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American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism

DAVID B. POTTS

THE GENERAL CONTOURS of nineteenth-century collegiate development, as found in the histories of American higher education, probably need substantial reexamination and extensive reshaping. Traditionally, colleges associated with various denominations are characterized largely in terms of sect-like religious zeal and are assigned the early nineteenth century as their period of importance. The few monographic studies of late nineteenth-century colleges and the more numerous works on the emergence of universities are correspondingly cast in a framework of increasing secularism in higher education. It seems more likely, however, that the current historical conception of the denominational college more closely coincides with realities of institutional development *after* rather than before 1850. In terms of support, control, and functions, there is evidence of a strong and increasing denominationalism in a large majority of late nineteenth-century colleges. For most of the institutions with founding dates prior to 1850 this degree of denominationalism is a departure from the primary role played by localism in founding and nurturing these educational enterprises during their earliest years. Although additional research will be necessary to confirm this contrast, there is good reason to anticipate that the traditional generalization concerning a basic trend from sectarianism toward secularism, when applied to American collegiate history during the nineteenth century, will have to be inverted.

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I

A reexamination of nineteenth-century colleges might appropriately begin by asking to what extent the connections between pre-Civil War colleges and various denominations were important to the founding, financing, and functioning of these institutions. Existing answers to this inquiry are almost unanimous in their stress on the religious roots and roles of antebellum colleges. From the early nineteenth century to the present these institutions have been portrayed, with few exceptions, (1) as struggling sectarian enterprises.

Major pieces of evidence used to support this predominant interpretation, and even the tone and thrust of the analysis, are largely derived from the writings of nineteenth-century educational reformers. Francis Wayland, president of Brown University and one of the early reform leaders, provided in his book of 1842 and pamphlet of 1850 the scenario of collegiate retrogression that has been so frequently repeated. He pictured colleges during the late colonial period as "eminently successful." Following the Revolution, however, "the character of education deteriorated, and after some years had passed it had sunk lamentably low. It has since improved, but I doubt whether in many points it has yet surpassed its ante-revolutionary standing." Whereas Wayland only mentioned in passing that "almost every college in this country is either originally, or by sliding from its primitive foundations, under the control of some religious sect," (2) his contemporaries in the small but outspoken group advocating reform of higher education usually emphasized a causal connection between deterioration and sectarianism.

Philip Lindsley, president of the University of Nashville in the late 1820s, viewed the multiplication of sectarian colleges as "a grievous and growing evil" that limited the usefulness and retarded the prosperity of higher education in the states of Tennessee, Ohio, and Kentucky. Julian Sturtevant, president of Illinois College, found the same trend in his area to be "disastrous to the interests of liberal education." (3) By blurring all distinctions between denominationalism of early nineteenth-century America and an older and generally unlovely religious phenomenon, sectarianism, these critics attributed the low state of antebellum colleges to a ubiquitous villain: narrow-minded sectarian zeal. The contours, critiques, and tone found in Wayland, Lindsley,

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and Sturtevant were perpetuated and augmented in documents authored by late nineteenth-century university promoters. Charles Kendall Adams, F. A. P. Barnard, and others argued that denominational colleges were so narrow and shallow in their curriculum, largely due to their excessive multiplication under the impetus of sectarianism, that they failed to meet public needs. And for this reason, their never more than miniscule public patronage had been declining (relative to population growth) since as early as the 1830s. (4)

It is more than a little ironic that these key pieces of evidence employed by subsequent historians to establish the parochialism of pre-Civil War colleges are themselves extremely limited in their angle of vision. Wayland, looking outward from an urban environment highly atypical for colleges of his day, draws only on the New England states for the data supporting his observations. Research on sixteen early nineteenth-century colleges affiliated with Baptist interests indicates that although Wayland was probably the most prominent Baptist of his times, his writings exhibit little understanding of the nature and functions of colleges, other than Brown, affiliated with his own denomination. (5)

Lindsley, a Princeton graduate and subsequently a professor there during an early portion of his career, expressed distaste for many practices of frontier America, ranging from tobacco chewing to revivalism. Accepting the presidency of a new nondenominational college in Nashville, Tennessee, Lindsley arrived in 1824 with the long-range goal of establishing in this town of about five thousand inhabitants a university equivalent to any of the major European centers of learning. (6) In his attitudes, intellectual outlook, and ambitions, he appears far removed from the realities of grassroots educational activity and thus not very well equipped to report on its particular characteristics with accuracy or insight.

Sturtevant, in his autobiography and especially in several articles on colleges he wrote for the *New Englander*, displays a high level of what might be termed Congregational ethnocentrism. He consistently assumes that collegiate education occuring outside the circle of enlightened Congregational sponsorship must be sectarian, even if one bows to semantic convention and calls it denominational. (7)

In the late nineteenth century, the obvious need of university reformers for a foil to dramatize their promotions of new directions for

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higher education renders their observations of equally limited utility. Even when they offer, as Columbia's President Barnard did, extensive enrollment statistics to buttress their case, the conclusions drawn from such data are highly questionable. (8) We have, then, the history of early nineteenth-century colleges written from an urban Northeast, European-inspired, Congregational, or university-reformer point of view that seems severely limited — one might even say parochial — when compared with the fact that the overwhelming majority of antebellum colleges bore little relationship to any of these elements.

Building on this limited angle of vision, subsequent historical approaches to pre-Civil War colleges have, aside from the picturesque and amusing aspects, heavily stressed curricular characteristics. With the exception of Wilson Smith's study of moral philosophers, (9) however, curricular analyses have been so quality-oriented that they do little more than set a conservative, bleak backdrop against which one can view the progressive rise of science, technological education, and the research-oriented university in the late nineteenth century. The major implication of such a picture can hardly be avoided: classical, sectarian, superficial, and therefore separated from the needs and desires of an industrializing and urbanizing nation, colleges have little significance beyond their curricular backwardness. The vastly more important story for American higher education, it is then assumed, lies in the exciting new intellectual and institutional developments which come in the late nineteenth century.

Easily dismissed in this fashion, nineteenth-century colleges have received scant attention from professional historians. And yet there is still much to be learned from a broadly conceived institutional history point of view. This would not be the internal, buildings-and-personalities institutional history that has for too long been predominant in the literature of higher education. New investigations might focus on points of intersection between institution and society. Among the many possible dimensions deserving examination in depth are the relationships between institution and sponsoring denomination and relationships between institution and surrounding communities in terms ranging from cultural to economic. These explorations are likely not only to provide new data concerning an important aspect of American cultural history but also to challenge current generalizations such as the one about sectarianism helping to isolate colleges from the true needs and desires of antebellum Americans.

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A look at the colleges of one denomination from this noncurricular, local history point of view yields the conclusion that they were neither predominantly sectarian nor separated from society. Baptist colleges, prior to the Civil War, were essentially local enterprises. Denominational ties were of secondary importance. This holds for both the founding and functioning of these institutions at least up to 1850. Baptist ministers who played important roles in the founding of almost all pre-1850 colleges affiliated with their denomination were rarely driven by narrow denominational motives. Vital assistance in the creation of these institutions came from Baptist laymen, but their objectives were probably even less characterized by evangelical enthusiasm. And since only a small minority of college towns could be classified as Baptist strongholds, support from non-Baptists was essential. Whereas communities provided substantial contributions and large numbers of students, the official organizations of the denomination provided little more than their sanction and verbal encouragement. The fundamental element in college-founding was the alliance forged between college promoters and a particular town or county. Initially, this alliance was usually expressed in terms of the promoters agreeing to locate the college in a particular community in return for a sum of money raised within that community.

Once the agreement concerning location was made and an institution established, the process of sinking roots into community life and binding the cultural and economic fortunes of the town and immediate vicinity with those of the college proceeded rapidly. Preparatory departments and special nonclassical courses served many educational needs of the community. Graduates of normal courses and students working their way through college helped to staff local schools with unusually well-qualified teachers. Companion institutions for female education were frequently founded. The college president or some other distinguished member of the denomination from the faculty often filled the local Baptist pulpit. Public lectures by faculty members, literary society exhibitions, and numerous other influences emanating from the college also served to augment local cultural resources. Some economic benefits to the community, such as the boarding of students with townspeople, might reflect carefully calculated policy. Others, such as the money put into the local economy by students and the increases in land values near the college, were inevitable.

Communities responded to all these tangible benefits of an educa-

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tional institution by supporting their college in several ways. The college town and nearby settlements supplied a large percentage of each institution's students. Citizens contributed liberally to meet operating expenses, erect buildings, and create endowment funds. College events such as the annual commencements were attended in great numbers by a broad spectrum of local residents. Throughout the antebellum period the immediate vicinity of the college was a crucial and generally dependable source of support for Baptist-affiliated colleges.

The essential point about these institutions is not curricular conservatism buttressed by religious zeal but rather their role in widely dispersing the nation's cultural resources and their efforts to increase public demand for higher education. On the latter point, the curricular outlook of the Yale Report in terms of its emphasis on mental discipline fostering success served a broad cultural-institutional function. Agents were employed by individual institutions to travel extensively and cultivate grassroots support for the particular collegiate enterprises they represented. A key element of their message to parents and potential students was the claim that a classical liberal arts education was the all-important first step toward power, wealth, and influence. Mental discipline was pictured as the best means for meeting the challenges and opportunities of a fluid society. Reports on campus piety and data on subsequent careers indicate that enrollments resulting from efforts of these educational salesmen were characterized more by secular ambition than by denominational affiliation or religious zeal. (10)

If the Baptist-affiliated colleges are representative (as I will suggest below), then it is time to abandon the practice of describing and dismissing early nineteenth-century colleges as sectarian or even as merely denominational. The adjective "sectarian" is particularly inappropriate; its use by educational historians ignores the precise definition employed in the sociology of religion and derived from Ernst Troeltsch's *Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (1912). And even if the term "denominational" were consistently used in the very broadly evangelical and nonsectarian sense that scholars in American religious history tell us is appropriate to most of the Jacksonian era, (11) it would still obscure the essence of antebellum colleges. They were, above all else, *local* colleges. This adjective does not exclude religious zeal as one element of localism, but it does give secular forces their rightfully predominant role. In this era of institutional multiplication and dis-

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persal, colleges were closely tied with the local, cultural, and economic ambitions of citizens, parents, and students; special religious interests became of major significance only in the unusual cases where these ties were weak or absent.

II

In the existing historical writings on higher education in the late nineteenth century, the vast majority of American colleges tend to do a vanishing act. Consistent with the limited points of view on early colleges, our scholarly writings on late nineteenth-century higher education focus on universities as products of reform movements and on Congregational colleges, especially those of New England. Given this selective situation, it is hardly surprising that trends from piety to intellect and evangelicalism to progressivism march steadily across the available pages. (12) Searchers of the secondary literature in this period will find little if any reason to question Richard Hofstadter's observation that, of the several major themes commanding the attention of the historian of American higher education, "the oldest and longest sustained is the drift toward secularism." (13)

But if the early nineteenth-century colleges should turn out to be predominantly secular, is the next half century or so merely a period during which they become even more secular? Probably not. Given the phenomenon of localism as a reference point in the antebellum years, there is considerable evidence within the collegiate mainstream of a subsequent drift toward denominationalism rather than secularism. This inversion of the commonly employed historical trend seems to hold not only for the Baptist-affiliated colleges but for those of most other major denominations as well.

By 1850 there were, among Baptist-affiliated local colleges, signs of increasing denominationalism. With college towns becoming less able or willing to sustain the role of primary supporter, appeals for funds shifted emphasis from college as contributor to the public good to college as instrument of denominational interest. There were efforts to make faculties thoroughly Baptist. An increasing proportion of students was being drawn from outside a sixty-mile radius of the college but within the confines of the state. It seems highly probable that students coming from this considerable distance were more likely to be

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of Baptist backgrounds than those from the immediate vicinity of the college. Questions of denominational control were raised, and boards of trustees were reorganized to reduce the large number of local members and increase statewide denominational representation. Proposals to move colleges to sites more centrally located in terms of the Baptist constituency appeared in many states during the 1850s. (14)

After the Civil War institutional ties with the Baptist denomination on a statewide level generally continued to grow in strength and number. Lingering secular orientations prompted two colleges — Colby in Maine and Richmond in Virginia — to make unsuccessful efforts toward being designated as land-grant institutions under the Morrill Act. But they and several others soon found their primary source of funds among a few wealthy Baptists residing in urban centers. These patrons regarded colleges from a strongly denominational point of view. (15) Colleges lacking such support concentrated their fund-raising efforts on the denominational grassroots level, employing as president a Baptist leader with widespread reputation and appeal. (16)

The growing denominational grip on colleges is reflected in several college removals effected by Baptist state conventions (17) and in an increased incidence of charter revisions and trustee reorganizations to make institutions more clearly the servants of statewide Baptist constituencies. (18) And unlike the large majority of original charters issued prior to 1850, which were now being revised, charters for Baptist-affiliated colleges founded in the late nineteenth century rarely failed to stipulate Baptist control of the board of trustees. (19)

Further impetus to a denominational orientation came with the founding of national Baptist educational agencies beginning in 1870. At first operating in the area of encouraging increased Baptist student enrollment in the denomination's colleges, these national influences acquired substantial monetary dimensions with the founding of the American Baptist Education Society in 1888. Financed by John D. Rockefeller, the Society made its largest single matching grant to the new University of Chicago. But, in the years from 1889 to 1914, it also gave a total of more than five hundred thousand dollars to twenty-three other Baptist colleges who themselves raised almost two million dollars in matching funds. Additional support for Baptist academies strengthened their role as "feeders" for the denomination's colleges. Shortly after World War I both the northern and southern Baptist

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conventions conducted campaigns that brought additional millions to their colleges. (20)

Widely scattered data on the religious composition of faculties and student bodies, general comments on the tenor of campus life, and the institution of courses and departments in Biblical literature also indicate that Baptist colleges were reaching a high point of denominationalism in the 1880s and 1890s. With few exceptions this intensity of religious identity was sustained well into the 1920s. (21) Southern Baptist college faculty and presidents suspected of doctrinal impurity were being closely and effectively monitored by the denomination's state conventions well into the 1930s. When a group of fundamentalists within the Northern Baptist Convention set out in 1920 to determine "the loyalty of our Baptist schools" to Christ and denomination, their thorough investigation found almost all colleges firmly under denominational control and uncovered very few signs of any drift from orthodoxy. (22)

III

With the available evidence regarding Baptist-affiliated colleges suggesting an inversion of the traditional generalization about increasing secularism in nineteenth-century colleges, it is necessary to confront the central question: How representative is this group when compared with institutions affiliated with other denominations? Are Baptist colleges more likely to be local because of a very decentralized denominational polity, or more sectarian due to peculiar and staunchly defended beliefs concerning baptism? In exploring these questions one finds that, beyond histories of individual colleges, the only detailed secondary sources available for comparative analysis are monographs on higher education among Methodists and Presbyterians (published respectively in 1928 and 1940), an unpublished dissertation on Episcopal education completed in 1958, and portions of a multidenominational study done in 1929. (23)

Looking at Methodist-affiliated colleges in the years prior to 1869 largely through official denominational sources, Sylvanus Duvall makes the following observation: "As the Methodist Episcopal Church has always been a highly organized and bureaucratic body, its lack of control over these educational institutions stands out in striking contrast

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to the strict control exercised over its churches and other activities." Duvall finds these colleges to be "local endeavors" involving "no attempt to direct activities with reference to what others were doing, or to the needs of a denomination as a whole." He further suggests but does not explore the idea that even service to local denominational needs was not the primary objective. Calls for greater denominational control over this "unregulated" accumulation of nominally Methodist colleges appear as early as 1840, but they do not become significant in volume or influence until the 1860s. Duvall's monograph concludes with the Methodist General Conference establishing a national Board of Education in 1868 and the incorporation of that board in the following year. (24)

Data from C. Harve Geiger's work on Presbyterian colleges suggest a similar contrast between local initiative in the early nineteenth century and growing denominational supervision in subsequent years. Almost two-thirds of the colleges dating from 1802 up to the Civil War were founded "privately" rather than by Presbytery or Synod. For those institutions established between 1866 and 1895, the origins are just the reverse: two-thirds denominational and one-third private. Not until 1848 does the Presbyterian General Assembly take strong steps to increase denominational control over the early pattern of decentralization. By 1887 the national denominational agency distributing financial aid was stipulating that not only must the receiving institution have firm legal ties with the Presbyterian Church, but also, in the event such organic connection was severed all property received would revert to the denomination. In 1919 a requirement was added to the effect that colleges receiving aid must give sufficient evidence of sustaining "vital relations of cooperation with the [General] Board [of Education] and its Presbyterian constituency." This cooperative relationship was specified four years later in terms of evangelical requirements for faculty membership, campus worship services, and curricular objectives. (25)

Episcopal and Congregational patterns in higher education are, respectively, smaller scale and diluted versions of the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian experience. The handful of Episcopal colleges reached a comparatively earlier peak of denominationalism in the mid-nineteenth century. A resurgence of educational effort within this denomination in the late nineteenth century was restricted to the level

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of secondary education. (26) Although the Congregational-based Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West (1843) was probably the first denominational organization to give direct aid to institutions, connections between college and church were slow to develop and never became very extensive. By the mid-1890s the Congregational Education Society was stipulating that in order to qualify for grants a college must be approved by state and local denominational bodies and make annual reports to the state conference. And should a college have a self-perpetuating board of trustees, a majority must be "members in good and regular standing in Congregational churches." Despite the persistence of such stipulations into the late 1920s, the Educational Survey Commission reported to the National Council in 1921 that previously strong, informal college-denomination relationships had greatly diminished and were now very tenuous. (27)

Yet compared with the approximately fifty colleges more or less loosely affiliated with Congregational and Episcopal churches by the 1920s, there were more than four hundred institutions whose connections with denominations such as the Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian had probably increased in strength during the years between the Civil War and World War I. Not until the early 1920s did denominational appropriations to colleges reach their peak. (28) And as late as 1899 colleges identified with a denomination in the annual report of the U. S. Commissioner enrolled 46.2 percent of the undergraduate population in American higher education. (29) In sum, it appears that the institutional mainstream of American higher education for at least the second half of the nineteenth century was composed of colleges, like those of the Baptists, moving in the direction of denominationalism rather than secularism.

IV

Reconstruction of the contours of late nineteenth-century higher education from data concerning the majority of colleges and students might shed new light on a number of developments. One that can be cited by way of illustration and also used to support the preceeding argument concerns the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The foundation, incorporated in 1906 with firm prohibitions

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against admitting denominationally controlled colleges to its faculty pension plan, is commonly cited as an important force that accelerated the secularization of American colleges. Several of the well-known institutions that severed denominational ties in order to qualify their faculties for Carnegie pension benefits are usually cited to illustrate the foundation's impact on higher education.

Reexamination of the Carnegie Foundation's role within a context of collegiate denominationalism that was waxing rather than waning would yield a considerably altered emphasis. Close inspection of the foundation's annual reports reveals that of the 615 institutions surveyed by the foundation in 1905, 509 had denominational entanglements to a degree that barred them from joining the pension plan. What is perhaps more important, only fifteen colleges during the first fifteen years severed denominational ties to join the initial group of fifty on the accepted list. (30) It would be difficult to conclude from these data that the Carnegie Foundation made anything more than a small dent in the prevailing denominationalism.

One major reason for such minor impact can be found in the activities of John D. Rockefeller's General Education Board, established in 1902. Unlike the Carnegie Foundation, the board's policy included provision for "systematic and helpful cooperation with religious denominations." Prior to World War I the General Education Board distributed matching grants to 103 colleges and universities. Some 35 of these were also members of the Carnegie pension group, but almost 50 were clearly denominational colleges. Whereas the Carnegie Foundation assumed pension obligations that by the close of 1934 resulted in expenditures of approximately 27 million dollars, the General Education Board, by 1925, had already appropriated nearly 60 million dollars to the endowment funds of 291 colleges and universities. Matching requirements added another 140 million to endowments of these institutions. (31)

The impact of the board on just the portion of those institutions closely linked to denominations similarly overshadows any potential influence of the Carnegie Foundation. All but a few of the approximately fifty denominational colleges receiving Rockefeller money during the years from 1902 to 1915 belonged to the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. To these colleges grants were made totalling approximately four million dollars. With matching funds added, the total raised for endowments approached sixteen million dollars. (32)

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Since very few of these colleges probably operated with an annual income of more than one hundred thousand dollars in 1915, (33) the returns from enlarged endowment funds presumably represented at least a ten to twenty percent increase in annual income.

With the General Education Board pursuing a policy of substantial support for the most promising denominational colleges in terms of location and academic standards, the various national denominational boards of education founded after the Civil War could continue their policy of allocating large portions of their resources to the smaller and weaker colleges within each denomination. (34) Rather than succumbing to financial pressures from the Carnegie Foundation, denominational colleges were in a financial position to anticipate a brighter future unimpaired and probably enhanced by close church affiliations. Of the handful who altered charters to benefit from Carnegie pensions some even returned to the more promising denominational fold. Randolph-Macon went back to the Methodists after only a few years; Franklin completed a return to the Indiana Baptists in 1919 by restoring its previous charter; Centre, in Kentucky, resumed close Presbyterian ties in 1922. (35)

The primary sources and the secondary works employed to suggest an important trend from primarily secular localism to denominationalism at the grassroots level of nineteenth-century higher education in America hardly scratch the surface of this phenomenon. To establish the widespread existence of such a trend, to chart its interior dynamics, and to determine its impact on American cultural development will require a great deal of broadly conceived yet meticulous research at the local and individual institution level. The detailed analysis of student origins, motives, and subsequent careers so necessary to such an enterprise can, for example, only proceed in depth when limited to one or a small group of colleges. By venturing outside New England to probe the institutional depths of the nation's collegiate development and by looking at this remarkable phenomenon through eyes other than those of reformers, historians can greatly increase our understanding of American higher education.

Notes

1. See, for example, Daniel Boorstin's brief chapter on "the booster college" in *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York, 1965), pp. 152-61.

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2. Francis Wayland, *Report to the Corporation of Brown University on Changes in the System of Collegiate Education; Read March 28, 1850* (Providence, R.I., 1850), p. 11; Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (Boston, 1842), pp. 78-80, 54-55.
3. Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, eds., *American Higher Education: A Documentary History* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 233, 241.
4. C. K. Adams, review of "American State Universities . . . By Andrew Ten Brook. Cincinnati . . . 1875," *North American Review* 121 (October 1875): 366-93; F. A. P. Barnard, *Annual Report of the President of Columbia College, Made to the Board of Trustees* (1866), pp. 20-23; (1870), pp. 36-65, 79-83; (1871), pp. 52-62, 73-91.
5. Wayland, *Report*, pp. 22-30; David B. Potts, "Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812-1861" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1967), pp. 316-32.
6. John F. Woolverton, "Philip Lindsley and the Cause of Education in the Old Southwest," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 9 (March 1960): 5, 9, 12-13.
7. J. M. Sturtevant, Jr., ed., *Julian M. Sturtevant: An Autobiography* (New York, 1896), pp. 196, 208-9, 274; Julian M. Sturtevant, "Denominational Colleges," *New Englander* 18 (February 1860): 68-89, and "The Relation of the Congregational Churches of the Northwest to Collegiate Education," *New Englander* 30 (January 1871): 129-50.
8. Barnard's conclusions in his *Report* of 1866 concerning "the declining favor with which collegiate education is regarded" (p. 21) in the United States is modified in the *Report* of 1870 to specify a reduction in popular demand for traditional classical and literary college studies. By the *Report* of 1871 the collegiate group that he finds lagging behind population growth is narrowed down to include only A.B. degree candidates at non-Catholic white male colleges, and his emphasis throughout is on the Northeast, the only region for which he has substantial data. In the *Report* of 1870 he makes a devious and unpersuasive attempt to dismiss the factor of immigrants, who contribute by the millions to population growth from 1840 to 1860 but are rarely potential college students. Enough data are given in the *Report* of 1871 with regard to excluded categories of college students (and he even omits the many enrolled in B.S. degree programs) to suggest for a skeptical reader that the total college population may easily be twice the figure used by Barnard to establish his student-population ratios for 1860 and 1870.

   Despite the limited and flawed nature of his statistics and arguments, Barnard's data has been used, from the previously cited

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article of C. K. Adams to the present, as evidence "that since about 1830 the number of students [relative to the total population] seeking a collegiate education has steadily diminished" (Adams [review], p. 389).

A more careful and comprehensive study by A. M. Comey: "Growth of the Colleges of the United States," *Educational Review* 3 (1892): 120-31, shows that "the increase in college students has far exceeded that of the population" during the years between 1850 and 1890.

Barnard's "evangelical approach to reform" can be seen in his *Annual Reports* and is delineated by Marvin Lazerson in "F. A. P. Barnard and Columbia College: Prologue to a University," HISTORY OF EDUCATION QUARTERLY 6 (Winter 1966): 49-64. Prominent objectives of Barnard's evangelism were more scientific studies and an elective system to counteract declining liberal arts enrollments at Columbia. His zeal for collecting statistics and his subsequent use of them in *Annual Reports* should be understood within this context.

9. Wilson Smith, *Professors and Public Ethics: Studies of Northern Moral Philosophers Before the Civil War* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1956).
10. Potts, "Baptist Colleges," chs. 1-4.
11. Timothy L. Smith, "Congregation, State, and Denomination: The Origins of the American Religious Structure," *William and Mary Quarterly* 25 (April 1968).
12. See, for example, Thomas LeDuc, *Piety and Intellect at Amherst College, 1865-1912* (New York, 1946); George E. Peterson, *The New England College in the Age of the University* (Amherst, Mass., 1964); John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus, Ohio, 1968).
13. Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States* (New York, 1952), p. 3.
14. Potts, "Baptist Colleges," ch. 5.
15. Ernest C. Marriner, *The History of Colby College* (Waterville, Me., 1963), p. 152; W. Harrison Daniel, "Southern Baptists and Education, 1865-1900: A Case Study," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 64 (Fall 1969): 223-24; Marriner, *History*, pp. 161-65; Daniel, "Southern Baptists," p. 226; *Dedication of Jeter Memorial Hall . . . 1884* (Richmond, Va., 1884), pp. 9, 18; Howard D. Williams, *A History of Colgate University, 1819-1969* (New York, 1969), pp. 173, 175-76, 244; Lewis E. Theiss, *Centennial History of Bucknell University, 1846-1946* (Williamsport, Pa., 1946), pp. 195-96; G. Wallace Chessman, *Denison: The Story of an Ohio College* (Granville, Ohio, 1957), pp. 95-97; Rush Rhees, Introduction to *Rochester: The Making of a University*, by Jesse L. Rosenberger (Rochester, N.Y., 1927), p. viii.

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16. See, for example, George W. Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* 2 (Wake Forest, N.C., 1943), pp. 167-69, 188, 251; Arthur Yager, *Historical Sketch of Georgetown College*, Georgetown College Bulletin, vol. 1, no. 1 (Georgetown, Ky., 1904), pp. 14-15; John F. Cady, *The Centennial History of Franklin College* (1934), pp. 111-12.
17. Mercer University moved from Penfield to Macon, Georgia in 1871. For the denominational factor in this move, see "Georgia Baptist Convention," *Christian Index and Southwestern Baptist,* April 28, 1870, and Spright Dowell, *A History of Mercer University, 1833-1953* (Macon, Georgia, 1958), pp. 171-72; Howard College moved from Marion to Birmingham, Alabama in 1887. For the role of denominational interests in this removal, see Mitchell B. Garrett, *Sixty Years of Howard College, 1842-1902,* Howard College Bulletin, vol. 85, no. 4 (Birmingham, Ala., 1927), pp. 102-7.
18. Denison in 1867: Francis W. Shepardson, *Denison University, 1831-1931: A Centennial History* (Granville, Ohio, 1931), p. 137; Union in 1869: W. G. Inman, "The History of Union University, Continued as Southwestern Baptist University," *Baptist and Reflector,* October 29, 1891; Furman in 1878: Robert N. Daniel, *Furman University: A History* (Greenville, S.C., 1951), p. 90; Harvey T. Cook, *Education in South Carolina Under Baptist Control* (ca. 1912), p. 139; Bucknell in 1882: J. Orin Oliphant, *The Rise of Bucknell University* (New York, 1965), pp. 142-47; "University at Lewisburg," *National Baptist*, July 6, 1882. Comparison of the trustee list in the Bucknell catalog of 1881-1882 with the list of new trustees in the catalogue of 1882-1883 reveals that the Lewisburg area's representation suffered a drastic reduction to make room for trustees coming from distant areas of the state, especially from Philadelphia and environs.
19. Examination of charters granted to thirteen of the fifteen Baptist-affiliated colleges incorporated between 1820 and 1850 reveals that only four stipulate a denominational quota or role in selection of trustees. From 1850 to 1890, a requirement regarding Baptist control of governing boards was found in eight of the ten charters examined.
20. Sanford Fleming, "American Baptists and Higher Education," six-volume typescript, ca. 1963, on deposit in the American Baptist Historical Society, Rochester, N.Y., vol. 3, pp. 438, 468, 633, 640, 807-16; Charles D. Johnson, *Higher Education of Southern Baptists: An Institutional History, 1826-1954* (Waco, Texas, 1955), p. 48.
21. Whereas non-Baptists were on the antebellum faculties of at least several colleges such as Georgetown, Shurtleff, and Wake Forest,

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the totally Baptist faculties at Colby and Colgate in the 1870s are probably typical for the two or three decades immediately following the Civil War. Enrollment of students from Baptist families apparently reached a peak of almost fifty percent at Colby in the 1880s and Hillsdale in the 1890s. As late as the early 1920s, fifty-five percent of the students at Shurtleff and sixty-one percent of those at Denison were reported to be Baptists. Instruction in Biblical literature was initiated at Colgate in 1887, departments were organized at Colby and Furman in 1892, and chairs were established at Mercer and Wake Forest in the mid-1890s. Although this activity was largely stimulated by the new scholarship of higher criticism, an observer of the movement to institute Bible courses in colleges of all denominations found motives ranging "all the way from an effort at scientific interpretation of Biblical literature and history to the defense and buttressing of the particular brand of faith to which the people who support the college subscribe" (The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook, *The Teaching Work of the Church* [New York, 1923], p. 244). A strong tendency toward the latter motive is suggested by responses from 163 church-related liberal arts colleges to a questionnaire distributed in the early 1930s. Almost 64 percent admitted bringing their denominational views to students through their Bible courses (Charles A. Baugher, "A Determination of Trends in Organization, Finance, and Enrollment in Higher Education in Church-Related Colleges Since 1900" [Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1937], p. 58).

22. "A Sad Yet Cheering Incident," *Alabama Baptist*, December 19, 1929; "Baptist Press," *Biblical Recorder*, December 5, 1934; Fleming, "American Baptists," pp. 840-66; Northern Baptist Convention, *Annual*, 1921, pp. 61-65.
23. Sylvanus M. Duvall, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education up to 1869* (New York, 1928); C. Harve Geiger, *The Program of Higher Education of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1940); Hikaru Yanagihara, "Some Attitudes of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America: A Historical Study of the Attitudes of the Church and Churchmen Toward the Founding and Maintaining of Colleges and Schools Under Their Influence Before 1900" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958); Paul M. Limbert, *Denominational Policies in the Support and Supervision of Higher Education* (New York, 1929).
24. Duvall, *Methodist Episcopal Church*, pp. 123, 106-7, 66-67, 82, 37, 116-20.
25. Geiger, *The Program of Higher Education*, pp. 79, 39, 48, 83-84, 111-12, 109-10.

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26. Yanagihara, "Some Attitudes," pp. 2-5. Of the three permanent Episcopal-related colleges founded in the early nineteenth century, Hobart most closely resembles the Baptist trend from localism to denominationalism. See ibid., pp. 181-89. The considerable number of Episcopal-related colleges that failed prior to 1860 have a common characteristic of staunch denominationalism. See ibid., pp. 314-404, 542.
27. Limbert, *Denominational Policies,* pp. 10-13; Gaius G. Atkins and Frederick Fagley, *History of American Congregationalism* (Boston, 1942), pp. 237-39.
28. Limbert, *Denominational Policies,* pp. 235-36, 168.
29. This was determined from a compilation of the institution-by-institution statistics presented in the United States Commissioner of Education *Report* for 1898-1899. Students in religiously affiliated colleges and universities, including 5,341 in those operated by the Roman Catholic Church, totaled 44,601, as compared with 51,868 students in institutions listed as nonsectarian, national, state, territorial, or municipal.
30. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, *Second Annual Report of the President and Treasurer*, 1907, tabular survey between pp. 52-53. For data on the colleges breaking denominational ties and obtaining admission to the pension group, see the annual reports for 1907-1910 and 1919-1920.
31. General Education Board, *The General Education Board: An Account of Its Activities, 1902-1914* (New York, 1915), pp. 142-43, 156-59; Ernest V. Hollis, *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education* (New York, 1938), p. 141; Raymond B. Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board, a Foundation Established by John D. Rockefeller* (New York, 1962), p. 135.
32. General Education Board, *The General Education Board,* pp. 156-59.
33. Ibid., pp. 113-18.
34. Geiger, *The Program of Higher Education,* pp. 105-6; American Baptist Education Society, *Annual,* 1889, p. 19; Floyd Reeves et al., *The Liberal Arts College: Based Upon Surveys of Thirty-five Colleges Related to the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 519-28.
35. Carnegie Foundation, *Fourth Annual Report,* 1909, pp. 41-42; *Fifteenth Annual Report,* 1920, p. 5; *Seventeenth Annual Report,* 1922, p. 5.

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