-present minority deviation, which expresses itself in political and religious attitudes, dress, musical and artistic tastes, as well as general behavior patterns.[304]

A final feature to be considered in any measurement of the

Wheaton College organizational culture is the powerful position of influence which

is the office of the college president. In its long history, Wheaton has been served

by only six presidents, the last one assuming the office in 1982. The two who

served during the decade of the 1960s, Drs. Edman and Armerding, were both

profoundly influenced by their experience in the military. This translated into

their personal expectations for student behavior and decorum, and led to several

interesting encounters with the issue of American involvement in Vietnam, student

demonstrations against the draft and the war itself, and discussions over the

presence of an ROTC chapter on Wheaton's campus.

In general, the President of Wheaton College was to embody the

organizational culture of the institution. President Edman, in his introductory

letter to the students in the 1960 Student Handbook makes mention of the

"family" theme noted above and describes what ought to be the students' priorities

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[304]Wheaton College Tower, 1968, p.115.

for success at Wheaton, a statement certain to have pleased the Blanchards and

the founders of the College:

> In every well-regulated and happy family there are privileges
> and also responsibilities . . . Devotional reading of the Word
> of God, private and group prayer, good study habits, an
> effective budget of time and purse, a spirit of true humility,
> cooperation, and cheerfulness, and a victorious spirit will
> make your years at Wheaton a strong foundation for life's
> glad service.[305]

So, too, President Armerding, writing his first letter of greeting to

the students as he assumed the office in 1965:

> The regulations listed in the handbook have been found, in
> our experience, to be necessary to a well-ordered and
> effective campus society.[306]

Bechtel records an interesting anecdote which illustrates key features of the

organizational culture and the significance of the President as the embodiment of

it. In the face of campus unrest over the lack of minority students and staff at

Wheaton, and to answer charges of discriminatory practices, President Armerding

spoke to the student body in response, doing so during the chapel period, thus

adding the weight of the authority of the president to the already imposing

atmosphere of a chapel assembly.[307] Where are values communicated? In

chapel. By whom? By the president.

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[305]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1960, p.1.

[306]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1965, p.1.

[307]Bechtel, Wheaton College, 285.

These, then, are the identifiable features of the organizational culture of Wheaton College in the decade of the 1960s, features supported and interpreted by the student affairs division of the college: a self-conscious link to the faith and moral standards of the founders of the college; the reputation of an academically elite student body; a deliberate conservatism in its political, religious, and economic orientation; the promotion of the "family" image as a definition of the academic community, with the *in loco parentis* doctrine as a logical corollary; the stress placed on college tradition and the students' place in this link with institutional history; and the long shadow of the Presidency as the embodiment of the organizational culture. The culture impinged specifically on the students when it issued into operational policies such as mandatory, monitored chapel services and the trademark "pledge" of conduct, the stuff of Wheaton lore and tradition, but also the point at which the organizational culture of the institution found focus for the growing alternative culture of the student of the 1960s. In the exchange of cultures stood the student affairs division of Wheaton College.

We will now examine the emerging organizational culture of Wheaton students during the decade under investigation, and notice also the points at which the student affairs staff served in the role of arbiter, translator, interpreter, and negotiator, as the prevailing organizational culture creaked and moaned under the weight of change on campus and in the broader American society. This evolution will be noted by way of an anecdotal history of the decade, observing in the process how change in the academic climate, student life policies,

and campus publications and events signaled something deeper for the life of Wheaton College.

At the start of the decade Wheaton welcomed 1700 students, employed 130 faculty, and operated on forty acres of land in a suburb west of Chicago. In its residence halls it housed 201 men and thirty-one women, with a startling 850 students housed in private homes in the Wheaton area. The College not only operated with the *in loco parentis* philosophy: in many instances students simply left their own parents to "inherit" a new set at college.

Student services at the time listed the following services in the College Bulletin: counseling and guidance; placement bureau; employment office; and health center. The *alma mater* occupied the front, inside cover of the Student Handbook, a place of prominence until 1967, when it was relegated to the back inside cover and replaced by the president's welcome letter.

The start of the decade was a time of innocence and orderliness. Orderliness extended to student housing and the detailed regulations which governed student life. The assigning of roommates was particularly soothing:

> In making room assignments the Personnel Office seeks to place together students with similar interests so that the most congenial relationships are fostered. After the first year at Wheaton, students are at liberty, within certain limitations, to select their roommates and make housing adjustments that will contribute to their happiness.[308]

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[308]Wheaton College Bulletin, 1961, p.17.

Wheaton students lived with an extensive list of regulations

governing student life in 1960. Among the regulations were these: beds were to

be made up and ready for inspection by 10:30 each morning; there were to be no

televisions in student rooms; coed visitation was absolutely forbidden in the

residence hall rooms and in private homes (fathers being the only exception); daily

chapel attendance was required; strict hours were enforced for the return of men

and women to the residence halls; women were not permitted to enter beauty

contests; permission must be requested of the appropriate dean for marriage

during the school year; women were not to be employed after 10:00 p.m.; and any

babysitting job was to be first approved by the employment office.[309]

Of all the regulations and expectations placed on the Wheaton

student none has received the notoriety achieved by the student code of conduct.

Often this is what identifies Wheaton most clearly to the outside observer who

might not take the time to notice the outstanding academic environment,

reputation, and accomplishments of its students and faculty over the years.

Because so much of what happened with regard to the development of an

alternative, student defined organizational culture came in reaction to the code of

conduct, it will be quoted in its entirety:

> In applying for admission, each candidate signs an agreement
> to abide by these standards of the College: to abstain from
> the use of alcoholic liquors and tobacco, from gambling and
> the possession and use of playing cards, from dancing, from
> meetings of secret societies, and from attendance at theaters,

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[309]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1960, p.22.

including the movies. It is expected that all will seek to preserve and cultivate the spirit of this pledge in their use of radio and television.[310]

Adherence to this code of conduct was expected as long as the student was under the authority of Wheaton, and students were expected to withdraw from the College if they could no longer abide by it in good conscience.

In addition to the concerns over moral conduct and proper behavior on campus, there were indications in the 1959-60 academic year of the distinctive frame of reference by which Wheaton students often measured that which was happening around them. There was, for instance, the tendency to view Wheaton "over against" secular campuses or non-Christian behaviors. An example is found in this commentary on a film about beatniks shown on campus:

> "Generation Without a Cause," a movie portraying the beatnik outlook on life, will be shown Friday night, Nov. 13, at 7:30 in Pierce chapel. A Bible forum will follow, in which a panel will contrast the Christian outlook of Wheaton with the attitudes on today's secular campuses.[311]

This pervasive approach, which continually contrasted the standards of Wheaton over against those of students around them led to the charge of "cloistering," an accusation leveled by some students that Wheaton was less concerned with education than with isolation. In commenting on the results of a poll taken in preparation for a student forum, this editorial suggested that students might share the blame for isolationist tendencies.

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[310]Wheaton College Bulletin, 1960, p.11.

[311]Wheaton College Record, 80 no. 9, 12 November 1959, p. 1.

> Results of a poll taken for the forum showed that 70 per cent of a group of approximately 200 Wheaton students felt that Wheaton is a cloister. If this is true, whose fault is it?[312]

When blame was laid at the doorstep of college officials, a typical response given was that some Wheaton students were not yet ready for the rigors or dangers of engagement with the outside world, and were in need of protection. Students wouldn't settle for this, even to the point of suggesting that "Dedication in Education," the centennial theme, was inappropriate to cloistering:

> In the past few weeks, there has been much roar about Wheaton's being a cloister, and the possibility of intellectual stagnation.
>
> Perhaps some Wheaton students are "too immature and too unscriptural" to handle outside ideas if brought to campus, but it seems that keeping them protected from outside ideas is one factor which keeps them from maturing.
>
> If the administration feels strongly that the Wheaton student is unable to handle ideas, even from its own rank and file, perhaps we should find a new Centennial slogan.[313]

If "cloistering" was one tendency, another was to view social conflict not as a justice issue but as an opportunity for missions and personal conversions. This tendency naturally flows from the approach to culture which views it as almost exclusively evil. Those who dwell within it must therefore be rescued and delivered. This view sees the kingdom of Christ to be more a sanctuary for the redeemed than an arena for justice. In such a scheme, racial injustice, for

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[312]Ibid., 80 no. 10, 19 November 1959, p. 2.

[313]Ibid., 80 no. 11, 27 November 1959, p. 2.

example, is seen as a barrier to the spread of the gospel. In commenting on a reason for passage of the civil rights bill, a student is quick to make the correlation:

> As Christians seeking to extend the kingdom of Christ we must somehow bridge this socio-racial barrier that is existent in the world today. This is imperative if we are going to convert the world to Christ.[314]

The decade started with some questioning of the tendency to cloister students, but for the most part the campus was calm and serene, concerned with matters of fashion and conservative politics. Fashion played a big role in the socializing of students to the Wheaton norms. The homecoming issue of the student newspaper in 1960 featured a full-page photo spread with an accompanying article on the "Continental Look" which was to dominate the campus fashion scene.[315] The following issue had front page pictures of official Wheaton blazers on male and female class officers, and an article on the upcoming concert Artist Series, advising students that "semi-formal dress is proper attire for the evening."[316]

Conservative Republican politics was the norm at Wheaton, only occasionally challenged by students. Early in the decade some asked if an evangelical Christian could or should vote for a Roman Catholic candidate, prompting this response in the Record:

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[314]Ibid., 81 no. 5, 3 March 1960, p. 2.

[315]Ibid., 82 no. 6, 21 October 1960, p. 4.

[316]Ibid., 82 no. 7, 28 October 1960, p. 2.

>Even after Senator Kennedy's obvious victory, there were those on this Republican campus who tried not to believe it and wistfully hoped that the recounting of votes in several states might alter the situation.[317]

This political atmosphere was not without its dissenters, however. An article in the student newspaper announced the formation of a new club on campus, which its founders said had roots in the historic evangelical movement.

>Wheaton's new club for political, economic and social liberals counts itself in the evangelical tradition. The Clapham Society looks to reformers from the prophets to Jonathan Blanchard for inspiration.[318]

This club, which took its name from the Clapham sect founded by William Wilberforce urging the abolition of slavery, was greeted with an almost universal response. It was seen as the locus of liberal political activity on campus. An editorial in the same issue came to the point:

>We welcome the proposal for the formation of a club, the Clapham Society, for students of liberal political convictions or inclinations.[319]

Curiously, first President Jonathan Blanchard and the Old Testament prophets were linked to political liberalism in an odd guilt by association.

The Clapham Society was an indication that divergent views on significant matters were to be found on the Wheaton campus, although the choice of name was significant. The name brought credibility to the group. To be linked

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[317]Ibid., 82 no. 10, 17 November 1960, p. 3.

[318]Ibid., 83 no. 14, 14 December 1961, p. 3.

[319]Ibid., p. 2.

to a part of American religious history that could not be discredited by even the most conservative Christian was a stroke of genius. The founding of the Clapham Society suggested that even among family members there can be healthy differences of opinion and, without them, education is diminished:

> To maintain that on a liberal arts campus in this country there is anything like uniformity in political opinion is to support a fiction, and an unhealthy one at that.[320]

On any college campus worth its claim to membership in the higher education community one should be able to find a vigorous student press endowed with the freedom to ask questions about the educational mission and product of any institution, especially its own. That there were gifted writers on campus was without dispute. In May of 1961 the newspaper reported that three of the top five places in the *Atlantic Monthly* fortieth annual creative writing contest were awarded to Wheaton students.[321] Throughout the 1960s the Wheaton student press found itself the focus of both student and administrative attention, even if for very different reasons. Students would look to the newspaper and yearbook for peer patterns of and clues to thought and opinion. Administration looked for the same thing, but not always out of the same motivation. In 1962 the yearbook commented on the purpose of a committee appointed to guarantee caution in publication:

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[320]Ibid., 83 no. 19, 15 February 1962, p. 2.

[321]Ibid., 82 no. 32, 25 May 1961, p. 1.

> The reputation and boundaries of Wheaton's literary and
> radio maturity are formed and defined by this group of
> editors and business managers, coordinators of publications,
> deans and faculty consultants whose purpose it is to help and
> guide the actions and words of students that are heard too
> widely to be allowed carelessness.[322]

The academic year 1961-1962 witnessed other significant changes in
the campus environment. For the first time mention is made of the college taking
responsibility to "foster standards of personal appearance and dress consistent with
the institution's convictions and prevailing societal norms."[323] Detailed
regulations were published in the Student Handbook concerning mandatory chapel
attendance and enforcement procedures. Reference to the students' use of radio
and television consistent with the spirit of the pledge is not mentioned in the
year's College Bulletin, perhaps a concession to the presence of movies in
television programming. And the first of the decade's several "underground"
student publications made its debut. The Brave Son, a tongue-in-cheek reference
to a phrase from the *alma mater*, is followed the next year by Critique.

The 1962-1963 academic year saw student publications serving as the
catalyst for student dissent and administrative policy-making. It was in some ways
a pivotal year, not only for freedom of expression, but for the beginnings of
student activism. It started with the action of the administration to suspend the
publication of the Kodon, the student literary magazine, after an issue critical of

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[322]Wheaton College Tower, 1962, p.114.

[323]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1962, p.114.

the elements of the prevailing organizational culture. A special committee was formed to study all student-produced campus publications, "in order to examine the philosophy and purpose of creative expression in a Christian context . . . ".[324]   The editor of the Kodon that year was Wes Craven, who was to become a successful producer of major motion pictures of the terror-horror genre. An editorial hinted that the reason for Kodon's early death was its almost transformational approach toward literature, which proved to be too risky:

> The primary motivation behind the literary attempt in Kodon is this: that the Christian Church, through its individual members, must assume an increasing role in current literary activity, and that their literary art must supply its own merit and dignity in portraying life honestly.[325]

The committee's work established a new working policy which attempted to recognize freedom of expression within the context of the Wheaton culture:

> For the first time, editors of the Record and the Kodon presented criteria for their respective publications and were granted freedom to print within self-imposed limits without pre-publication preview. Special board meetings were later held to determine whether they had adhered to their criteria.[326]

The student affairs staff, in particular the Dean of Students who sat on the committee which ironed out this new understanding, functioned as arbiter between the growing social dissent and embryonic organizational culture of the students,

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[324]Wheaton College Tower, 1963, p.114.

[325]Ibid., 85 no. 18, 31 January 1963, p. 2.

[326]Ibid., 107.

and the prevailing organizational culture of the college. If one of the

characteristics of the emerging student culture was a more vocal activism, the

results were significant:

> Having received complete editorial freedom this year, Record explored issues ranging from the place of women in contemporary society to the relationship between Christ and culture. Sensitive to the needs of the students, an editorial brought about the opening of the MSC (Memorial Student Center) on Sundays, and a letter to the editor brought about a campaign for racial integration of the local barber shops.[327]

Interestingly, the editor of the 1963 Record was Nancy Hardesty,

acknowledged to be a pioneering feminist author in evangelical Christian circles.

The seeds of feminist concerns and the power of activism are evident themes

already as a Wheaton student. A sample from an editorial indicates that feminist

activism was another instance of divergent thinking on Wheaton's campus:

> Women constitute approximately half of (sic) student body-a rather significant group. Why is our voice seldom heard? Not because there is no opportunity, but because we have abdicated our place. We refuse to think and express our opinion.[328]

Apparently the thoughts expressed by Hardesty represented very few

women on campus; a case, indeed, of divergent thinking. The reply from the

Council of the Associated Women Students at Wheaton indicated that the

editorial was not a rally call to battle:

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[327]Ibid., 116.

[328]Ibid., 85 no. 16, 4 January 1963, p. 2.

Your recent editorial "Women Awake" has challenged us as women on Wheaton's campus to rethink our attitudes in regard to the role of Christian women in an academic community. Keeping in mind the traditional Christian view as to the position of women, we do not feel that it is necessary to push for a mass crusade for feminine self-expression.[329]

During the 1962-63 academic year an incident in the Wheaton community followed closely on the incident with James Meredith at Ole Miss, and seemed to bring the whole matter of civil rights closer to home. A Wheaton student wrote to the school newspaper for advice. He had been in a barber shop in Wheaton when a fellow student, who was black, was refused service because of his race. The student wrote to ask what to do to "remove this injustice and come to the defense of our fellow student?"[330] The Wheaton Student Council appointed a civil rights committee, and sent letters detailing the incident to the faculty, the Wheaton Chamber of Commerce, the City Council, and the Ministerial Association. The student newspaper then called for a boycott of the barbershop, linking this social activism to the heritage of Jonathan Blanchard:

We as a college are challenged to take our stand concerning social justice. We are forced to rely on the Christian courage which made our founder great. The ideals of Jonathan Blanchard must continue to be the goals of Wheaton College.[331]

This stirring call to activism was lodged in November of 1962. In February of 1963 two letters to the editor expressed deep frustration over no

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[329]Ibid., 85 no. 17, 10 January 1963, p. 2.

[330]Ibid., 86 no. 8, 25 October 1962, p. 4.

[331]Ibid., 85 no. 12, 23 November 1962, p. 3.

movement or action on the part of the Wheaton barber shop. The letters called for "orderly pickets," citing a similar protest at Illinois State University which had garnered the support of seventy students and some faculty. The editor's reply was to describe the continuing correspondence with community and labor organizations, suggesting that "there are limits to effective student action in our present situation."[332] Apparently student activism beyond boycotting was not the sort of thing for which Wheaton students were ready. In its place was the hope of moral persuasion through correspondence. The "secular" students at Illinois State had chosen a more activist route, however, and brought about change.

Some students struggled to distance themselves from the image of conformity and indoctrination, the stereotypical picture of the error-free Wheaton student. An editorial entitled "Image and Reality" attempted to describe the actual state of affairs, whether or not it pleased the Wheaton constituency:

> We are becoming in actuality, and rightly so, a community of minds fusing the Christian perspective with authentic liberal arts education. The free interchange of ideas is not only permitted but encouraged; divergent views are fairly presented and evaluated. Our best teachers, while being men of Christian convictions and orthodoxy (though not a perverted form of it as a part of the image might reflect), use their abilities, not to limit the students' thinking, but to stimulate and guide it as he constructs his own world-and-life view. He is given the opportunity to think with freedom, while being actively confronted with the truth of the Christian faith by dedicated evangelical scholars.[333]

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[332]Ibid., 85 no. 20, 14 February 1963, p. 2.

[333]Ibid., 85 no. 4, 27 September 1962, p. 2.

During the 1963-64 academic year a chapter of the NAACP was founded on Wheaton's campus. This prompted a firestorm of protest from a Mr. W. E. Schmitt, a Wheaton alum, class of '54, who objected because of his belief that the NAACP was a front for communism. The student newspaper offered three letters from students in rebuttal, suggesting that Schmitt was being "duped" by the John Birch Society, defending the NAACP as a justice organization, and offering a blistering defense of the organization through a thoroughgoing critique of Schmitt's accusations.[334]

Other items of note occurred during this academic year, and give clues to the campus climate. President Raymond received a citation from the Association of the United States Army for his "deep personal interest" in the Reserve Officer Training Corps, which led to the establishment of a ROTC unit on Wheaton's campus, an example, according to the association, to campuses nationwide.[335]

Also that year a study was prepared in connection with the proposed library expansion. The results, reported in the student newspaper, bolstered Wheaton's academic reputation:

> Wheaton leads all Illinois Colleges in doctoral degrees earned by its alumni during the past 42 years. It is also the leading evangelical college in the nation in the area of advanced degrees earned by graduates.[336]

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[334]Ibid., 86 no. 9, 7 November 1963, p. 2.

[335]Ibid., 86 no. 10, 14 November 1963, p. 4.

[336]Ibid., 86 no. 11, 21 November 1963, p. 1.

In spite of the fact that men and women students were still carrying on the long-standing tradition of climbing the tower of the Administration Building and ringing the bell in the tower to announce an engagement, male-female relations were becoming strained. A mold seemed to exist that some wanted destroyed:

> He (speaking in general terms) has cast the Wheaton girl into a mold. She must fit the impressions of this mold if she is to please him, and because pleasing him is the primary goal urged upon her by her environment, she conforms.
>
> Added to the expected request that she be reasonably attractive, the Wheaton male has seemed to stipulate that his girl be intelligent, but not too brainy, a good conversationalist, but not too deep, active in student affairs, but not too opinionated.[337]

Ironically, the same issue of the newspaper featured a photo of a female student dragging a male student by the foot toward the bell tower, and throughout the year a regular fashion column entitled "Tres Chic" appeared for women students, keeping them informed of contemporary fashion.

Issues of Christianity and culture continued to surface, and one focal point for identifying Wheaton's approach may be seen in the developments in "Negro evangelism." Again, relating to a culture is not primarily for service or justice, but for the ultimate goal of conversion of the individual:

> Christian Service Council in the last year has become one of the campus leaders in relating Christianity to culture, yet many students are unaware of this important new emphasis.

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[337]Ibid., 86 no. 21, 5 March 1964, p. 2.

> Perhaps the biggest change has taken place in Negro evangelism. The new emphasis is on understanding the people with whom one works, meeting their cultural and individual needs, and presenting the gospel.[338]

Negro evangelism was not the same thing as affiliation with the contemporary civil rights struggle. The barber shop incident and the founding of the NAACP chapter on campus seemed to have nudged some on Wheaton's campus in the direction many campuses had already taken. Some students seemed to long for such engagement, and promoted the idea with the view that Wheaton could provide leadership here, too.

> Students need some issues to crusade and fight for-that is a truism perhaps of college education. These provide a kind of creative outlet that is to be much preferred to inner tension and unrest and outward sophistication. I am suggesting that the student body seize a major issue by the throat. Much of Wheaton's great spirit of previous years was due to its position as a religious and cultural leader. Wheaton could again become a leader among colleges--in civil rights.[339]

Activism was on the rise in 1964. A new openness to institutional self-awareness and examination was evident. The Tower for the first time attempts to capture the climate of the campus, its mood and movements, and not simply record the events of the year. It devotes a full page to commentary on the fashion-conscious Wheaton campus, as if to say that dress regulations can lead to an unwarranted emphasis on ones' appearance. It identifies the campus "favorite

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[338]Ibid., 86 no. 22, 12 March 1964, p. 2.

[339]Ibid., 86 no. 29, 7 May 1964, p. 2.

words": communicate, existential, and relevant. Although it gave no figures as to

the level of student participation, it noted that:

> Through Teen Clubs and boycott marches more and more
> students involved themselves, as Christians, in the Chicago
> Negro's battle for rights.[340]

It also observed that in the second year of the "book of the semester" program the

selection was Camus' The Plague. This was accompanied by interdisciplinary

discussions, faculty lectures on existentialism, and a visit to campus by a personal

friend of Camus.

A campus incident and a new policy serve to illustrate the

atmosphere on campus at this time. A mass demonstration followed the

announcement by a physical education instructor that a bearded student in his

class was to shave or forfeit his grade. This prompted lengthy debate in the

educational policies committee of the faculty, leading it to rescind an earlier policy

banning beards in the graduation processional. As Bechtel points out, this would

have no doubt pleased bearded Jonathan Blanchard.[341]

The new policy concerned campus demonstrations, and was, at the

least, provocative:

> Any student identified as a leader or active participant in an
> unauthorized mass student demonstration assumes the
> likelihood of being suspended from the College.[342]

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[340]Wheaton College Tower, 1964, p.103.

[341]Bechtel, Wheaton College, p.266.

[342]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1964, p.25.

Student involvement in civil rights causes in Chicago soon brought questions about Wheaton's own record to the foreground of campus discussion. In 1964 students had requested permission of the administration to organize a campus chapter of the NAACP, and permission was granted. Although it soon disbanded due to lack of sustained interest (and, no doubt, the absence of black students), the issue of minority presence among students and staff at Wheaton was not to be avoided. The admissions staff mounted a major effort at minority recruitment, with limited success. But students had once again called into question one of the elements of the prevailing culture, stretching the boundaries of the Wheaton "family" to intentionally include people of color.

Student government began, in 1965, to assume a more visible and vocal role in defining the emerging organizational culture of the Wheaton student of the 1960s. While not always successful in achieving its objectives, it did provide leadership for dissent and a focal point for the formation of a student voice:

> When student-administration tensions arose on matters such as chapel policy, publications, new ROTC contracts, and the ban of Iron Curtain performers at the Artist Series, Council attempted, with and without success, to articulate the student viewpoint.[343]

Dr. Hudson T. Armerding served his first full year as Wheaton's president in 1966. It was another interesting year. It is uncertain whether he or the student affairs staff were responsible for the change, but for the first time the Student Handbook refers to the code of conduct in the context of the academic

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[343]Wheaton College Tower, 1965, p.96.

community. This section of the handbook mentions college purposes, gives a context for behavioral norms, describes the responsibilities of the college to the student, calls for "relevance" of the college's purposes to the "needs and changes in higher education, the Christian church and society", and stresses the students' achievement of "maximum personal development".[344]

In an extended essay in the 1966 Tower, Dr. Arthur Rupprecht, Assistant Professor of Languages, noted significant campus changes, among them some which definitely went to the heart of the college's organizational culture and reflected the emerging students' version, a characteristic being change itself. He noted the demolition of the senior bench, a long-standing class rivalry tradition, a decline in interest in athletic events, a growing student concern over faculty evaluation and instruction, the addition of drama productions to the college curriculum, and the noticeable increase in advanced ROTC enlistments.

One thing rarely changes--student sarcasm. This example from the 1966 Tower indicates that some elements of the Wheaton organizational culture were very much alive:

> Wheaton College is an interdenominational co-educational liberal arts college located 25 miles to the right of the university of chicago (sic).[345]

Students coming to Wheaton in 1967 no longer found the code of conduct inside the Student Handbook, located in the bowels of its pages. The

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[344]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1966, p.6.

[345]Wheaton College Tower, 1966, p.11.

code now appeared first thing, front and center, incorporated into the opening
pages under the broader rubric of academic expectations. This shift was no doubt
reflective of the student affairs division's attempt to stress the educational thrust
of student behavior in the context of community and the educational benefit to the
disciplinary process. Students this year came to know first hand of this approach,
since a Veterans' Day convocation held in the Edman Chapel was met by a
student protest demonstration.

On the critical areas of involvement with popular culture and the
arts, a new formulation was developed by the trustees, the first major change in
the code of conduct since 1962. As noted in the student newspaper:

> It includes a modified Standard of Conduct pledging students,
> faculty and staff to "exercise Christian discretion and restraint
> in the choice of entertainment including television, radio,
> movies, theater and the various forms of literature.[346]

An editorial later in the year would review the movie "Bonnie and Clyde" in the
context of this newly adopted policy which permitted viewing with "discretion and
restraint." Beneath the editorial appeared a cartoon featuring two Wheaton
students bypassing a movie marquee with "Bonnie and Clyde" in favor of one with
this posted:

> Brand New Release!
> The Christian Tradition
> with highlights from the
> Inquisition, Crusades, and

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[346]Record, 90 no. 1, 22 September 1967, p. 1.

Salem Witch Burnings![347]

The 1967-68 academic year seemed to be one of transition in several senses. New President Hudson T. Armerding was beginning to make his mark on the campus with what most students felt were positive changes in campus policies, procedures, and atmosphere. Communication seemed to improve. The campus Long Range Planning Committee had student membership. Armerding held bi-weekly presidential press conferences with student leaders. Occasional brain-storming retreats were held with faculty, administration, students, and trustees. A new Dean of Students, Phillip Hook, called for greater student responsibility. A large, new residence hall, Fisher Hall, opened with new recreation facilities and a common lounge area. The newspaper noted that there on campus " . . . a general emphasis on creative informality in recreation has altered our traditionally rigid social atmosphere."[348] In the midst of this change, an editorial places the transitions in the context of our concern: "Our dilemma is an old one: How to live responsibly in, but not sinfully of the world."[349]

Another significant transition occurred this year, not only for its symbolic power but also for its dramatic impact. Dr. V. Raymond Edman, former President and now Chancellor of Wheaton, had been speaking before the student

[347]Ibid., 90 no. 14, 19 January 1968, p. 2.

[348]Ibid., 90 no. 1, 22 September 1967, p. 2.

[349]Ibid.

body on standards of conduct in chapel. The student newspaper, in a special edition, described the event:

> V. Raymond Edman, for 25 years president, and for two and a half years chancellor of Wheaton College, collapsed and died yesterday as he addressed students during the 10:30 a.m. chapel service in Edman Chapel, a building named in his honor seven years before.[350]

Because Wheaton's presidents so strongly embody the mission of the institution, Dr. Edman's death was not only an occasion to recognize his contributions to and impact on Wheaton, it was also an occasion to acknowledge the formation of a new chapter in Wheaton's history.

Wheaton had held membership in the National Student Association, and this affiliation was challenged by students and faculty alike, largely because of the perception that the organization had less and less to do with higher education and significantly greater involvement in "liberal" political causes. The challenge was clearly a call to withdraw from an apostate cultural force.

The Faculty Senate delegated the decision to Dean of Students Phillip Hook, and the Student Government President called for a student referendum on the issue. The student body acted, with 677 (71.2 per cent) of 952 voting for disaffiliation:

> Wheaton students overwhelmingly voted against recommending continued affiliation with the controversial

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[350]Ibid., p. 1.

National Student Association in a referendum Thursday, thus ending some nine months of debate.[351]

At least one student saw this as a dereliction of duty and a blown opportunity for positive influence in the world, perhaps even of the transformative type. In a clever comparison between the withdrawal of the hippie culture and Wheaton's tendency to withdraw from cultural involvement, this editorial left no doubt as to the results of the vote:

> When we drop out, when we run from the tensions of our world and our more particular community, we do not don Victorian clothes and colored flowers; rather we assume, for example, super fundamentalism or radical liberalism, or, much more often, simple apathy.[352]

Apathy was absent from some students' Wheaton experience, even though political protest was not the avenue for involvement. President Armerding was pleased to report to the board of trustees that "During the year 860 of our students were recorded as involved in assigned Christian Service activities."[353]

As was the case on the campuses of Calvin and Goshen, issues of war, race relations, and the arts seemed to heighten the inherent tensions between redemptive engagement with culture or concerted withdrawal from it. A Vietnam War protest staged on Veterans' Day typified the conflict.

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[351]Ibid., 90 no. 4, 13 October 1967, p. 1.

[352]Ibid., p. 2.

[353]Minutes, Wheaton College Board of Trustees, 25 September 1967, p. 8. Wheaton College Archives.

Veterans' Day ceremonies in Edman Chapel were met with petitions of support for U.S. war policies and an organized protest demonstration. The protestors were clearly in the minority, but again included a collection of campus leaders in student government and publications. The protestors met for prayer before the event to discern their motives. Some supporters of the war tried to block the protestor's placards with open umbrellas, although the protestors had requested and received permission to demonstrate. 330 students had signed a petition in favor of U.S. policy and presented it to President Armerding, who in turn presented it to the army officer who spoke at the Veterans' Day convocation.[354]

Protestors were clearly in the minority. An earlier poll taken by the campus chapter of Young Republicans, in which 361 students were surveyed, revealed that 9 per cent favored a unilateral withdrawal, 6 per cent a United Nations intervention, 29 per cent a negotiated settlement, and 50 per cent a U.S. military victory.[355]

The protest and defense of U.S. policy seemed to bring to a head a growing discussion that began in the previous academic year. Students, whether they desired to or not, were being forced to deal with events around them.

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[354]Record, 90 no. 9, 17 November 1967, p. 2. The demonstration not only caught the attention of the local Wheaton Daily Journal (13 November 1967), but the larger Chicago Tribune (3 May 1968), which noted in a retrospective on Chicagoland campus demonstrations that some Wheaton war protesters were ROTC students in civilian clothes, yet students who remained in the ROTC.

[355]Ibid., 90 no. 8, 10 November 1967, p. 4.

A person only has to review the 26 issues of the Record since January to sense a growing interest in Vietnam among students. Indeed, it is imperative that an issue of such magnitude should be scrutinized within the context of a Christian liberal arts college. Such an examination is consonant with the ideals of a liberal arts education, and the Veterans' day chapel provided a catalyst for activating both supporters and opponents of United States involvement in Vietnam.[356]

Students were calling for more catalysts to action. Many were ready to engage the world and its problems. The problem, as some saw it, was that the Wheaton community tended toward talk rather than action, and the world stood in need of something more:

We as evangelicals at Wheaton have for too long remained as an introspective island in a world desperate for action. To be sure our island is a part of the entire world, but if we restrict ourselves to our island and its own problems, we very speedily lose our broader vision.[357]

Apparently certain Wheaton faculty presented a broader vision. The previous summer a number of them had identified themselves as supporters of a local fair housing initiative:

James Strenski, chairman of the Wheaton Human Relations commission, reported that 99 faculty members of Wheaton college have signed a statement in support of the Central Du Page Program for Better Living.

With the unanimous approval of the faculty senate, a recommendation was passed on to the Wheaton college faculty for its individual endorsement of the plan which has

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[356]Ibid., 90 no. 9, 17 November 1967, p. 2.

[357]Ibid., 90 no. 8, 10 November 1967, p. 2.

the support of the Wheaton city council and the Wheaton Ministerial association.[358]

Some Wheaton students were quick to suggest, however, that the Wheaton administration operated with a somewhat narrower vision than what the world needed. The frame of reference for administrative decision-making, as they saw it, was the fundamentalist/evangelical heritage and the values of the Wheaton constituency, embodied by the board of trustees. While acknowledging significant steps taken to improve communication, such as student membership on thirteen faculty committees, and student initiated innovations such as a coffee house and discussion groups, these students saw that something systemic was inhibiting constructive dialogue between the Wheaton faith and the problems of culture:

> These innovations, with many others, stem from an increased awareness that the vitality of our faith and of campus atmosphere depends on a serious dialogue on contemporary thought and cultural problems. The administration, however, in their responsibility to the Christian heritage and the college constituency, pushes the caution button whenever they sense that students are irresponsible or premature in their demand for change and relevance.[359]

Occasionally a faculty member would venture a public opinion linking the college's fundamentalist heritage with the reticence toward social action. After first receiving permission from dean of students H. Phillip Hook, Wheaton students joined in a local symbolic gesture of solidarity with the Poor

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[358]Du Page County Times, 21 June, 1967.

[359]Ibid., 90 no. 19, 8 March 1968, p. 2.

People's March in Washington, D.C. A local newspaper reported on the march by sixty Wheaton students:

> The march was sponsored by the Social Action forum at the college. John Alexander, faculty advisor to the group, said students decided upon the march despite "the usual fundamentalist doctrine of the college."[360]

The arts also served to focus this tendency to isolate and protect students and, worse, avoid cultural developments in the arts. An essay in the student newspaper picked up on the sanitized exposure to art forms given to Wheaton students, and compared this posture to that of a film festival at nearby Rosary College, then a Catholic women's college:

> Seeing "Virginia Wolff" and "Blow-Up" may not be the way (to cure the world's sickness), but it is closer to it than "Brigadoon" or "The Birds." Certainly we are to be in the world and not of it, but we were never told to wear blinders.[361]

But things were changing. Only a short time before, the staging of "Brigadoon" and the screening of "The Birds" would have been unheard of on Wheaton's campus. Yet students lead the cry for reasonable distance from Wheaton's fundamentalist roots and for establishing a leadership role in the arts among evangelicals:

> The change is a sign of a maturing Wheaton, a Wheaton more in touch with the reality of existence outside itself.

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[360]The Trib, 27 May 1968.

[361]Ibid., 90 no. 21, 22 March 1968, p. 3.

Wheaton college, if tempered in its approach by a respectful awareness of the historic fundamentalist attitude toward the theater, has the potential to lead the evangelical world to a genuine appreciation of the dramatic arts. The potential remains to be fulfilled.[362]

Students were often left, it seemed, to work out their substantial dilemmas with contemporary culture and the tradition from which they came in informal settings, rarely in the classroom. The percolator for student involvement came in those areas of hidden curriculum for which no formal academic credit is given, but through which character is shaped:

> Present concerns of students in issues as Vietnam, contemporary theology or art, and racial discrimination must be either self taught or found in informal, non-accredited meetings with teachers.[363]

That there were intelligent, gifted students on Wheaton's campus is beyond dispute. In addition to their own selective admission standards, Wheaton students distinguished themselves in national competitions, especially in the area of creative writing. Again this year Wheaton students gained recognition in the *Atlantic Monthly* creative writing contest, winning twelve of the 120 awards given nationally. The student newspaper listed the consecutive accomplishments:

> In 1967, three seniors won a second place and two merit awards. In 1966, Wheaton won five awards, two mentions, and three merits. In 1965, Wheaton captured 24 awards, an all-time record for the school.[364]

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[362]Ibid., 90 no. 23, 5 April 1968, p. 2.

[363]Ibid., 90 no. 24, 11 March 1968, p. 2.

[364]Ibid., 90 no. 28, 17 May 1968, p. 5.

There is some evidence that the traditional curriculum was not sufficient for some of Wheaton's students, especially in light of the events in society which surrounded them. In November of 1968 a local paper reported that a class in Afro/American history was being taught on campus, attracting approximately forty students for two hours each week in a non-credit, non-tuition, no grade "free university."[365] A second course was offered the next semester in a residence hall lounge, this one designated the "United States-Asian Confrontation Study."[366] An assistant professor of philosophy who was instrumental in organizing both courses gave the reason for their development:

> In Paegler's words, the idea of free university courses came about because of a "felt need for courses which it would take too long to get into the regular curriculum."[367]

For whatever reason-the laborious committee structure perhaps, or a potentially prolonged debate over the appropriateness of the offering in light of constituent misgivings-some students and faculty found creative ways to deal with the need for Christians to explore areas of concern and interest.

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., also served to focus the tensions at Wheaton arising from acting christianly with regard to culture and acting wisely with regard to constituency. As it turned out, King was to be profiled in the student newspaper as a political candidate. Instead, the only

[365]Wheaton Daily Journal, 12 November 1968.

[366]Wheaton Leader, 20 February 1969.

[367]Wheaton Daily Journal, 24 February 1969.

response to his death came in a small space in the newspaper, in which it was said

that "Yesterday night, America lost that man and with him the attitude of

moderation he brought to the civil rights movement."[368]

The terse reference seemed to also typify the college's response to

the death and the turmoil which followed it. In a letter to the school newspaper a

student seethes at what he considered to be a fumbling response, and in citing the

reasons, gives some indication of the mood of the time and the position of

Wheaton College in its community.

> . . . that it took the administration almost a full day of self-protecting hesitancy to recognize national calamity and to heed presidential proclamation in lowering the nations' flag; that some Wheaton women were more upset over the cancellation of a banquet than events in Memphis; that Wheaton did not respond to aid Chicago riot victims as did North Park or nearby Maryknoll seminary; that, (by his estimation) fewer than 5% of the Wheaton College community attended the memorial service (for the town of Wheaton) hosted in Wheaton's facilities; that the local ministerial association president referred to Wheaton's president as Dr. Edman-indicated a lack of community influence.[369]

It should be noted, however, that a truckload of food and another of

clothing was collected on campus and distributed to riot victims by the Christian

Service Council in response to the needs of the areas devastated by the urban

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[368]Ibid., 90 no. 23, 5 April 1968, p. 4.

[369]Ibid., 90 no. 24, 11 April 1968, p. 2.

riots.[370] Wheaton students could mobilize their resources in times of national and international need, and relief efforts were exemplary:

> The $3,119.95 collected by Wheaton college students for the Food for Nigeria/Biafra drive last semester was the fourth largest amount contributed among colleges and universities in the nation.[371]

The very eventful academic year of 1967-68 ended with a call for the college to investigate alternatives to the current requirement that all male students participate in the ROTC program during freshman and sophomore years. The reason for the statement, drafted by students, was explained in the student newspaper:

> Roger Lake, one of the students composing the statement, explained that he felt the place of a compulsory military program in a Christian and liberal arts school was open to question.[372]

Within two weeks a full-page ad appeared in the student newspaper, paid for "by contributions from approximately sixty Wheaton men, women, and faculty members."[373] It called for ROTC to become a voluntary option for the men of Wheaton, which it eventually did for those beyond the freshman year. It would result in a significant drop in ROTC enrollment, something felt on other campuses as well:

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[370]Ibid., p. 4.

[371]Du Page Press, 29 May 1969.

[372]Ibid., 90 no. 26, 13 May 1968, p. 5.

[373]Ibid., 90 no. 29, 24 May 1968, p. 7.

Many offices are dismayed at the size of the decline this fall. At Loyola University, for instance, ROTC enrollment has dropped from 444 to 330. At Wheaton College-where ROTC is still compulsory for freshmen but not for sophomores-enrollment dropped from 514 to 337.[374]

A very significant addition to student life and the work of the student affairs division occurred in this year as well. For the first time a detailed description of student disciplinary procedures was outlined in the Student Handbook. It called for adjudication procedures, disciplinary actions and corresponding penalties, and a defined process for student appeal of disciplinary decisions. The majority of discipline situations related to residence life, and at least in one significant area, Wheaton policies were in essential agreement with other local colleges:

> Chicago area colleges have maintained a conservative attitude on the question of permitting students to visit members of the opposite sex in their rooms, an informal survey has disclosed.
>
> Most of the schools contacted in the survey employ a visiting system similar to that used by Wheaton college.[375]

On the lighter side, acknowledgement was made for the first time of a trend in American fashion. The corresponding "policy" statement skirted the issue and seemed to hem and haw over the rising developments:

> Though there is at present no rule regarding skirt length, a campus opinion poll suggests that a length of 2 to 4 inches above the knee is maximum.[376]

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[374]Chicago Daily News, 7 November 1969.

[375]Chicago Tribune, 22 October 1968.

[376]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1968, p.44.

The definitions of maximum and minimum may have typified the contrasts between student and administration viewpoints.

Without doubt, the Wheaton campus was undergoing a period of transition. During the summer of 1968 President Armerding offered this assessment for the board of trustees following a speaking tour in Europe:

> In assessing conditions in Europe, President Armerding reported that the repudiation of the historic religious past and the apparent lack of concern for the future resulted in an inordinate preoccupation with the processes of the present.
>
> The President reported that on campus there is evidence of this same preoccupation. Some students have advocated confrontation as essential to institutional vitality, rather than the ideal of cooperative efforts to achieve common goals.[377]

Students were without doubt preoccupied with the present. They were also hesitant to agree that they shared common goals. Whether or not confrontation was necessary for institutional vitality is debatable, but what is not is that students were very concerned with institutional vitality. It was the institution's preoccupation with the historic religious past which gave students pause.

The decade drew to a close with several changes in student conduct codes which would indicate a further encroachment of the surrounding social change on the Wheaton campus. In the 1969 Student Handbook a number of behaviors were described which would result in judicial and/or disciplinary action.[378] Among the behaviors listed were the following: cheating and

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[377]Minutes, Wheaton College Board of Trustees, 7 June 1968, p. 1.

[378]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1969, p.22.

plagiarism; forging; the obstruction or disruption of teaching; physical abuse or threats to the welfare of persons on campus; theft or damage to property; unauthorized use or entry to college facilities; violation of campus policies concerning time, place, and manner of public expression; and the use, possession, or distribution of narcotic or dangerous drugs, with specific reference to marijuana and LSD. At the same time six conditions were added to the statement detailing campus policy on student demonstrations. There is little evidence to indicate that specific incidents prompted these policy additions. Instead, by inference, it seems that the Wheaton administration was preparing for what might happen at Wheaton because it had happened elsewhere. Several of the statements are phrased in such a way that it seems obvious that legal counsel had a hand in the formulation of specific policy statements. Demonstrations such as those which occurred on many American campuses, including Calvin and, to some degree, Goshen, did not take place at Wheaton. Even on the day of the most concerted national effort to make a statement on the Vietnam War, the War Moratorium of 15 October 1969, some Wheaton students called for a demonstration of a different sort, one they judged to be more effective:

> A prayer demonstration is being urged by the Wheaton college Student Missionary Fellowship (SMF) during the Vietnam war moratorium today.

> The SMF has scheduled an informal prayer hour on the campus this evening. SMF has requested that faculty members devote a portion of their classes today for student

participation in prayer and students have been asked to hold prayer sessions in their living units.[379]

By 1970 the administration granted other areas of decision making to students as it had earlier with the decision about campus publications. It was, again, a measured surrender, perhaps the result of the negotiating efforts of the student affairs staff. One particular change concerned the campus dress code, which to this point made specific statements about the style of clothing appropriate to time and place at Wheaton:

> Wheaton College encourages its student population to accept the responsibility of making mature choices in every area of life. Therefore, students have the freedom to choose their own form of dress on campus appropriate to the occasion. They are to be guided in their choice by the biblical view of man and social propriety which incorporates modesty and good taste.[380]

It should be noted that even in the granting of "freedom," the values inherent in the organizational culture come through, in this instance a stress on modesty and good taste. In the event that students were not able to exercise these traits of maturity, provision was made for a student-faculty committee to counsel those in need of maturation.

Given the persistent nature of an entrenched organizational culture at Wheaton College and a highly intelligent student body experiencing dramatic social change in American society, those who worked in the student affairs division

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[379]Wheaton Daily Journal, 15 October 1969.

[380]Wheaton College Student Handbook, 1970, p.33.

of the college in the decade of the 1960s labored under unusual challenges.

Within those years Wheaton was served by four deans of students, and fourteen

different associate and assistant deans. It was a time of rapid staff turnover and

frequent fatigue. Fatigue was, in fact, the very reason cited by one of those who

gave it his best, having worked at Wheaton for seven years, two as dean:

> In expressing his reasons for resigning, Dr. Hook cited
> "administrative fatigue." This, coupled with primary interests
> in other areas, initiated the action.[381]

Dean of Students Richard Gross, most recently President of Gordon

College, addressed the faculty in November of 1966.[382] In his presentation one

hears a plea for understanding as he represented student views about the

organizational culture which surrounded them. Gross reported several repeated

student concerns. The code of conduct actually inhibited maturity and promoted

juvenile responses to cultural taboos. The only rationale for the code was an

institutional one, which ignored the needs of students. Most students considered

the code irrelevant and resisted it because it promoted legalism in thought and

behavior. The standard of conduct was often used as a measure of one's

spirituality, which was both a false standard and a false purpose. The college's

position of standing *in loco parentis* was in many instances a more rigid standard

than the students' own parents would require. The secret society stricture in the

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[381]Du Page Press, 3 April 1969.

[382]Richard Gross, "A Summary Report of Students' Evaluation of Social-Cultural Life at Wheaton College Based Upon Reports of Senior Discussion Groups May 1966." Wheaton College Faculty Bulletin 30 (Spring, 1967): 37-40.

code was viewed by most students as an anachronism. Social life at Wheaton was overstructured and in dire need of informality.

George Marsden makes an observation in his excellent interpretation of Protestant fundamentalism which sheds a great deal of light on the dilemma which faced the student affairs division at Wheaton College in the decade of the 1960s.[383] He suggests that the division struggled with the natural outcome of a subtle shift in philosophical orientation which occurred in the early years of Wheaton's history. He argues that Charles Blanchard, Wheaton's second President, turned the institution's understanding of the Christian faith into an emphasis on the personal, private moralities of Sabbath-breaking, drinking, tobacco usage, dancing, card-playing, and attending theaters. His father, first Wheaton President Jonathan Blanchard, saw the faith in a different light. While he no doubt agreed with the evils associated with the practices so opposed by Charles, Jonathan was a social reformer, dedicated to abolitionist causes, the rights of Indians, and the destruction of secret societies because of their anti-democratic tendencies.

If the Wheaton College of the 1960s had more accurately reflected the social activism of its first president rather than the legalistic moralizing of its second, the organizational culture of the college would have been in closer alignment with the developing organizational culture of the students. Given such

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[383]Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture, 32.

a scenario, the student affairs division would not have found itself so frequently caught in the middle, reactive rather than proactive.

The student of the 1960s would have loved Jonathan Blanchard, the bearded social activist. As has been demonstrated, the student press made frequent reference to him. The story of the Wheaton College organizational culture and history of the 1960s is, in many ways, the story of a founding president in touch with and ahead of his times, and a college desperately trying to catch up with its own. It is yet another striking example of a particular approach to the dilemma of Christ and culture as it works itself out in evangelical Christian higher education.

The Paradigm Considered

Upon his return from a European speaking tour in June of 1968, Wheaton President Hudson T. Armerding reported to the Wheaton Board of Trustees on the state of affairs at the college. Because of the significance of his assessment for the analysis I offer, and because within it he compares Wheaton to other institutions of higher education, I have chosen to record a somewhat lengthy section of his report:

> In reviewing the College scene it is evident that we are at a time that is virtually without precedent in the affairs of higher education in the United States. Our students have been concerned about such matters as the Viet Nam war and student rights. While we do not have anything like the kind of unrest and difficulty that has characterized some other

campuses, there is evidence of a restlessness and a desire to change. In some respects this goes beyond the typical undergraduate dissatisfaction with the status quo. On the other hand, I do not believe that such a situation should be magnified out of proportion. In my judgment, the student activists have been given publicity somewhat akin to that accorded to those who have sought to disturb the society at large. Part of the success of both groups has been due more to the publicity than to the general support for their causes.

There remains before us, however, problems relating to the matter of emotional stability and spiritual commitment. While it is true that the majority of Wheaton students are emotionally well-adjusted and spiritually so as well, I would be less than candid if I did not manifest a deep concern about those for whom neither of these conditions is characteristic. The changing mores of the evangelical household are being reflected here on campus. There is need of extraordinary wisdom and insight in order to be able properly to deal with issues and problems that regularly confront us.

At the same time we would be less than realistic if we did not recognize that constant efforts are being made to erode the distinctives of the Wheaton program.[384]

Was the experience of the 1960s at Wheaton College an experience in eroding the distinctives of the institution? Clearly, the distinctives were well publicized and reinforced through years of tradition, layers of administrative safeguards, and an organizational culture that was both an institutional strength and an easy target for students longing for change and a liberal arts education which equipped them to understand and engage their surrounding culture.

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[384]The President's Report to the Board of Trustees, Wheaton College, 7 June 1968, p. 5.

The problem for those charged with maintaining the distinctives at Wheaton was that the distinctives were indefensible precisely at the point of student need and critique. The problem was not with emotionally unstable students or students with questionable Christian commitment. The Wheaton distinctives grew in the greenhouse of American fundamentalism, matured in the seasoning of American evangelicalism, but throughout the 1960s never escaped the pervasive approach to culture which Niebuhr characterized as "Christ and culture in paradox." While students longed to make meaning of developments in the arts and popular culture, a controversial war that called classmates to kill and die, and racial conflict that came uncomfortably close to home, Wheaton College continued to filter these manifestations of culture through a screen which viewed the world as transitory. Culture has some value, to be sure, but only as it reflects Christian purposes, and only as one realizes that this too will pass. Wheaton's approach to culture was consistent with Niebuhr's view that the "Christ and culture in paradox" approach is radically pessimistic about the godless, sinful tendencies of mankind and cultural creations.

Further, Wheaton's fidelity to the "Christ and culture in paradox" scheme meshed perfectly with the political conservatism of its constituency and its surrounding community, the politically conservative Republican stronghold of Du Page County. The corresponding view of the state and law in the "Christ and culture in paradox" is that of a preventive force against tyranny and sin. Thus a more optimistic view of the state and law as instruments of justice and a force for

positive change, something that would more readily resonate with change-oriented students, was foreign to the Wheaton leadership.

The result, therefore, was an administration and, to some degree, a faculty, who were less than partners with students in the work of Christian liberal arts higher education. Instead, the relationship between administration and students at Wheaton most often took on an adversarial nature. While there were attempts at something different and better under President Armerding, the most vocal and activist students were already beyond the circle of influence, and trust had been broken.

Bechtel records an incident which typifies Wheaton's approach to the era with its emphasis on individual morality and the primacy of Wheaton's fidelity to heritage and tradition. It is a telling observation:

> One day in chapel Dr. Armerding called to the platform a student whose attire and lifestyle gave him the outward appearance of a campus rebel. The president embraced the young man, telling him he appreciated him as a person and a brother in Christ. Earlier in the day President Armerding had heard this student in a prayer meeting pray earnestly for the College and its leader. The students responded with a five-minute standing ovation.
>
> Throughout that disquieting era, Dr. Armerding was encouraged in part by an historian's awareness that most cultural disruptions moderate or pass away in time. Most of all, he was strengthened by an unfaltering confidence in the provision of God for Wheaton's continuing mission as a Christian liberal arts college faithful to its heritage.[385]

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[385]Bechtel, Wheaton College, 259.

The resulting tragedy is that a college of obvious intellectual strength and rigorous academic standards failed to equip its students for the world they faced, because it was so tightly bound to tradition and a theological framework. Cultural disruptions may moderate or pass away, but always need to be critically engaged, even when it means that one's own tradition may be called into question. The only consolation in this misfortune is that a number of evangelical leaders who were to shape evangelical scholarship in the decades to come did emerge from Wheaton, but did so under protest, having approximated the transformative approach independently. For them, the value of the Wheaton education was indeed "For Christ and His Kingdom," but they were crusaders of another sort, students very much apart from the crowd because they chose to identify with another approach to Christ and culture.

CHAPTER SIX

COLLEGE, CULTURE, AND CHARACTER

Character formation was, from the beginning, one of the chief

purposes of higher education in America. The task was in most cases the charge

of the faculty, whose contact with students extended beyond the classroom and

included responsibilities for more than the intellectual development of their

students. Colonial colleges operated with the ideal of the gentleman scholar,

whose character was formed through sermons, compulsory chapel attendance,

revivals, and general discipline. This shaping of students was as important to the

colleges as the course of study. Students were formally evaluated on the elements

of character, and the composite picture was considered in their class ranking.

Faculty were therefore models, mentors, and intimately involved in character

formation.[386]

Interestingly enough, when the elective principle was introduced in

American higher education, it marked an almost simultaneous decline of

compulsory chapel attendance. In 1869 Harvard made a distinction between

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[386]Carpenter and Shipps, <u>Making Higher Education Christian</u>, 83.

scholastic record and conduct. The overall scheme of things posed a threat to smaller denominational colleges:

> Clergy-men presidents of an evangelical frame of mind fought hard against Eliot's system as making for impiety, secularism, and excessive scientism. They saw the emerging American university as a menace to all the values they held dear.[387]

A growing assumption was that students were mature adults able to make significant choices. Public institutions grew, were supposedly religiously neutral, and certainly not responsible for the development of character. Distance developed between faculty and students, especially with the growth of research universities. What was to eventually become one of the most significant student critiques of higher education in the 1960s took root with the specialization introduced when the research universities shifted the emphasis from teaching to an impersonal form of scholarship which developed loyalties to an academic discipline rather than the formation of character in students.[388]

By and large, for those concerned for character formation, it was a system in decline. Most felt that students weren't ready for this change, that the

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[387]John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636-1976, (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 112.

[388]Page Smith, in his recent book critical of higher education in the United States, offers this comment on the revolt of the youth during the 1960s: "If the university was devoted to truth, that devotion was nowhere evident to students, who could seldom even talk to their professors and often completed four years of undergraduate study without having one teacher who knew them by name." Page Smith, Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America, (New York: Viking Press, 1990), p. 154.

political and moral order of America depended on the moral authority of local

communities and religious groups. At the very least, colleges newly founded

realized that the social control of student conduct was a necessity, and that

somehow they stood in the place of parents' hopes, dreams, and expectations.

Especially after World War I, a whole new administrative layer began to appear in

colleges: student affairs personnel to concerned with behavior, housing, food, and

things that go bump in the night. Faculty influence became one more step

removed. [389]

Ernest Boyer, in <u>Scholarship Reconsidered</u>, argues for an expansive

definition of scholarship which encourages a return to these earliest days of

collegiate instruction.[390] He recognizes that the American professoriate has

passed through phases of expectations, from teaching, to service, to research,

depending on the priorities of American education at the time. His suggestion

that scholarship be redefined to include the scholarships of discovery, of

integration, of application, and teaching, is in many ways a call to a renewed

appreciation of the opportunities for character building. It is also a call for the

kind of intimacy in education that characterized early American education, and is

still the hallmark of smaller Christian liberal arts colleges today.

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[389]Ursula Delworth, Gary R. Hanson, and Associates, <u>Student Services: A Handbook for the Profession</u>, (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1989), 26.

[390]Ernest L. Boyer, <u>Scholarship Reconsidered: Priorities of the Professoriate</u> (Princeton: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1990).

Nicholas Wolterstorff, a Calvin professor of philosophy during the 1960s and 1970s, and a leading scholar on the nature of Christian higher education, calls for a new stage in the history and purpose of the Christian college to succeed and build on two stages through which such institutions have progressed. He sees the first stage as an emphasis on piety and evangelism, the second stage which built on the first as a growing ease and familiarity with culture, and the third stage to which he calls Christian colleges today as the stage of the Christian in society, concerned and involved with global and local social problems. Essential to the task is the stuff of character formation:

> The goal is not just to understand the world but to change it. The goal is not just to impart to the student a Christian world-and-life-view--it is to equip and motivate students for a Christian way of being and acting in the world.[391]

The beginnings of such a stage can be traced to the 1960s. Students at the three colleges under consideration, Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton, were asking significant questions concerning the expression of their Christian faith in the light of the drastic social changes around them in the decade of the 1960s. Each institution responded to the questions in different ways, based largely on the tradition to which it belonged and its approach to the Christian and culture. How each institution responded said a great deal about the opportunities seized or lost for the shaping of character in the students of the 1960s. Generally, Calvin students not only asked questions but were encouraged to do so because of the

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[391]Nicholas Wolterstorff, "The Mission of the Christian College at the End of the Twentieth Century," Faculty Dialogue, 10 (Winter-Spring 1988): 45.

nature of the transformative approach to redeeming culture. Goshen students asked questions together, and viewed the process as a communal activity, because their understanding of the Christian and culture called for a distinct, united front. Wheaton students asked questions and received the distinct impression that they were threatening a tradition. The best answer in their case was to avoid the issues in the first place, because too much contact with the world was a dangerous thing. In each instance, the Christian's approach to culture, as understood by the three institutions of higher education, shaped character for better or worse.

Without question Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges were in the business of character formation during the decade of the 1960s, passionate places of conversation and community. It was not only part of their respective missions to shape character, it was also unavoidable, given the social conflicts of the decade and the respective institutional responses to them. Whether or not the colleges took full advantage of the opportunities for character development presented during this period is the next concern of this chapter.

Character Formation, the Niebuhrian Paradigm, and Calvin Goshen, and Wheaton Colleges in the 1960s

While character formation was and is at the heart of the missions of each of the three colleges under consideration, and the thread which ties them to the best features of Christian colleges since colonial times, it is fair to say that all

three were too busy in the decade of the 1960s to give much thought as to how to go about it. In almost every instance faculty, administration, and trustees were reactive rather than proactive. At best, student affairs personnel served as translators of the student culture and arbiters in instances of institutional conflict.

Without a plan for character formation, each college turned to its theological instincts. They were, after all, colleges with significant experience and history to rely on, and each stood self-consciously in a theological tradition, rightly assuming that all who entered its halls as students knew what to expect. In the absence of a plan, tradition filled the vacuum. The constellation of components in character formation, therefore, was filtered through the screen of theology and tradition, along the lines of the approaches to faith and culture identified by Niebuhr.[392]

If faculty are major factors in shaping character, then Calvin and Goshen faculties clearly led the way. On both campuses, time and again, faculty were involved mentors and exemplars of virtue.

Calvin faculty quietly challenged political and social thinking early on in the decade, daring to raise in a predominantly Protestant Republican setting the possibility that a Roman Catholic Democratic presidential candidate might be the best person for the job. A faculty member served as liaison between the college and the Peace Corps. Two professors provided leadership on the Grand Rapids

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[392]The components of character formation identified in this chapter are those suggested by Arthur F. Holmes in Shaping Character: Moral Education in the Christian College, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991).

Urban League, to the point of encouraging student involvement in local protest marches. One of these professors was also chairman of the fair housing committee of the Grand Rapids Human Relations Commission, and served as a campus conscience for students and staff in a racially changing neighborhood, engaging students in the issues of white flight and neighborhood stability. Six professors organized a campus forum on Vietnam in 1967, the first time such a public discussion was held. Sixteen faculty members signed a letter arguing for dissenting voices in a draft alternative discussion. Forty-seven professors signed an anti-war advertisement in the local newspaper. More than thirty faculty volunteered to serve as resource people for campus forum topics held throughout the 1967-68 academic year in the Knollcrest residence halls. Faculty and administration received high praise from students over a policy decision banning the use of psychedelic drugs. Faculty cooperated with the college-sponsored protest march and led discussions on the history of the Vietnam war and options for peace during the October 15, 1969 moratorium. In sum, Calvin faculty were in the forefront of involvement by example and through provoking discussion.

Goshen faculty accompanied students to Washington to protest the nuclear arms race. It was common for faculty to serve overseas in service and relief projects, and continue a regular correspondence with the Goshen community, sometimes in the student newspaper. Early in the decade faculty led students in peacemaking at home, questioning the local community's policies on housing, employment, and public accommodations for minority groups. Faculty

were publicly concerned over the observation of the North Central accreditation visiting team, which stated that faculty were not involved deeply enough in the growing debate over social issues, and related these tendencies to the Mennonite concern for kindness toward and peace with others. Faculty, with visionary perceptiveness, recognized the character forming power of cross-cultural learning experiences and developed the Study Service Term. When the teams of 12-20 students went overseas, faculty married couples accompanied them. When students met with representatives of the Students for a Democratic Society, faculty were there not out of distrust but because this was an issue for the campus community. One faculty member, who was instrumental in working with students providing aid for victims of the war in North Vietnam, so angered the surrounding community that calls were made in the local press for the House Un-American Activities Committee to investigate the college. Together with students, faculty fully backed the day set aside for a communal discussion of the Vietnam war. In 1968 another such day was promoted by the faculty to discuss Christian race relations. Soon this faculty was to initiate proposals for African-American course material, and increased minority representation among their ranks and within the student body. An experiment in coeducational communal living included faculty families. An important vehicle for student faculty communication during the decade was the Goshen College Community Government, and this body called on faculty to suspend all regular activities on the national moratorium day October 15, 1969. The faculty complied.

The clear impression is formed that the Goshen faculty were not only intimately involved with students and their concerns in the decade, but served as co-workers in a way not to be found at Calvin or Wheaton. The reason for this difference lies in the leveling influence of the concept of community so essential to the Anabaptist vision. Within it, all are equal, and one learns from the other without regard to academic status or accomplishment.

While Wheaton faculty were no doubt virtuous, there is little comparative documentary evidence to indicate their involvement in student lives compared with the evidence at Calvin and Goshen. Except for the "free university" courses offered in the residence halls on the topics of African-American history and the Vietnam conflict, few instances can be cited in which faculty played a major shaping role. Far more influential was the office of the college president, who embodied the purposes of the college and took every opportunity in public ceremonies, especially chapel worship services, to remind students of the Wheaton tradition and expectations. Presidents at Calvin and Goshen were no less influential, but worked with and encouraged faculty to play significant roles in the lives of students and operated more behind-the-scenes to effect change and uphold the mission of the colleges.

If involvement with community service shapes character, all three schools accomplished this. Throughout the decade volunteerism grew at each college. Goshen excelled in this regard, to the point of incorporating community service into the curriculum. The Study Service Term epitomized the formative

influence of cross-cultural service to others, and captured the intentions of the college motto, "Culture for Service." International medical and agricultural relief work characterized Mennonite missions, and volunteerism was part and parcel of the tradition. The Christian faith as understood within the tradition and practiced on the Goshen campus was decidedly experiential, and students were afforded frequent opportunities to put their faith into action.

Calvin students themselves provided the impetus for community involvement, and the development of the KIDS program is the direct result of a desire to change society and influence one's world. Calvin students also called for an education which was experientially relevant, and their volunteer program, which grew significantly during the decade, focused on the renewed urban awareness and sense of mission to the city. The context for much of this was, of course, Calvin's experience of a campus in transition from a racially changing neighborhood to a suburban, almost rural, setting. As a significant vehicle for the transformative vision of the faith, the student volunteer program shaped character.

Wheaton students tended to view community service as an arena for contacting potential converts to the faith more than an exercise in social justice or a way of relating to the world. There were many ventures into urban settings for teen clubs and youth groups, tutoring efforts and direct relief of poverty, in many ways similar to the Calvin effort on the surface. Below the surface, however, it was clear that what motivated Wheaton students and Wheaton community service was the view that the personal conversion of those being served was the goal at

hand. The most striking example of this is the effort at "Negro evangelism" during the decade, something quite apart from any identification with the contemporary civil rights struggle.

If the hidden curriculum shapes character, and the classroom is an insufficient forum for character formation, then Calvin and Goshen colleges maximized the opportunities presented in panel discussions, residence hall programming, and involvement with the arts. Both Calvin and Goshen canceled classes for the sake of creating alternative forums for the investigation of topics relating to civil rights and the Vietnam war. Wheaton was left to resort to "free university" courses, creative but limited in influence and participation.

Wheaton also stressed the influence of the hidden curriculum, but was motivated by a concern for tradition and not the contemporary concerns of its students. More than the other two colleges, Wheaton used the power of campus tradition to socialize students into appropriate behaviors. The Wheaton "family" standards were communicated in very subtle and very direct ways. One knew what to expect upon enrolling at Wheaton, and those expectations were reinforced at many turns.

If engagement with culture and divergent thinking shape character, then Calvin led the way. From the Niebuhrian perspective, investigation of this sort was part of the transformative tradition. Evidence of this is seen most clearly in the impact of the arts, especially the film arts, on the college and the denomination during the decade. Film became a window to the world, and the

transformative vision permitted the exploration of a medium which in other traditions was completely corrupt and "worldly."

At Goshen, engagement with culture and divergent thinking were encouraged as the decade began, but came by means of close community discussion. A prime example is the creation of the Campus Opinion Bulletin Board, which encouraged campus discussion and valued variety in thought within the community. In the same way, the Goshen College Community Government, a deliberative body of students and faculty played a key role in communicating values within the institution, recommending courses of action, and changes in policy. It was this body, for instance, which was to recommend the experiment in communal living.

Goshen, in this regard, was faithful to its theological tradition and its approach to culture. Central to their understanding of the Christian faith were concepts of community, mutual discipline, and reconciliation of conflict, each of which presupposed communication. Earlier tendencies to withdraw from culture became tendencies to engage it, but never as individuals. Individualism was an insidious threat to community, and the key to survival was a communal attempt to understand and relate to culture. Divergent thinking was always tested in the laboratory of community discussion and support.

Wheaton, again because of its fidelity to the Niebuhrian pattern, viewed engagement with culture and non-traditional thinking with suspicion. History and tradition were the important reference points, so much so that when a

divergent political organization such as the Clapham Society was begun, it cloaked its credibility in its name, as if to say that tradition and history were the necessary filters by which one were to judge the present. The omnipresent link to the past and to the Wheaton "family," communicated by means of traditions and rituals, encouraged the college community to intuit values and norms from such sources. Dissent and diversity had the effect of turning one's back on the family.

Arthur Holmes points out that whenever morality is defined in terms of socially accepted behaviors, when the emphasis seems to be paternalistic and protective, or if the focus of policy is on penalty rather than personal responsibility, colleges do students a disservice in the area of character development.[393] This is particularly critical in the establishment of behavioral rules.

If standards of conduct enforced by coercion inhibits character development, then all three colleges are convicted, at least in the early years of the decade. Each campus struggled with the issue of *in loco parentis*, Wheaton more than Calvin or Goshen. Paternalistic and protective policies eventually gave way to standards of conduct which internalized tendencies toward appropriate behaviors, but only after students offered serious challenges to policies, citing hypocrisy and inconsistencies in many of the formulations. Residence life policies changed, new freedoms were granted, and a growing feminism on all three campuses brought about policy changes which recognized the equality of the sexes.

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[393]Ibid., p. 58.

In many ways, the concern for character formation which was so central to the founding of the colonial colleges was also a hallmark of Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton colleges in the 1960s. The lessons of the decade are many, and the impact of the decade significant for each campus. The interchange between each institution's expression of the Christian faith in terms of its approach to culture determined much of the institutional history of the period, and profoundly shaped that elusive entity known as institutional character. Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton colleges, character builders and centers of considerable scholarship, were themselves shaped and changed in the crucible of social conflict.

From these campuses and campuses of other Christian colleges during this tumultuous decade was to emerge a coterie of students who became the new evangelicals, those who in the succeeding decades were to give shape to a new frame of reference for involvement in the world. Its sense of responsibility for society and its affinity for the transformative vision gave this group a way of relating Christ and culture:

> Since the 1960s, however, a renewed sense of the social implications of the gospel has begun to emerge within evangelical ranks. Among the causes of this change are a changing cultural climate, the demise of liberal social outreach, and the influence of a number of younger Evangelicals who have become social activists.[394]

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[394]Robert E. Webber, The Secular Saint: A Case for Evangelical Social Responsibility (Grand Rapids: Zondervans, 1979), 175.

The legacy of the 1960s for the segment of American higher education occupied by evangelical Christian colleges is a renewed commitment to a mission which recovers its historic role in shaping student character and impacting its world. The means by which it accomplishes this significant educational task is the vision that a Christian bears responsibility for influence in society, and that change can occur when one is properly "in the world." The inherent tension of being "in the world but not of the world," identified and explained by Niebuhr is in the final analysis, both necessary and productive. If one engages culture, it is a tension that is at heart educational and formative. If one avoids culture, it is a tension that can narrow one's vision. It is a saving grace of the decade of the 1960s that the social conflicts which characterized the era forced the issue of the Christian and culture for evangelical Christian colleges. For Calvin, Goshen, and Wheaton colleges, being "in the world" became less a threat and more of an opportunity to exercise its rightful and historic role in American higher education. Each college grew in influence, and the decade of the 1960s played a pivotal role.

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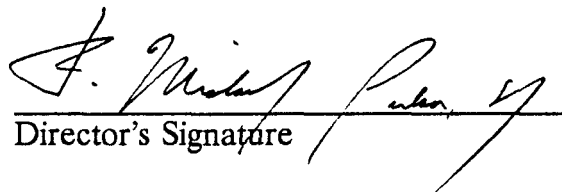Loyola University Chicago

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The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

14 April 1992
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