1978

A study of administrators' perceptions of change in three private liberal arts women's junior colleges : Averett, Southern Seminary, Virginia Intermont, in Virginia from 1966 to 1976

Aine Peterson Smith
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A Dissertation
Presented to the
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Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Aine Peterson Smith
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APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of

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Doctor of Education

Aine Peterson Smith

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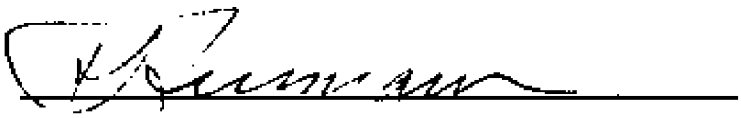
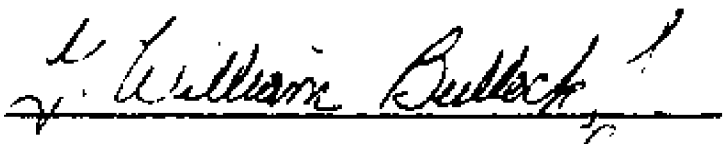


Donald G. Herrmann



G. William Bullock, Jr.

DEDICATION

HAMPDEN HARRISON SMITH III

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In an effort of this nature, one incurs many debts. I am especially indebted to many administrators who gave so very generously of their time and efforts. Hopefully, the research compiled here repays in some small measure what I owe the presidents and deans of Averett, Southern Seminary and Virginia Intermont. Without them this dissertation could never have been written. Their names are inscribed on the pages of the text. In addition, I owe a great debt to Dana B. Hamel, Bill Moyers, Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., Gordon K. Davies and the many who shared their ideas with me as I searched for the focus of this study.

For the calm patience and constancy of support which made the work bearable, I must express my gratitude to Paul Unger, chairman of the dissertation committee. To Donald J. Herrmann, my advisor, I owe an even deeper obligation for he showed me that all of education need not be a be a battlefield where enemies meet to test their strengths and weaknesses. Even in war, it is possible to make friends with the enemy.

I would be remiss if I did not express the personal debt I owe the husband who supported me financially and emotionally throughout my long education quest. It is only fitting that the dissertation should be dedicated to him. And to the child who has so frequently foregone pleasures and has so ably fended for herself so that Mother could "do her work" -- to you

Katharine Enid Smith, I vow to make up for all the lost time we should have spent together. Moreover and God willing, the brother you have so long awaited will arrive in November.

Never have so many given so much for so little.

It is finished. Let us issue a collective sigh of relief and rejoice.

A. P. Smith
July 10, 1978

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The private liberal arts junior college for women is disappearing in Virginia. Although causes for this disappearance are difficult to discover because of limited data, one major cause seems to be that these schools are changing into four-year coeducational institutions in order to survive. Those which did not change, with one exception, ceased to exist. The Virginia experience thus would appear to support the theoretical contention that the drive for survival, not for academic excellence or leadership, is the key to change in education in three specific colleges: Averett College, Southern Seminary Junior College and Virginia Intermont College. However, this did not seem to be the case.

The loss of an institutional type, the private liberal arts junior college for women, occurred in the midst of growing educational diversity. Consequently, the movement may be seen as counter to the current direction of higher education.

If the disappearance of these institutions had no effect on society at large, or at least on education as a

whole, the question would be purely economic: one economic entity disappears while another enlarges. However, this assumption does not appear to be correct. Many scholars have noted the special contributions that the private schools make to higher education. William McFarlane, for instance, noted that private institutions

> represent the concept of scholarship free from government pressure, and as such they are an invaluable countervailing force in American education. . . . the value of the private sector far outweighs the portion of the higher education load it bears.[1]

Although the importance of educational diversity is generally recognized, striking gaps exist in this aspect of educational research. In fact, historical case studies of both the public and private two-year colleges were not uncovered. The lack of case study data related to the private junior college demands immediate attention because most of the principal leaders who were involved in the development of the fast-disappearing two-year residential institutions are declining in number.

The availability of those educators who helped to establish and develop the private junior college provides one with the opportunity to make some preliminary attempts to meld the growing methodological techniques of oral

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[1]William H. McFarlane, State Support for Private Higher Education? (Atlanta, Georgia: Southern Regional Education Board, 1969), p. ii.

history with the more traditional approaches and findings of archival research. Furthermore, the oral history approach to the study of the two-year college may provide a stimulous for other scholars in the field of higher education.

The disappearance of the private women's liberal arts junior colleges in Virginia has been dramatically rapid. In 1966, there were seven of these institutions: Stratford College in Danville, founded in 1852; Averett College in Danville, 1859; Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista, 1867; Sullins College in Bristol, 1870; Marion College in Marion, 1873; Virginia Intermont College in Bristol, 1884; and Marymount College in Arlington, founded in 1950. A decade later only Southern Seminary remained as a private two-year liberal arts college for women. Marion closed in 1968; Stratford in 1974, Sullins in 1976. Averett became a four-year coeducational institution in 1969; Virginia Intermont added a four-year program in 1970; Marymount added a four-year program in 1973.

Only one of the seven private single-sex junior colleges in Virginia was predicting a fight for survival in 1966. By means of reviewing their enrollment projections there seemed to be indications that each school (except Marion and Southern Seminary) was predicting an increased headcount enrollment. Averett predicted a 1966-70 increase

from 500 to 550; Marymount, 470 to 800-900; Stratford, 310 to 500; Sullins, 360 to 475; and Virginia Intermont 475 to 600.[2]

By the early 1970s the enrollment projections were less optimistic. Marion College had closed its academic program in 1967.[3] Four of the other schools expected enrollment increases from 6.8% at Stratford to 28% at Marymount between 1972 and 1976.[4] Sullins and Virginia Intermont actually projected a decrease in their headcount enrollments from 1972 to 1976.[5] With the exception of Marymount, even the decreased enrollment expectations were not met. Stratford, which had predicted an increase from 562 in 1972 to 600 in 1976, closed in 1974.[6] Sullins, after predicting declining enrollments, closed two years later. Averett and Southern Seminary did not meet their projected enrollments for 1974 until 1976.[7]

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[2]Gene R. Hawes, The New American Guide to Colleges (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), pp. 247-249.

[3]Mrs. Willis M. Sprinkle, secretary to the president of Marion College from 1962 to 1969, to Mrs. Hampden H. Smith, dated December 5, 1977.

[4]These percentages were derived from enrollment figures in the State Council of Higher Education for Virginia, The Virginia Plan for Higher Education (Richmond, Virginia: State Council of Higher Education for Virginia, 1974), pp. 112, 121, 129, 133, 139 and 141.

[5]Ibid., pp. 133 and 140.

[6]Ibid., p. 129.

[7]Ibid., pp. 112, 139. Actual enrollments for 1976 were given by the registrars of each individual school.

The closing of Stratford and Sullins and the enrollment difficulties of the four other schools may have simply indicated that these institutions were affected by the declining percentage of enrollments in the private sector throughout the United States. The difference between projected and actual headcount is not the sole cause of success or failure of a school, however. For example, during an inflationary period, an increased headcount not supported by sufficient tuition or gift increases could cause the economic failure of an institution.

The enrollment figures alone should not be considered the problem. The numbers only support the contention that the private two-year liberal arts college for women was disappearing. One such institution remains in Virginia. Because a variety of institutional types provide different learning environments for students, the disappearance of the women's private liberal arts junior college weakens the diversity and pluralistic nature of private and public institutions within a state's system of higher education. Isolating some of the causes for this decline was one of the primary purposes of this study.

Six of the seven private two-year liberal arts colleges for women in Virginia that existed in 1966--Averett, Stratford, Southern Seminary, Sullins, Marion and Virginia Intermont--were founded in the 19th century with the help of

Protestant denominations. They were located in rural areas. The sixth, Marymount, was founded in the mid-20th century as a Catholic school and is located in an urban setting. Because the records of the schools which closed--Stratford, Sullins and Marion--are not readily available and because Marymount is institutionally different from the other schools, those four were eleminated from this study. This investigation focused on the changes which made it possible for three junior women's colleges to cope successfully with the alterations within the whole Virginia higher education system.

The adoption of four-year programs by both Averett and Virginia Intermont has contributed to the disappearance of the private liberal arts women's junior college in Virginia. It appears that the changes--from selective admissions to open admissions, from little recruiting to intensive recruiting, from increasing attrition to decreasing attrition--at Southern Seminary have helped enable it to remain a women's junior college, the only one in the state. Southern Seminary's continued success seems to challenge the assumption that the private liberal arts two-year college for women is no longer a viable entity within the spectrum of higher education in Virginia.

In this study, an attempt was made to identify and analyze how administrators at each of the three schools

viewed the problems which faced them from 1966 to 1976. It was during that decade that most major changes (closures or extensions of programs) in the junior colleges occurred.

In this investigation, administrators have been defined as those who made the policy decisions, the presidents and academic deans. Presidents and academic deans in private junior colleges included in the study were active advocates of change rather than men behind the scenes. The board members of these institutions were usually responsible for approving policy decisions recommended by administrators. Faculty members generally carried out the policies at the direction of the administrators. The presidents and academic deans also had a more detailed knowledge and a deeper understanding of changes that took place at their respective institutions than the written records indicated. These were the administrators who have had to cope with the forces behind enrollment figures and with critical budget problems. They had to face the competition of community colleges, changes in other institutions of higher education in the area, changes in student desires and orientation, decreasing demands for associate degrees and with the diminishing interest in girls' schools in general. Such less tangible and less quantifiable forces underlying public records may well have been at least partially responsible for

changes in the private junior colleges for women and responsible for its disappearance as an institutional type. The recollections and records of administrators are a prime source of information concerning these forces. This study utilized both the written records and the recorded perceptions of administrators to establish a picture of events which took place in three private women's liberal arts junior colleges during the past decade.

At Southern Seminary there have been five presidents and three academic deans since 1966. At Virginia Intermont there has been one president and two academic deans. At Averett there has also been one president and two academic deans. These thirteen administrators were all concerned with changes in admissions policies, curriculum changes and alterations in general finances which took place during their time in office. An effort was made to discover their rationale for making changes. And an attempt was made to ascertain the relative success of the changes made by comparing the enrollments and general health of the three institutions.

The basic hypothesis of the study was that survival, not leadership or academic excellence, was the principal reason for changes made in these institutions of higher education.

It was not assumed that this investigation would provide other schools with a "blueprint" for success, for each institution is unique. But, it was hoped that an

analysis of the changes in the institutions studied would enable other administrators to gain insight both into their perspective and into their awareness of the external and internal forces which affect their schools. This is especially important in light of the fact that the relevant literature indicated administrators perceive enrollments and fiscal problems as influencing decisions and changes in policy. In the present study it was found that forces such as changes in student demands and orientation were more important in the decision-making process than fiscal and enrollment concerns. Such factors potentially affect all institutions of higher learning, not just the private junior colleges for women in Virginia. Replication of the study may show the findings can be generalized and may be fruitful in generating a broad hypothesis concerning institutional decision-making.

The techniques of oral history were applied in this investigation. William W. Moss defined oral history as "a systematic collection, arrangement, preservation and publication of recorded verbatim accounts and opinions of people who were witnesses to, or participants in, events likely to interest future scholars."[8] Magnetic audio tape

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[8]William W. Moss, Oral History Program Manual (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), p. 7.

was used to preserve recorded interviews. A major limitation of the oral history method is that the resulting study is not an exhaustive presentation of all relevant data, rather, it is a recollection of human experiences within the context of a remembered past, an everchanging present and an unknown future.[9] The oral history techniques help scholars to complement their research data gained through both archival and quantitative methods.

In this study, the oral history approach was complemented by archival research of financial records, admissions data, college publications, public records and personal papers. The interviews were used to discover some of the underlying factors which could have accounted for trends found in written records. At times, when the information in the interviews conflicted with written records, efforts were made to explain the disparity between perception and "reality." While in the true sense of oral history this method would be rejected, it was felt that by combining both oral history and archival research a more accurate picture of the changes that took place in the three private junior colleges would emerge.

The literature on private liberal arts colleges is extensive. The literature on private liberal arts junior colleges is less extensive and much of it out of date.

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[9]Ibid., p. 8.

The literature on perceptions of change is almost non-existent.

More recent literature on the private liberal arts college is helpful in providing background information for the study of private liberal arts junior colleges. Lewis B. Mayhew in The Smaller Liberal Arts College (1962) drew a broad descriptive picture of smaller institutions the size of Averett, Southern Seminary and Virginia Intermont. Manning Pattillo, Jr. and Donald Mackenzie in Church-Sponsored Higher Education in the United States (1966) described some of the challenges facing church-related schools. The three schools in this study were all at one time church-related institutions and maintained vestiges of that character (i.e., compulsory chapel) down to the last decade. James Axtelle in "The Death of the Liberal Arts College," in History of Education Quarterly (Winter 1971), reviewed some of the forces of change (i.e., German scholarship, Darwinism, modern technology) which affected institutions focusing on a liberal arts curriculum. He concluded that historians of American higher education have fallen into the "trap of prematurity" writing obituaries for the liberal arts college when they should have been appraising the tenacity of age. Alexander W. Astin and Calvin B. T. Lee in The Invisible Colleges: A Profile of Small Private Colleges with Limited Resources (1972) ranked 2,139 colleges on the basis of selectivity as

reflected in academic ability of students and size of enrollment. According to Astin's ranking, the higher the mean SAT verbal and mathematical total score of incoming freshmen and the larger the enrollment, the more prestigious the school. Astin and Lee analyzed the character of 495 private four-year schools with fewer than 2,500 students and with mean freshmen SAT total verbal and mathematical scores of less than 1,000--the invisible colleges. They found that these schools represent more than half of all the private four-year colleges and one-third of all institutions offering at least a bachelors degree. They comprised about 21.5% of all institutions of higher learning and enrolled about 15% of all students in four-year schools in 1970. Astin and Lee maintained the invisible colleges added diversity to the whole of higher education and that these small colleges were better equipped to deal with less prepared students than the elite and public institutions.[10] Averett, Southern Seminary and Virginia Intermont had enrollments of less than 2,500 and mean freshmen SAT totals of less than 1000.

In the 1970s much of the literature on private liberal arts colleges was directed toward an analysis of financial

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[10]Elaine H. El-Kawas' findings in a 1976 study of Public and Private Higher Education: Differences in Role, Character, and Clientele (Washington, D. C.: Office of Academic Affairs American Council on Education, April 1976) substantiated the 1972 findings of Astin and Lee.

problems. In light of the present study, this seemed to be an element necessary to understanding the disappearance of the private women's two-year liberal arts college. In a nationwide study of financial conditions at forty-one colleges and universities, Earl Cheit outlined The New Depression in Higher Education (1971). His investigation seemed to suggest inflation was the underlying cause of all the problems in private institutions. From the questionnaire responses collected, Cheit concluded many institutions were in financial difficulty due to costs rising at steadily or slowly growing rates while income was growing at a declining rate. Morris Keeton's Models and Mavericks: A Profile of Private Liberal Arts Colleges, published in the same year as the Cheit book, outlined the major contribution of the private liberal arts college to the American system of higher education. These contributions, Keeton maintained, justify public funding to help private institutions survive the financial crunch.

In 1973 in From Red to Black?, William W. Jellema documented the proportions of the financial crunch that was affecting private four-year accredited schools of higher learning. From responses to a lengthy questionnaire "which looked as though it was asking the right questions,"[11]

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[11]William W. Jellema, From Red to Black? (SanFrancisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1973), p. 168.

--a questionnaire which basically asked questions about financial matters--Jellema concluded the causes of the crunch were: inflation, a decline in the rate of income increase, a rapid expansion of physical plants, deceleration of enrollments, expansion of student services, increases in security costs, research and program expansion, and a decline in corporate giving. Jellema suggested solutions in three directions: recognize that growth is unlikely, plan mergers with other institutions, and develop more attractive and relevant curricula impress students.

Jellema's third solution--develop more attractive and relevant curricula--was not derived from the data he collected. The fact that he presented it indicated even those who believe the problems of the private schools are basically financial recognize there are less quantifiable forces behind all the financial data and enrollment figures. The financial problems may only be manifestations of the disease. Richard S. Spies would seem to support this contention. In The Future of Private Colleges: The Effect of Rising Costs on College Choice (1973), Spies stated college applications are made primarily because of educational considerations and financial considerations are only secondary determinants.

Jellema investigated the relationships between financial problems and private education. Spies was concerned with the financial considerations faced by students wishing to

enter college. Neither described in any data educational considerations, which may well have been the cause of the declining enrollments which, in turn, lead to the financial problems which undermined the existence of many private schools such as Southern Seminary, Averett and Virginia Intermont. It is largely these overlooked educational considerations and other non-quantifiable factors which were the focus of this study.

None of the more recent literature on private colleges separates the data on two-year institutions. Moreover, most of the literature on private liberal arts junior colleges is old and out of date. For example, William Martin Proctor's collection of essays on The Junior College: Its Organization and Administration was published in 1927, almost a half-century ago. Walter Crosby Eells' Why Junior College Terminal Education? was published in 1941. Eells included a chapter of statements made by presidents of junior colleges in his attempt to analyze the forces responsible for the growth of junior colleges in the mid-20th century. These statements provided striking contrasts with the statements of recent presidents of junior colleges included in this study. Phebe Ward's discussion of the principles of and procedures for Terminal Education in the Junior Colleges (1947) is a quarter of a century old.

The individual histories of the specific colleges in

this investigation--basic resource material for studies of this type-- are also out of date. Donald W. Gray's University of Richmond masters thesis, A History of Averett College, was completed in 1961. Frederick W. Kling's University of Virginia masters thesis, The History of Southern Seminary, was done in 1937. These histories provided basic background material concerning the development of the characteristics of Averett and Southern Seminary--essential characteristics which changed dramatically in the last decade. There is no known scholarly research on the history of Virginia Intermont.

The majority of the recent literature on junior colleges deals with the public two-year institutions which are usually called community colleges. James W. Thornton's The Community Junior College (1960), Richardson, Blocker and Bender's Governance for the Two-Year College (1972), John Lombardi's Managing Finances in Community Colleges (1973) and Cohen, Lombardi and Brawer's College Responses to Community Demands (1975) are concerned with public junior colleges. The study of the community colleges is a study of a growing institutional type, while the study of the disappearing private junior college is largely ignored today.

Recent literature on private two-year colleges focuses on attrition, curriculum and financial management. Richard L. Meeth established a model for Curricular and Financial

Cost Analysis of the Independent Two-Year Colleges of America (1974). The model was based on an analysis of the internal forces (credit-hour distributions, credit-hour concentrations, courses, faculty and class size and ratios) which affect institutions. As with the Jellema study and other financial studies of private schools, the Meeth book assumed financial matters were the cause of problems in private liberal arts junior colleges. This study did not assume financial matters were the causes of either the problems or the changes that have taken place at Averett, Southern Seminary and Virginia Intermont. In the review of current literature there also appeared to be little, if any, concern for the non-economic forces within the society and within the educational system which might have explained the changes which have taken place in private liberal arts junior colleges.

A review of oral history projects being conducted across the United States indicated this methodology was being used to study educational problems. A project on "Perception of Change in the Ithaca City School District" was closely related in approach to the present study. In the Ithaca study, many interviews with persons in leadership positions were used to analyze the forces behind certain changes being made in the public school districts. The methods of the Ithaca investigation differed from those of the present study in that no interview schedules were used

in the junior college study nor was any set standard of procedures used to analyze the data collected.[12]

The data gathered from the thirteen interviews with administrators who had served at Southern Seminary, Virginia Intermont and at Averett between 1966 and 1976 were analyzed in an effort to identify those patterns of change and forces perceived as affecting change which were common to the three schools.

The conclusions of the study and their limitations were defined by the boundaries of the investigation. The following limitations were imposed on the study:

1. The study took place in Virginia,
2. The study dealt with three institutions: Averett, Southern Seminary and Virginia Intermont,
3. The subjects of the study were limited to those individuals who held the office of either president or academic dean in each institution during the past decade, 1966 to 1976,
4. The administrators' perceptions of change taking place in their institutions were the major focus of the investigation,
5. The main instrument for gathering data was the magnetic audio tape recording of an unstructured interview with each administrator,
6. Archival research of written records was used to supplement and amplify data gathered in interviews.

In summary, the disappearance of the private liberal arts junior college for women presents a problem for those

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[12]The interview schedules and procedural standards used in the Ithaca study were described in a letter from Gould P. Colman, Cornell University Libraries Archivist, to Aine Peterson Smith, dated November 18, 1976.

who value the maintenance of diversity and pluralism in American higher education. Through the techniques of oral history used in interviews with chief administrators at three junior colleges in Virginia, this study attempted to discover some of the forces which have caused the junior colleges for women to disappear.

The investigation dealt with the presidents' and academic deans' perceptions of a decade of forces and changes which have affected three institutions which were private liberal arts women's junior colleges in 1966. One institution, Southern Seminary, remains as a single-sex junior college. The second, Virginia Intermont, remained a women's college, but has added a four-year program and is phasing out the associate degree program.[13] The third school, Averett, had added a four-year curriculum and become a coeducational institution. In Chapter 2, Southern Seminary will be examined for reasons of its continuance. From an analysis of administrators' perceptions and of the written records, an attempt was made to ascertain whether they were running a survival operation or a successful business. In Chapter 3, Virginia Intermont's president's and two academic deans' perceptions are discussed in relation to the forces and changes which caused Virginia Intermont to add the four-year program and make other changes. In

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[13]In the fall of 1977, Virginia Intermont became a coeducational institution, admitting men and women on an equal basis.

Chapter 4, the perceptions of the chief administrators at Averett College are investigated in an attempt to show what factors were responsible for the decision to make that junior women's college a four-year coeducational institution. Finally, through the study of the perceptions of administrators, conclusions were drawn either to prove or disprove the hypothesis that economic survival, not leadership or academic excellence, was the main consideration and concern of administrators making decisions at three junior colleges in Virginia during the past decade.

CHAPTER II

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

Of the seven private liberal arts junior colleges for women that existed in the state of Virginia in 1966, only Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista remains as a single-sex, two-year institution. During the past decade, the chief administrators at Southern Seminary have maintained the basic philosophy and orientation of the junior college movement. The continuity of direction had been sustained despite a number of changes in administrative leadership. As is indicated in Table I, there have been five presidents and three academic deans within a period of the past ten years.

TABLE I

CHIEF ADMINISTRATORS 1966-1976

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

Presidents	Academic Deans
Mrs. Margaret Durham Robey 1942-1967	Dr. Sidney Edwin Sandridge 1965-1967
Dr. Sidney Edwin Sandridge 1967-1970	Mr. C. Lee Morris 1967-1971
Dr. Roy Kinneer Patterson, Jr. 1970-1972	Dr. Joyce Outten Davis 1971-
Dr. Roscoe Lee Strickland, Jr. 1972-1976	
Mr. John T. Kanipe 1976-1977	

The one-year tenure of the last president in the decade 1966-1977 was an example of the instability of administrative leadership at Southern Seminary.[1] These administrative changes followed earlier decades of apparently relatively stable leadership under Margaret Durham Robey, president from 1942 to 1967, and under Miss Mary Louise Israel, dean from 1930 to 1965 (see Table II).

From 1966 to 1976 the changes in administrators were reflected in alterations in college mission statements, trends in student applications and matriculations, changes in curricula and financial problems. Perceptions of the changes and the rationales underlying them were as varied as the administrators themselves.

In order to understand what happened at Southern Seminary Junior College during the past decade, it would be helpful to review the general history of the institution since its founding, 1867.

Southern Seminary was established as a post-Civil War school for girls.[2] The official date for the founding of the school is usually noted as either 1867 or 1868. The institution celebrated its centennial in 1967. The

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[1]John Kanipe was succeeded by Dr. William Elkins in July of 1977 as noted by Lindsey Weibacher, "New Sem President: Liberal Tradition to Remain," The Lexington (Virginia) News Gazette, 6 July 1977, sec. B, p. 15.

[2]The following brief account of Southern Seminary's history was derived from Frederick W. Kling's 1937 thesis and from the 1972 Self-Study Report.

TABLE II

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF

PRINCIPALS, PRESIDENTS, NAMES, LOCATIONS AND STATUS

Years	Administrators & Titles	Evolving Names	Evolving Status
1867-1868	Alice Scott Chandler Tutor	"Sherwood" Caroline County, Va.	Private Home of Tutor
1868-1883	Alice Scott Chandler Principal Miss M. L. Scott Miss Emma Scott } Assistants m. E. H. Rowe 1881 Methodist Minister	Home School for Girls Star Hotel Bowling Green, Va. 1868-1870 Home School for Girls Lawn Hotel Bowling Green, Va. 1870-1872 Bowling Green Female Seminary Milford Street Bowling Green, Va. 1872-1913	Proprietary School for Girls offering K-12 level work 1876 Associated with Methodist Church
1883-1891	Alice Scott Chandler Edgar H. Rowe Principals		1883 School sold to E. H. Rowe 1884 Post-grad. courses offered; Elementary courses being phased out
1891-1894	Edgar H. Rowe, Principal		
1894-1896	John Payne, Principal Methodist Minister		
1896-1907	Edgar H. Rowe, President	Southern Seminary Bowling Green, Va. 1900 Bowling Green Seminary Bowling Green, Va. 1901-1913 Southern Seminary Buena Vista, Va. 1901-1927	1899 School deeded to Methodist Church 1901 Having deeded the Bowling Green school to the Methodists, Rowe established a 2nd school in Buena Vista
1907-1915	Edgar H. Rowe, President J. S. Engle, Asso. Pres.		1907-19 Half-interest in two schools held by Engle or his estate
1915-1919	Edgar H. Rowe, President		1918 High School accr. by Va. State Board
1919-1922	Edgar H. Rowe, Principal Robert L. Durham, Dean		1919 Engle's half-interest sold to Durham
1922-1942	Robert L. Durham, President H. Russell Robey, Treasurer		1922 Rowe's half-interest sold to Robey
1924-1927	Robert L. Durham, President Margaret Durham Robey, Asst. H. Russell Robey, Treasurer		
1927-1934	Robert L. Durham, President Margaret Durham Robey, Exec. Prin. H. Russell Robey, Treasurer	Southern Seminary and Junior College Buena Vista, Va. 1927-1963	
1934-1942	Robert L. Durham, President Margaret Durham Robey, Principal H. Russell Robey, Treasurer		

TABLE II - Continued

Years	Administrators & Titles	Evolving Names	Evolving Status
			1934 Jr. College accr. by Va. State Board
			1935 Jr. College became a member of AAJC
1942-1967	Margaret Robey, President H. Russell Robey, Treasurer		1956 Changed from proprietary to non-profit school
			1959 Accr. by the Southern Assoc.
			1961 Dropped high school courses, began offering associate degrees
		Southern Seminary Junior College Buena Vista, Va. 1963-	
1967-1970	Sidney E. Sandridge, President Methodist Minister		
1970-1972	Roy K. Patterson, Jr., Pres.		
1972-1976	Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Pres.		
1976-1977	John T. Kanipe, President		
1977-	William Elkins, President		

SOURCES: Frederick W. Kling, Jr., "The History of Southern Seminary." (Masters Thesis, University of Virginia, 1937).

Sidney E. Sandridge, "History of Southern Seminary," Centennial Commencement Exercises Southern Seminary Junior College. (Buena Vista: Southern Seminary Junior College, 1967)

Southern Seminary Junior College Self-Study Report. (Buena Vista: Southern Seminary Junior College, 1972), pp. 1-8.

Southern Seminary Catalogs 1902, 1918, 1919, 1922, 1927 and 1945-1977.

Maid of the Mountains (College Yearbook) 1904, 1908, 1916 and 1924.

year for the centennial reflects the period when Alice Scott Chandler began tutoring young ladies at her home, "Sherwood," near Penola in Caroline County, Virginia.[3] The home burned and Mrs. Chandler moved to Bowling Green, Virginia, where she opened the "Home School for Girls" in what was called the Star Hotel in 1868. Mrs. Chandler became involved in educating young ladies in 1867; she began a school in 1868, hence the dispute over the founding date of what was to become Southern Seminary.

Mrs. Chandler, assisted by her two sisters, M. L. Scott and Emma Scott, attracted enough students to necessitate a move to the Lawn Hotel in 1870. Two years later, the school was again moved to Milford Street, Bowling Green, at which time the name of the institution was changed to Bowling Green Female Seminary. By 1877, there were about forty students and seven teachers in the establishment.[4] The school admitted several boys each year. One of the male students, Edgar H. Rowe, became a Methodist minister and later married Emma Scott, Mrs. Chandler's sister.

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[3]"Centennial Commencement Exercises Southern Seminary Junior College," 26 May 1967, Southern Seminary Archives, Buena Vista, Virginia. The year 1967 also marked the retirement of President Margaret Robey whose family had owned and operated the school during much of its history.

[4]Frederick W. Kling, "The History of Southern Seminary," (Masters thesis, University of Virginia), 1937, p. 10.

Rowe purchased the school from Mrs. Chandler in 1883 and administered it along with her until 1891, at which time she left to operate Washington Female Seminary in Atlanta, Georgia.[5] During the Chandler-Rowe administration, elementary level courses were being phased out while post-graduate courses were added to the curriculum.

Between 1899 and 1915, there were several major changes at the Chandler-Rowe school. Rowe decided, in 1899, to give the school to the Methodist Church.[6] The offer was accepted and the name of the institution changed to Southern Seminary. The school continued to be associated with the Methodist Church until 1921. In 1901, Rowe established a second school in the Buena Vista Hotel, which had been used as a Young Ladies' College in 1895.[7] The school at Bowling Green continued under the name Bowling Green Seminary until 1913, when it closed. Rowe sold J. S. Engle a half-interest in Southern Seminary.

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[5]Ibid., p. 13. The date for Mrs. Chandler's departure was given as 1897 in Sidney E. Sandridge's "History of Southern Seminary," in the 1967 Centennial Commencement Exercises pamphlet and in Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr.'s "Seminary" printed in the Lexington, Virginia Chamber of Commerce publication, Main Street, in April 1976. The Kling thesis seems to be the more scholarly work, hence the acceptance of the 1891 date.

[6]Ibid., p. 18. Again the Kling date of 1899 was accepted rather than the date 1889 which appeared in the Self-Study Report of 1972, p. 2.

[7]Young Ladies' College (catalog), Buena Vista, Virginia, 1895, found in the archives of Southern Seminary Junior College.

After Engles' suicide in 1915, Engle's half-interest in Southern Seminary was sold in 1919 to Robert Lee Durham. Rowe retired in 1922 after having sold his interest to M. Russell Robey, Durham's son-in-law.

Durham conducted the school as president with Russell Robey as treasurer and Margaret Durham Robey as assistant to the president (1924-1927), as executive principal (1927-1934), and as principal (1934-1942). During the Durham presidency the name of the school was changed to Southern Seminary and Junior College. The Virginia State Board of Education accredited the high school in 1918 and the junior college department in 1934, when the school became a member of the American Association of Junior Colleges.

Margaret Durham Robey became the third major administrator of Southern Seminary, following Rowe's forty years and her father's twenty years of tenure as president of the institution. She and her husband owned the school. The Robeys dissolved their ownership in 1958 but continued to administer the school until 1967. During those years the institution was accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, had dropped the high school curriculum (1901-62) and had begun to offer associate degrees. As found in the catalogs, the name Southern Seminary and Junior College was changed to Southern Seminary Junior College in 1963.

There are several significant factors which stand out in the brief history of Southern Seminary. First, the school has long existed as a proprietary institution owned and operated primarily by two families: the Chandler-Rowes and the Durham-Robeys. Second, the school's association with the Methodist Church was more an informal relationship than a formal position, except for a period of twenty-two years (1899-1921). Third, the institution became a junior college rather recently (1934). Finally, the high school curriculum was not dropped until very late in the institution's history (1962). Thus the character of Southern Seminary was molded by the early developments.

It should be noted that longevity of ownership in the institution did not result in stability of administrations. During more than the first half-century of the school's existence, when it was owned by Chandler and Rowe, there were nine administrations and three partnerships that actually guided the development of the institution. In addition, during the first fifty-five years of the school's history, the institution was moved four times and changed its name four times (see Table II). It was only during the last half of the first century of the school's existence, when R. L. Durham and M. D. Robey were presidents, that there was any real stability within the administration.

Margaret Durham Robey became president of Southern

Seminary and Junior College in 1942, following her father's heart attack. She had come to Southern Seminary in 1919, when her father purchased a half-interest in the school from Edgar H. Rowe. Her perceptions of the early years at the college focus on her attempts to revitalize the school's physical plant.[8] She remembers her early administrative career as a struggle between her tendency to identify with the students and her responsibility to represent the administration.

Mrs. Robey's perceptions of the purpose of the school and the direction of the college during her twenty-five years as president are preserved in several paragraphs which she wrote in the catalogs. The following statements, written by Mrs. Robey, appeared in every catalog from 1940 to 1970.

> The purpose of Southern Seminary Junior College for Women is to educate the whole girl, physically, socially, intellectually and spiritually and to fit her to live effectively in the world of today. . . .[9]
>
> As a School of Character . . . Southern Seminary

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[8]Interview with Margaret Durham Robey, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 22 April 1977. This evidence and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview. The dire need to refirbish the school is noted in Frederick W. Kling's "The History of Southern Seminary" (1937) on page 46.

[9]Southern Seminary Junior College (Buena Vista, Virginia, 1966), p. 7. In the 1970 catalog the order of the words was changed to "intellectually, physically, socially and spiritually . . . "

> gives supreme emphasis to the religion (the binding, unifying, harmonizing power) of Christ and His cure of souls; and it tries positively to lead all its students to a knowledge of Him whom to know aright is life eternal. . . .[10]

Mrs. Robey described the atmosphere of the college as

> The college has in all its history been fortunate in the quality of its home life. From the home-like cheer and comradeship radiating from the great fireplace in the front hall, on up through its physical and social organization to the spiritual restfulness of the vesper hour, every student feels and visitors seldom fail to remark upon the atmosphere of the school . . .[11]

Two major changes took place during the Robey administration. In 1958, Margaret Durham and H. Russell Robey dissolved their ownership of the school which became incorporated as a non-profit institution. The change in status made it possible for the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to accredit the school. The second change took place in 1961-62 when the high school curriculum was dropped and associate degrees were granted by the college. These changes set the stage and defined the direction the college would take during the next decade when, after the Robeys retired in 1967, there would be five presidents in ten years. Accompanying the rapidly changing administrations there were changes in the

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[10] Southern Seminary Junior College (Buena Vista, Virginia, 1966), p. 9.

[11] Ibid., p. 11. In the 1970 catalog the word "school" was changed to "Southern Seminary" when this statement appeared on page 15.

number of applications, of matriculations, of curricular offerings and concentrations, of attrition rates and in the number of graduates. Information concerning those changes is presented in Tables III through VII. The elements in the tables provide the reader with a general picture of the developments which took place at Southern Seminary from 1965-66 to 1976-77.

Sidney E. Sandridge was the first person to serve as president after the Robeys retired. He had come to the institution "as academic dean, to become the president succeeding Mrs. Robey. And after two years as academic dean /he/ became president."[12] The major challenge facing him, both as academic dean and as president, was trying to provide a smooth transition from the family leadership such as the Robeys had maintained to the administrative offices within the college. As he perceived it, his "role really was to bridge the gap from a very charismatic kind of leadership to a more position-oriented administration."[13] In the process Sandridge believed he was helping the former administration to "turn loose" without losing their financial and personal support. As he remembered it, the transition from charismatic leader-

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[12]Interview with Sidney Edwin Sandridge, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 30 April 1977. This and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview.

[13]Ibid.

TABLE III

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

ADMISSIONS DATA 1965-1977

Year	Freshman Applications	Applications Rejected*	Entering Freshmen	Total Freshmen
1965-66	606	376	168	168
1966-67	588	332	160	160
1967-68	502	213	189	189
1968-69	440	171	191	191
1969-70	419	86	203	203
1970-71	334	33	184	184
1971-72	238	5	133	133
1972-73	257	10	157	157
1973-74	284	37	161	161
1974-75	223	8	138	138
1975-76	192	6	117	117
1976-77	275	15	159	159
1977-78	304	29	134	134

SOURCE: Records kept by Ms. Nancy M. Shewey, Associate Director of Admissions, Southern Seminary Junior College.

*Applications Rejected figures were derived from figures for Accepted Freshmen Cancelled and figures for Freshmen Enrolled. The record keeping system was changed in 1977-78 but the figures used in this chart are based on the older system.

TABLE IV

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

ENROLLMENT BY CLASS PER YEAR

Year	Freshmen	Sophomores	Juniors	Seniors	Total Dorm/Day
1965-66	168	134			302/14
1966-67	160	143			303/23
1967-68	189	119			308/19
1968-69	191	139			330/25
1969-70	203	120			323/26
1970-71	184	152			336/21
1971-72	133	132			265/30
1972-73	157	90			247/25
1973-74	161	105			267/26
1974-75	138	96			234/18
1975-76	117	96			213/25
1976-77	159	85			244/49
1977-78	134	110			244/32

SOURCE: Records kept by Nancy M. Shewey, Associate Director of Admissions, Southern Seminary Junior College.

NOTE: These figures represent headcount enrollments.

TABLE V

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

GRADUATING CLASS & NUMBER OF DEGREES AWARDED BY YEAR

Year	Seniors	Associate Degrees	Junior College Certificates	Total Graduates
1965		88	8	96
1966	134	98	8	106
1967	143	124	6	130
1968	119	101	8	109
1969	139	120	13	133
1970	120	105	8	113
1971	152	119	14	133
1972	132	117	10	127
1973	90	74	14	88
1974	105	64	27	91
1975	96	62	29	91
1976	96	59	25	84
1977	85	70	18	88*
Totals		1201	188	1389

SOURCE: Figures collected and organized by Joyce O. Davis, Academic Dean and Registrar, Southern Seminary Junior College.

* The number of degrees awarded in 1977 is greater than the number of seniors. This discrepancy may be attributed to the fact that some students took three, rather than two, years to complete their work.

TABLE VI

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED PER MAJOR BY YEAR

Major	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Animal Science								42	46	62	78
Art	32	23	27	21	13	9	7	9	5	6	12
Dramatic Art	6	8	5	10	3	6	5	3	1	1	4
Early Childhood Education	50	58	67	56	72	58	46	26	26	30	31
Fine Arts						0	0	1	0	2	0
General Studies	36	37	34	35	60	63	61	42	30	32	44
Home Economics	11	12	16	25	21	17	11	12	11	4	8
Junior College Certificate	6	4	12	12	25	28	29	51	48	25	16
Liberal Arts	93	79	87	89	74	36	28	19	11	20	25
Medical Secretarial	4	2	2	0	2	5	3	3	3	0	0
Merchandising	32	42	34	33	38	31	29	31	33	22	25
Music						0	0	0	1	0	0
Physical Education	17	19	13	24	26	16	28	17	11	5	11
Pre-Nursing						0	1	7	4	5	2
Secretarial Science	38	44	49	38	29	20	16	20	15	24	31
Special Students		2	3	5	6	5	8	10	10	11	6
Totals	325	330	349	348	369	294	272	293	256	249	293
Equitation	18		21	20	28	47	78	85	88	88	

SOURCE: Fall semester figures in records kept by Joyce O. Davis, Academic Dean and Registrar at Southern Seminary Junior College.

NOTE: The number of students listed by majors is greater than the total number of students listed by class in 1967, 1970, 1974 and 1975. The above figures, collected at a later date than those in Table IV, appear to be less exact than enrollment figures.

TABLE VII

SOUTHERN SEMINARY JUNIOR COLLEGE

NUMBER OF COURSES OFFERED ANNUALLY BY DEPARTMENT

Academic Department	Years 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Animal Sci.									5	5	5	5
Art	20	20	20	18	17	17	17	13	16	16	16	16
Bible	2	2	2	2	2							
Biology	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	3
Chemistry	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Child. Edu.	5	5	5	5	8	6	7	5	5	3	3	3
Dancing	2	2	2	2	2	2						
Dramatic Art	11	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
Economics				1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
English	8	8	8	8	8	9	9	6	7	8	7	7
Equitation	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	16
French	8	7	7	7	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
German			2	4	4	4	4	4				
Health	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	1
History	6	8	8	8	7	7	6	6	7	7	8	8
Home Ec.	15	19	18	16	15	15	15	14	14	10	10	10
Humanities		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Indep. Stu.								1	1	1	1	1
Law						1	2	1	1	1	1	1
Mathematics	3	3	3	3	4	4	5	3	3	3	5	5
Merchandising	6	6	6	7	8	8	9	8	8	8	9	9
Music	11	13	13	13	11	8	7	16	14	15	16	16
Philosophy						1	1	1	1	2	2	2
Phys. Ed.	32	32	32	32	32	32	38	38	38	38	36	36
Poli. Sci.	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4	1	1
Psychology	4	2	5	7	6	6	6	4	6	6	6	6
Religion						2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Sec. Sci.	16	15	15	15	16	13	13	13	13	13	12	12
Soc. Sci.	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	2	2	1	1	1
Sociology									4	5	4	4
Spanish						4	4	6	8	8		
Total	178	180	181	186	189	184	191	186	199	193	193	193

SOURCE: Southern Seminary Junior College Catalogs from 1965 to 1976.

ship to a position-oriented administration was accomplished by attempting to re-orient channels of communication without formalizing procedures as in a manual. Requests made to the president were simply directed to the appropriate office for an official response. Ultimately, the individual approach resulted in catalog changes and in the creation of a procedure manual which identified and formalized the changes in administration.[14]

According to Sandridge, there was no attempt to change the role or the traditions at Southern Seminary during his administration, 1967-1970. When the dress code was relaxed so students could wear jeans to class, the move was seen within the context of the tradition that students should be appropriately dressed for the activity in which they were engaged. Appropriate dress for students going to class in the late sixties was jeans. When one of the two required weekly chapel meetings was changed to an assembly, the change was viewed as an effort to enhance the union of the college community.

Sandridge remembered few changes in the curriculum during his tenure in office (see Table VII). Most students in the late 1960s were in the transfer program. Those

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[14]The structure of the administration as Sandridge described it appeared in the Southern Seminary Junior Self-Study Report (Buena Vista, Virginia, 1972), pp. 24-31.

majoring in equitation, kindergarten (early childhood education) and in home economics were in what was considered to be the career-oriented curricula (see Table VI). Changes in the academic program focused on the faculty rather than on course and program alterations. Sandridge imported an academic dean, C. Lee Morris, from Ferrum Junior College where both men had previously worked. Both the dean and the president encouraged faculty to take advantage of conferences and seminars offered in their fields. Because of substantial attrition within the faculty, the administration was able to hire faculty possessing masters degrees.

During Sandridge's term in office there were several changes in physical plant. An addition was built on Durham Hall to provide more classroom space. Two new dormitories were begun. The auditorium was remodeled and a new riding ring constructed. Sandridge remembered these changes being necessitated by depreciation of facilities rather than as a result of increased enrollments. In fact, with the exception of the year after Sandridge left, the number of students at Southern Seminary was greater from 1967 to 1970 than at any other time in the institution's history (see Table IV).

According to Sandridge, all the changes made from 1967 to 1970 were a result of an attempt to meet the needs

and demands of those wishing to attend Southern Seminary Junior College. During his years there was no question about the fiscal health of the school. In fact, it was so good that H. Russell Robey, serving as treasurer, saw no need for a budget-- a view opposed by Sandridge. During his first year as president, Sandridge remembered following the same procedure as his predecessor of asking for clearance from Robey for any funding of projects which came along. After much persuading, Sandridge was ultimately allowed and invited to attend whatever budget meetings there were. And finally just before he left, as he remembered it, the president "was getting a regular treasurer's report."[15]

It would appear that changes in administration, regulations, faculty and physical plant made between 1967 and 1970 were a result of both the transition from a family operation to an administration working within the context of changing times. It does not appear that any of the changes were made specifically to increase the academic excellence of the school, although that may have been a result. Nor does it appear that any changes were made to assure the survival of the institution.

When Sandridge became president, he left a vacancy in

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[15]Interview with Sidney Edwin Sandridge, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 30 April 1977.

the academic dean's office. The position was filled by C. Lee Morris, a recent graduate of a masters degree program at William and Mary and a former member of the faculty at Ferrum Junior College in Ferrum, Virginia. Having had no previous experience in administration, Morris spent the first months of his tenure at Southern Seminary learning what his position entailed from the two previous deans (Sandridge and Mary Louise Israel) and from secretaries in administrative offices.[16]

Looking back to 1967 when he became dean, Morris recalled the "nebulous area of responsibility and /vague/ chain of command" which characterized the administration at the time.[17] "The first thing /he/ did was to attempt . . . to set up a structure . . . with department heads." Morris remembered there was some opposition among the faculty to this move. Subsequently, with the aid of the new head of the English Department, Joyce O. Davis, the divisional structure which now exists at the school was developed.

The second change Morris remembered making was establishing a system for evaluating faculty performance. Morris did not indicate whether or not that change created any opposition, but it seemed reasonable to suspect any

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[16]Interview with C. Lee Morris, Tarsus Restaurant, Buena Vista, Virginia. 22 April 1977. This and subsequent evidence attributed to Morris were gathered in the interview.

[17]Ibid.

newly instituted procedures for faculty evaluations would be usually unpopular.

Both Sandridge and Morris perceived the need to reorganize and to structure the administration of the college. Both men felt uncomfortable with the "nebulous" chain of authority. Sandridge approached the challenge indirectly by rerouting contacts and requests to Morris' office and to other offices. Morris attacked the problem head on, antagonizing many of the older faculty with his changes.

At the same time, Morris continued to support the traditional social or "finishing school" aspects of the curriculum while trying to strengthen the academic program. His emphasis on the social education of students cost him the support of younger faculty members who felt such efforts had no place in the modern college. Morris' attempt to maintain a modified "in loco parentis" was rejected by many faculty members.

Sandridge left in 1970 to become president of a four-year Methodist college in Athens, Alabama. He was succeeded by Roy Kinneer Patterson, Jr. who said, according to Morris, the position of dean required someone with a terminal degree. Joyce Davis, head of the English Department, replaced Morris who was made Director of Development, a new office which has since ceased to exist.

The pace of change quickened under Patterson's administration and Morris remembered trying to stem the tide. Morris believed two major factors fueled the push for change: the dramatic decline in freshmen applications (see Table III) and the desire among faculty and administrators to establish a new, more modern, identity for the institution. As Morris described it:

> Southern Seminary, regardless of its decline in enrollment and its attempt to change everything so that it could attract people to come, so that we wouldn't be back in the Dark Ages . . . changed to survive. . . . But, the thing people failed to realize was philosophically the school was going to survive. . . . It had the financial resources to survive. . . . What we needed was to really do a better job of selling what we were and who we were . . . keeping some of the finishing school aura.[18]

In his perception, much of the cause of the changes which took place from 1970 until 1974 when Morris left, was directly related to the need to "prove" that the institution could exist separate from the Robeys. The appointment of new administrators was therefore, according to Morris, accompanied by an attempt to change the entire character of the school so that it no longer resembled what it had been.

One of the strongest advocates of change was Roy Kinneer Patterson, Jr., president of Southern Seminary

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[18] Ibid.

from 1970 to 1972. A former professor of history and religion, Patterson came to Southern Seminary from Davidson Community College in North Carolina. The fact that his wife was from nearby Brownsburg, Virginia, made the position at Southern Seminary attractive to the Pattersons and made the Pattersons particularly attractive to the committee selecting the new president.[19]

Patterson recalled two major problems which faced him when he became president in 1970. The first "was to install normative administration of the higher education program by establishing a normative structure and a normative system of accounting and allocation of resources (sic)."[20] Second, in light of declining applications "something had to be done to enhance the quality of student life and something had to be done to enhance the academic program."

It appeared that Patterson dealt with the second problem first. In his view

> Up until the time /he/ went there, . . . Southern Sem was still living under the euphoria of the late sixties. They had the largest class in their history in /1970-71/ and that reflected the peak of applications. . . . The applications had declined

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[19]Interview with Roy Kinneer Patterson, Jr., Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia. 20 April 1977. Also, Margaret Durham Robey mentioned the affect of the Brownsburg relationship in her interview on April 22, 1977.

[20]Interview with Roy Kinneer Patterson, Jr., Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia. 20 April 1977. This and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview.

> but they were able to accept as many as they wanted and so they kept it up. . . . It took the college anywhere from three to four years to shake off the euphoria of the sixties and come to grips with reality.[21]

Part of the problem at Southern Seminary, Patterson felt, lay in the antiquated system of social regulations and in the absence of a student center. He remembered "social rules and regulations were changed to make life more tolerable. . . . The big academic change was to try to focus academic life around the library" which Patterson visualized as functioning as a "student center" for the college.

In the two years that Patterson occupied the president's office there probably wasn't enough time to install "normative administration." He recalled that "in the past, expenditures had been on an ad hoc basis" as was the case in most private colleges during the fifties. He noted, "Southern Seminary was not by itself . . . It simply perpetuated the [ad hoc system] longer than other schools." The budget did not reflect, in Patterson's estimation, any planning; it was simply an accounting of how money had been spent in the past. Patterson stated that if he'd stayed at the college, he "would have set up a systematic development program to take advantage of

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[21]Ibid.

outside resources" available to the college. As it was, Patterson removed Morris from the deanship and placed him in a newly created development office.

There was one other change in the administration which Patterson recalled making. He moved a former teacher into the admissions office to do some traveling to recruit students. Prior to that change, recruiting on the road had been the duty of the presidents of the college. The director of admissions took care of correspondence and record keeping related to admissions.

Looking back, Patterson stated the "changes made were simply changes I felt needed to be made in the school at the time. I can't say they were directed toward survival." After two years of making changes, Patterson became vice-president in charge of the development office at Mary Baldwin College in Staunton, Virginia.

Patterson's changes created some tension and unrest among members of the administration, faculty and board of trustees. His departure from the school was abrupt.

As if in an effort to quell the unrest and heal the breach between the old order and new administration, the board of trustees appointed, as president, Dr. Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., husband of Lucy Durham Strickland, Margaret Durham Robey's niece. Both Mrs. Strickland and Mrs. Robey were members of the board of trustees.

Roscoe Strickland had been in the history department at Middle Tennessee State University for twenty-three years. When he arrived at Southern Seminary on 1 September 1972 he felt the school had the "appearance of a girls' junior college . . . where students came because of the sheltered existence they thought they would find there."[22] In Strickland's view, it was not in fact a sheltered existence, "the girls were free to come and go as they saw fit. . . [even though] they still had to sign out." The trend away from social restrictions, which had characterized Patterson's tenure, continued to a lesser degree during Strickland's administration. Although the board of trustees resisted any loosening of the rules, Strickland recalled that as president he felt it "was time" to "go over their heads" and allow Sunday Open House, a time when students could have male visitors in their rooms. Strickland remembered being "severely criticized" for this move.

Whereas Sandridge, Patterson and Morris felt it was necessary to reorganize administrative procedures and to restructure the adminiation as a whole, Strickland was not concerned with the matter. In his words,

> I wasn't too concerned with organizing for organization's sake. I thought we had people

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[22]Interview with Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Hilltop, Hillsboro, North Carolina. 1 June 1977. This and subsequent evidence attributed to Strickland were gathered in the interview.

> who were doing their jobs in their particular areas and that was the important consideration.

However, Strickland did feel that additional personnel were needed in admissions and in alumnae affairs. Consequently, he appointed a new director of admissions, responsible for recruiting students, and a director of alumnae relations. When the dean of students left, he also filled that vacancy. As a result of these appointments, only two (the academic dean and the business manager) of the six administrative officers had not been appointed by Strickland.

As president from 1972 to 1976, Strickland felt that he faced three major challenges: trying to increase enrollments, trying to develop alumnae relations in order to increase giving and increasing faculty salaries. In an effort to increase applications and matriculations which had fallen sharply since 1967, Strickland prevailed upon the board of trustees to hire a consulting firm to interpret and better present the college to the public. The catalog was rewritten and the change in mission statement from 1971 to 1975 is apparent. Whereas the statement in the 1971 catalog read

> Southern Seminary sees as its continuing obligation in a period of upheaval and social change the education of the whole person. The college is committed to continuing single-sex education as a means of instilling sound female

> identity in a time of heightened female consciousness.[23]

the 1975 catalog statement read

> Southern Sem offers women an alternative--a college where, unashamedly and in the belief that women are entitled to full expression of their talents and abilities, the academic program is directed solely toward the development of women. . . . Sem offers breadth and quality of program selection which will, in a two-year period, launch a woman into her life in whatever direction she chooses.[24]

In addition to the new publicity, the director of admissions and his assistant, a recent Southern Seminary graduate, began regular and systematic recruiting trips. In 1976-77 freshmen applications jumped from 192 the previous year to 275 and in 1977-78 there were 304 applications. However, matriculations continued to decline while Strickland was in office (see Table III).

Increasing alumnae giving was more difficult than increasing applications. In Strickland's view, those attending a two-year institution did not have enough time to develop a strong loyalty to the school. And those who attended a junior college then finished their education at a senior college were more apt to focus their loyalty on the latter rather than the former.

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[23]Southern Seminary Junior College (Buena Vista, Virginia, 1971), p. 8.

[24]Southern Seminary Junior College (Buena Vista, Virginia, 1975), p. 2.

Despite these problems, the new director of alumnae affairs and public relations attempted to rejuvenate old alumnae chapters, to organize new chapters, and to reach greater numbers of alumnae with correspondence and college literature. The result was a slight increase in the amount of alumae gifts and a larger increase in the number of alumnae giving gifts.

Increasing faculty salaries was a relatively easy matter. Strickland recommended the increase and the board of trustees approved the recommendation. Because matriculations continued to decline from 1973 to 1976, because the increase in alumnae giving was not terribly significant, and because of increased costs due to faculty raises, Southern Seminary operated in the red during the last two years of Strickland's tenure. These factors may account for the appointment of a development officer as the president succeeding Strickland.

A year after retiring from Southern Seminary, Strickland viewed the future of the institution pessimistically. He said

> I don't know that a junior college such as Southern Seminary has much more to offer than may be true of any other college--community college or a liberal arts college. I don't know that the location of Southern Seminary is as advantageous as we like to think it is

> . . . it's hard to get to. . . . If other similar schools continue to close then Sem can survive.[25]

In addition, Strickland commented, if the animal science program and the riding program continue to attract as many academically strong students as they have in the past, Southern Seminary should do well. In Strickland's view, it would not be good for Southern Seminary to try to adopt a four-year program because "it would be hard to lose the junior college character, the prep-school and finishing school" aura.

What caused the decline in enrollments at Southern Seminary and other junior colleges like it? In Strickland's perception, the decline was part of a chain reaction. The community colleges did not directly draw students away from the private junior colleges. However, indirectly, the opening of the community colleges in Virginia and across the nation drew enrollments from the senior public schools. Increased openings in the senior public institutions combined with the increasing disparity between tuition at public and private institutions to cause enrollment declines at private liberal arts colleges. In order to fill their dormitories, private liberal arts colleges lowered their standards and accepted marginal or

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[25]Interview with Roscoe L. Strickland, Jr., Hilltop, Hillsboro, North Carolina. 1 June 1977.

high-risk students which had previously gone to junior colleges before transferring to senior colleges. Such was not the view of John T. Kanipe, Strickland's successor.

Kanipe had had no administrative experience in the junior college sector of higher education prior to coming to Southern Seminary. He was the first president since Margaret Robey who had not obtained a terminal degree; he had earned a masters degree in education in 1966 from North Carolina State University. However, as Vice-President for Institutional Advancement at Meredith College, North Carolina, Kanipe had largely been responsible for raising $1.7 million in voluntary gifts in 1975-76.[26] Kanipe was not an educator in the usual sense of the term. In his words, "While I've always considered myself to be an educator, I've always been more concerned with the matters of educational management and administration than with the specifics of the curricula of the institution."[27]

Kanipe felt there were three major problems facing Southern Seminary in 1976: declining enrollments, limited financial resources and the need to ascertain what the institution could "do better than other institutions in its market place." Before beginning to deal with these

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[26]"Seminary Head Named," The Lexington (Virginia) News Gazette. 10 March 1976, sec. A, p. 1.

[27]Interview with John T. Kanipe, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 3 May 1977. This and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview.

problems, or perhaps as part of dealing with them, Kanipe spent a large amount of money refurbishing the President's Home.[28] In addition, he moved every administrator (except the academic dean) into a different office space.

Because he approved of the procedures initiated under Strickland's administration, Kanipe didn't make any major changes in the admissions policies of the college. To him, the upswing in the number of applications indicated the problem of declining enrollments was being handled successfully. As a base from which to launch a campaign to increase the college's limited financial resources, Kanipe set up committees to ascertain and to define the mission of the college--what it could do better than other institutions--and to formulate some long-range plans for Southern Seminary. Finally, in approaching the problem of expanding limited financial resources, the problem he was specifically hired to deal with, Kanipe appointed a new director of information to handle alumnae affairs, public relations and to act as assistant to the president. Past files and records of donors were organized and a detailed annual report released. Alumnae

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[28]Interview with Frederick W. Kling, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 5 May 1977. Figures given by Lewis Holladay III, Business Manager, show a total of $52,853.33 was spent.

giving fell from $46,230 in 1975-76 to $14,773 in 1976-77. Total gifts fell from $81,163 to $70,701.[29]

In looking back, Kanipe stated that Southern Seminary had survived in spite of inflation and declining enrollments because of the lack of indebtedness, which he attributed to the efforts of the previous owners of the college. More recently, according to Kanipe, the popular equitation program had been responsible for the survival of the institution. But, cautioned Kanipe, the riding program itself was a danger to a school that intended to be a junior college rather than a riding academy.

Looking ahead to the future, Kanipe said, "I don't see anything substantial in the offing for /increased/ enrollments in private institutions as a group--and particularly in small, single-sex institutions." Kanipe left after one year in office. He was replaced by Dr. William Elkins in July of 1977. When the school opened in September, applications were up from the previous year (304 as opposed to 275 in 1976-77), the number of freshmen enrolled down from 159 to 134, and the total enrollment down by seventeen students (see Tables III and IV).

Kanipe was chosen to be president from a list of

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[29]College financial records. Figures given by Lewis Holladay III, Business Manager, Southern Seminary.

candidates which included the name of Joyce Outten Davis, Academic Dean and Registrar of the college since 1971.[30] Davis came to Southern Seminary in 1965 when she was employed by Margaret Durham Robey to teach English on a part-time basis. When Sandridge became president, Davis began teaching full time in the English "department." When Morris began to try to reorganize the faculty into departments, Davis worked with him to evolve the system of "divisions" under which the faculty has continued to operate. In addition, Davis was appointed chairman and editor of the self-study report which was begun in the fall of 1969, just after she received her doctorate in English from Tulane University. In the summer of 1970, Patterson arrived to become president of the college. Patterson, dissatisified with Mor is as dean, made Morris director of development in the newly created (now defunct) Development Office and appointed Davis as academic dean.

When asked to recall the challenges which faced her in 1971, Davis was candid enough to question whether or not she was perceptive enough to view her concerns at that time as "challenges." However, she noted some six areas she felt needed attention back in the early seventies.

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[30]Interview with Margaret Durham Robey, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 22 April 1977. Interview with Frederick W. Kling, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 5 May 1977.

Three areas were directly related to her position as dean. First, she was concerned about the quality of the faculty and the quality of instruction.[31] Being young herself, she remembered she questioned the effectiveness of "the faculty that had grown old together" and was concerned about the lack of credentials in this group. She felt it necessary to replace as many of those individuals as possible; looking back, Davis appeared to question the wisdom of that change. In addition, in an effort to maintain the quality of instruction, Davis felt compelled to reduce some full-time faculty to part-time status. Costs were cut without cutting programs but, in the process, faculty morale fell considerably. The increase in faculty salaries and the hiring of new faculty during the early years of Strickland's administration probably helped ease the situation.[32]

Second to her concern about the quality of faculty and instruction was the need to make changes in course offerings--to update the curriculum. Although the records show three new majors listed in 1971 (namely: fine arts, music and pre-nursing), Davis recalled only the development of the most successful animal science

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[31]Interview with Joyce O. Davis, Southern Seminary, Buena Vista, Virginia. 7 June 1977. This and subsequent evidence attributed to Davis were gathered in the interview.

[32]Davis was an active candidate for president at the time Strickland was appointed.

program which was added in 1973 (see Tables VI and VII). In essence, the development of the animal science program was a response to the students' desire for a "more useful" (career-oriented) education. The corresponding increase in the number of majors in equitation which paralleled the animal science program prepared students to work in the "horse world." At the same time, the number of liberal arts majors, home economics majors and art majors decreased.

Davis' third concern as academic dean was to develop a more open and cooperative relationship with the faculty. In this effort Davis had been caught between the concerns of the presidents regarding confidential matters, her own tendency toward less-than-democratic administration on the one hand and her felt need, on the other hand, to be more candid with the faculty and to give them a share in the governance of the institution.

Davis' remaining three concerns about the institution as a whole were, as she recalled them, similar to those stated by Sandridge. In 1971 when she became dean, she remembered feeling there was a need for more orderly procedures with regard to academic affairs. Registration needed to be stream-lined, records needed to be kept in more efficient and useful forms, and there was a need to improve communications between the administration and

faculty, administration and parents, administration and students. Like Sandridge and Patterson, in 1971, Davis was concerned about the "too restrictive" atmosphere of the college and the "prep-school mind-set," both of which she felt hampered the development of the academic program. As academic dean she worked with the presidents to change the rules and regulations which had previously governed the student body.

Declining applications and enrollments were a major concern to Davis from 1971 to the present. When asked what she thought caused the decline, Davis noted the change in student attitude in the late sixties and early seventies, the accepted activism and desire to be "where the action is," may have been partly responsible for the decline. And Southern Seminary's recruiting, or lack of recruiting, was certainly part of the problem. In her words

> I had always thought we were victims of forces that were operating in higher education in general and forces over which we had no control. . . . However, it was obvious that we had never learned to recruit back in the 1960s and I wonder that we got as many students as we did.

In her opinion, Patterson would have done something about admissions had he stayed longer. As it was, Strickland moved rapidly, after he got there, to revamp and reorient admissions. It had taken "a long time to wake up," said Davis.

When asked if there was any discussion of changing to a four-year or a coeducational institution during the late sixties and early seventies, Davis noted there had been some informal discussion among the administration and among the faculty, and quite possibly among board members. She emphasized that at no time was there any formal discussion on either matter. There had been, she recalled, some speculation about whether the junior college was a "viable commodity" and about the possibility that the new community colleges would "siphon off all our students." The knowledge that other "sister institutions" were closing or changing fueled the informal discussions.

At Southern Seminary, according to Davis, there were several factors which probably accounted for the fact that the informal discussions of change never reached any degree of seriousness. First, it was felt that the change from a two- to a four-year curriculum would have been too expensive. Second, the board of trustees had just made a major change in the curriculum when it voted to allow the high school courses to be phased out in 1962. It did not seem likely that the board would agree to another major change in the near future. Third, Davis didn't claim "to have been in favor" of any change in status. Fourth, no president stayed long enough to win the confidence of the board and to gain enough support to make such a major

change. Finally, Southern Seminary's commitment to single-sex education was too strong to make coeducation a viable alternative. Davis noted "the fact that there are two single-sex male institutions nearby has reinforced our thinking. . . . and has allowed us to have the best of both worlds"--single-sex education and coeducational social life on campus. Davis acknowledged that Southern Seminary could not have recruited or maintained enrollments from as wide a geographic area had it not been for the proximity of the two male schools.

The proximity of the male institutions and the attractiveness of the riding and animal science programs have helped Southern Seminary to attract students and to maintain their enrollment. The quiet acceptance of a rarely mentioned "open admissions" policy also enabled the college to maintain a viable student enrollment in the face of declining applications. But the reason for Southern Seminary's survival as the last women's junior college in Virginia lies deeper than that, according to Davis. Davis believed there are students who are not ready to function in the large unstructured environment of other institutions. There are parents who recognize their daughters are not quite ready to cope with the freedom of other college environments. Southern Seminary has served these students. In Davis' perception, "Our

whole approach to the student is a personal one . . . the students we get need attention. . . . And I believe if this is properly marketed . . . that is the secret of our success." In closing Davis said

> I'm maybe . . . optimistic about it. But, I don't feel the jig is up for this institution even in the face of the rather depressing projections about enrollments in higher education ten years from now. I think that we're right now having one last opportunity to learn how to /recruit/ effectively, without intense pressure on us. And we'd better damn well do it and know how to do it. . . . When the pool of applicants shrinks in 1980 and beyond, we're going to have to be very clever in our recruiting activities in order to get the students we need.

Since 1966, Southern Seminary Junior College had changed slowly. The only thing that changed rapidly and frequently was the number of presidents--one every other year, on the average--during the last decade. The fact that one individual held the office of academic dean during most of this period probably accounted for the apparent stability of administration within the college.

In 1966, Southern Seminary was a girls' school which provided college courses to students desiring a closely regulated environment. The school was operated, as it had been since 1919, by a series of ad hoc "family" decisions.

From 1967 to 1976 most of the student rules and regulations had been eleminated. Other changes included:

hiring younger faculty with higher academic degrees than before, establishing new programs (animal science, fine arts, music and pre-nursing) and refurbishing old buildings and building dormitories and a new library. But the major changes at Southern Seminary during this decade occurred in the area of administration. Changes such as--the change from informal to formalized administrative procedures; the change from an office-oriented admissions staff to a travel-oriented admissions staff; the change from selective to open admissions; and the attempt to institute modern techniques of long-range planning and development operations.

By 1976 the girls' school more nearly met the modern definition of a women's college. There were fewer rules and regulations and a president more concerned with "matters of educational management" than with the development of students.

Concern for academic quality was one of the factors contributing to the change from a regulated environment to a more liberated social environment at Southern Seminary. Concern for academic quality was part of the reason more specialized faculty were hired and salaries were raised. Other changes, formalizing administrative procedures, modernizing recruiting and updating the curriculum, appear to have been responses to meeting the

changing needs and demands of students wishing to attend the college.

In conclusion, the study at Southern Seminary Junior College did not appear to support the hypothesis that institutions change to survive--unless one defined "changing to survive" as "meeting the changing needs and demands of students wishing to attend the college." Nor did the changes appear to have been made in an effort to exert leadership in the academic community. The examination of administrators' perceptions at Southern Seminary did, however, lend some credibility to the contention that concerns for academic quality, if not academic excellence, were a part of the process of some changes in one institution investigated.

Finally, when one compares Southern Seminary to Averett and Virginia Intermont, it is clear that the former changed presidents more frequently than it changed its character and the latter two changed character and programs more frequently than they changed administrative heads. The next chapter will examine the changes in character and program at Virginia Intermont.

CHAPTER III

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

Virginia Intermont College, founded in Bristol, 1884, has moved gradually away from its junior college identity and its commitment to single-sex education. While Virginia Intermont experienced many presidents and names during the first two decades of its existence, in the later periods of the twentieth century the presidents held office for eleven years or longer.

Within the past twenty years, several organizational and academic changes occurred at Virginia Intermont. There were three major curricular developments between 1958 and 1976: the high school program was dropped in 1958; the junior college program was expanded to a four-year program in 1970; and an evening college program was launched in 1976.

The direction and character of Virginia Intermont evolved in part due to the stability of the administration. Such stability is indicated in Table VIII.

TABLE VIII

CHIEF ADMINISTRATORS 1966-1976

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

Presidents	Deans
Dr. Floyd V. Turner 1956-	Dr. Louis H. Taylor Acting-Dean 1966-1967
	Dr. Norman L. Nunn 1967-

Recent changes at Virginia Intermont during the past decade were extensions of the earlier history of the institution. Although there is no official history of the college and no detailed account of the school's past in the 1975 Self-Study Report, a booklet written by C. Ernest Cooke provides the most comprehensive view of the college's history.

Cooke declared the initial name of the school to have been Southwest Virginia Female Institute.[1] However, after thorough examination of the college catalog of 1884-1885, the original name appears to have been Southwest Virginia Institute.[2] According to Cooke, the school was founded in 1884 through the joint efforts of the local Baptist pastor, Rev. J. R. Harrison, and of a layman, Mr. M. M. Morris. The institute was located in a mansion in Glade Spring, Virginia. Eleven other residents of the area were secured as "guarantors" (financial backers) of the school. With Morris as chairman of the board, these thirteen gentlemen became the first trustees of the school established "to offer facillties for the thorough

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[1] C. Ernest Cooke, "Virginia Intermont College Since 1884" (Bristol, Virginia, n.d.), p. 4. Cooke's writing was funded by the college. The history was intended for distribution to prospective students. The information, printed in about 1975, was not distributed. Copies of the work are in the college president's files.

[2] Prospectus of the Southwest Virginia Institute (Glade Spring, Washington County, Virginia, 1884), p. 3.

education of girls at such a price as shall bring it within the reach of all."[3] The institute opened in September of 1884 with three teachers, thirteen students and Alson Hutton as principal.

Samuel C. Jones, Harrison's son-in-law, was president of Southwest Virginia Institute in 1889. During his tenure, there seemed to be continual disagreement as to the name of the institution, which was changed briefly to Virginia Institute.[4] Also during Jones' tenure, land was purchased in Bristol, 1891, as a permanent site for the school. Main Hall was built on this location. By 1895, the school had 118 boarding students.

The school's prosperity was short lived. After Jones' period in office terminated, there appeared to be instability of leadership; there were five presidents in five years (see Table IX). It was perhaps because of the instability of leadership that the school had to be sold in 1903. The institute was purchased by a corporation made up of five members of the First Baptist Church in Bristol, under whose direction another president, John T. Henderson, was made the eighth head of the school. It was during Henderson's term of office, from 1903 to 1914,

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[3]Ibid.

[4]Cooke mentioned this name change occurred in 1889 on page 7 of his work. But, reference to "Virginia Institute" officially appeared on the title page of the 1910-11 catalog.

TABLE IX

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF

PRINCIPALS, PRESIDENTS, NAMES, LOCATIONS AND STATUS

Years	Administrators & Titles	Evolving Names	Evolving Status
1884-1886	Alson Hutton, Principal	Southwest Virginia Female Institute Glade Springs, Va. 1884-1886	Women's School offering High School and College level work
1886-1889	M. M. Hargrove, Principal	Southwest Virginia Institute 1886-1889	
1889-1898	Samuel D. Jones, President	Virginia Institute Glade Springs, Va. 1889 Southwest Virginia Institute Bristol, Va. 1890-91	
1898-1900	W. H. Thorpe, President		
1900-1901	C. A. Jenkins, President		
1901-1902	J. F. Howell, President		
1902-1903	M. W. Hatton, President		
1903-1914	John T. Henderson, President	Virginia Intermont 1910-1922	Supposedly Offered 4 years of college work 1904-1912 1912 Accr. By Va. State Board
1914-1945	H. G. Noffsinger, President	Virginia Intermont College 1922-	1922 Joined the AAJC
1945-1956	Rabun L. Brantley, President		
1956-	Floyd V. Turner, President		1958 Dropped the High School 1970 Became Senior College

SOURCE: C. Ernest Cooke, "Virginia Intermont College Since 1884," booklet in Virginia Intermont archives, n. p. (c. 1973). School catalogs were used to verify information.

that the name Virginia Intermont College was used in the college catalog.[5] During Henderson's eleven-year term of office, the school offered baccalaureate degrees without making the appropriate curricular changes.[6]

The name of the college was not officially changed until 1922, when it became an accredited junior college under the direction of H. G. Noffsinger, president from 1914 to 1945. During Noffsinger's tenure, the physical plant of the college was greatly expanded. It was also during Noffsinger's presidency that the school became a leader in the new junior college movement and a charter member of the American Association of Junior Colleges. In addition, Virginia Intermont was one of the first junior colleges to be accredited by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. The school continued to be a leader in the junior college movement under R. L. Brantley, Noffsinger's successor, from 1945 to 1956. More recently, under the direction of Floyd V. Turner, who became president in 1956, the high school program was dropped in 1958 and the college curriculum strengthened.

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[5]Annual of the Virginia Intermont College (Chartered as Virginia Institute) with Conservatory of Music and Art for Young Women 1910-11 (Bristol, Virginia, 1910).

[6]Cooke refers to this as a period when Virginia Intermont was a four-year college, p. 8.

Throughout its history, Virginia Intermont College has been a church-affiliated school and has received financial support from the Baptist General Association of Virginia.[7] The college catalog statements reflected this association with the Baptist church. The 1897-98 catalog stated:

> That education that aims solely at training the mind is one-sided and pernicious. The highest womanhood can only be reached by a harmonious development of the mind, soul and body.[8]

A statement in the 1903-1904 catalog read

> It shall be our aim to send from the halls of Virginia Institute strong cultured Christian women--such women as have upon their characters the stamp of true nobility. Such a work as this ought to fire the soul with a sacred zeal and stimulate to noblest effort every teacher entrusted with the training of young women.[9]

The college's position was more succinctly stated in the 1934-35 catalog:

> In a Christian college, the moral and spiritual values are given primary consideration. Then follow intellectual and physical training.[10]

When Floyd V. Turner took office in 1956, the catalog for that year stated that the aim of Virginia Intermont was

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[7] Self-Study Report Virginia Intermont College 1975 (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. I-5.

[8] Fourteenth Annual Catalogue of the Southwest Virginia Institute (Knoxville, Tenn.: Newman & Co., 1897), p. 5.

[9] Annual of the Virginia Institute with Conservatory of Music and Art for Young Women (Bristol, Virginia, 1903), p. 5.

[10] Bulletin of Virginia Intermont College (Bristol, Virginia, 1934), p. 3.

to help its students to achieve

> Physical and mental health, moral character and spiritual life;
>
> Ability to think independently, power to write and speak effectively, and willingness to assume responsible places in society;
>
> Experiences needed for an enriched life and for wider and more useful service to God and humanity.[11]

In the 1975-76 catalog, Guideline 3 stated

> As a church-related institution, /Virginia Intermont/ acknowledges a responsibility to provide an atmosphere in which students can mature spiritually and morally and develop a value system which gives meaning to learning.[12]

As has been the case with other church-related schools, Virginia Intermont College has been elegible to receive state funds. It is considered to be a non-sectarian institution partly because the primary purpose of the college has not been to train theologians and partly because the Baptist General Association of Virginia has had no direct control over the college.[13]

In reviewing Virginia Intermont's history, several significant factors emerged. First, except for a brief

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[11] Bulletin of Virginia Intermont College (Bristol, Virginia, 1956), p. 10.

[12] Bulletin of Virginia Intermont College (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. 8.

[13] Self-Study Report Virginia Intermont College 1975 (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. I-6.

five-year period (from 1898 to 1903) there was stability of leadership. Secondly, the philosophy and the character of Virginia Intermont appeared to be strongly oriented toward education of women. And finally, Virginia Intermont discontinued its high school program relatively late (1958) in its history.

In addition to these significant facts, one may ask what changes administrators have had to cope with since 1958. This information is listed in Tables X through XV. The facts presented in the tables are intended to provide the reader with a general picture of the developments which took place at Virginia Intermont College from 1965-66 to 1976-77.

Since 1958, the leaders of Virginia Intermont College have come from Midwest, Baptist schools. Of the three administrators interviewed, President Turner had held the longest tenure of office, viz., twenty-four years. Before coming to the college in July of 1956, Turner had received an A.B. and an M.A. from the University of Kansas City (now the University of Missouri at Kansas City), and an Ed.D from George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee. When Brantley resigned as president, early in 1956, Turner was dean at Belmont College, a small, coeducational, liberal arts Baptist institution in Nashville. Before that he had been at

TABLE X

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

ADMISSIONS DATA 1965-1976

Year	Freshmen Applications Dorm	Applications Rejected Dorm	Entering Freshmen Dorm/Day	Total Freshmen Class
1965-66	733	223	261/31	292
1966-67	831	184	347/31	378
1967-68*	641	56	284/42	326
1968-69	605	22	337/31	368
1969-70	575	33	309/27	336
1970-71**	436	12	216/13	229
1971-72	424	1	206/22	228
1972-73	484	4	247/29	276
1973-74	439	5	186/26	212
1974-75	391	2	171/22	193
1975-76	394	1	173/28	201
1976-77	425	2	179/44	223

SOURCE: Records kept by Ms. Margaret B. Crumley, Director of Admissions at Virginia Intermont College since 1952.

*The Board of Trustees approved the plan for developing a four-year curriculum in May of 1968.

**Third-year courses were added to the curriculum.

TABLE XI

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

ENROLLMENT BY CLASS PER YEAR

Year	Freshman Dorm/Day	Sophomores Dorm/Day	Juniors Dorm/Day	Seniors Dorm/Day	Total Dorm/Day
1965-66	261/31	177/20			438/51
1966-67	347/31	190/19			537/50
1967-68	284/42	211/21			495/63
1968-69	337/31	169/33			506/64
1969-70	309/27	199/27			508/54
1970-71	216/13	194/25	54/28		464/66
1971-72	206/22	131/18	55/23	49/27	441/90
1972-73	247/29	127/24	40/18	53/26	467/97
1973-74	186/26	139/32	52/19	35/32	412/109
1974-75	171/22	114/15	65/30	46/27	396/94
1975-76	173/28	107/24	60/25	58/33	398/110
1976-77	179/44	125/38	55/35	51/33	410/150

SOURCE: Records kept by Margaret B. Crumley, Director of Admissions at Virginia Intermont College.

NOTE: These figures represent headcount enrollments.

TABLE XII

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

GRADUATING CLASS & NUMBER OF DEGREES AWARDED BY YEAR

Year	Seniors 2-yr./4-yr.	Associate Degrees	Baccalaureate Degrees	Total Graduates
1965	172	146		146
1966	197	179		179
1967	209	189		189
1968	232	197		197
1969	202	154		154
1970	226	158		158
1971	219	148		148
1972	149/76	83	60	143
1973	151/79	59	69	128
1974	171/67	65	58	123
1975	129/73	48	69	117
1976	131/91	54	88	142
1977	153/84	32	77	109

SOURCE: Records kept by Floyd V. Turner, President and Norman L. Nunn, Academic Dean at Virginia Intermont College.

TABLE XIII

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED PER MAJOR BY YEAR

Major	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Art (Fine & Applied)	36	53	17	52	52	55	47	39	45	39	30
Ballet						3	3	22	32	44	47
Biology						2	4	7	3	9	12
Business Admin.	59	63	46	39	40	26	20	28	26	16	17
Communica. Pre-Journ.	10	9	2	7	9	7	2	2	4	3	16
Drama & Speech	9	19	20	13	15	19	20	22	27	5	6
Education	45	60	59	73	76	73	88	80	67	58	49
English						3	15	11	7	16	11
French						7	3	7	6	4	2
General Studies	101	142	149	139	123	99	46	30	27	14	10
History						4	11	10	9	4	2
Home Economics	43	59	62	64	52	48	40	22	13	13	6
Horsemanship									1	15	34
Health Sciences	44	57	58	46	31	29	48	54	39	43	59
Liberal Arts	90	71	76	46	61	31	21	16	8	9	2
Merchand. Retailing	19	22	22	19	35	36	59	88	92	83	82
Music	7	11	16	22	15	19	24	21	27	18	20
Photography										16	19
Physical Education	27	35	31	48	41	44	41	43	32	21	22
Psychology						24	53	37	32	26	18
Social Work						1		25	34	44	42
Undecided	1		2			6	13	19	22	17	17
Total	492	591	560	573	567	536	550	589	556	502	535

SOURCE: Records kept by Norman L. Nunn, Academic Dean, Virginia Intermont College.

NOTE: By 1976, students were enrolled in "double majors" so that it was not possible to account for the majors in that year.

TABLE XIV

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

NUMBER OF COURSES OFFERED ANNUALLY BY DEPARTMENT

Academic Department	Years 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Art	23	24	24	23	23	23	30	25	28	27	28	27
Biology	4	4	4	4	4	5	13	14	14	7	10	14
*Business	16	16	16	14	14	14	22	24	23	23	24	24
Chemistry	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Dance	9	13	13	13	13	13	15	15	16	23	23	23
Drama	12	12	12	12	12	12	12	11	12	11	11	11
Economics	6	6	6	4	4	6	5	5	5	5	5	6
Education							16	18	19	17	18	18
English	8	12	12	12	12	14	26	25	24	16	17	18
French	8	8	8	8	8	4	12	11	10	10	10	10
Geography	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
German		4	4	4	4	4	8	8				
Health	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	5	5	5	5	6
History	4	4	4	4	4	6	17	17	17	13	13	14
Home Ec.	12	12	12	13	10	11	12	11	11	11	10	4
**Horsemanship	9	9	9	9	9	9	10	3	3	26	33	32
Interdis. Stu.					2	2	2	3	3	3	3	3
Italian									2	2	2	2
Journalism	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	5	5	5
Mathematics	7	7	7	6	7	9	9	9	7	7	7	7
Music	41	53	53	53	53	53	27	23	23	23	23	23
Philosophy	5	5	5	5	6	7	7	8	0	6	6	6
Photo & Film										12	12	12
Phys. Ed.	28	28	31	29	29	29	45	39	38	38	38	38
Phys. Sci.	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physics	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Poli. Sci.	2	2	2	2	2	2	4	5	5	5	5	5
Psychology	2	2	2	2	2	3	9	11	11	9	9	9
Reading						2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Religion	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Soc. Work										5	5	10
Sociology	3	3	3	3	3	3	13	15	15	10	10	10
Spanish	8	8	8	8	6	4	8	8	8			
Speech	7	7	7	6	6	6	6	6	6	5	5	5
Total	232	249	249	240	241	247	347	336	330	339	351	363

SOURCE: Virginia Intermont College Catalogs from 1965 to 1976.

* From 1965 to 1970 Business courses were listed under Secretarial Science.

** Horsemanship courses were listed under Equitation and Riding.

TABLE XV

VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

CONTINUING EDUCATION PROGRAM ENROLLMENTS

Continuing Education Program in Bristol

Term	Head Count
April 1976	27
June 1976	46
Aug. 1976	42
Sept. 1976	39
Nov. 1976	50
Jan. 1977	62
March 1977	61

Continuing Education Program in Gate City

April 1977	20

Continuing Education Program in Marion

Term	Head Count
Aug. 1976	31
Oct. 1976	31
Jan. 1977	41
Feb. 1977	48
April 1977	46

Total Continuing Education Enrollments

Term	Head Count
April 1976	27
June 1976	46
Aug. 1976	73
Sept. 1976	39
Oct. 1976	31
Nov. 1976	50
Jan. 1977	103
Feb. 1977	48
March 1977	61
April 1977	66

SOURCE: Records kept by Norman L. Nunn, Academic Dean at Virginia Intermont College

Mary Hardin-Baylor College, a small Baptist liberal arts college for women in Belton, Texas--a school similar to Virginia Intermont.

Turner came to Intermont "well aware of the reputation [that] the college had as a leader in junior college education and as a school for girls." But, he felt he faced the challenge of an "obvious need" for financial restructuring, "physical rehabilitation" and program change.[14] Financial restructuring included a general upgrading of faculty salaries, which went to effect almost immediately upon his arrival in Bristol.[15] An intense plan of renovation resulted in the construction of five of the largest buildings on campus: the Student Center built in 1959, the Fine Arts Center in 1961, the Science Hall in 1963, Intermont Hall in 1966 and Harrison-Jones Hall in 1967.[16] The program changes began with the termination of the high school curriculum, which was completely dropped by 1958. The second major program change was the phasing out of the two-year nursing program during the early 1960s.

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[14]Interview with Floyd V. Turner, Virginia Intermont, Bristol, Virginia. 11 May 1977. This and subsecuent evidences were gathered in the interview.

[15]Interview with Louis Taylor, Virginia Intermont, Bristol, Virginia. 11 May 1977.

[16]Self-Study Report Virginia Intermont College 1975 (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. VIII-11.

As the initial plans for financial restructuring, renovation and program change were being completed, Turner began to investigate the feasibility of expanding the junior college curriculum to a four-year curriculum. As he remembered it, numerous requests, from graduating sophomores, for a four-year program, "did stimulate" him to study enrollment trends and to investigate the activities of Virginia Intermont alumnae--many were found to be transferring to finish their education.[17] In addition, it was becoming evident, by 1964, that "the future of the private junior college was going to be difficult." For example, s id Turner, When the State Council for Higher Education planned "to put twenty-nine community colleges in, so that everyone can be within commuting distance, . . . it was evident that it was going to be more difficult." And furthermore,

> In reading a lot of educational periodicals, you just knew the day of the private junior college was /limited/. . . in certain locations. . . . Nestled here, with about a dozen other colleges within twenty miles of us . . . it became evident to us it was going to be difficult to maintain ourselves.

From Turner's statements it appeared that the perceived threat of declining applications and decreasing enrollments due to the competition from community colleges

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[17]Unless otherwise stated, this quotation and others attributed to Turner were taken from the May 11, 1977 interview, which took place in his office at Virginia Intermont College.

was a major factor giving impetus to the change from a two-year to a four-year program. In reality, the records showed that the number of applications and enrollments increased from 1960 to 1967.[18] It may be that Turner's perception of the community college threat was a product of hindsight rather than foresight. Comments made by Louis Taylor, acting-dean from 1966 to 1967, appeared to support the conclusion that the perception was a product of hindsight.

The discussion of adopting a four-year program began, as Turner remembered it, during the early 1960s when Carl Todd was dean. In the fall of 1963 Todd left and Louis H. Taylor, head of the philosophy and religion department, became acting-dean. Ernest St. Jacques was then hired as academic dean but left the institution after less than two years. In October of 1966, Taylor again became acting-dean. It was not until Norman L. Nunn became dean in September of 1967 that the discussion of making substantive program changes resumed with any seriousness, according to Turner.

In February 1968, Turner presented a proposal to the board of trustees which provided the rationale for suggested changes in both programs and in institutional

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[18]Records kept by Margaret B. Crumley, Director of Admissions at Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Virginia.

status.[19] As he recalled, almost ten years later, the main reason for the change was to release the educational program from its emphasis on preparing transfer students to be educated elsewhere. The transfer program was to be replaced by a curriculum designed to educate students at Virginia Intermont. Turner admitted that the minutes of the board of trustees "look very dull" but stated that the trustees were "very enthusiastic" about the change.

The board of trustees approved the plan for implementing a four-year program in May 1968. The first junior-level courses were to be offered in 1970-71 with the senior-level courses being added the following year. Sixty baccalaureate degrees were awarded under the new program in the spring of 1972 (see Table XII).

The adoption of the four-year program was followed by further changes in finances, in admissions, in program direction and in the traditional commitment to single-sex education.

Financial changes involved increased expenditures for library acquisitions and more money for faculty salaries in order to hire teachers with doctoral degrees.

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[19]The 1968 document presented to the board of trustees was not made available to the author. Therefore, it was impossible to ascertain whether or not the perceptions related in May of 1977 were an accurate description of the perceived needs for change as they were related in 1968.

Overall, Turner stated, operational expenses increased in real dollars by approximately 25%. The increase in operating costs was not as great as it might have been partly because of the college's already heavy expenditures for courses extant in the junior college curriculum. Many of the new financial responsibilities were met by redistributing funds from other accounts.

The change from selective admissions to open admissions, which had begun as early as 1966, was accelerated (see Table X). In 1965-66, 30.42% of the freshmen dormitory applications were rejected. In the year following the May 1968 decision to adopt the four-year program, only 3.64% of the freshmen dormitory applications were rejected. In the school year that the first baccalaureate degrees were awarded, 0.24% of the freshmen applications were rejected.[20] The move toward open admissions, according to Turner, was not so much because of necessity as it was an implementation of the president's personal philosophy of education. Turner admitted that the number of applications was decreasing each year and he acknowledged "the basic criteria for

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[20]The figures used in deriving these percentages are found in Table III. As noted in the table, the figures were copied from records and papers kept by Margaret B. Crumley, a graduate of Virginia Intermont and its Director of Admissions since 1952.

admissions is still the bed in the dormitory in the private college." However, he stated

> I believe strongly that one of our roles is to try to do something for the student that wants to come /to Virginia Intermont/. . . if you've got an open admissions policy . . . that bed in the dormitory takes on a little bit of a different kind of aspect because you want to serve that person after they get here.

While hoping for increased applications and hoping to fill dormitory space which had not held its capacity since 1969-70 (see Table XI), Turner stated there were no plans to change the recruiting methods and procedures.

Virginia Intermont's growth in students within the last year has been a result of both the numbers of commuting students and also the numbers of students enrolled in the continuing education program (see Table XV). Evening college and off-campus adult education programs were started as a result of a survey in which it was discovered there were no degree-granting evening programs for adults in the Bristol area. In addition, it was apparent that there were many veterans in the Bristol area whose education could be financed by the government. The continuing education program was established, according to Turner, to fill a community need. "And, of course, /Virginia Intermont/ hoped it would help financially--which it has," Turner said.

The historic single-sex tradition of Virginia

Intermont College began to be changed in part due to the male student enrollments in the continuing education program. In addition, there were some twenty-four male students enrolled as regular day students by the 1976-77 academic year. Because the enrollment of male students was already established at Virginia Intermont, Turner felt the school should now be considered a coeducational institution. Male students, according to Turner, had been attracted to programs that other institutions in the area did not have--programs in horsemanship, ballet and photography. The ballet major was instituted in 1970, horsemanship in 1973 and photography in 1974 (see Table XIII). Turner did not feel the official change from a women's school to a coeducational institution would change the character of the environment at Virginia Intermont. He felt that the school had divested itself of most of its feminine aspects. Furthermore, he felt the fear that women could not compete with men outside the classroom had been proved false by this decade's female students. Prior to the board of trustees' official adoption of the policy of coeducation, Turner did not believe the admission of men to Virginia Intermont would make enough difference in the orientation of the school to necessitate a major revision of the catalog. However, Turner did admit it might be necessary to delete the

guideline stating that

> As a college primarily for women, /Virginia Intermont/ considers women's needs and interests in the planning of both curricular and extra-curricular programs.[21]

Courses, Turner emphasized, were not set up according to the sex of the students.

It appeared, therefore, that while Turner recognized the scope of changes instituted at the college during his tenure as president, he did not seem to perceive these as changes which had resulted in a major shift in the mission of the institution. It was also interesting to note that, while emphasizing his comments were not intended to be in order of importance, he listed financial considerations first, followed by attempting to meet the needs of Virginia Intermont's constituency and responding to the needs of the community, as reasons or factors responsible for the changes. Yet, Turner had rarely indicated that financial factors were of primary importance when outlining the reasons and rationales underlying specific changes.

In addition to the perceptions of administrative change provided by Turner, those of another administrator were sought. Louis H. Taylor came to Virginia Intermont the year before Turner arrived. Having earned a Th.D. from

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[21] Bulletin of Virginia Intermont College (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. 8.

Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, he headed the Department of Bible and Religion. Taylor served twice as acting-dean, first in 1963-64 when Carl Todd took a leave of absence to finish his doctorate, and again from October 1966 when Ernest St. Jacques (Todd's successor) left and until Norman L. Nunn came during the summer of 1967.

Taylor indicated that a discussion of the changes which have taken place at Virginia Intermont from 1966 to 1976 would really go back to 1963-64.[22] It was during that twelve-year period that the college, according to Taylor, moved toward open admissions, toward the development of a four-year program and toward increased student participation in school governance.

Taylor recalled discussing the pros and cons of open admissions with President Turner as early as 1963-64. According to Taylor, both men felt "everybody ought to have an opportunity to 'hit it' but, if he couldn't, he'd just have to step aside." While adopting a policy of open admissions was basically a result of a change in the philosophy of the institution, Taylor admitted there was also the feeling that a policy of open admissions could help to maintain enrollments.

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[22]Interview with Louis H. Taylor, Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Virginia. 11 May 1977. This and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview. All quotations attributed to Taylor were gathered in the interview.

Preliminary discussions of the four-year program also began, as Taylor recalled, in 1963-64. By that time, Taylor noted, the institution seemed to have "hit a saturation point in growth, in campus development and in improvement." The adoption of a four-year program seemed, to him, to be the next logical step in the development of the college. Taylor remembered talking about the advantages of such a change. As a senior college the institution would be eligible for more grants and foundation awards. Another advantage--the problems students were having transferring Bible course credits to a four-year degree would be solved. Moreover, the whole problem of trying to prepare students for transferring to other institutions (rather than "educating" them) would be alleviated. Finally, the image of the college within the Bristol community would be improved.

Still another change which Taylor mentioned, the increased student participation in governance, came about as a result of two things. First, student rebellions and demands caused the administration to rethink its traditional stance and, second, administrators and faculty had begun to recognize students were capable of making valuable suggestions concerning various administrative policies.

When asked his feelings about officially becoming a

coeducational institution, Taylor made two points. He felt since society was providing equality of opportunity to both sexes, its institutions would have to follow suit. In addition and particularly at Virginia Intermont, Taylor emphasized that male students would improve the academic environment because they participated more actively in class discussions than did female students.

In conclusion, Taylor commented on the place of the private liberal arts women's junior college in today's spectrum of higher education as possessing the advantage of serving the "children of elite people who have no prospect of ever having to go to work, but who want to become . . . full-rounded persons." Because of the declining number of elite-oriented people, the private liberal arts junior college with a pure liberal arts curriculum has no place in today's world, according to Taylor.

Taylor served as an administrator during the decade covered in this study. Yet, the brevity of his administrative experience and the temporary nature of his administrative assignments lead one to conclude that his perceptions are less those of an administrator than they are those of a senior faculty member at Virginia Intermont. In spite of that, Taylor's perceptions were remarkably similar to those of Turner. Both expressed the sense that

the day of the private liberal arts women's junior college was over. Both admitted declining enrollments may have effected the move to open admissions but, both emphasized, the change was more one of philosophy than necessity. The trend in enrollments from 1965-66 on would seem to support that contention; the trend in applications appeared to support the theory that change was based on necessity rather than philosophy (see Tables X and XI). In the third place, both Taylor and Turner emphasized the significance of the dissatisfaction with the transfer program that played a part in the decision to adopt a four-year curriculum. Finally, both noted the influence of the local Bristol community in effecting change at Virginia Intermont.

Taylor added the idea that the adoption of a four-year program might have been a part of a progression of improvements which Turner had made since his arrival at the college. Taylor also indicated financial considerations were part of the reason for the change from the junior to the senior college status. Lastly, Taylor noted a change at Virginia Intermont not mentioned by either Turner or Nunn--viz., the increased student input in administrative decisions from 1966 to 1976.

In 1966, Norman L. Nunn was Assistant Dean of Admissions and Records at Tennessee Technological

University. He had received a B.Mus. and an M.M. from the University of Missouri at Kansas City (Turner's alma mater) and a Ph.D. from Florida State University. An unexpected phone call from President Turner brought him to Virginia Intermont as the new academic dean in the summer of 1967, less than a year before the board of trustees approved the plan to institute a four-year program. Nunn was essentially hired to develop a new curriculum for the four-year program. Nunn discussed several reasons for the four-year program being presented to the board. He stated that, in 1967,

> all of higher education was in such a turmoil during the sixties that everything seemed to be playing musical chairs as to what was going to come out. . . . I think we realized that the role and the place of the private junior college was changing. This /realization/ was just reinforced when the community colleges began. . . . But I really think one of the big reasons /for the change/ here was the desire to be something more than just an institution /for transfer students/. I think it was really built around the desire to see what could be developed here, program-wise and total institution-wise.
>
> As a junior college, you really aren't anything to anybody. I think of it in the way it affects alums, for example. They are more loyal to their senior institution than they are to their first two-year institution. It affects everything which is basically the reason to become an institution in your own right. . . .[23]

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[23]Interview with Norman L. Nunn, Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Virginia. 11 May 1977. This and subsequent evidence were gathered in the interview. All quotations attributed to Nunn were gathered in the interview.

An over-all plan for curriculum development was drawn up soon after Nunn arrived. Four non-traditional majors were added between 1970 and 1976 (see Table XIII). Majors in ballet and social work were added in 1970, horsemanship in 1973 and photography in 1974. In addition, a major in church music will be added in 1977-78. The addition of new majors and the change to a four-year program resulted in an increase in the total number of courses offered. In the catalog printed in the summer of 1970, 247 courses were listed. Some 347 courses were listed in the following year's catalog (see Table XIV). Interestingly, the number of full-time and part-time faculty hired to teach these courses remained fairly stable (see Table XVI).

TABLE XVI

FACULTY AT VIRGINIA INTERMONT COLLEGE

Year	Full Time	Part-Time
1964-65	32	3
1965-66	31	5
1966-67	35	3
1967-68	35	4
1968-69	32	7
1969-70	37	5
1970-71	41	8
1971-72	43	5
1972-73	43	5
1973-74	39	12
1974-75	36	11
1975-76	36	13
1976-77	37	6

SOURCE: Virginia Intermont College Catalogs from 1964 to 1976 and the Self-Study Report Virginia Intermont College 1975 (Bristol, Virginia, 1975), p. V-2.

A developmental studies program was added partly as a result of the effects of the change from a selective to an open admissions policy. The curriculum included remedial reading and remedial mathematics courses as well as a writing laboratory class.

The newest change in the curriculum was the recent addition of a continuing adult education program. Since April 1976, evening classes have been offered at the Bristol campus and in Marion and Gate City. According to Nunn, the program was instituted because of the results of a survey of educational needs in the Bristol community, done by an educational group from Kansas City, Missouri--oddly enough, another Midwest influence. The consultants convinced administrators at Virginia Intermont of the need for such a program in the Bristol area.

The continuing education courses and classes in ballet, horsemanship and photography have attracted and enrolled many male students. In fact, the majority of the students enrolled in evening classes both on and off campus are male. Nunn appeared to believe the adoption of a coeducational status was a logical step to take in light of these developments.

During the past decade the changes which have evolved at Virginia Intermont College have been gradual. Unlike two nearby similar institutions (Marion Junior

College for Women in Marion, which closed after the 1966-67 session and Sullins Junior College in Bristol, which closed in August of 1976), Virginia Intermont appeared to, at the very least, have been able to maintain its existence. In spite of the fact that the number of freshmen applications dropped from 831 in 1966 to 425 in 1976-77 and the fact that the number of freshmen in the dormitories dropped from a high of 347 in 1966-67 to 179 in 1976-77, the total number of dormitory students remained relatively stable. The change from selective admissions to open admissions, which also took place within this time period, may be seen as a result of, or perhaps as the cause of, the decline in the number of applications.

Similarly, the adoption of the four-year program may have been related to trends in applications and enrollments. The threat of declining applications and enrollments which might have resulted from the community colleges was a factor in the decision to become a senior institution. However, as the director of admissions noted, the change to the four-year status may have caused a decline in applications because it was difficult to "sell" a school to prospective students when the identity and character of that institution was always changing and

never the same.[24] However, the change from the junior college status to the senior college program appeared to have been the result of the planning and direction of President Turner more than it appeared to have been the result of any other factors. Initially Turner did the study of enrollments and activities of alumnae. Discussions and plans for the change continued even as academic deans came and went during the period (Taylor 1963-64, Todd 1964-65, St. Jacques 1965-66, Taylor 1966-67, Nunn 1967 to the present). The proposal to become a four-year institution was presented to the board and approved by the board before Nunn had been at Virginia Intermont for a full year.

All three administrators interviewed seemed to agree that the junior college curriculum was expanded because: the junior college was becoming increasingly less viable (in their opinion) as an institutional type in today's system of higher education; the community colleges would provide the same two-year programs in Virginia for less money; at Virginia Intermont, development of students and a healthy development of the institution itself was being hampered by emphasis on the transfer program. Changes in curriculum and the

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[24]Interview with Margaret B. Crumley, Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Virginia. 11 May 1977.

development of new majors, as perceived by the three administrators (Turner, Taylor and Nunn), were implemented to establish the four-year program.

The most recent changes, the initiation of a continuing adult education evening program and the decision to become a coeducational institution, were perceived as responses to fulfilling local community needs.

The investigation of administrative perceptions of change at Virginia Intermont supported the hypothesis that leadership and excellence were not main considerations in the decision to change from a small private liberal arts women's junior college to a small women's senior college with a broader curriculum. But rather, the study appeared to support the contention that institutions change when a strong administrator wills and directs the development of an institution over a long period of time. And it may have been that the strong president at Virginia Intermont willed and directed changes at the college in order to assure its survival. Certainly, the three administrators interviewed stated their concerns for the survival of junior colleges in general was a factor in their decision to support the change from a two-year to a four-year program. The study at Virginia Intermont more nearly supported the contention that institutions

change in order to survive than did the studies at Southern Seminary or at Averett.

Having examined the developments at Virginia Intermont and those at Southern Seminary, a description of what took place from 1966 to 1976 at Averett College in Danville seems in order.

CHAPTER IV

AVERETT COLLEGE

Of the three schools in this study, Averett College was founded the earliest and had moved furthest from its junior college identity and philosophy. Averett had numerous administrators and name changes in the first century of its existence. During the past decade, Averett changed from a private liberal arts junior college for women to an independent coeducational senior college with more than double the number of students it had in 1966. By 1976, the number of day or commuting students was greater than the number of resident students.

The changes at Averett College during the past ten years took place under the direction of a relatively stable administration, as is shown in Table XVII.

TABLE XVII

CHIEF ADMINISTRATORS 1966-1976

AVERETT COLLEGE

Presidents	Deans
Dr. Conwell A. Anderson 1966-	Miss Mary C. Fugate 1927-1969
	Dr. R. Kirby Godsey 1969-1977

R. Kirby Godsey left the college in December of 1976 to become Dean of the College of Liberal Arts at Mercer University, Macon, Georgia. Dr. Malcom W. Huckabee, a professor of psychology at Averett, was acting-dean until his appointment as dean was confirmed by the board of trustees in May of 1977.

In order to better understand the changes made during the transformation of Averett as a junior college in 1966 to Averett as a four-year institution in 1976, it might be helpful to have some concept of the general history of the college since its beginning in 1854. The following brief account of Averett's history was taken from the college's self-study submitted to the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1976.[1]

The history of Averett College began with the opening of Danville Female Institute, 1854. Headed by William I. Berryman and backed by the First Baptist Church of Danville, the institute was the beginning of a local tradition of education connected with the Baptist denomination.

Although the official history of Averett began with the Danville Female Institute, the school actually began in the fall of 1858 with the establishment of the Baptist

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[1]The general history outlined in the Averett College Institutional Self-Study Report of 1975 on pages 2-4 corresponds closely with the material presented in David Wesley Gray's "A History of Averett College," a 1960 University of Richmond masters thesis.

Female Seminary, incorporated under the name Union Female College. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph J. Averett and later Samuel W. and John T. Averett served as faculty members of the college.

Because the designation "Union" had become unacceptable during the Civil War, the name of the school was changed to Trustees of Roanoke Female College, 1864, and shortened to Roanoke Female College in 1893. The name was further shortened to Roanoke College in 1904 when the school was placed under the control of a board of trustees appointed by the Baptist churches of Danville and by two local Baptist associations. Between 1864 and 1904, the leadership of the institution changed nine times (see Table XVIII).

The name was again changed to Roanoke Institute, in 1910, when the school was fully integrated into the Virginia Baptist educational system. The last name change occurred in 1919 when the designation "Averett College" was approved.[2]

Like many other similar small private liberal arts junior colleges for women, Averett's curriculum originally included preparatory work. The primary school was discontinued in 1922, the secondary school in 1937.

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[2]Averett College Institutional Self-Study Report (Danville, Virginia, 1975), pp. 2-4.

TABLE XVIII

AVERETT COLLEGE

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF

PRINCIPALS, PRESIDENTS, NAMES, LOCATIONS AND STATUS

Years	Administrators & Titles	Evolving Names	Evolving Status
1854-1857	William T. Berryman, Principal	Danville Female Institute 1854-1858	Women's School Offering work from the kindergarten to Master's level
1858-1859	Nathan Penick, Principal (m. Jane Averett)	Baptist Female Seminary Incorporated Union Female College 1858-1863	School was supported by local Baptist Associations
1860-1863	William Tyree, President Baptist Minister		
1863-1863	John C. Long, President Baptist Minister		College was operated as a stock company
1863-1865	Isaac B. Lake, President Baptist Minister	Trustees of Roanoke Female College 1864-1893	
1865-1867	Isaac B. Lake, Assoc. Principal H. A. Reinhart, Assoc. Principal		
1867-1870	Isaac B. Lake, Assoc. Principal Thomas Hume, Assoc. Principal		
1870-1872	Isaac B. Lake, Assoc. Principal Thomas Hume, Assoc. Principal Amana Preot, Assoc. Principal		
1872-1873	Amana Preot, Assoc. Principal John L. Johnson, Assoc. Principal Samuel W. Averett, Assoc. Principal		
1873-1887	Samuel W. Averett, Assoc. Principal John Taylor Averett, Assoc. Principal		
1887-1892	John Taylor Averett, President		
1892-1902	Charles F. James, President	Roanoke Female College 1893-1904	Integrated into Virginia Baptist Education System
1903-1907	Robert E. Hatton, President	Roanoke College 1904-1910	
1907-1914	John B. Brewer, President	Roanoke Institute 1910-1919	
1914-1917	W. W. Rivers, President		
1917-1921	C. E. Crossland, President	Danville College Averett College 1919-	1917 Accr. by Va. State Board as a Jr. College
1921-1927	James P. Craft, President		1922 Dropped Primary Grades
1927-1936	John W. Cammack, President		1928 Accr. by So. Assoc.
1934-1935	Curtis Vance Bishop, Act. Pres.		
1936-1965	Curtis Vance Bishop, President		1937 Dropped High School
1966	Mary C. Fugate, Act. President		
1966-	Conwell A. Anderson, President		1969 Became a 4-year coed. institution

SOURCE: David Gray, "A History of Averett College" (Masters Thesis, University of Richmond, 1960). School catalogs were used to verify the information.

Although Averett has primarily been a women's college, men have been admitted since the 1930s. Even after the official announcement that only women would be admitted in 1960-61, men were still admitted in summer school.[3]

Several features of Averett's history are worthy of note. First, administrative changes were more frequent in the early history than they were in the last decade. Second, Averett had a fairly large number of male students attending what was supposed to be a women's school. Finally, Averett discontinued its high school curriculum relatively early in the twentieth century.

Additional background information for a discussion of administrators' perceptions of change during the last decade is provided in Tables XIX through XXIV. The facts presented in the tables are intended to provide the reader with a general picture of the developments which took place at Averett from 1956-66 to 1976-77.

Of the four administrators interviewed at Averett, Mary C. Fugate, Dean of Instruction, had the longest tenure. During her forty-five years at the college she had seen many changes. When she come to Averett in 1924 there were no buses, no street cars, no radio station in Danville. The Averett campus consisted of two buildings

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[3]Ibid., p. 1.

TABLE XIX

AVERETT COLLEGE

ADMISSIONS DATA 1965-1976

Year	Freshmen Applications Dorm/Day	Applications Rejected Dorm/Day	Entering Freshmen Dorm/Day	Total Freshman Class
1965-66	546/103	209/11	248/75	323
1966-67	594/92	138/11	240/59	299
1967-68*	536/87	159/18	218/66	284
1968-69	459/58	105/34	215/115	330
1969-70**	367/224	67/32	176/156	332
1970-71	315/241	72/40	159/174	333
1971-72	299/307	27/41	145/213	358
1972-73	297/290	38/33	149/195	344
1973-74				
1974-75	267/196	40/19	119/158	277
1975-76	439/358	69/56	196/242	438
1976-77	430/333		193/238	431

SOURCE: Records kept by Ms. Mary Louise Merricks, Registrar of Averett College.

NOTE: Blanks indicate incomplete records. The planned cooperation with Stratford and its ultimate closing in September of 1974 may be responsible for the frequent voids in the records during this time.

* October 1967 the Board of Trustees approved the plan to develop a four-year coeducational institution.

**Third-year courses were added to the curriculum and men were admitted to the school.

TABLE XX

AVERETT COLLEGE

AVERAGE SAT SCORES FOR INCOMING FRESHMEN BY YEAR

Year	Average Total Mathematics Score	Average Total Verbal Score	Average Total Score
1965	413	409	822
1966	407	404	813
1967	416	402	818
1968	416	407	823
1969	414	408	822
1970	417	416	833
1971			
1972	403	382	786
1973	408	380	788
1974	414	428	842
1975	432	414	846
1976	430	435	865

SOURCE: Records kept by Mary Louise Merricks, Registrar of Averett College.

TABLE XXI

AVERETT COLLEGE

ENROLLMENT BY CLASS PER YEAR

Year	Freshmen	Sophomores	Juniors	Seniors	Total Dorm/Day
1965-66	336	208			428/126
1966-67	323	240			433/140
1967-68	315	236			437/118
1968-69	285	221	12		398/155
1969-70	268	206	87		429/129
1970-71	236	230	193	133	436/541
1971-72	230	252	207	187	422/467
1972-73	240	192	230	181	437/607
1973-74	259	209	244	186	407/765
1974-75	294	206	229	234	358/990
1975-76	319	193	273	209	375/959
1976-77	312	185	243	190	416/810

SOURCE: Records kept by Mary Louise Merricks, Registrar at Averett College.

NOTE: These figures represent headcount enrollments.

TABLE XXII

AVERETT COLLEGE

GRADUATING CLASS & NUMBER OF DEGREES AWARDED BY YEAR

Year	Seniors	Associate Degrees	Baccalaureate Degrees	Total Graduates
1966	208	156		156
1967	240	201		201
1968	236	178		178
1969		162		162
1970		133		133
1971	133	82	123	205
1972	187	37	174	211
1973	181	19	228	247
1974	186	22	267	289
1975	234	7	259	266
1976	209	5	204	209

SOURCE: Records kept by Mary Louise Merricks, Registrar at Averett College and records in the office of the Dean of the College.

NOTE: The fact that the number of seniors in 1969 and 1970 is missing plus the fact that the number of degrees awarded in 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974 and 1975 is greater than the number of seniors in the graduating class makes the accuracy and validity of this data suspect.

TABLE XXIII

AVERETT COLLEGE

NUMBER OF STUDENTS ENROLLED PER MAJOR BY YEAR

Major	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Art (Fine Art)	17	21	25	24	33	39	38	45	39	38	38
Biology					7	22	31	27	35	53	54
Business					152	173	202	113	110	122	
Church Ministries						2	7	3		5	11
Dramatic Art (Speech)					3	10	5	9	7	11	7
Elementary Education			78	77	127	201	201	143	175	182	154
English					25	38	35	29	28	29	34
French					4	5	5	5	4	6	4
History					20	23	29	33	32	39	47
Home Economics	22	12	27	24							
Horsemanship										8	32
Law Enforcement									26	43	27
Liberal Arts	321	297	196	183	161	133	44	7	34	31	17
Management (Merchandising)	50	61	88	71	3	11	25	31	38	37	176
Mathematics							16	10	19	25	24
Medical Fields (Pre-Sec, Tech.)	24	8	32	14	16	11	14	17	16	34	53
Nursing				19				5			
Physical Education				13	27	35	30	36	29	36	34
Psychology					9	15	23	27	40	41	45
Religion and Philosophy					2	11	8	13	24	23	25
Retailing								57	49	17	23
Secretarial	104	74						32	23	22	30
Sociology					24	40	55	61	58	62	64
Undecided	16	56			192	24	37	293	183	169	180
Totals	554	529	525	491	641	793	805	998	980	1058	1097

SOURCE: Records kept by Mary L. Merricks, Registrar, Averett College

TABLE XXIV

AVERETT COLLEGE

NUMBER OF COURSES OFFERED ANNUALLY BY DEPARTMENT

Academic Department	Years 1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976
Art	15	15	15	15	15	31	31	29	25	42	25	15
Biology	3	4	4	4	4	15	15	16	16	24	18	18
Business						43	46	44	40	47		
Chemistry	3	4	4	4	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	7
Drama & Spee.	6	6	6	6	6	18	19	21	21	21	17	16
Economics	2	2	2	3	3	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Education						12	12	16	17	22	28	28
English	5	7	8	8	9	18	18	18	21	38	16	17
French	3	6	8	8	8	14	15	16	16	23	14	19
Geography						1	2	2	2	2	2	2
German										4		
Govt.-Pol.	3	3	2	2	2	2	4	4	4	17	4	4
Home Ec.	7	7	9	9	9	9						
History	2	4	4	4	4	19	19	20	19	28	19	21
Horsemanship										8	8	8
Humanities										5		
Law Enforce.											5	5
Management											34	46
Mathematics	5	9	8	10	10	10	10	11	16	16	17	20
Merchandising	6	8	9	8	8							
Music	14	33	27	25	23	32	31	31	11	41	13	13
Phys. Ed.	17	27	27	28	27	35	39	42	38	56	44	46
Phys. Sci.						1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physics												2
Psychology	1	2	2	2	2	9	9	9	16	19	18	17
Rel. & Phil.	8	9	9	11	11	22	22	19	19	23	19	19
Soc. & So.Wk.	2	2	2	2	2	14	16	17	18	21	21	20
Spanish	3	6	6	6	6	6	4	4	4	14	4	4
Sec. Sci.	21	20	20	22	22							
Total	126	174	173	177	175	320	321	328	312	483*	336	352

SOURCE: Averett College Catalogs from 1965 to 1976.

*This total represents the inclusion of courses offered in a joint program between Averett College and Stratford College the year that Stratford closed.

sandwiched between a back campus wilderness and a front lawn croquet court. The extracurricular activities of students were closely regulated. Students were allowed to date one Sunday afternoon a month in the high school, three Sundays a month if they were college sophomores. Students could not ride in cars without faculty chaperones and had to wear hats and gloves when going to town. The student handbook rules forbad coloring lips, eyebrows or eyelashes in any way.[4]

The enrollment in 1924-25 was about 204 with approximately ninety students in the dormitory. There were fourteen faculty members, a president and a dean-lady principal, one secretary who also served as treasurer, a nurse-matron and a dietition. When Fugate retired in 1969, after having served as dean under Presidents Croft, Cammack, Bishop, and Anderson, Averett was accepting applications from males and females for the first junior class in the new baccalaureate programs just being offered. A total of 553 students of which 398 were in dormitories attended Averett during Fugate's last year as dean (see Table XXI). And the rules and regulations of earlier years had almost totally vanished.

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[4]Fugate's perceptions of 1924 were preserved in "Reflections on Forty-Five Years," her commencement address at Averett on May 31, 1969. Copies of the address are in her personal files.

In February of 1966, Curtis V. Bishop died and Fugate became acting-president. When Conwell A. Anderson came the following summer to be the new president, Fugate remembered there was a very noticable difference in the tone of administration. Bishop possessed total authority, for he hired faculty, recruited students and frequently handled admissions procedures.[5] Anderson expected and allowed the dean to recruit and hire faculty, seeking only the president's final approval. Persons in the admissions office were expected to recruit students and to handle admissions matters.

There were no plans or even thoughts of making Averett a four-year institution in 1966, according to Fugate. She remembered "the trustees spent a good deal of time asking him [Anderson] if he could be satisfied working in a junior college."[6] Fugate recalled Anderson assured the trustees he believed in women's education and in church-related education and that he would have no trouble adjusting to the situation at Averett.[7]

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[5]Fugate's description of Bishop is born out in James A. Davis' Florida State University dissertation, "Dr. Curtis V. Bishop: Focus On A Junior College Career 1930-1966," 1973.

[6]Interview with Mary C. Fugate, Averett College, Danville, Virginia. 1 June 1977. This and subsequent evidence attributed to Fugate were gathered in the interview.

[7]A six-page typed manuscript, "Observations on Reinstatement of Bachelors Degrees," by Anderson, 19 December 1967 supported this perception. Found in Fugate's papers in Danville, Virginia. Hereafter cited as Fugate Papers.

Fugate seemed to attribute the move toward four-year status to Stratford Junior College's announcement of plans for a four-year program in the fall of 1966. The board of trustees met at Averett in October of that year and several members asked Anderson what Averett was going to do in light of the change in the college just down the street. As Fugate recalled, the feelings in the fall of 1966 focused on the concern that day-student enrollments would be affected by Stratford's drawing local students to the four-year curriculum. There was also some concern, Fugate remembered, that the newly established community colleges in Virginia would draw other students from Averett because of their attractively low tuition.

In an essay prepared by Fugate for Anderson in January 1967, other rationales were presented to support the proposed change from a junior college to a senior college.[8] Among these rationales was the concern for students who had had difficulty transferring to private or church-related colleges with limited places for transfer students. Also it was becoming increasingly difficult to recruit faculty for a junior college program. Too, a four-year Baptist college was needed in Virginia because Westhampton had not been able to accommodate all students

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[8]Mary C. Fugate, "Some Thoughts on the Future of Averett College" 19 January 1977. Fugate Papers.

wishing to enroll there. Furthermore, there was the feeling that the impact of the Averett experience would be greater if students stayed four years, rather than just two years.

Fugate's perceptions of the factors causing Averett to move toward a four-year status differed in 1977 from those of the 1967 essay. The effect of Stratford's decision to become a senior college was not mentioned in her papers or in many of the written records made available to this researcher. It appeared that, after having implemented the decision to become a four-year institution, Fugate was able to state her fears of Stratford's rivalry. As an afterthought, Fugate indicated that, while at the time Stratford's decision appeared pivotal, she believed the change would have come about any way because students and their families had become less willing to pay the price of private education in order to receive only a two-year degree more inexpensively acquired at community colleges.[9]

On October 20, 1967, the board of trustees voted to convert the women's junior college into a coeducational institution with a baccalaureate program.[10] There

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[9]The self-study of 1975 specifically mentioned the decision to become a four-year coeducational institution was "a necessary result of the establishment of public community colleges and other trends in higher education." Averett College Institutional Self-Study, p. 1.

[10]Ibid.

appeared to have been little discussion of the need to change the single-sex status of the school prior to the board's decision. However, when the change in status was decided, it resulted in a total change of the whole orientation of the college rather than a simple program change.

As dean of instruction, Fugate worked on the necessary faculty and curricular changes. New faculty members were added and old faculty members given sabbaticals to work on advanced degrees. Fugate recalled curricular changes involved plans to expand the "strongest" (most popular) majors while keeping the number of courses within "a limited range." (See Table XXIII for the numbers of students enrolled per major by year.) As the number of courses listed in the school catalogs showed, the limited range allowed the number of courses to increase from 177 in 1968-69 to 320 in 1970-71 (see Table XXIV).

The change in status had left Averett with the problem of divesting itself of its junior college image. While the loss of this image in 1968-69 resulted in a decline in the number of students at Averett (see Table XXI), the retention of that image--in Fugate's perception--made it difficult to recruit more capable students. The retention of the junior college image

resulted in a persistent admissions problem of selection. This contention appeared to be supported by records of the average total SAT scores for incoming freshmen over the past decade (see Table XX).

When asked to choose one reason for all the changes which had taken place at Averett during her forty-five years there, Fugate stated, "Change occurs because a school can't remain static in a changing society." Changes at Averett were made to meet the secular needs of students, and in the process professional standards of academic excellence, rather than moral judgments, were used as guidelines for the changes. Fugate rejected the notion that any changes at Averett were made primarily to enable the institution to survive.

Conwell A. Anderson came to Averett, to be president, in the next to the last year of Dean Fugate's tenure. Anderson had earned his B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. at the University of Alabama. In addition, he had been dean for six years at Mary Hardin-Baylor College in Belton, Texas and president of Judson College, Marion, Alabama for five years. Both schools were private liberal arts Baptist institutions for women. Just prior to coming to Averett, Anderson had been with a school in Maryland and with the Institute of Higher Education at University of Georgia. A phone call from the chairman of the presiden-

tial committee (who knew Anderson from previous Baptist Education Association meetings) brought him to Danville, Virginia.

In 1966, when Anderson came to Averett, he saw his primary challenge in the questions related to the future of private two-year liberal arts colleges in general in the face of a rapidly growing community college system.[11] In an interview on June 1, 1977, Anderson said he raised the question of the board of trustees commitment to the junior college status during meetings with the selection committee. The response to that question, as Anderson remembered it, was, "No reason not to [stay a junior college] but we're open to considering anything that is necessary." The board did not see any change as necessary because, in 1965-66, the college had a "waiting list" of potential students wanting to come to Averett (see Table XIX). But Anderson saw in the establishment of community colleges and in the increasing popularity of the bachelors degree a trend away from private junior college education and the necessity for change. Anderson said that, in 1967, he "personally felt convinced there was no place for two-year private colleges." This feeling came from

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[11]Interview with Conwell A. Anderson, Averett College, Danville, Virginia. 1 June 1977. This evidence and other comments ascribed to Anderson were derived from the interview unless otherwise indicated.

his experience in Maryland, where Anderson had taken a position in 1965 to start, as he understood it, a four-year college. When the board of trustees decided to make the school a junior college, Anderson left and went to the University of Georgia. Thus, he came to Virginia feeling the private junior college was an "anachronism." Anderson also felt the tendency away from single-sex education nationally and the local need for education to serve the male population in Danville were forces pressing Averett to become coeducational as well as a four-year institution.

Anderson's recall of his feelings in 1977 differed markedly from the perception of these events by Fugate and differed markedly from the notes he made for the formal discussion of the possibility of reinstating baccalaureate degrees on January 19, 1967.[12] In those notes, Anderson wrote he "did not come with the intention of leading Averett to become a senior college." And he "would personally prefer that issue not be raised this soon after my arrival."[13]

Although the idea to adopt a four-year program did

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[12]In the late 1800s Averett, then Trustees of Roanoke Female College, granted what it called "Bachelor's" and even "Master's" degrees for two years of work at the college level.

[13]Conwell A. Anderson, "Observations on Reinstatement of Bachelors Degrees," dated 19 January 1977. Fugate Papers.

not originate in the faculty body, Anderson recalled little resistance to the change and a great deal of "eagerness to explore" the possibilities of change. He remembered the single "most persuasive argument" for the change was that by adopting the baccalaureate program the college could better serve its students, most of whom were going on to other schools to finish their education. In a dittoed tract written following the January 1967 meeting, the president outlined several other reasons for adopting a senior college status.[14] First, by offering the bachelors degree recruitment of students would be facilitated and recruitment and retention of qualified faculty would be greatly aided. Second, Stratford's decision to go four-year would cause Averett to "gradually lose the favored position which it [then held]" and Averett would be identified with the "open door" community junior colleges. Third, there was the fear that "the image of quality so long maintained regionally by Averett would be over-shadowed and lost." Fourth, fund raising would be easier among senior college graduates than among junior college graduates whose loyalties were divided between the two institutions

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[14]Conwell A. Anderson, "Considerations Regarding the Possibility of Reinstating of Baccalaureate Degrees at Averett College," dated as following the meeting of 19 January 1967. Fugate Papers. The following quotations were taken from page 2 of the tract.

they might have attended while completing their education. Finally, the need for another senior Baptist college in Virginia to provide for students turned away by Westhampton College was noted.

Although the registrar's records show there were twelve juniors enrolled in 1968-69, the first third-year class was admitted in September 1969 (see Table XXI). The first bachelors degrees were conferred in May of 1971 (see Table XXII). Accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools followed the first baccalaureate commencement. In the transformation of the junior college curriculum to a senior college program many courses were upgraded but, according to Anderson, the faculty remained committed to the philosophy of a "limited curriculum" in which the faculty, rather than the students, designed the structure of a given degree program. Anderson noted several new majors had been added since 1969. The horsemanship major, most recently added, was approved because it attracted students who wanted to live on campus. More recently, a pre-ministry major had been added to attract male students and to serve the Baptist church. In 1977, a continuing education program with graduate-level studies in education and business was being proposed with the idea of providing graduate-level education to Danville area residents.

These changes in curricula were made "to move with the demands of the market," according to Anderson.

The curricular and other changes at Averett were sufficiently attractive to cause a significant increase in the number of day or commuter students. From 1965-66 when there were 126 day students the number of commuter students had increased to 810 in 1976-77 (see Table XX). The number of resident students had remained fairly constant while the number of applications per dormitory student had declined (see Table XIX). Anderson attributed the increase in day students to the number of students transferring from the local community college and to local acceptance of Averett's senior college status. The influx of day students he felt endangered Averett's valuable image as a private residential liberal arts church-related school. Efforts were being made to rectify the imbalance by increasing the number of dormitory students, according to Anderson. The president did not indicate there would be any effort to accept fewer day students, although he did state the educational plant at Averett could comfortably accommodate only 1,000 students. Furthermore, he stated "there is no question that the state's . . . grant and loan program [would be] a significant factor in Averett's . . . competition in

the Virginia student market."[15]

In looking toward the future, Anderson indicated that as Averett College competes with other institutions changes will be made to meet the desires and needs of the "C-student market" from which Averett has traditionally drawn its undergraduates. Changes have been made and will continue to be made to "stay current" enough to attract students to an institution where concerns for personal development are supposed to be more important than concerns for "job-earning power," according to Anderson.

Anderson brought A. Kirby Godsey to Averett in 1969 to replace retiring Dean Fugate. Godsey came to Averett the year the four-year program was put into effect. He had a B.A. from Stanford University, an M.A. from the University of Alabama, a B.D. and a Th.D from New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary and a Ph.D. from Tulane University. Godsey had worked with Anderson in the administration at Judson College in Marion, Alabama. He was attracted to Averett because of the opportunity to build a four-year curriculum and because of the team approach to administration which he knew, from previous

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[15]According to Virginia Churn's "Student Grant Increase Urged" article on the front page of Section B of the Richmond Times-Dispatch, July 20, 1977, the Virginia State Council of Higher Education recommended the General Assembly appropriate $18.5 million for 1978-80 so that the $400 now awarded to Virginia students at private colleges could be doubled.

experience, was Anderson's style.

Although Godsey had not been active in the early stages of the plans to make Averett a senior college, in implementing the change he relied on the rationales which had been given earlier. Basically, Godsey stated, the move from the two-year status to the four-year program was an "economic decision caused by the creation of the community college system."[16] Other reasons for the change were: the need for a four-year teaching program in the Danville area, the need to serve the local community in a coeducational four-year capacity, and the desire for greater financial support from the Danville community. Godsey noted that community support, as he remembered it, did increase after the change to the four-year program. Financial support increased even more dramatically after the closing of Stratford, which impressed upon the local population the fact that private institutions can and do die.

Godsey saw the challenge to develop a senior college curriculum related to the needs of the community as his greatest contribution to the changes at Averett from 1969 to January 1977, when he left the institution. Through conversations with local business leaders, a business and

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[16]Interview with H. Kirby Godsey in Macon, Georgia by phone to Lexington, Virginia. 11 July 1977. This evidence and other comments ascribed to Godsey were gathered in the interview.

management program was developed and initiated in 1970-71. The horsemanship major evolved out of the closing of Stratford and a desire to fill dormitory space. Of all the changes made during Godsey's tenure the adoption of the horsemanship major caused the most controversey. The program was defended as being no worse than any athletic major and by finding other schools which had similar programs already in existence. In the end, Godsey said he was willing to support a "marginal" program because it would help to enable other more creditable contributions to be made by Averett as a whole. The law enforcement major, adopted in 1975-76, was a response to the need and desire of local community college students to continue their training in this area.

According to Godsey, one of the most important results of the adoption of the four-year program was the dramatic increase in the number and percentage of day students. Although, Godsey noted, the influx of day students made it difficult to involve and integrate the student body in the non-academic life of the college, the greater number of commuter students had a beneficial effect on the academic program. Commuter students in general, Godsey said, were "better students than residential students."

Godsey noted that Averett had had an attrition

problem when it was a junior college. There were 336 freshmen in 1965-66; two years later there were only 201 graduates (see Tables XXI and XXII). The attrition problem did not abate when the school adopted the baccalaureate program and became a coeducational college. However, the nature of the problem changed. Godsey believed that most of the attrition problem after 1970 was caused by trying to attract men as dormitory students. Male students recruited from New York and New Jersey experienced severe "cultural shock" as they attempted to to adjust to the completely foreign atmosphere of the small, church-related, Southern and still basically female institution. Many of them couldn't make the adjustment and left before completing their education.

The biggest changes at Averett from 1969 to 1976, according to Godsey, were "people changes." The administration of Bishop and Fugate was altered considerably by the policies and styles of Anderson and Godsey. The appointment of a new assistant to the president was part of an effort to strengthen ties between Averett and the Baptist church. The hiring of terminal-degreed faculty and the faculty development program changed the nature of the faculty at Averett.

Godsey had said economic factors were basic to all the changes made at Averett during the past decade. But,

he stressed, economic factors were "signals for change" rather than the cause of change itself. In his view, economic conditions at the college were measures of the reality of Averett's ability to respond to the needs of the students and the com unity the college sought to serve. Godsey emphasized that making changes to survive was not going to assure existence if there were no need for the services and purposes Averett sought to fulfill.

The changes at Averett College in Danville, Virginia were more radical during the past decade than those changes which occurred at either Virginia Intermont or at Southern Seminary. In 1966 Averett was a small private women's liberal arts college with most of its 550 students in residence. By 1976 Averett had become a larger, coeducational, no longer basically liberal arts, senior college with most of its 1,200 students commuting from the Danville area. Throughout the process of change, the school maintained and strengthened its ties with the Baptists in Virginia.

The change was instigated, directed and implemented by three administrators who served as deans and president during the past ten years. President Anderson initiated the idea for change in 1967. Dean Fugate planned and prepared the curricula for the change from the junior college program to the senior college program. Dean

Godsey modified and carried out the change from 1969 to 1976.

The administrators' perceptions of the changes which took place in curriculum, in the student body, in the faculty and in the administration itself were quite similar. Their perception of the main reason for the change differed considerably. Fugate attributed the change to the influence of Stratford's decision to adopt a four-year program. Anderson believed the change was basically necessitated by the growth of a public community college system in Virginia. Godsey stated that the institution changed when economic conditions signaled the need to adjust services in order to meet the desires and demands of the local community and of future students.

The study of administrative perceptions at Averett supported the hypothesis that leadership and academic excellence were not main considerations in the process of change at institutions of higher education. However, the study did not clearly show that the drive for survival is the key to change in education. In fact, among the administrators interviewed, there was no agreement on the degree to which concerns for survival impinged upon the direction of changes made at Averett since 1966. The span of view-points ranged from a complete

rejection of the idea that Averett could have changed in order to survive to the tacit admission that economic considerations were the "signal" for change.

Having finished the study of each of the institutions and of the administrative perceptions of change at Southern Seminary, Virginia Intermont and Averett, the remainder of the paper will be devoted to a summary of what has been presented, to a comparison of the different perceptions and to the tentative conclusions which can be drawn from the research.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate some of the reasons underlying the changes that have been taking place during the last decade in private liberal arts women's junior colleges in Virginia. An effort was made to determine whether the drive for survival or the striving for academic excellence and leadership was the key to change in three institutions: Southern Seminary Junior College, Virginia Intermont College and Averett College.

In 1966, there were seven private liberal arts women's junior colleges in Virginia: Stratford College in Danville, founded in 1852, Averett College in Danville, 1859; Southern Seminary Junior College in Buena Vista, 1867; Sullins College in Bristol, 1870; Marion College in Marion, 1873; Virginia Intermont College in Bristol, 1884; and Marymount College in Arlington, founded in 1950. A decade later only Southern Seminary remained what it had been. Marion had closed in 1968, Stratford, 1974, and Sullins, 1976. Averett had become a four-year coeducational institution in 1969; Virginia Intermont added a four-year

program in 1970; Marymount extended its program in 1973.

Six of the seven private two-year liberal arts colleges for women that existed in Virginia in 1966--Averett, Stratford, Southern Seminary, Sullins, Marion and Virginia Intermont--were founded in the nineteenth century with the aid of Protestant denominations. They were all located in rural areas. The seventh, Marymount, was founded in the mid-twentieth century as a Catholic school and was located in an urban setting. Because Marymount was institutionally and historically different it was excluded from the study. Because the records and administrators of the schools which closed--Marion, Stratford and Sullins--were not readily available, those three schools were also not included in the study. Instead, the research in this investigation focused on the changes which made it possible for three junior colleges for women to cope successfully with the challenges of the past decade.

Both traditional archival research techniques and oral history methodology were used in the descriptive study. The major portion of the data collected was obtained through interviews with thirteen administrators who had been either presidents or academic deans at each of the colleges during the decade 1966 to 1976. Although the orientation of the research was directed

toward the investigation of administrative perceptions of change, when individual perceptions conflicted with written records, an attempt was made to explain the disparity between perception and what appeared to be reality.

Of the three institutions examined, Averett College was founded earliest (1854) and had moved furthest from both its junior college identity and its original philosophy. Three administrators were asked to discuss their perceptions of these changes and rationale for the changes which had taken place at Averett between 1966 and 1976. While all three leaders focused on the change from a two-year women's college to a four-year coeducational school each spent time discussing one or two other changes which they felt were important to the development of the institution during the past decade. Mary C. Fugate, dean from 1927 to 1969, noted the change from the authoritarian administration of Curtis V. Bishop (president from 1936 to 1965) to the democratic leadership of Conwell A. Anderson (president from 1966 to the present). Anderson discussed the addition of the horsemanship major and the law enforcement major, curricular changes resulting from the need "to move with the demands of the market." The third administrator, R. Kirby Godsey, dean

from 1969 to 1977, mentioned the increase in commuting student programs as the college's response to meeting the needs of Danville area residents.

The administrators' perceptions of events in the change to four-year status in 1969 were remarkably similar. Their perceptions of the main reason for the change differed considerably. Fuente attributed the change to the influence of Stratford College's decision to adopt a four-year program, thereby undermining the attractiveness of Averett's two-year curriculum. Anderson believed the change from a women's junior college to a coeducational senior institution was basically necessitated by a change in American society, which had resulted in an altered position for women, and by the growth of the public community college system in Virginia. Godsey, the man responsible for developing the four-year curriculum, stated that economic conditions and budget deficits signaled the need for changes that would meet the demands and desires of students wishing to enter college in the 1970s and for the forseeable future. The majority of those students, Godsey felt, would be looking forward toward a baccalaureate degree obtained within a coeducational environment.

The study of administrative perceptions at Averett

supported the hypothesis that dynamic leadership and academic excellence were not the main considerations in the decision to change from a small private liberal arts women's junior college to a larger coeducational commuter student senior institution. On the other hand, the drive to survive in the face of increasingly smaller classes of resident freshmen may seem to have been a factor in the change despite statements by Furate to the contrary. However, one questions that conclusion in light of the fact that applications were at a peak and enrollments at their height when the decision to change was made. Moreover, economic factors and enrollment figures would not have caused Anderson to consider change; they could only have reinforced his earlier conviction that the private junior college was an anachronism. Godsey's statements about the economic causes of change at Averett may be interpreted as hindsight; he arrived in Danville after the change had been made. At Averett substantive changes appeared to have been made due to the predilections of a strong president.

Virginia Intermont College, founded in Bristol in 1884, moved gradually from its junior college identity and its commitment to single-sex education. The move began in 1958 when the high school curriculum was discontinued. Twelve years later, the two-year program

was expanded to a four-year curriculum. And an evening college program, enrolling a majority of male students, was initiated in 1976. Presiding over the changes were President Floyd V. Turner, who had come to the college in 1956, and Dean Norman L. Nunn, who had come in 1967. A member of the faculty, Louis H. Taylor, had been acting-dean during most of the academic year 1966-67.

When asked to comment on the changes which had taken place at Virginia Intermont, Turner, Nunn and Taylor focused on the beginning of the four-year program in 1970 and on the change from selective to open admissions. The changes took place during a period when the number of applicants and the number of resident freshmen decreased but the total number of dormitory students remained stable. Both the program change and the admissions change appeared to have been primarily the result of Turner's planning and direction. All three administrators interviewed seemed to agree that the junior college curriculum was expanded because: the residential junior college was becoming increasingly less viable as an institution in today's system of higher education; the community colleges would provide the same two-year programs in Virginia for less cost; and at Virginia Intermont the intellectual development of students and innovative curricular developments were being hindered by the

emphasis placed on the program for students planning to continue their education at a senior college. After adopting the four-year status, Virginia Intermont added majors in ballet, horsemanship and photography, as well as majors in more traditional areas. The most recent change, the initiation of a continuing adult education evening college open to both men and women, was perceived as a response to community needs.

Concern for the quality of the academic program was identified as a factor in the decision to change curriculum at Virginia Intermont. However, neither striving for academic excellence nor aspirations of attaining leadership in academia could be seen as the key factor in the change from a small private liberal arts junior college for women to a small women's senior college with a somewhat broader curriculum.

Was survival the key to change at Virginia Intermont? All three administrators interviewed stated they did not believe private liberal arts junior colleges could easily survive in the present system of higher education. However, not one of the administrators expressed or indicated any fear concerning survival of Virginia Intermont. While the study of administrative perceptions at Virginia Intermont might be construed as supporting the contention that institutions change only in order to survive, that did not appear to be supported by the

evidence. The examination of administrative perceptions strongly indicates that Virginia Intermont changed to a senior institution due to a progression of developments which were conceived, planned and directed by the president who had guided the college since 1956.

Of the three institutions investigated in this study, Southern Seminary Junior College changed the least. Founded in 1867, it survives as the only single-sex two-year liberal arts college in the commonwealth of Virginia. Southern Seminary embodies the basic philosophy and orientation of the junior college movement. Its continuity has been maintained through a rapid succession of presidents: Margaret Durham Kobey, president from 1942 to 1967; Sidney E. Sandridge, president from 1967 to 1970; Roy K. Patterson, Jr., from 1970 to 1972; Roscoe L. Strickland, 1972 to 1976; John T. Kanipe 1976-1977. The replacement of academic deans was less rapid. Sandridge was dean from 1965 to 1967, before he became president. C. Lee Morris was dean from 1967 to 1971, when he was removed to the newly created, now defunct, development office. Joyce C. Davis has served as academic dean and registrar since 1971.

In 1966, Southern Seminary was a girls' school which provided college courses to students in a closely regulated environment. The school appeared to have been

operated by a series of ad hoc "family" decisions made by a president who had come to the institution in 1919. From 1966 to 1976 most of the student rules and regulations reflecting the in loco parentis philosophy were eliminated. Younger faculty with higher degrees were hired and several new majors added to the curriculum. But the big changes at Southern Seminary during the past decade were in administration: the shift from informal to formal administrative procedures; the move from passive recruiting and selective admissions to active recruiting and open admissions; and the attempt to initiate modern techniques of long-range planning and an organized development program. The girls' school, by 1976, had evolved considerably closer to what one usually identifies as a women's college. There were noticably fewer rules and there were also noticably fewer applicants, although the two were not necessarily related.

Concern for academic quality was one of the factors contributing to the change from a restrictive environment to a more liberated social environment. Concern for academic quality had also been a factor in the hiring of new faculty and the raising of faculty salaries. Other changes appeared to have been responses to meeting the changing needs and demands of students who had

expressed an interest in attending the college.

The study at Southern Seminary did not appear to support completely the hypothesis that institutions change to survive--unless one defined "changing to survive" as "meeting the changing needs of present and future students." As was the case at both Averett and Virginia Intermont, the changes at Southern Seminary did not appear to have been made in an effort to exert leadership in the academic world. Like the study at Virginia Intermont, the study of administrative perceptions of change at Southern Seminary did lend some credibility to the contention that concerns for academic quality were at least a part of the reasons for change.

In summary, the thirteen administrators (presidents and academic deans) interviewed during the course of this work discussed their perceptions of the past decade's many changes which had taken place at their respective private liberal arts women's junior colleges. Each administrator emphasized the impact or importance of one or more of the following changes:

- changing administrators,
- formalizing of informal administration procedures,
- democratization of authoritarian administration,
- intensifying previously passive recruiting,

- switching from selective to open admissions,
- modifying or eliminating restrictive social rules,
- adding and deleting programs and courses,
- extending two-year curricula to four-year programs,
- developing evening college programs,
- increasing the percentage of commuting students,
- accepting male as well as female students.

According to the administrators interviewed at Averett and Virginia Intermont, the major forces responsible for their change of institutional status were:

- increasing competition with publicly supported, hence less expensive, community colleges,
- being identified with "second class" two-year community colleges by the public,
- increasing student demands for more career and less general education,
- emphasizing courses for students wishing to transfer to senior colleges being a deterrent to educating students,
- growing tendency away from single-sex educational environments since the 1960s,
- accepting of junior college applicants by other public and private institutions which, pressed to fill dormitory spaces from increasingly smaller student pools, had lowered their standards for admitting students.

Each of these forces may have influenced the decreasing numbers of applications at each school during the past decade. The decrease in applicants caused most administrators to look more closely at their individual

institutions and at trends in the whole of higher education. When inflation then produced an economic squeeze in the late 1960s and early 1970s, administrators felt it was necessary to change if their institutions were to meet successfully the priorities of prospective students. Administrators interviewed in this study did not perceive themselves as reacting to the decline in applications; they stated they were responding to the changing needs and demands of prospective students.

None of those interviewed said they believed leadership in academia was or should be the key to change in small private liberal arts institutions. Their collective position on this matter disputed Morris Keeton's thesis that private colleges are particularly qualified to undertake curricular and instructional changes which derive from their distinctive student body characteristics, capital resources and other assets.[1] It may be that the distinct lack of capital resources, noted by all the administrators interviewed, was the reason for the disparity between Keeton's ideal and the actual conditions found at three small colleges. At any rate, aspirations of academic leadership were not the key to changes at Averett, Virginia Intermont and Southern

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[1]Morris T. Keeton, Models and Mavericks A Profile of Private Liberal Arts Colleges (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co,, 1971), p. 2.

Seminary.

Excepting comments made about concerns for academic quality, the examination of administrators' perceptions indicated that the drive for academic excellence was not a primary element in the changes which took place during the past decade at each of the schools investigated.

It is more difficult to draw any conclusions concerning the other part of the hypothesis, viz., that the three schools changed in order to survive. Any conclusions about survival as the key to change would have to depend on how one defined "drive to survive." The phrase "changing in order to survive" might be interpreted as meaning that alterations in policy, curriculum or institutional status were made in a state of panic or under extreme duress. In this author's perception few, if any, changes were made in such an atmosphere. In fact, in the half-decade before Virginia Intermont adopted the four-year program, the total number of dormitory and day students increased from 438 and 51 in 1965-66 to 568 and 54 in 1969-70. On the other hand, during the same period the number of applications declined from 733 in 1965-66 to 575 in 1969-70 and admissions became less selective. The move toward open admissions could be seen as a practical reaction to an administrative problem--namely, maintaining

economic viability. However, Turner, Nunn and Taylor specifically stated that the adoption of an open admissions policy was a product of implementing a carefully considered educational philosophy. It may be that the Midwest background of Turner and Nunn was more than a coincidence in the rejection of elitist admissions policies which had characterized Virginia Intermont prior to Nunn's arrival in 1967. According to Turner, Taylor and Nunn, the adoption of a four-year program at Virginia Intermont was made on the same basis--out of philosophical considerations. Administrators at Virginia Intermont in the late 1960s and early 1970s were not worried about the survival of the institution, they were concerned about better meeting the needs of a student clientele they were confident they could attract.

Admissions and enrollment data at Averett show a similar pattern in the two years prior to the decision to become a four-year coeducational institution. The number of dormitory and day freshmen applications dropped from 546 and 103 in 1965-66 to 494 and 92 in 1966-67. The total number of all dormitory and all day students increased from 428 and 136 in 1965-66 to 433 and 140 in 1966-67. In October of 1967, when the board of trustees adopted the proposal to change to a four-year coeducational status, the freshmen applications

totaled 536 and the total number of enrolled dormitory students was 437, greater than it had been in 1965-66. Furthermore, President Anderson said he came to Averett believing the private liberal arts women's junior college was an "anachronism." Fugate stated she felt it was necessary for Averett to adopt a four-year program in order to maintain superiority over nearby Stratford College. The change at Averett thus appeared to have been made to improve what was already perceived (at least by administrators) as a very good educational institution.

All of the administrators in this study felt they did not initiate change in order to survive but changed in an effort to meet the changing needs of prospective clients who were interested in obtaining a college education. The data may be seen as supporting their recollections. Or it may be that the administrators were deluding themselves. But, they acted on their perceptions, not on "reality." To say that these schools changed in order to "survive" is to condemn the flexibility of institutions striving to provide educational opportunities to students living in a changing society. On the other hand, to ignore the impact of recognized economic threats on these same administrators' decisions would be equally unrealistic.

The major conclusion of this study was that, in the perceptions of the administrators interviewed, neither the drive for survival nor the drive for academic excellence and leadership was the key to substantive changes made from 1966 to 1976 at three Virginia colleges (Southern Seminary, Virginia Intermont, Averett). Rather administrators said the changes were made as they perceived and reacted to general trends and forces within the market for students. The strongest conclusion one comes to after examining the changes at these three schools is that major changes in institutions occurred when strong administrators willed and directed the development of an institution over a long period of time. Such a conclusion merits further investigation.

In their efforts to attract the greatest number of applicants and matriculants, administrators changed courses, programs and sometimes the entire identity of their institutions. Their efforts were notably unsuccessful, as was evident in the decline of freshmen applications at both Virginia Intermont and Averett until 1975, when the trend apparently began to reverse. The number of entering dormitory freshmen followed the same pattern. However, at both Virginia Intermont and Averett the declines in applications and freshmen

matriculations were less precipitous than the decline at Southern Seminary during the same period. That comparison appeared to support the contention of a number of participants in the study; namely that education in a women's junior college is becoming an increasingly less marketable commodity in today's post secondary educational system. Why changing educational orientation didn't or doesn't improve enrollments could be the subject of further study in all sectors of private higher education.[2]

Because the annual average Standard Aptitude Test scores for incoming freshmen were available only at Averett College, no conclusions could be made as to the effect of changing educational orientation on the quality of the student body. Such an impact could be a topic for future study.

There was no attempt made in this study to evaluate the quality of the faculty, the adequacy of the facilities or other possible measures of the quality of those institutions. It may well be of value for someone to investigate the relationship between such factors and institutional survival in the current competitive market.

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[2]The conclusion that changing educational orientation in an effort to attract more students does not necessarily result in utopia is supported by Richard E. Anderson's findings in Strategic Policy Changes at Private Colleges as it was reviewed by Ellen K. Coughlin in "Colleges Found Paying Price for Improved Finances," The Chronicle of Higher Education, February 6, 1978, p. 13.

Since 1966 the changing educational orientation of three private liberal arts women's junior colleges (Averett, Virginia Intermont and Marymount) and the closing of three other similar institutions (Marion, Stratford and Sullins) has, for all practical purposes, destroyed what was once an integral part of the higher education system in Virginia. The loss of these schools has reduced both the diversity of choices available to students and has weakened the pluralism of public and private institutions within the state. Those who value diversity and pluralism in American higher education decry the loss of the private liberal arts women's junior colleges in Virginia.

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Aine Marguerite Peterson Smith was born in Brookline, Massachusetts on March 26, 1943. She attended Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, graduating with a B. S. after three years. In 1964 she was married to Hampden H. Smith, III and moved to Virginia. In 1967 she received a Master of Arts In Education from what was then Madison College. After teaching history classes for Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond, Virginia, she enrolled in the history department at the College of William and Mary in the spring of 1971. By 1974 she had been accepted in the School of Education, receiving the Advanced Certificate in August of 1976. August of 1978 she received a Doctorate of Education having majored in higher education administration at William and Mary.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate private liberal arts women's junior colleges in an effort to ascertain whether the drive for survival or aspirations for academic excellence and leadership was the key to change in three specific colleges: Averett College in Danville, Virginia; Southern Seminary Junior College, Buena Vista, Virginia; and Virginia Intermont College, Bristol, Virginia.

In Virginia there were seven such institutions in 1966: Averett, Stratford, Southern Seminary, Sullins, Marion, Virginia Intermont and Marymount. A decade later only Southern Seminary remained as a private two-year liberal arts college for women. Stratford, Sullins and Marion had closed. Averett, Virginia Intermont and Marymount had become four-year schools. In addition, Averett had become a coeducational institution with large numbers of commuting students.

The focus of this study was on three of the institutions which were still matriculating students in 1976--on the schools which had managed to survive. Marymount was excluded from the study because its character and setting made it different from the other 19th century church-related rural schools.

Using a combination of oral history methodology and traditional archival research techniques, an attempt was made to identify and analyze how administrators at each of the three schools (Averett, Virginia Intermont, and Southern Seminary) viewed the challenges which faced them from 1966 to 1976.

The thirteen administrators (presidents and academic deans) interviewed during the course of this work discussed the changes made at their institutions during their terms of tenure in office. The changes included: addition and deletion of programs, a switch from selective to open admissions, the intensifying of previously lax recruiting procedures, addition of four-year degrees, acceptance of men students, increasing percentages of commuting students, and changing administrators.

According to the administrators interviewed, some of the forces responsible for the changes were:

- increasing competition with community colleges
- being identified with "second class" two-year schools by the public
- increasing student demands for more career and less general education
- emphasizing courses for students wishing to transfer deterring educational goals
- growing tendency away from single-sex education
- lowering of standards of admissions at other public and private institutions.

These factors were seen as accounting for decreasing applications which combined with inflation to produce the economic squeeze which signaled the need for change if the institution was to successfully meet the needs of prospective students.

The major conclusion of this study is that, in the perceptions of the administrators interviewed, neither the drive for survival nor the drive for academic excellence nor aspirations of academic leadership were keys to substantive changes made from 1966 to 1976 at three Virginia colleges: Southern Seminary Junior College, Virginia Intermont College and Averett College. Administrators said the changes were made as they perceived and reacted to general trends and forces within the market for students. The data may be seen as supporting their recollections. It may be that the administrators were deluding themselves. But they acted on their perceptions, not on "reality."