This is to certify that the

thesis entitled

Diversity In Church-Associated Colleges In Michigan and Ohio, 1825-1867

presented by

D. Randall Gabrielse

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

M.A. degree in History

David L. Bailey

Major professor

Date July 7, 1993

DIVERSITY IN CHURCH-ASSOCIATED COLLEGES IN MICHIGAN AND OHIO, 1825-1867

By

D. Randall Gabrielse

A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

Department of History

1993

ABSTRACT

DIVERSITY IN CHURCH-ASSOCIATED COLLEGES
IN MICHIGAN AND OHIO, 1825-1867

By

D. Randall Gabrielse

Between 1820 and 1860, groups with a variety of ethnic and confessional backgrounds established church-associated colleges in Ohio, and native-born groups established several such colleges in Michigan.

This thesis examines published college histories and prosophograhical information about the colleges' professors. It proposes that these church-associated colleges were established by persons living in the West and attempted to meet the interests of the people in the West, rather than by remote New England-controlled religious interests. It also demonstrates that the church-associated colleges reflected the settlement patterns in the respective states and exhibited the cultural backgrounds of their respective founders and constituency. As a set of decentralized institutions based on a common form but founded by a variety of ethnic and religious groups, the church-associated colleges provide a window on religious, ethnic and political diversity and tension in the antebellum West.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Michigan State University History Department for the summer fellowship that made much of the early research for this work possible. Susan Sleeper Smith provided generous assistance by reviewing and discussing sections of this work and directing me to the intricacies of the matters of religion, politics, and college policy in Michigan. Dr. William B. Hixson and Dr. T. Stewart have greatly deepened my understanding and appreciation of history. Finally, I owe an incalculable debt to Dr. David T. Bailey, who guided this project. He always encourages his students while reminding them how much more there is that can be done.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

Introduction

The places of birth and the places of college education of the faculty at antebellum church-associated colleges[1] in Michigan and Ohio indicate that the religious, cultural, and political influences on those colleges were much more diverse than previous scholarship has revealed. The standard histories of American colleges have tended to combine broad generalizations about the influence of Congregationalists and Presbyterians through Yale and Princeton with short remarks about diverse denominational origins of specific colleges. With a few exceptions, the actual social, religious, and other cultural functions of the colleges as shaped by their diverse denominational associations and their locations have been neglected in favor of studies of Congregationalist and Presbyterian colleges and educational organizations, controversy over Presbygational desire for social control in the West, and debates about the value of the colleges' classical curriculum.[2]

---

[1]I use the term "church-associated" to designate any college associated in any way with an ecclesiastical organization or a group of individuals who represent a particular ecclesiastical organization. I find the term useful because given the variety of connections or lack thereof which these colleges had to denominations, it seems more appropriate than the previously used terms "denominational" and "church-related," which indicated church control and the total absence thereof respectively.

[2]On the American Education Society, see Natalie Ann Naylor, "Raising a Learned Ministry: The American Education Society, 1815-1860" (Ed.D. diss., Teachers' College,

In this work I focus on the place of birth and college education of the founders and faculty as indicators of the diverse influences on the colleges, using simple quantitative data, prosopographical information, and the published histories of the colleges. From this information, I present some preliminary conclusions about the colleges' relations to American culture and their associated ecclesiastical organizations, and their positions on education and abolition. I focus on Michigan and Ohio colleges because they present a contrast in geographical, chronological and cultural patterns of settlement. They do not, however, present the additional complexity that Illinois and Indiana do in terms of heavy migration from the South as well as the East. The large number of colleges dictated the more conservative approach.

Whereas Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists with their Presbyterian allies migrated from New England and New York and established colleges in both Ohio and Michigan, in Ohio alone several distinctly non-New England groups, including several German confessional groups, particularistic Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, migrated or spilled over from Pennsylvania

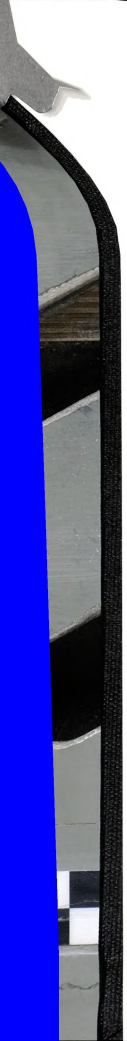
---

Columbia University, 1971). On the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West, see James F. Findlay, "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *History of Education Quarterly* 10 no. 1 (Spring, 1977). On curricular debates see the works by Hofstadter, Schmidt, Rudolph, and Ringenberg in this work.

and Virginia. The African Methodists and the home-grown Disciples and Christians also founded colleges in Ohio. Most of the faculty at Michigan colleges graduated from New England colleges, while approximately one half of Ohio faculty graduated from colleges in Pennsylvania and Ohio, and only Western Reserve College in Ohio had a large Yale representation.[3] Regardless of the strength of direct or indirect New England influence, the influence of the diverse non-New England and non-Presbyterian-Congregationalist faculty must be taken into account.

---

[3]Ten of 15 professors in Michigan colleges were born in the New England states, compared to only 23 of 75 Ohio college professors. Five of nine faculty in Michigan colleges graduated in New England, while 46 out of 147 Ohio faculty graduated from New England colleges. Pennsylvania and Ohio colleges provided 73 of Ohio's 147 faculty. Of the 14 five Yale graduates located in the total, eleven were professors at Western Reserve College. (See Table A.)



Literature Review: General Works

Vernon F. Schwalm's 1926 Ph.D. dissertation "The Historical Development of the Denominational Colleges in the Old Northwest to 1870," is the earliest and most complete of the relevant works for the Midwest. Schwalm uses a combination of the sources from fifteen colleges and material from the Presbyterian and Plan of Union organizations, especially the American Education Society and the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at the West,[4] but his uncritical acceptance of the AES accounts as evidence of Baptist and Methodist opposition to higher education leads him to disregard the fact that at least seven of the fifteen colleges he examines were associated with Methodist or Baptist groups.[5] He also claims that most of the faculty at these colleges came from Yale, Brown, Dartmouth, and Wesleyan University. Although he is more accurate than later historians who blithely name Yale as "the mother of colleges," these New England

---

[4]The American Education Society (AES) was formed in Boston in 1815 to aid individuals in their education assuming they would study for the ministry. See Naylor, "Raising a Learned Ministry." The Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at the West (SPCTEW) had more ambiguous beginnings in 1843 which will be discussed below. It granted money directly to colleges to meet current operating expenses.

[5]Vernon Franklin Schwalm, "The Historical Development of the Denominational Colleges in the Old Northwest to 1870" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1926), Introduction, 35.

colleges together may have provided at most half of the faculty for the midwestern church-associated colleges. He does not examine the origins of the other half. None of these errors, however, is confined to Schwalm. Historians have concentrated on Yale right up to the 1980s without citing Schwalm.[6] His work is cited in one bibliography[7] and in none of the major scholarship. Several of his conclusions have been reached independently by the new educational historians and some complement him quite well.

First, Schwalm describes how the constitution of the AES incorporated Lyman Beecher's warning that the West would decline into barbarian atheism or Romanism if left to Baptist preachers and Methodist circuit riders. By the 1840s Methodists were at least keeping pace with Presbyterians in college building, belying Presbyterian-Congregationalist concerns about Methodist resistance to

---

[6]Richard Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955); George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957); Schmidt, *The Old-Time College President* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1930); William C. Ringenberg, *The Christian College* (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's, 1984), 58. R. Freeman Butts, *The College Charts its Course* (New York, 1938), 118; Richard W. Solberg, *Lutheran Higher Education in North America* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg Publishing House, 1985), 50; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Knopf, 1962), 52; J. H. Brown, "Presbyterian Social Influences in Early Ohio," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 30 (December, 1952): 213.

[7]James Ward Smith and Leland Jamison, *Religion in American Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), vol. 4 pts. 1 and 2, *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*, by Nelson R. Burr.

education and "civilization," but the inclusion of the statements in the AES constitution explains their persistence in both contemporary literature and historical scholarship. The increasing denominational rivalry of the 1830s and 1840s also explains some Presbyterian concerns.[8] As historians have done with so many New England organizations' claims about the Midwest, Schwalm and others have taken the AES claims too uncritically.

Schwalm also discusses the Society for the Promotion of Collegiate and Theological Education at the West (SPCTEW) at length. He points out that it was established in 1843 to coordinate western colleges' appeals for money from the East after donations dried up in the crash of 1837. Marietta College (Ohio), Wabash College (Indiana), Illinois College, Western Reserve College (Ohio) and Lane Theological Seminary (Ohio) organized the society and appointed Theron Baldwin from Illinois College as corresponding secretary.[9] The nature of the Society's founding by self-conscious easterners in the West raises questions about its

---

[8]George Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 104-142; C. C. Goen *Broken Churches, Broken Nation* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985).

[9]Edward Beecher was president of Illinois College and Lyman Beecher had been president of Lane Seminary. Arthur G. Beach, *A Pioneer College: The Story of Marietta College* (privately printed, 1935), 67; James Findlay, "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *History of Education Quarterly* 10 (Spring, 1977), 39.

similarities to and differences from other eastern missionary societies. Wabash, Illinois, Western Reserve, and Lane were Plan of Union institutions, and Edward Beecher and Theron Baldwin clearly identified with concerns in New England; they were leaders of the "Illinois Band, who came west to run Illinois College at the request of John M. Ellis.[10] Beecher and Baldwin were working for Illinois College in 1843 though, while the colleges concerned opened in the 1820s and 1830s. The Society aided at least fifteen colleges by 1870; several of them had nothing to do with the Plan of Union, -- German Evangelical College of Missouri, and Wittenberg College (German Lutheran) -- and Oberlin had left the Plan in the 1830s.[11] The SPCTEW served more than narrow Plan of Union concerns, but its leadership had strong connections to the East.

Schwalm succinctly describes the experience of many church-going migrants: "The pioneers who came from the older states were often members of churches, but upon coming west, they had no church privileges."[12] In such circumstances a peculiar combination of the American

---

[10]The Illinois Band included Baldwin, Beecher, John F. Brooks, Mason Grosvenor, Elisha Jenney, William Kirby, Julian M. Sturtevant, and Asa Turner -- all graduates of Yale Divinity School. Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier: With Particular Reference to the American Home Missionary Society* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton, 1939), 196; Findlay, "SPCTEW," 39.

[11]Schwalm, "Colleges in the Northwest," 20.

[12]Schwalm, "Colleges in the Northwest," 9.

Protestant ethos (which at its lowest common level was what Henry May calls Progressive Patriotic Protestantism) mixed and sometimes clashed with strong denominational loyalty and insistence on particular doctrines, rituals, and policies, as well as with sects and with immigrants who struggled between maintenance of their identity and assimilation into American culture and evangelicalism.[13] A great deal of the variation must have depended on what options were available. The colleges appear to have been at the center of these local particularities, tensions, and conflicts which comprise a central part of the religious history of the Midwest.[14]

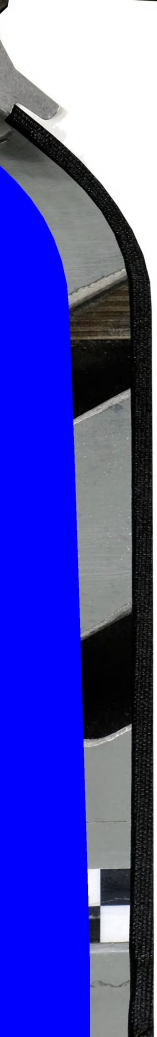
Schwalm proposes that in this atmosphere, which Jon Butler has called a "spiritual hothouse,"[15] three main motivations existed for founding colleges. First, the major denominations saw the institutions and the education they provided as keys to preserving American civilization and the

---

[13]By "evangelicalism," is meant here the broad American Protestantism of the main bodies of the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

[14]Henry May, "The Religion of the Republic," in *Ideas, Faiths, and Feelings: Essays on American Intellectual and Religious History, 1952-1982* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 163-164,171. For an explanation of the shifting alliances and conflicts between Protestant groups in the West, see Whitney R. Cross, *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957),

[15]Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 225ff.



republic itself. Second, they touted the education of clergy for the West as the main objective of the colleges and a critical means of maintaining American Protestantism. Finally, denominational rivalry kept the pace intense. The leaders of each group associated with a college promoted itself through its college, and each sought to retain the loyalty of its youth by educating them within the denomination's own institutions.[16] Schwalm concludes that such competition provided healthy stimuli for the churches and associated colleges.

Schwalm's explanation contains one critical deficiency. Although each religious group associated with a college used its institution to preserve its subculture, they differed on what aspects of the larger culture to preserve. While the major denominations maintained a tense mixture of evangelicalism and denominational distinctiveness, Catholics were forced to face the broad Protestant ethos directly, and the German immigrant groups in Ohio and Illinois struggled with questions of assimilation that centered around ethnicity, language, and doctrinal distinctiveness. Others, including the Associate churches, Disciples and

---

[16]The function of the academies apparently differed with the particular denomination's attitude toward the broader American culture. Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian academies could draw people from across denominational lines in an education that many native-born Americans may have been able to affirm, whereas the academy of Heidelberg college included German reformed distinctives, such as the Heidelberg Catechism and the German language.

Episcopalians maintained their own respective positions.[17]

Schwalm acknowledges that although the classical curriculum provided the college identity for the schools, the "English" and "Scientific" curriculums brought in more people, many of them aspiring teachers. Schwalm portrays the courses as serving the role of teacher education when no formal teacher education or normal course was available. By the end of the 1840s, almost all colleges provided for teacher education, "To supply the demand for better teachers was one of the reasons for the founding of the colleges of the Old Northwest."[18] Broad histories of the church-associated colleges have treated these courses as weak add-ons to an unchanging classical curriculum.[19] The education of teachers and the maintenance of preparatory academies connected to the colleges mediated between assimilating aspects of the broad culture and maintaining those aspects

---

[17]Harold H. Lentz, *A History of Wittenberg College, 1845-1945* (Wittenberg, Ohio: Wittenberg College Press, 1946). William L. Fisk, *A History Of Muskingum College* (New Concord, Ohio: Muskingum College, 1978); E.I.F. Williams *Heidelberg Democratic Christian College, 1850-1950* (Menasha, Wis: George Banta Publishing Company, 1952). James I. Good, *The Historical Handbook of the Reformed Church* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Heidelberg Press, 1901).

[18]Schwalm, "Colleges in the Northwest," 10; Timothy Smith, "Uncommon Schools: Christian Colleges and Social Idealism in Midwestern America, 1820-1950," in *Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1976-1977: The History of Education in the Middle West*, by Timothy L. Smith and Donald E. Pitzer, (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1978), 28-29.

[19]Hofstadter, "Academic Freedom," 227.

of the subculture which the institution and its constituents deemed important.

Both broad histories and in-house histories of particular colleges leave little doubt that abolition became an issue on almost every midwestern campus. Schwalm shows that colleges differed drastically on the question. He shows that Hanover (Indiana) and McKendree (Methodist, Illinois) repudiated abolition in 1836 and 1839 respectively.[20] At Illinois College, in contrast, Edward Beecher aided Elijah Lovejoy up to the day of Lovejoy's murder.[21] The five church-associated colleges in Michigan supported abolition almost without qualification.[22] Abolition also divided Ohio colleges, although generally over the speed of abolition and the outspokenness of students and faculty, rather than over whether slavery ought to be terminated.[23]

Although written in 1926 and barely acknowledged since then, Schwalm's work remains the most useful broad history of the church-associated colleges in the Midwest.

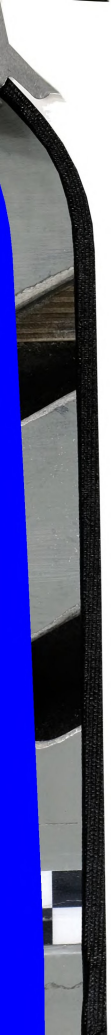
---

[20]McKendree College at Lebanon in southern Illinois had close ties to the southern churches in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Schwalm, "Colleges in the Northwest," 194-195.

[21]Schwalm, "Colleges in the Northwest," 194-195.

[22]William C. Ringenberg, "The Protestant College on the Michigan Frontier" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State University, 1970), 132-135.

[23]See the sections below on Western Reserve College, Oberlin College, and abolition.



In *The Old-Time College President* (1930), George P. Schmidt focuses almost entirely on the New England colleges. His brief treatment of colleges in the Midwest claims that the Presbyterians and Congregationalists founded many of the colleges and filled more with Yale graduates, and that the attempts by every denomination to have its own college created destructive competition. The numbers do not add up to Presbyterian dominance in the Midwest: Yale graduates did not staff colleges run by Methodists, Disciples, German Baptists, German Lutherans, or Episcopalians -- to list just a few of the groups with colleges in Ohio. The numbers do not add up for Presbyterian or Plan of Union dominance through the number of colleges in the Midwest either. Of the five colleges in Michigan, only Olivet was associated with Congregationalists, and its Oberlin heritage made it anathema to the state association for several years;[24] in Ohio only Western Reserve College among the antebellum church-associated colleges had strong evangelical Presbyterian ties, and seven of the fifteen colleges that Schwalm examines were associated with Baptist or Methodist groups.

Schmidt's criticism of denominational rivalry disregards both the real difficulties of founding a college, and the small number that were actually founded by

---

[24]Ringenberg "The Protestant College," 105. Olivet was founded as an Oberlin-type colony by John J. Shiperd, founder of Oberlin, and drew its original students and faculty from the mother school.

denominations. The legislatures of Illinois and Michigan made it almost impossible to charter a college with church connections prior to 1835 and 1855 respectively, and most colleges were founded by individuals or associations formed for that purpose.[25]

In *The Founding of American Colleges Before the Civil War, With Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (1932), Donald G. Tewksbury encyclopedically chronicles the founding and closing of American colleges, but provides almost no analysis. He finds that 516 colleges were chartered between 1800 and 1861, but only 104 survived, only 17 of 43 in Ohio. There were at least four failures in Michigan.[26] Tewksbury's data is invaluable, but it has been used simplistically by Schmidt and others to emphasize the

---

[25]In Michigan, the legislature refused to grant Thomas W. Merrill a charter for such an institution in either Ann Arbor or Bronson (later Kalamazoo). In 1836, John D. Pierce, Superintendent of Public Instruction, submitted a recommendation that no college be chartered without $100,000 in cash and twice that amount in pledges. John D. Pierce, "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan," *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan; 1837* (Detroit: John S. Bagg, State Printer, 1837): 559; Winton Solberg, *Lutheran Higher Education in North America*, (Minneapolis, Minn: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984), 50;

[26]Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (Hamdon, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965 [1932c]), 28. Raisin Institute in Lenawee County closed, whereas Benzie College in Benzie County, Marshall College in Marshall, and Grand River Theological Institute in Delta Township existed only on paper. See Ringenberg, "The Protestant College."

recklessness that characterized college founding rather than to study the colleges themselves.[27]

Richard Hofstadter, author of the best-known history of higher education in the United States titles the relevant chapter in *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* "The Great Retrogression." He presents Schmidt's criticism in a simplified and didactic manner. Whereas Schmidt made at least some attempt to study the church-associated colleges that opened in the antebellum period, and to treat them somewhat in terms of their leaders' intentions, Hofstadter leaves no doubt that he did not examine the colleges in the Midwest and that he believes the 516 colleges chartered were obscurantist obstructions to the modern university. *Academic Freedom* addresses the colleges more directly than his other volume on higher education, but even the anachronistic title indicates that he does not study the nineteenth-century colleges on their own terms. He treats Harvard and Yale as pivotal to proper civilization in the colonies, and the ensuing volume by Andrew Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the University* lauds the research university's triumph over the retrogressive colleges.

George P. Schmidt's second work, *The Liberal Arts College,* again reveals that at some level he studied the colleges in order to reach his conclusions, but it reveals

---

[27]Schmidt, *Old-Time College President; The Liberal Arts College,* 10-11; Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom,* 20 ff.

only a change in tone. He announces that the competition was not any worse than any other booming on the frontier. He maintains the claim of Presbyterian dominance, and tries to reconcile it with the amount of competition by claiming that colleges in New England naturally took on the Congregationalist-Presbyterian ethos, and that the New Englanders cooperated with Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in founding colleges in the Midwest.

Schmidt groundlessly extends the New England phenomenon to the West. Although Marietta College fits his description and the Presbyterians briefly had *de facto* control of Indiana University and Miami University, the orthodoxy of the Scotch-Irish and the reform fervor of the Congregationalists not only created innumerable local tensions as in Crawfordsville Indiana, the home of Wabash College. The college was a Plan-of-Union institution, but many of the local Scotch-Irish Presbyterians opposed the Plan of Union. The 1837 Presbyterian Schism marked the height of conflict between the Presbyterians loyal to the Plan of Union and those opposed, but only the midpoint of battles among New School Presbyterians and Congregationalists.[28] Franklin College and Muskingum

---

[28]George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College*, 33-5. Crawfordsville was the home of Wabash College, a Plan of Union institution, but the local community fell out on the Old School Side of the Presbyterian schism, exposing just one example of local tension within the Presbyterian-Congregationalist orbit. Timothy Smith, "Colleges in the Midwest," 14-15. Marshall College (Michigan) failed in part because of a similar dispute between two of its original

College (Ohio), served as educational centers for the ethnic Associate Reformed and Associate Presbyterian churches.

Schmidt also claims that after 1850, the church-associated colleges rapidly became secularized.[29] The claim conflicts directly with the new educational historians. David B. Potts, Timothy L. Smith, and James F. Findlay all find that the church-associated colleges became more closely aligned with their churches after 1850.[30] Timothy Smith claims that weaker denominations founded colleges on a more sectarian basis during that period; Potts finds that colleges that were rechartered after 1850 tightened ties to their associated churches. Findlay refers to the Methodist Episcopal General Conference's and the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. General Assembly's attempts to increase the power of their boards of education over associated colleges.[31]

---

supporters, John D. Pierce and John P. Cleveland. Both were AHMS appointees but Pierce was Democratic and Congregationalist while Cleaveland was Whig and Presbyterian. Susan Sleeper Smith, unfinished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan; Conversation with author, 2-15-93. See George Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind,* which tells of several conflicts between Old School groups and Plan of Union ministers in the West.

[29]Schmidt, *Liberal Arts College*, 40.

[30]David B. Potts, "From Localism to Denominationalism," 363; James F. Findlay, "Agency, Denominations and the Western Colleges: Some Connections Between Evangelicalism and American Higher Education," *Church History* 50 no. 1 (March, 1981) 64-80; Timothy Smith, "Colleges in the Midwest," 4.

[31]Timothy Smith, "Colleges in the Midwest," 36ff; James Findlay, "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *History of Education Quarterly* 10 no. 1 (Spring, 1977):

In his *The American College and University* Frederick Rudolph takes a similar approach to Hofstadter's but he is even more didactic. Even more than Hofstadter, he complains about the narrowness of the religious groups and their colleges. The religiosity bothers Rudolph at least as much as the smallness. He says of the church-associated colleges: "But there were dozens of frighteningly narrow and inconsequential Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist colleges in the backwaters of the South and West."

Rudolph rashly asserts that denominations were the most rabid founders of colleges. This assertion is misguiding and leads Rudolph into a group of illusory paradoxes. He finds a great paradox in that, "While most colleges of the period were founded by denominations, they were also forbidden either by charter or public opinion to engage in religious tests for faculty and students.[32]
The paradox disappears when one realizes that many colleges were founded by individuals or groups of people -- not church bodies -- and that in the 1830s and 1840s the colleges of major denominations balanced their denominational particularism with their pride in the broadly consensual Protestant attitudes that kept the colleges open to people of all Protestant backgrounds.

43-44.

[32]Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 54.

The referent of Hofstadter's, Rudolph's, and Schmidt's criticism is unclear in their work. All three criticize the classical curriculum and the religiosity of the colleges. The first problem is that their criticism becomes confused, as if nineteenth-century American Christianity were in some way reducible to the classical curriculum. The second problem is that they do not tell what they mean by religion or religiosity in the colleges. Consequently the only clear referent is the colleges' denominational ties. Criticism at that point makes little sense though, because few of the colleges were founded or controlled by official denominational organizations. Much of their complaint is then non-referential. Determining what and where religion was in these colleges is imperative to a useful history of them.

"The Protestant College on the Michigan Frontier," William C. Ringenberg's 1970 Michigan State Ph.D. dissertation is an invaluable work to anyone studying either the history of Michigan or colleges, religion, and social reform in the Midwest. Ringenberg's dissertation addresses the five Michigan church-associated colleges as a collective whole -- "the Protestant college." He addresses their local, political, and denominational associations, including their social reform activities to the extent possible when generalizing across five colleges. Most of the work is organized topically, and addresses issues specific to each college as examples of the larger themes.

In "Individual Beginnings," Ringenberg addresses the individual colleges more closely than in any other section. The denominational ties of the Michigan colleges represented a proportion of New England and native-born influence exceptional for the Midwest. Due to its swampy terrain, Michigan was settled relatively late, and almost wholly in an east-west manner after the Erie Canal opened in 1825, with very little migration from the South.[33] None of the colleges were either founded by or controlled by national denominational organizations. Hillsdale, Adrian and Albion were founded by the Michigan affiliates of their respective denominations; three Baptists from Maine and New Hampshire established Kalamazoo College before a state Baptist convention existed, and John J. Shiperd, founder of Oberlin Colony and Collegiate Institute, established Olivet on the same principles as Oberlin. In contrast, colleges in Ohio also represented several German and Scotch-Irish immigrant denominations, Episcopalians, Friends, and Disciples. The state Baptist and Congregational organizations distrusted Kalamazoo and Olivet colleges respectively for some time, after they opened, but eventually came to support them.[34]

---

[33]George N. Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan: A Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula During the Territorial Period, 1805-1837*. (Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Col, State Printers, 1916); Conversation with Susan Sleeper-Smith, December 15, 1992.

[34]The Michigan Baptist Convention seized control of Kalamazoo College in 1852 and then released their interest in 1855 -- both times for financial reasons. At Adrian and

Ringenberg devotes an entire chapter to the colleges' activism in evangelical social reform. His most significant insight is that the colleges' reform activism came from Oberlin influences, rather than from Yale or any other center of New England orthodoxy. Olivet, Adrian, and Hillsdale all drew significant faculty, including their first presidents, from Oberlin. John J. Shiperd founded Olivet, and Asa Mahan, president of Oberlin from 1835-1850, became the first president of Adrian College. As a rule the Michigan colleges supported immediate abolition,[35] abstinence, and to varying degrees, coeducation. Schwalm's work by complement illustrates that due to unique migration patterns and the influence of Oberlin, the Michigan colleges' were virtually united in their support of these causes, especially in their zeal for abolition.[36]

Ringenberg takes a deeper and wider view of more colleges than any historian since Schwalm. His account of the colleges, their activities, and their denominational associations appear well documented and correspond with what I have found in my own studies. However, he glosses over some of the distinctive features in an attempt to address

---

Hillsdale the respective state conferences elected the trustees, while the Michigan Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church elected both the president and the trustees of Albion. Ringenberg, "The Protestant College," 61, 67.

[35]Ringenberg, "The Protestant College," 133ff. Albion alone was divided on this issue. There a group of Copperheads arose during the Civil War.

[36]Ringenberg, "The Protestant College," 132 ff.

"the college" as a single entity, and treats them so closely as institutions that he obscures their relations with and affects on their communities beyond the large-scale reform movements. He could have treated teacher education more thoroughly; the topic lurks throughout the in-house histories of these colleges, but is little discussed in scholarly work. Ringenberg's political history and other background is also badly dated.

David B. Potts' essay, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," is culled from his dissertation, "Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812-1861." Potts claims that rather than interacting primarily with their associated denominations, church-associated colleges interacted primarily with their local communities, but that denominational ties became closer in the second half of the nineteenth century. He dismisses historians such as Hofstadter, Schmidt, and Rudolph as well as Francis Wayland and the university leaders of the second half of the nineteenth century as biased because of their focus on New England and the future university. He calls for a study that examines the interaction between the colleges and their immediate communities. The colleges contributed preachers, teachers, status, land appreciation, and cash income to

their locales; while towns contributed boarding, funds, students, and employment opportunities.[37]

After 1850, according to Potts, the colleges came under stricter denominational control. He uses his own dissertation as evidence in the Baptist colleges[38] and secondary sources to apply his findings across denominations. He dismisses claims that religious concerns motivated most college activity. In doing so, he misses the religious character of many of the local concerns that he addresses. His call for considering the other social and cultural effects of the colleges on their immediate communities is, however, an important step toward dealing with the colleges according to their own self conscious visions.

Timothy Smith, in his essay, "Uncommon Schools: Christian Colleges and Social Idealism in Midwestern America, 1820-1950," examines church-associated colleges in Indiana and Illinois. He suggests several directions for the study of the church-associated colleges, and gives several examples of each. His suggestions should open up new areas of inquiry, although most require some modification.

---

[37]David B. Potts, "From Localism to Denominationalism," 367.

[38]David B. Potts, "Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812-1861" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1967).

Timothy Smith agrees with Potts that many church-associated colleges became more rather than less devoutly religious after 1850. He suggests that between 1830 and 1850 representatives or conferences of major denominations founded colleges on broad Protestant principles; between 1850 and 1880 the denominations sought more strict control of their associated colleges and smaller denominational groups founded their own colleges. The efforts of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., which culminated in the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church and a similar Presbyterian body, bear out part of Smith's claim for roughly the 1850-1880 period, and at least the Illinois colleges founded in that period were founded by smaller groups.

Timothy Smith extends Potts' emphasis on local and regional concerns by suggesting that the colleges be studied as mediators between religion and culture, especially between modern thought and the various forms of Protestantism as they developed over time. Smith finds college founding and some of the disputes among college leaders to have arisen at least as much from people in the West as from Eastern concerns and missionary work.

His most important contribution is the recognition that few if any colleges were "planted" in the region from a

distance,[39] and that the focus must be on what happened in the numerous locations in the West, rather than on questions of Eastern influence. Even the "Illinois Band" went to Illinois to found the college in Illinois, and lived and worked in Illinois for some time, after being called by John M. Ellis, another Yale graduate who had spent significant time in Michigan and Illinois. Planting versus indigenous founding is thus a false question. The twin questions then become what happened in the various local situations where they were, and how did particular groups of people think of themselves in relation to the East or the West?

While a degree of unity of American culture and Protestantism underlay the support for these colleges, Catholic colleges and the conspicuous exclusion of Catholics from "non-sectarian" colleges indicate the need to move beyond Protestantism, the diversity of Protestant denominations and the numerous local conflicts demonstrate that the underlying unity neither pervaded all groups nor existed at all levels or in all places. The colleges should be studied as mediators between the church, academy, and community, but both the common and particularistic concerns require study. The colleges formed a nexus where consensual American evangelicalism culture mixed with particularistic religious, ethnic, and political subcultures.

---

[39]None in Michigan or Ohio were founded by people who moved back East, although a few individual founders did so.

James Findlay contributed two articles to the new educational history.[40] Both emphasize the consciously religious motivations of the colleges' founders and leaders, and point out that the influence of New England Presbyterians and Congregationalists cannot be disregarded. The first article is an analysis of the correspondence and reports of the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at the West. Findlay shows that the leaders of Illinois and Wabash colleges maintained exceptionally close ties to the Plan of Union power structure in New England and shared the Presbyterian Plan of Union goals for dominating the West -- civilizing and Christianizing the West by New England Congregationalist-Presbyterian standards. Moreover, they became leaders in the social development of their communities. The significance of the work is the demonstration both that the New England Presbyterian leaders had significant influence in Knox, Wabash, and Illinois colleges, and that such influence was exceptional among midwestern colleges. Only Illinois College could boast of the Illinois Band. Whereas Schwalm does not address the SPCTEW's roots at all, Findlay displays the same New-England-centric view that previous historians have.

---

[40]James Findlay, "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century America," *History of Education Quarterly* 10, no. 1 (Spring, 1971): 31-63; "Agency, Denominations, and the Western Colleges, 1830-1860: Some Connections Between Evangelicalism and American Higher Education," *Church History* 50, no. 1 (March 1981): 64-81.

Although the founders of the Society were self-consciously New England elites, they formed the Society while working in the Midwest. A study of the particularities of the SPCTEW as a society formed by exceptional Easterners already in the Midwest would probably be more revealing than the analysis of it as just another New England benevolent society.

Findlay's second article focuses on the agency system by which colleges collected their funds "as a specific point of linkage between the general religious community and the colleges this community helped to found.[41] He says the agents "served a unique mediating role between the colleges and the churches."[42] He argues that the way that colleges associated with Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist ecclesiastical structures used agents reveals differences in both approaches to fund raising and in ecclesiastical control of the respective colleges. Although Findlay does not focus on it, the aforementioned differences point to the amount of New England influence that affected the respective colleges as well.[43]

The Methodist Episcopal Church combined strictly organized fund-raising with ecclesiastical control at the state-annual conference level. The Indiana Conference

---

[41]Findlay, "Agency," 64.

[42]Findlay, "Agency," 68.

[43]Findlay stresses in the article that the "Presbygationalist" colleges had much more New England influence than the Methodists, but his focus seems to have been too tight to see the larger issue.

appointed the first two agents of Indiana-Asbury University, and eventually required all congregations to hear a sermon and take a collection in support of the institution annually.[44] Findlay misses several points crucial to the amount of control the annual conferences exercised and the degree of support that Indiana-Asbury received. The General Conference of 1820 had directed the annual conferences to establish and support colleges under their control. Consequently, the annual conferences elected the boards of trustees at almost all Methodist colleges, including Albion College in Michigan.[45] Although Findlay points out that Indiana-Asbury received an exceptional amount of official support, he fails to disclose that the annual conference supported the college vigorously as a matter of Annual Conference pride after the Methodists lost a bitter fight for *de facto* control of the new state university at Bloomington.

Findlay shows that the Presbyterian-associated colleges, especially Illinois, Knox, and Wabash maintained much stronger ties to eastern leaders and sources of income than the Methodist-associated colleges, although even in these institutions, the majority of funds were collected

---

[44]Findlay, "Agency," 70.

[45]Sylvanus M. Duvall, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education up to 1869*. (Ph. D. diss., Teachers' College, 1928); reprint in Teachers' College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 284. (New York: AMS Press, 1972), 63-64.

locally.[46] The state synods, according to Findlay, had fundamentally no control over the colleges because they were officially non-sectarian. The leadership of all three colleges came from New England cities. The individual colleges' ties to New England did not ensure harmony though. Findlay relates the fierce divisions within Knox and Illinois colleges to personal differences over doctrine and ecclesiastical organization brought from New England. He does not tell of Wabash's crisis with the Indiana Synod.

The Baptists suspected most ecclesiastical hierarchy and so built no church structures for financial support of the colleges. The state associations neither controlled Shurtleff and Franklin colleges, nor provided regular official support.[47] Kalamazoo received only occasional support from the Michigan Baptist Convention, and the extra-denominational Ohio Baptist Education Association founded and supported Dennison College in Ohio.[48] The Baptist-associated colleges raised most of their funds within their respective states, but received small amounts from the East.[49] In the case of Kalamazoo College, a lack of ABHMS

---

[46]Findlay, "Agency," 74.

[47]Findlay, "Agency," 75.

[48]Francis W. Shepardson, *Dennison University, 1831-1931: A Centennial History*. (Granville, Ohio: Dennison University, 1931), 2, 9.

[49]Findlay, "Agency," 75.

funds appears to have freed the founders from initial eastern loyalties soon after the institution opened.

Findlay's focus on financial support could provide a way of understanding who supported the colleges. His exclusive focus on the agency system obscures this however. He only investigates the means of collection, never the sources of the collection.

As the conflicts at these colleges so graphically demonstrate, Findlay and Timothy Smith are correct in that the college leaders were consciously religious and were deeply concerned with religious issues. They consciously established church-associated colleges no matter how unofficial the ties to denominational bodies. The faculties were composed overwhelmingly of clergy. Whereas some historians have become mired in debate over the value or flexibility of the classical curriculum, and Hofstadter and Rudolph have found only sectarianism in the colleges, the new educational historians have placed the colleges in the context of nineteenth-century American religion and culture, thereby demonstrating how the religious concerns of the college leaders led to colleges which generated support for religious, social, and political practices by their students, associated churches, and communities.

College leaders were more concerned with issues specific to the local community, state, and region, which centered on religion as applied to politics, social concerns, or ecclesiastical polity than with New England

institutions such as the Presbyterian Church or Yale College. Findlay shows that the extremely New England-oriented Plan-of-Union activists were largely confined to a few midwestern colleges.[50] Ringenberg and Schwalm demonstrate the uniformity of the Michigan colleges on abstinence from alcohol and abolition, and show that such uniformity was due to unique migration patterns and the strong influence of Oberlin College. State annual conferences controlled the Methodist-associated colleges. The Disciple and German-associated colleges in Ohio resulted from migration patterns and ecclesiastical developments specific to the region.[51] Finally, the conflicts surrounding Indiana-Asbury University and Franklin, Western Reserve, Wittenberg, and Wabash colleges all centered on local circumstances.

Understanding this coincidence in the way the church-associated colleges related to diverse religious and cultural groups in the Midwest requires study of how each group approached American evangelical culture, the distinctive characteristics of their own culture, and the tensions between them in the Midwest. Each denomination

---

[50]Despite Michigan's strong New England influence, in Michigan and Ohio only Western Reserve College and possibly Oberlin were significantly effected by the Plan-of-Union, . A key factor was probably the decline of the plan by the time most of the colleges in Michigan were founded.

[51]Sydney Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 246-250, 254-257.

maintained distinct associations with their colleges. Some leaders were missionaries and some were second-generation Americans. Obviously the history of the curriculum, literary societies and religious practices and regulations must not be neglected, but these can only be properly understood in the context of the colleges' role in American religion, culture and society.

Synopses of College Histories

Synopses of the histories of a few of the colleges can provide a glimpse of the variety of religious affiliations, types of leadership, church associations, and constituencies the colleges had, and indicate the roles of some of the individuals involved. The source material is notoriously uneven both at the primary and secondary level. Because this project emphasizes a broad view rather than detail, in-house histories, usually written for commemorative anniversaries, have been the main source material. A few are professional or near-professional histories, many contain only a few important details buried among celebratory noise, and a few are worthless altogether. The synopses presented are of the colleges which both have good published histories and are representative of some of the broader issues that concerned and characterized the colleges.

Marietta College

The town of Marietta developed as a New England town in Ohio, and Marietta College developed as a New England college to serve the educational needs of the local residents. The Ohio Company of Associates, organized in Boston,[52] planned the town according to a standard New England town plan, and settled the location in 1788. The organization of public space, various local social movements and institutions, and the structure and personnel of Marietta College all demonstrated the community's continued New England ties. Although advanced education began in Marietta by 1800, the college was serving an established community long before the collegiate charter passed the legislature in 1835.[53] New England born and educated men founded and staffed the educational institutions from the beginning, and continued to look to New England for leadership throughout the antebellum period.

---

[52]General Rufus Putnam and Brigadier General Benjamin Tupper, both veterans of the American Revolution and of the original Seven Ranges survey in Ohio formed the Ohio Company of Associates with nine other interested men at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston on March 1, 1786. The company sought to purchase a large segment of Ohio Territory land from the Federal Government. George W. Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1989), 62.

[53]Muskingum Academy, organized by Rufus Putnam, Paul Fearing, Griffin Greene, R.J. Meigs Jr., Charles Green, and Joshua Shipman, opened in 1800 as an advanced secondary academy. Arthur G. Beach, *A Pioneer College: The Story of Marietta*, (Marietta, Ohio, Privately Printed, 1935), 29, 32.

The public space of the town explicitly reflected its New England heritage. The Ohio Company's leaders planned the town while still in Boston. They plotted it with traditional New England in-lots, out-lots, and central stockade, which they named "Campus Martius."[54] George W. Knepper's statement that "they shaped the wilderness to a much greater extent than it shaped them" is most graphically true in this town organization.[55] The arrangements for the academy building of 1800, also demonstrated a New England-based arrangement of public institutions. The academy building also served as the Congregational Church and the public meeting house. The building was financed in part by the sale of church pews, which doubled as seats for public functions.[56]

Marietta's location at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers provided a direct route "eastward through the mountains" for commerce and cultural ties. A number of local institutions with New England ties reflected the continued ties to the East. The first Congregational minister, a Dartmouth graduate, arrived in March, 1789, less than one year after the initial settlers, and the church, academy, and meeting building was completed by 1796. The American Union Lodge of Free Masons opened in 1790, the same

---

[54]Knepper, *Ohio and its People*, 62.

[55]Knepper, *Ohio and Its People*, 65.

[56]Beach, *Marietta*, 30.

year that the Marietta Literary and Debate Society began operation.[57] Three primary schools opened by 1793. A society "to promote good works and discountenance vice universally" began in 1814. Three Sunday schools opened in 1819, and a temperance movement began in 1828 in reaction to drunkenness at a church meeting in nearby Newport.[58]

Marietta College grew out of a procession of educational institutions that served Marietta. The Muskingum Academy had opened in 1800, under the direction of David Putnam, a 1793 Yale graduate and grandson of General Putnam.[59] In 1815, the Marietta School Association formed as a limited stock company to purchase Muskingum Academy with "'the purpose of adopting measures to obtain for the institution its due proportion of the school fund arising from the rent of section 16.'"[60] Rev. Luther Bingham, a graduate of Middlebury College and Andover Theological Seminary, and pastor of the First Congregational Church of Marietta, began private instruction of students in 1826, and opened the Institute of Education in 1830. Muskingum Academy "continued until after Bingham started his school"

---

[57]The American Union Lodge had been organized at Roxbury Connecticut, in 1796 by a group connected with the American Army and led by Tupper and Putnam. Beach, *Marietta*, 11.

[58]Beach, *Marietta*, 10.

[59]Beach, *Marietta*, 29, 32.

[60]Beach, *Marietta*, 32-33.

but closed before 1832.[61] In 1832, a public charter was obtained for the "Marietta Collegiate Institute and Western Teachers' Seminary," with preparatory, collegiate, teachers' and ladies' departments, but no power to grant degrees.[62] The shortcomings of the 1832 charter are evident in the effort to obtain a full collegiate charter:

> On February 14, 1835, a new charter was obtained from the legislature. The name was changed to Marietta College, authority was given to grant degrees and the repealing clause was repealed.[63]

All of the Marietta educational institutions hired their faculty and leaders almost exclusively from New England colleges. David Putnam, the original principal of Muskingum Academy, had graduated from Yale. In 1815, the Marietta School Association selected Elisha Huntington, a Williams graduate, as principal after making inquiries to the presidents of Harvard, Dartmouth, and Yale.[64] The trustees of Marietta College selected Rev. Joel H. Linsley, another Williams graduate, as their inaugural president on

---

[61]Beach considers the Institute of Education the predecessor of Marietta College, and Rev. Bingham as the driving force behind the college. Beach, *Marietta*, 40-41.

[62]John Mills, Douglas Putnam, Arius Nye, and Henry Smith were the principals in obtaining the public charter. Beach, *Marietta*, 42.

[63]Beach, *Marietta*, 59. State legislatures regularly granted limited charters and reserved the right to revise or revoke them.

[64]Beach, *Marietta*, 33.

the recommendation of his Williams professor Mark Hopkins.[65] Of the twenty-six instructors in the institutions leading from Muskingum Academy through the College in 1865, the places of education are known for twenty-four, including two with no collegiate degrees. Of the twenty two with degrees, only three were educated outside of New England Colleges: two at Ohio University, and one at Marietta College. Of the fourteen instructors at the Collegiate Institute and the College, only one was educated outside of New England: President Israel Ward Andrews' brother Ebenezer graduated from Marietta.[66]

The association, or lack thereof, between Marietta College and the Congregational church was distinctively characteristic of Congregationalism and New England rather than the West. Beach emphasizes that the lack of any formal association with a religious body explains the ease with which the 1832 charter was secured. However, the conspicuous lack of degree-granting power may have been at least as significant. George P. Schmidt argues in *The Liberal Arts College*, that:

> Indirect influence was often more effective for the churches than charter provisions. A community college in New England, unless otherwise specified, was *ipso facto* a Congregational College [sic] whether the charter said so or not; and wherever Presbyterians formed the articulate majority of a region, any college located there

---

[65]Linsley was teaching at Lee Academy in Massachusetts when he was elected at Marietta. Beach, *Marietta*, 84.

[66]Beach, *Marietta*, 75

> gravitated naturally into their control. Such control might extend to public tax supported institutions as well.[67]

Schmidt's description applies to the situation in New England, where Congregationalists and Presbyterians generally had an "articulate majority," much better than it does to the west, with its ethnic and denominational diversity. Although many western colleges were chartered with self-perpetuating boards of trustees and prohibitions on creedal requirements, they were associated with many different denominational groups, and with many types of unofficial associations with their communities and churches. The desire for cultural unity based on broadly Protestant principles, as opposed to strict denominationalism created at least some of the impetus for church-associated colleges as opposed to denominational colleges in the West.[68]

To a remarkable extent, Marietta College was a New England institution serving a New England town and surrounding community not in New England,but in Ohio. The origins of the town and its residents, the setting of the town, the institutions which the residents brought with them, the leadership they called for, and the institutions

---

[67]George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History,* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957) 34. Ohio University is an excellent example of such Presbyterian control of tax-supported institutions.

[68]The lack or prohibition of creedal tests and official church control over boards of trustees was not always a matter of choice. State legislatures in Michigan, Illinois, and Ohio strenuously resisted such denominational charters.

they asked for all pointed back to their home in New England. That set their town and their college apart.

Kalamazoo College

Michigan and Huron Literary Institute exemplifies the common image of the antebellum western church-associated college in several ways, but the same characteristics demonstrate how much it and most such colleges defy simple explanation or prevalent images. The college was founded on the Michigan frontier. It was founded by men who were consciously missionaries. It had no creedal requirements and for the most part was not controlled by the Michigan Baptist Convention. Its leaders promoted both abolition and temperance, and coeducation even arose there. But the college was founded by a small group of Baptists, from a variety of colleges in New England and New York, rather than by Yale-educated Congregationalists or Presbyterians. The founders and their institution struggled to get aid from weak denominational groups. They accepted a college with neither creedal test nor church control not because of tolerance, but because the territorial legislature had not even considered their earlier petition which included such resolutions. Within a few years the leaders also practiced coeducation without institutionalizing it, rather than advertising it but not carrying through.

The Michigan and Huron Literary Institute began as a frontier institution in a frontier county. Although by 1834

Kalamazoo County was the most populous in the territory outside of Lenawee and the Detroit area, the first white settlers had not arrived until 1828 and Titus Bronson had not platted his village until 1829.[69] By 1834 the county had only 3124 white inhabitants.[70] The Federal Government did not remove the last Potowatamies from the 72,630 acre Nottwasepee Reservation until 1840.[71] Despite receiving the county seat in 1831, the village of Bronson remained smaller than neighboring Comstock, Prairie Ronde, and White Pigeon until a land boom after the Federal Government relocated the territorial land office from White Pigeon to Bronson in 1834.[72]

Less than 100 white residents lived there when the institute received its charter in 1833, but more than 1500 white persons resided in the village by 1840.[73] In 1835 Henry Gilbert moved his *Michigan Statesman and St. Joseph*

---

[69] Willis F. Dunbar, *Kalamazoo and How it Grew... and Grew....* (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 1969), 19, 24.

[70] George N. Fuller, *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan: A Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula During the Territorial Period, 1805-1837.* (Lansing, MI: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Co., State Printers, 1916), 530-540.

[71] Dunbar, *Kalamazoo*, 8-10.

[72] Dunbar, *Kalamazoo*, 26; Charles T. Goodsell and Willis F. Dunbar, *Centennial History of Kalamazoo College* (Kalamazoo, 1933), 11.

[73] Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 11.

Chronicle from White Pigeon to Bronson.[74] Although the land rush made the county and village significantly different by the time the college opened in 1837, the speculative aspect of many land purchases still must have left Kalamazoo at most sparsely settled.

The Western edge of the Michigan Territory was even more of a frontier for Baptists. In his history of the college, Charles T. Goodsell says: "In 1831 there were less than 500 Baptists and only twelve churches in the territory [none outside the Detroit area]. There was no convention and only one association."[75] Rev. Thomas W. Merrill, the Baptist itinerant who established the institute, also founded or helped found the Baptist Churches in Bronson, Comstock, Cooper, and Richland, as well as the Kalamazoo River Association and later the Michigan Baptist Convention.[76] Merrill's effort to open a school of higher learning in Kalamazoo County could not rely on any strong Baptist constituency, although a few individuals assisted him greatly. The institution received its charter five years after the first white settlers arrived in the county

---

[74]In 1836, the Bronson land office outsold all others in the nation with 1,634,511 acres. Dunbar, *Kalamazoo,* 35-36.

[75]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 15.

[76]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 36; Coe Hayne, *Baptist Trail-Makers of Michigan* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1936, for The Centennial Committee of the Michigan Baptist State Convention), 64.

and opened just four years later, in the same year that Merrill organized the Michigan Baptist Convention.

In such a frontier area, the distinction between resident religious leaders and missionaries became blurred because no white adults were natives of the area. Most of the migrants to Michigan came from New England or New York, or like Caleb Eldred, from New England to New York, and later to Michigan. Two of the three principal founders of the Michigan and Huron Literary Institute, Rev. Thomas W. Merrill and Rev. Jeremiah Hall, were missionaries as characterized by their consciousness, their actions, and their employment.

Rev. Thomas W. Merrill was the son of Daniel Merrill, a prominent Maine preacher.[77] Thomas Merrill graduated from Waterville College in 1825. Goodsell says that Merrill planned to attend Andover Theological Seminary but instead attended Newton Theological Institution,[78] where he graduated in the second class in 1828. Certainly if Newton's distinctly Baptist identity had not been sufficient to secure Thomas Merrill's attendance, his father's role in Newton's founding would have been. Merrill taught at the

---

[77]Rev. Daniel Merrill converted his Sedgewick congregation from Congregationalist to Baptist principles, helped found Waterville (Colby) College and Newton Theological Institute, organized Maine's first society "'for Promoting Education Of Religious Young Men for the Ministry,'" and served as President of the Maine Baptist Convention. Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 12; Hayne, *Trailmakers*, 72.

[78]Goodsell, *Centennial History*, 12-13.

New Hampton Literary and Theological Institution (New Hampshire) in 1828-1829.[79]

Merrill left for mission work in the Michigan Territory in the spring of 1829.[80] He settled in Ann Arbor in the autumn and sought to open the "Michigan and Huron Institute, which was to have academical and theological departments and control was to be vested in the Baptists of the Territory." The petition never left the legislative committee, but the legislature granted a charter of a local academy under "undenominational control." Merrill then left for Kalamazoo County.[81] Merrill arrived at Bronson in the summer of 1830, one year after Titus Bronson had platted and purchased the village; he continued on to Prairie Ronde, the original white settlement in Kalamazoo County and one year older than Bronson. Merrill preached as an itinerant from Prairie Ronde for the entire summer, after which he returned to Ann Arbor to serve as an itinerant in the eastern part of the territory through the winter.[82] Upon his return to

---

[79]Goodsell, *Centennial History*, 13.

[80]After a respite in Detroit, he spent the summer on a two-hundred mile itinerant journey through the territory and Ontario. In Ontario he preached to a settlement of fugitive slaves. Goodsell, *Centennial History*, 13.

[81]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 14. The legislature's action in 1829 and 1831 indicates that not all resistance to church-associated colleges in Michigan arose from John S. Pierce, who did not become State Superintendent of Public Instruction and an enemy of such institutions until 1836.

[82]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History,* 15.

Kalamazoo County in 1831, he began to combine advocacy of prohibition with his preaching. He also met Caleb Eldred, a Baptist minister from New York who sought to start a Baptist church and school at Comstock. Merrill and Eldred allied their efforts to establish a Baptist institution of higher learning in the territory.[83]

From September of 1831 through May of 1832, Merrill lobbied Baptist associations, conventions, and missionary bodies for funds for the project. The Michigan Baptist Association, the New York Baptist Convention, and the Maine Baptist Convention endorsed his campaign to their respective congregations but provided no funds. The Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society rebuffed him. Finally, at the inaugural meeting of the American Baptist Missionary Society in April, Merrill received seventy dollars, but more important, he aroused the interest of Rev. Jonathan Going, the ABHMS founder and the emerging leader in Baptist higher education. In May, Merrill received the society's first commission, which provided fifty dollars for his expenses. While Merrill's efforts exemplify missionary endeavors, his failure to secure significant funds demonstrates that at least up until the mid-1830s, the New England and New York

---

[83]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History,* 16.

Baptists were not making concerted, centralized efforts to evangelize or educate in the Michigan Territory.[84]

In May, Merrill and Eldred renewed their effort to secure a charter. They attempted to avoid the fate of Merrill's initial petition by removing all religious requirements and naming the petitioners to a self-perpetuating board of trustees. The revised charter passed the legislature, but Governor Porter vetoed it.[85] Merrill's initial attempt to found an institution of higher learning controlled by Michigan Baptists to educate Michigan Baptists indicated Merrill's real desire to found an institution based on denominational grounds and controlled by the denominational organization. The change to a self-perpetuating board composed of half Baptist ministers and half laymen, most of whom were Baptist, indicates the length to which he was willing to compromise in order to establish an institution of higher learning in Michigan.

Merrill continued his itinerant preaching and prohibition work, from Prairie Ronde throughout the summer, and from Pontiac in the winter. He returned to Pontiac at least in part to oversee another charter campaign. A new bill to incorporate was introduced to the territorial

---

[84]That Granville College, a Baptist-associated college in Ohio suffered similar funding problems suggests that the eastern Baptists' did not make much effort in missions and higher education throughout the Northwest in the 1830s and 1840s.

[85]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 19.

legislature on January 18, 1833, and passed on January 23.[86]

Rev. Jeremiah Hall also clearly maintained missionary intent, although did not engage in the itinerancy and other activities which Merrill did. He came to the pastorate of the First Baptist Church of Bronson in 1835, on a commission from Jonathan Going's American Baptist Home Missionary Society.[87] He arrived at the height of the contest between Bronson, Comstock, Marshall, Spring Arbor, and Prairie Ronde for the site of the nascent institution, and he personally canvassed the village for pledges and then put up his farm to cover the remaining $600 necessary to offer the institute $2500 to locate in Bronson. Hall left Kalamazoo in 1842 to serve as the initial president of the Baptist-associated Granville College in Ohio. He returned in 1863 to pastor the Tabernacle Baptist Church and teach in the short-lived Theological Seminary from 1863-1869.[88]

Caleb Eldred, the third significant person in the founding of the Michigan and Huron Literary Institute, was a native of Pownal, Vermont, moved to Otsego, New York at age

---

[86]Although the charter did not include degree-granting powers, the governor failed to sign it until a committee consisting of led by Rev. Merrill personally lobbied him in April, 1833. Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 20.

[87]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 21.

[88]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 22; Hayne, *Baptist Trailmakers*, 78. The Michigan Baptist Convention authorized the seminary in 1847. Classes apparently began in 1848. References are made to its short life, but no terminal date is given.

19, and then to Michigan at age 46.[89] While in New York, Eldred graduated from Baptist-associated Hamilton College, engaged in cattle trading, and served two terms on the state legislature.[90] In the Michigan Territory he first settled at Comstock in 1830. There he opened a grist mill which prospered because previously the closest had been at Marshall. He also determined to found a Baptist Church and a Christian School. With Merrill's assistance, he began the Arcadia (Comstock) Baptist Church.[91]

The New England and Baptist connections of the principal persons involved with Kalamazoo College are further borne out in the sketchy biographical information. Of the three faculty members whose places of birth are known, two were born in Vermont and one in New Hampshire.[92] Thus four graduated from New England colleges, and at least two graduated from Baptist-associated colleges. When Merrill, Hall and Eldred are included, six places of birth are available, with three in Vermont, two in New Hampshire,

---

[89]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History,* 15; Hayne, *Baptist Trailmakers,* 60ff.

[90]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 15.

[91]Eldred became an inaugural trustee of the institute, in 1834, the first white settler of Climax, a two-term territorial legislator,and a territorial judge. Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 15.

[92]Of the five faculty whose places of education are known, three graduated from Middlebury College and one from Brown, a Baptist-associated college. Nathaniel Marsh graduated from Baptist-associated Hamilton College in New York.

and one in Maine. Seven places of education are known. Five of the seven graduated from New England colleges, but four graduated from Baptist-associated colleges, two from Hamilton College, one from Brown, and Merrill graduated from Waterville College. Moreover, both of the men that graduated from colleges outside of New England graduated from Hamilton College. Three of these persons graduated from theological seminaries. Both Merrill and Hall graduated from Newton Theological Institution while J.A.B. Stone graduated from Andover Theological Seminary but converted to Baptist principles while attending.

The majority of persons associated with founding and teaching at the Kalamazoo institution in its early days both came from New England and had distinctively Baptist backgrounds. Merrill and Hall had explicitly missionary designs and Merrill sought a Baptist controlled institution. The institute thus can be seen as a frontier and missionary enterprise, yet it received little support from Baptist institutions and experienced stormy relations with the fledgling Baptist ecclesiastical structures in Michigan, despite Merrill's common leadership.[93]

The relations among the several elements of the Kalamazoo institution and the Michigan Baptist Convention were complex and varied over time. First, there were only

---

[93]William C. Ringenberg, "The Protestant College on the Michigan Frontier," (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970) 105.

twelve Baptist churches in Michigan in 1831, and the 1833 charter antedated the Michigan Baptist Convention by three years.[94] The weakness of Michigan Baptist institutions may, therefore, have been a factor in the lack of support for the institute.

Second, The Michigan Baptist Convention's interest in and control over the several segments of the institute varied across both segments and time:

> At one time or another there existed a literary institution, a theological seminary, a female college, and a branch of the University of Michigan; however, these institutions also existed as a unit.[95]

From 1848 to 1850, a branch of the University of Michigan was associated with the institute, which technically was the male literary department. During that period, the whole was known as the "Kalamazoo Branch of the University of Michigan.[96] But throughout the period, the self-perpetuating board actually controlled the literary department.[97] In 1845 the Michigan Baptist Convention began steps to establish a theological seminary -- a goal of President J.A.B. Stone (1843-1863). The years in which the theological seminary operated are unclear except that

---

[94]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 15-16; Hayne, *Baptist Trailmakers*, 19.

[95]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 43.

[96]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 43.

[97]Ringenberg, *Protestant College*, 60.

classes were to begin in 1848, and Rev. Hall taught there from 1863-1869.[98] The state convention expressed distrust of the institute in 1843,[99] but took ownership and control of the literary department for financial reasons, from 1852 to 1855. When the official college charter was passed, the convention divested its control. In the mean time, Lucinda Hinsdale Stone opened a ladies' department which lacked official standing in the institute, but operated in exceptionally close cooperation with it. The Stones practiced more coeducation than the status of the ladies' department indicated.[100]

Key persons associated with the Kalamazoo institution promoted temperance, abolition, and coeducation. Merrill combined temperance promotion with itinerancy throughout his career in Michigan.[101] Eldred assisted Merrill in temperance work within Kalamazoo County.[102] While president of the institute and pastor of the First Baptist Church, J.A.B. Stone hosted Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, and Horace Greeley in Kalamazoo, which was know as a hotbed of abolitionism. For the most part the state

---

[98]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 48, 22.

[99]Ringenberg, *Protestant College*, 105; *Michigan Baptist Convention, Annual Minutes of 1843*, 14.

[100]Ringenberg, *Protestant College*, 60; Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 43-44.

[101]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 19; Hayne, *Baptist Trailmakers*, 79.

[102]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 17.

convention pursued similar policies, probably under the direction of Merrill. In 1843, the convention disdained fellowship with slave holders and in 1859 expressed sympathy with the Oberlin position and "violently opposed the Fugitive Slave Law."[103] Ringenberg argues convincingly that the Michigan denominations associated with colleges generally supported prohibition and opposed slavery.[104] The Michigan churches were less consistent in their support of coeducation. the Michigan Baptist Convention did not comment on J.A.B. Stone's and Mrs. Lucinda Hinsdale Stone's practice of coeducation at Kalamazoo.

Lucinda Hinsdale chose to study the classical preparatory course at Hinsdale Academy in Hinsdale, Vermont and pursue a full collegiate education rather than attend Mt. Holyoke. She suffered ridicule for seeking a classical education, but was assisted by Dr. Stone, whom she later married.[105] During Dr. Stone's presidency, she opened a ladies' school in Kalamazoo. Although the female seminary was ostensibly separate from the literary institute, the amount of crossover in instruction and class attendance made

---

[103]Ringenberg, *Protestant College,* 136-137; Hayne, *Baptist Trailmakers*, 106; *Michigan Baptist Convention Annual Conference Minutes* (1840), 4, (1859), 34-5, cited in Ringenberg.

[104]Ringenberg, *Protestant College*, 132, 136-137, 139-140.

[105]It is not clear whether she ever received a college degree, but her education was definitely broad and of high quality.

real distinctions negligible. She saw to it that the women received an education of equal value with the men. In 1870, Mrs. Hinsdale-Stone led the campaign to get the first female admitted to the University of Michigan.[106]

Among the church-associated colleges in Michigan and Ohio, Kalamazoo stands out as the first such college in Michigan and as a frontier product of the endeavor of a few missionary-minded Baptist men and women who struggled with almost no denominational financial support. Like most Michigan colleges, it was dominated by New England settlers. It held no creedal test or ecclesiastical ties because the founders considered having a college more important than purity of denominational control, and the ecclesiastical structures of the territory were too weak to support such an institution.

---

[106]Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 40-42.

Franklin College

Franklin College, chartered at New Athens, Ohio in 1825, was characterized by its Scots-Irish, Presbyterian identity and its aggressive opposition to alcohol, slavery, and masonry. Rev. John Walker, the college's founder and powerful leader, ensured that the college and its staff maintained these positions. Walker's personal efforts created the college to serve the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians in eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania.[107] Although the charter required a self-perpetuating board of trustees and contained an especially strict prohibition against creedal tests and sectarian teaching, the trustees were overwhelmingly reformed clergy and devout laity from the coinciding ethnic, religious, and geographic community.

John Walker was born in 1784 in Washington County Pennsylvania, to second generation Scotch-Irish parents. He graduated from Canonnsburg Academy and Jefferson College in Cannonsburg Pennsylvania, and Service Seminary in Beaver County Pennsylvania.[108] In 1814, he moved with his wife and

---

[107]The denominations with significant roles in Franklin College's history were the Associate Presbyterian and Associate Reformed, from the Seceder and Covenantor branches of Scottish Presbyterianism respectively, the Reformed Presbyterian, the Free Presbyterian, the Old School Presbyterian Church, and the PCUSA. All except the PCUSA were marked by strict Calvinist theology.

[108]Service Seminary, an institution of the ethnic Associate Presbyterian Church, was the first theological seminary in North America. Erving E. Beauregard, *Old Franklin, The Eternal Touch: A History of Franklin College, New Athens, Harrison County, Ohio* (Lanham, Md.: University

two children to eastern Ohio, where he took charge of congregations at Cadiz, Mt. Pleasant, Piney Fork, and Unity.[109] After several communities rejected his efforts to establish a classical academy he moved his family to a sixty-acre farm in Harrison County in order to found a community and a school. Walker received assistance from John McConnell, another migrant from Washington County,[110] in founding New Athens (1817) and Alma Academy (1818).[111]

Walker maintained strong but not absolute power over the academy and then the college until his death in 1845. He chose a Presbyterian pastor, a Presbyterian layman, and a member of his Associate Presbyterian congregation as the

---

Press of America, 1983), 1-3; Erving E. Beauregard, "A Clergyman Pioneer in Ohio," *Fides et Historia* 24 (Winter/Spring 1992): 97-98.

[109]Cadiz was in Harrison County, Mt. Pleasant and Piney Fork in Jefferson County, and Unity in Belmont County. Unity was two and one-half miles from New Athens, and Cadiz seven miles north, with Mt. Pleasant twelve miles east of New Athens and Piney fork eight miles north of Mt. Pleasant. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 1-3; Beauregard, "Clergyman Pioneer," 97-98.

[110]McConnell operated a grist mill in the area, and attended the Crabapple congregation of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A. (hereafter PCUSA). Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 3-4.

[111]Although the population of Cadiz was 537, and that of New Athens only 125 in 1820, any frontier character of the town and county is drawn into question by the presence of the Crabapple Presbyterian congregation, which is noted as "a large and respectable congregation," which was only two miles from the academy, an Associate Presbyterian congregation at Unity, and "in town a Methodist society, and other denominations." Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 6.

original trustees of Alma Academy.[112] When he sought college status for the institution in 1824, he considered relocating to Cadiz, but "could not abide the anti-abolition strength of the community."[113] Walker then spent a full month personally campaigning legislators when the college faced competition for a charter from a prospective college at Cadiz.[114] He served as Chairman of the Board of Trustees from the beginning, and in 1829, became vice-president of the college.[115] Walker vigorously instilled his no-compromise positions on abolition, prohibition, and Freemasonry into the students, faculty, and community through sermons to his congregations, chapel lectures, his administrative roles, and his professorship of Moral Science.[116] He served as acting president and as a one-man search committee for the college's presidents.[117] Between the purge of 1840 and his death in 1845, Walker personally

---

[112]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 4.

[113]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 6.

[114] Of the original eleven lay trustees, four were from Walker's Unity Associate Presbyterian congregation. Walker's statement against slavery came more than six years before Oberlin College took its abolition stance. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 7-8.

[115]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 15.

[116]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 16. Walker led both the movement to fire President Joseph Smith and the 1837-1840 purge of faculty whom he found to equivocal on abolition.

[117]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 19, 22.

supervised the appointment of unequivocally abolitionist faculty.[118]

The students, supporters, faculty and trustees were Scotch-Irish and were concentrated in a group of Scots-based Presbyterian denominations which existed on the margin of, but included the PCUSA.[119] The places of birth and education for those faculty for whom information is available is even more uniform. Pennsylvania is the overwhelming place of birth, and Jefferson College at Cannonsburg, Pennsylvania, educated more than forty percent of the faculty.[120]

---

[118]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 50.

[119]The nineteen trustees of the first year of Alma College included eleven members of the PCUSA, six Associate Presbyterians, one Associate Reformed member, and a Methodist. The faculty from the opening of Alma Academy in 1818 until 1867 included four members of the Associate Presbyterian Church, four members of the Associate Reformed Church, six members of the PCUSA, one Old School Presbyterian, one Friend, one Free Presbyterian, and two members of the United Presbyterian Church. Beauregard, *Old Franklin,* 30-32. Jacob Coon, a local pastor, formed the Free Presbyterian Church in a schism from the Crabapple congregation of the PCUSA over its equivocation on abolition. The United Presbyterian Church resulted from an apparently limited merger of the Associate Presbyterian and Associate Reformed Churches in 1845.

[120]Out of twenty-nine known faculty, eleven places of birth are known. Nine were in Pennsylvania, with three of those in Washington County. One faculty member was born in Virginia and one in South Carolina. New England is conspicuously unrepresented. Eleven faculty graduated from Jefferson College, ten from Franklin itself, and one each from Associate Reformed Theological Seminary (A.B.), Blount College (Tennessee), Washington College, and Madison College (Atrim, Ohio), and Union College (New York City).

The high percentage of ministers among the graduates also points to an insular religious identity. By 1837, when eight college classes had graduated, eighteen graduates entered the ministry after theological training. Also nine faculty received advanced theological training, six at theological seminaries, and three privately from Rev. John McMillan. Fifty-seven percent of the graduates through 1866 entered the ministry, eighty percent of those in the ethnic Associate Presbyterian, Associate Reformed, and then the United Presbyterian Church.[121] Because of John Walker and the Associate Presbyterian congregations in the area, immediatist abolition, prohibition, and antimasonry were at the heart of Franklin's identity.[122] Walker led a purge of Franklin's faculty between 1837 and 1840 to insure that the college's public stance would be unequivocally abolitionist. He pressured Rev. Joseph Smith and Rev. William Burnett to resign the presidency in 1837 and 1840 respectively.[123]

---

[121]The statistics were compiled by the author from Beauregard, *Old Franklin*.

[122]Walker had advocated coeducation in the late 1830s, but like other reformers, he dropped coeducation to push abolition with all of his energy. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 74.

[123]Walker attacked Smith because Smith had not criticized slavery in his fifteen years of ministry in the South. He attacked Burnett for not denouncing slavery and for belonging to the Associate Reformed Church, "whose Southern Synod defended slavery." Smith and his colleague, Jacob Coon also called the men's educational backgrounds, which included Jefferson College and Princeton Theological Seminary into question, but nine other faculty were also Jefferson alumni. However, only two Jefferson alumni were hired between 1840 and 1867, but one was the president who

Three other faculty resigned immediately after Burnett, at least one in support of Burnett rather than because of his own stance on abolition.[124] The purge at Franklin reversed the roles from earlier purges over abolition at Western Reserve College and Lane Seminary. At Franklin, the abolitionist administration forced out allegedly equivocating professors. Rev. Joseph Smith's failure was as much one of not placing Franklin in a publicly abolitionist position as equivocating himself.[125] The conflicts created by the purge led to lawsuits which resulted in the liquidation and reorganization of the college.[126]

Franklin College's early identity was closely bound up in four characteristics. One man, Rev. John Walker, was the domineering force in the institution's first twenty-seven years. It drew its leadership from and served a distinctive Scotch-Irish Presbyterian constituency from eastern Ohio and western Pennsylvania. It served more than most colleges to produce ministers, specifically for the particularistic

---

succeeded Burnett. Therefore, the genuineness of the criticism of their attending Jefferson College is left ambiguous. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 30-46.

[124]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 35.

[125]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 28-30.

[126]The college could not pay the amounts demanded by several former faculty members, most of whom had been pressured out. The buildings were sold and anti-abolitionists attempted to establish a college on the land. They failed, but the trustees of Franklin immediately re-organized and continued their efforts. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 41-4, 53-4.

denominations. Finally, they promoted abolition, prohibition, and anti-masonry. The first three characteristics mark the constituency's ethnic-religious distinctiveness, but even as those characteristics set them apart from broad American Protestantism, their use of the English language and the Presbyterian confessions allowed them more affinities with American Presbyterianism than the ethnic German groups achieved. The particularistic Presbyterians shared both the Westminster confessions and the English language with mainstream American Presbyterianism, whereas both confessions and language set the German groups in tension with both American evangelicalism and the rest of native-born American culture.[127]

[127]Lentz's account of Wittenberg College shows the tension between the English Lutheran Synod of Ohio and its more continental-minded colleagues, while Ahlstrom demonstrates that the Americanization controversy in German Lutheranism was as much a matter of German cultural distinctiveness as of Lutheran doctrinal distinctiveness. Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 26; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 519, 523.

Wittenberg College

The college that became Wittenberg resulted from a combination of the Lutheran tradition of a fully educated clergy and a struggle among German Lutherans in the United States over Lutheran confessional distinctiveness and German cultural distinctiveness. The Evangelical Lutheran Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States had supported a German-language seminary at Columbus since 1830, when in 1836, those sympathetic with American evangelical practices and in favor of English instruction formed the English Lutheran Synod of Ohio. They still considered themselves part of the Joint Synod, but after a final request for a professorship for English instruction in the seminary at Columbus, they resolved to found their own college and seminary based wholly on English instruction and preaching. They called Rev. Ezra Keller, a student of Dr. Samuel Schmucker of the Theological Seminary at Gettysburg, the leader of the American evangelical faction, to be their president.

The Western Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church expressed interest in cooperating with the English Synod of Ohio in supporting the college, but the two reached no agreement. By the time that the college opened in 1845, the trustees relocated from Wooster to Springfield, in part because of the greater concentration of German Lutherans in Perry, Fairfield, Pickaway, Montgomery and Butler

Counties.[128] The English Synod proceeded on its own after a final proposal by Keller to get an English language position at Columbus was defeated in 1842. Lentz says: "Wittenberg came into being then, as an American institution, founded and supported by those who were determined to work with the builders of a new nation on the common basis of the English language."[129]

The trustees were elected by the three classes of the English Lutheran Synod of Ohio. Each classes elected one clerical and one lay member in 1842.[130] When the Lutheran Synod of Miami was formed in 1844, it was allotted two clerical and two lay members[131]

Wittenberg College grew out of a larger conflict among Lutherans over Americanization. Because the Lutherans had lacked their own seminaries until the 1820s, many of their clergy had been educated at American seminaries that had no place for Lutheran theology. Until the 1830s, the debate over confessional traditionalism took place largely within the framework of Americanization, but massive German immigration after 1830 placed the center of the controversy much more on German cultural distinctiveness than on

---

[128]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 20.

[129]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 14, 26-27.

[130]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 10.

[131]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 34.

doctrine.[132] Thus language became as important a factor as doctrine. Keller and Samuel Sprecher at Wittenberg were key disciples of Schmucker in urging Americanization of language, doctrine and church practices.[133]

Dr. Samuel S. Schmucker graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary and became professor at Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg. As the most powerful advocate of Americanization, Schmucker sought a revised "Definite Synodical Platform" for American Lutheranism. The platform appeared in 1855, and was soon denounced by most German Lutheran synods in the United States.[134] Keller and Sprecher sought to move Wittenberg in the direction of vigorous Americanization. Lentz quotes Keller's attitude about Americanization:

> I am everyday more convinced of the necessity of raising up an American ministry to spiritualize the millions of Germans who are seeking a home in our happy land. Those who are educated in Germany are not qualified for the work, and cannot be persuaded to lay aside their foreign prejudices and modes of thought and action.[135]

---

[132]In 1807, the New York Synod had declared English the official language of the church, but in 1837, it reinstated German as an official language.

Especially in Ohio, the geographic proximity and cultural background of the German Lutherans and the German Reformed people lent itself to union in both congregations and marriages. Ahlstrom says that contrary to their confessionalist brethren, they were "insensitive to ancient doctrinal cleavages." Ahlstrom. *Religious History*, 519.

[133]Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 523.

[134]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 82-85.

[135]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 26.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, however, this trend toward Americanization was countered by several factors, the most important of which was rapidly increasing German immigration into the United States, especially into Pennsylvania and Ohio.[136] Many Germans who may not have been concerned with Lutheran distinctiveness, nevertheless fervently sought to maintain the distinctives of German culture and piety, as evinced by German Lutherans' bonding with German Reformed people and theology and rejection of the American evangelicalism of Schmucker's program.[137]

The issue came to a head for Wittenberg in 1856, one year after publication of Schmucker's *Distinctive Synodical Platform*. The Platform claimed to omit errors in the *Augsburg Confession*. The revisions, though, plainly replaced Lutheran distinctives that could be seen as vestiges of Catholicism with sabbath observance and other evangelical practices that appealed to American evangelicals.[138] The board instituted a new faculty pledge, which reads:

> I do solemnly declare in the presence of God and this Board, that I do sincerely believe the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments to be the inspired word of God and the only rule of faith and practice, and that I do sincerely reject the following errors:
> 1. The approval of the Ceremonies of the Mass

---

[136]Ahlstrom. *Religious History*, 519, 522.

[137]Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 519, 523.

[138]Ahlstrom *Religious History*, 523-4.

2. Private Confession and Absolution
3. The denial of the divine obligation of the Christian Sabbath
4. Baptismal Regeneration
5. The real presence of the body and blood of our saviour in the Eucharist

And I do heartily adopt the so-called Apostle's Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Abstract of the Augsburg Confession.

The five specific points are straight from Schmucker's *Platform*. The board adopted the points, but stopped short though of Sprecher's motion to replace the clause concerning the *Augsburg Confession* with one naming Schmucker's "recision" as a doctrinal standard.[139]

Wittenberg College and the attached seminary performed a key role in the struggle between the American evangelical and the continental factions in Lutheranism in the United States.[140] The leaders at Wittenberg attempted to anchor the western edge of the American Lutheranism movement in the face of overwhelming pressure from immigration and internal movements in reaction to previous Americanization.[141]

---

[139]Lentz, *Wittenberg*, 82-85; Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 523-4.

[140]Ahlstrom considers the continental faction more reformed in their thought. The author finds German culture more evident than reformed thought, in that the continental faction rejected Schmucker's evangelical program much more strongly than they adopted any more confessional identity.

[141]Ahlstrom, *Religious History*, 523.

Heidelberg College

The Ohio Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States (German Reformed) established Heidelberg College and a theological seminary at Tiffin Ohio, in 1850, to serve the state's German Reformed population. The synod controlled the college by having each classis elect two trustees. Most of the founders and original faculty were born in Pennsylvania, and all of the early regular faculty graduated from the church-controlled Franklin and Marshall College and Mercersburg Theological Seminary. All of the faculty were involved in preaching, church-founding, or other denominational work before and during their tenure at Heidelberg. The first president and several faculty worked actively to promote public education in Ohio. The college's leaders struggled throughout the antebellum period between assimilation to American Protestant culture and maintenance of their ethnic and confessional identity, whose most distinctive marks were the German language and the Heidelberg Catechism.

Seneca County, Ohio in 1850 was neither a frontier area nor a new place to the German Reformed people. In 1850, the county population totalled 27,104, of which seven thousand four hundred and thirty-three (37.4 percent) came from the Middle Atlantic states and 3849 (14 percent) came from

Pennsylvania.[142] Of the 3524 immigrants in Seneca County, 2940 (83.4 percent) were born in Germany.[143]

The Reformed Church had spread from Pennsylvania and coastal New York to Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, and western New York in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. But after the turn of the century, most of its members settled in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Throughout the 1820s most settled along the divide which formed the watershed between the Ohio River and Lake Erie. The fifty mile wide strip, known as the "backbone region" ran through Canton, Alliance, Massillion, New Philadelphia, Wooster, Mansfield, Tiffin, Galion, Bucyrus, Lima, St. Mary's, and Wapoteneka.[144] The initial settlers in the area around Seneca County included German immigrants, Reformed and Lutheran migrants from Pennsylvania, and a group of Germans from Maryland who settled in Tiffin in the 1820s.[145]

The backgrounds of the founders and early faculty were markedly similar. Biographical information is available for ten of fifteen faculty members, including all of the

---

[142]Hubert G. H. Wilhelm, "The Origin And Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio: 1850" (Unpublished manuscript for Department of Geography of Ohio University, 1982), Appendix A.

[143]Wilhelm, "Ohio Population," Appendix B.

[144]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 19-20.

[145]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 21.

original faculty and the regular collegiate faculty.[146] Of these ten, six were born in Pennsylvania. The other four places of birth were Germany, Switzerland, Virginia and New York. All of the original faculty and all of the collegiate faculty hired before 1870 graduated from RCUSA-controlled Franklin and Marshall College and Mercersburg Theological Seminary.[147] All of the regular faculty preached, planted churches, or performed denominational work before and during their tenure at Heidelberg College. Several also taught or administered at other institutions before or after their service at Heidelberg.

Brothers Jeremiah H. and Reuben Good, the two most influential founders and teachers, were reportedly tapped by Dr. Philip Schaff while at Mercersburg Theological Seminary, as the best candidates for opening a new denominational college in Ohio.[148] The brothers were third-generation

---

[146]The regular faculty are those who held professorships in the subjects that comprised the classical curriculum. Two considerations limit the information available on female instructors. First, most females taught in non-classical departments which receive little attention in the college catalogs and other sources, and many were wives of professors. Second, a consistent characteristic of the spotty college histories is their summary treatment of female instructors, usually offering only a name.

[147]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 47.

[148]Here "denominational college" denotes a college owned and or controlled by the associated denomination. While most antebellum colleges were "church-associated," only a few were denominational in the narrow sense.

Americans, born to Phillip A. and Elizabeth Good at Rehersburg Pennsylvania in 1822 and 1818 respectively.[149]

Jeremiah Good entered Franklin and Marshall college with his older brother Reuben in 1838. Jeremiah graduated first in the class of 1842. He simultaneously entered Mercersburg Theological Seminary and became sub-rector of the college's preparatory academy, of which he became rector in 1843. Jeremiah graduated from Mercersburg in 1846, and became the pastor of the First Reformed Church of Lancaster, Pennsylvania.[150] There he married Susan Hubbard Root, an Episcopalian from Granville. Williams says of her:

> She became a member of the first Reformed Church of Tiffin, but often attended the Episcopal Church, parting at the church corner from her husband, who continued on his way to preach a German sermon at the second Reformed Church of which he was the pastor. No one was offended at this as she did not understand the German language.[151]

---

[149]Another brother, William A. Good, also became an RCUSA pastor and served a short time as principal of Mercersburg's preparatory academy. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 47, 8.

[150]In his one year at Lancaster, Jeremiah Good founded a secondary academy and campaigned for a lay-newspaper, which he edited as the *Weekly Messenger*, until 1853, first in Columbus Ohio, and then at Tiffin. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 50.

[151]Williams, *Heidelberg,* 50.

Jeremiah Good left Lancaster for Columbus in 1847 to pastor a Columbus Church.[152] In 1849, he was elected president and presiding officer of the Lancaster Classis.

Jeremiah Good moved to Tiffin in 1850, in order to help establish and then to teach at Heidelberg College. He resigned from the college in 1868 in order to become a professor in the theological seminary. His health forced him to retire in 1887, and he died in 1888.[153] He served as Secretary of the Faculty from 1853 to 1858, and from 1860 to 1866, and as Secretary of the Board of Trustees from 1854 to 1865, and 1865 to 1868.[154]

Jeremiah Good also determined the curriculum of Heidelberg College. He proposed distinct classical, scientific, teaching, agricultural and ladies' curriculums in order to meet the needs of Ohio's German Reformed population, and to bring many people into the college as an institution of the Reformed Church.[155] The agricultural

---

[152]Jeremiah Good also served as secretary of the Board of Missions, was a member of several synodical committees, and served as Professor of Mathematics in the "Ohio Literary and Theological Institution" of Columbus. The institution at which he taught was apparently a German language institution of the RCUSA, and a reference to him as "secretary of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary" on page fifty-one may refer to that institution. Williams, *Heidelberg,* 51.

[153]During his tenure, Jeremiah Good also founded the St. Jacobs Church in Adam's Township and served the Second Reformed Church of Tiffin, where the services were exclusively in German. Williams, *Heidelberg,* 47.

[154]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 302-303.

[155]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 80-87.

curriculum never got started, and the ladies' curriculum served women who did not pursue the other courses.[156]

Jeremiah Good's older brother Reuben was born in 1818, and graduated from Franklin and Marshall College in 1842 and Mercersburg Seminary in 1845. He entered the ministry on a missionary circuit in the Miami Valley, the frontier of German Reformed settlement.[157] In 1847, he married the daughter of D. A. Winters, a German Reformed pastor at Dayton who later became a Heidelberg trustee. Reuben spent two months of 1848 "as an exploring missionary" in northern Indiana. Upon returning he took charge of several churches in the Dayton area.[158] In 1850, he was elected to the faculty of Heidelberg College, where he taught until 1888. and served as the secretary of the faculty from 1850-1854.[159]

E. V. Gerhard,[160] the first president of the college and instructor in the seminary, "was born June 13, 1817, at Freeburg, Snyder County, Pennsylvania, the son of a minister of the Reformed Church."[161] He attended the high school of

---

[156]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 83.

[157]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 48, 49.

[158]He also became a principal in a public elementary school, and published a pamphlet: "Let Us Educate More Men for the Ministry" (ca. 1850). He was also elected stated clerk of the Miami Classis. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 50.

[159]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 47.

[160]Sometimes the spelling in Williams is Gerhart.

[161]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 52.

the Reformed Church, first at York, Pennsylvania, and then at Mercersburg. He received the A.B. from Marshall College in 1838.[162] He graduated from the seminary in 1841, and took on the pastorship of four churches in Franklin County the next year. "After a year he became pastor at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania," where he served from 1843 to 1849.[163] In 1849, The Board of Domestic Missions appointed Gerhard as pastor to the German immigrant population in Cincinnati. He preached exclusively in German, and pastored the congregation from a small shanty through a doubling in size and a regular church building. He also became president of the Miamisburg Classis. He left for Tiffin in 1851, to serve as Professor of Theology in the seminary and concurrently as president of the college.[164] That the synod elected its own president to head the institutions indicates the importance that the synod placed on them.

Gerhart continued both his teaching and his preaching at Tiffin. He served as supply minister of the German-language Second Reformed Church of Tiffin, "and in two or

---

[162]He taught in the female seminary from his graduation through 1842, and in the preparatory school from 1839 to 1842, while he attended the theological seminary. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 52.

[163]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 52.

[164]The commissioning was administered to him by Reverend D. Winters of Dayton Ohio, President of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary, and Rev. Reuben Good's father-in-law. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 52,53; *Inauguration of Rev. E.V. Gerhart during the Session of the Synod of Ohio and Adjacent States,* Ohio, September 21, 1851.

three other vacant churches in the vicinity." He also "organized the Bascomb Reformed Church in 1852 and Salem Church in Seneca Township in 1853.[165] Gerhart was recognized throughout the states for his strong support for public education and teacher education, including the support of an instructor of education at Heidelberg.[166]

President Gerhard resigned on September 27, 1854, to be effective April 1, 1855, in order to fulfill his election as president of Franklin and Marshall College. There he worked closely with Dr. Philip Schaff of the attached Mercersburg Theological Seminary. He soon became an advocate of Schaff's and John W. Nevin's Mercersburg Theology, which he promoted as editor of the *Mercersburg Quarterly Review,* and author of a two volume *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. His advocacy of the "liberal Mercersburg theology brought him into conflict with the seminary at Tiffin and its leaders. The Catholic-like character of the Mercersburg theology makes any direct relation between the dispute and Americanization questionable.

Heidelberg College and Theological Seminary was a denominational institution of the Reformed Church in the United States (German Reformed). Unlike most church-associated colleges, the denomination controlled its board

---

[165]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 77.

[166]Williams, *Heidelberg*, 69, 77; *Education in Ohio*, Ohio General Assembly, 156. Professor S. S. Rickly filled the instructorship in eduction. Williams, *Heidelberg*, 56.

of trustees. As such it was intended to serve the members of the denomination in Ohio. The use of the German language and the Heidelberg Catechism also set its constituency off from American Evangelicalism. Thus the leaders and constituency faced the issue of distinctiveness and assimilation in their language, their confessions, and their denominational institutions, as evinced by the existence of separate English speaking and German speaking congregations in Tiffin, and the faculty's simultaneous involvement in denominational concerns and community education. The involvement in community education included both Jeremiah Good's curriculum, which sought to bring as many people as possible into the college itself, and the faculty's regular involvement in teacher education and public education.

Western Reserve College

Western Reserve College arose more than any other Michigan or Ohio college from the 1801 Plan of Union. Presbyterian settlers of the Western Reserve of Connecticut founded the college to provide collegiate and Congregationalist-Presbyterian theological education for their own people.[167] They established it on the same non-sectarian basis as their New England colleges, from which many of the leading settlers had graduated, rested upon, and hired predominately graduates of New England colleges, especially Yale. Western Reserve College fit almost precisely the descriptions of Presbyterian college founding offered by Hofstadter, Schmidt, and Rudolph. But given the reality of college founding in Ohio and Michigan, Western Reserve College stands as a an exception rather than the rule. In fact, Western Reserve College was hobbled by some of the very disputes that were already tearing the Plan of Union apart by the time the college opened in 1832. The 1833 crisis over abolition and the languishing theological program reflected more widespread differences within and over the Plan of Union.

Not unexpectedly for an area known as the Western Reserve of Connecticut, an overwhelming majority of the

---

[167]The Western Reserve was land granted to Connecticut as bounty for the colony's military service in the American Revolution. Connecticut residents often referred to the tract as New Connecticut.

trustees, incorporators, and professors came from Central New England states. Twenty-one of twenty-four professors (87.5 percent), and twenty-nine of fifty incorporators and trustees were born in New England states. Eighteen of the twenty four professors (75 percent) graduated from New England colleges; eleven of the eighteen from Yale. Twenty-seven of the incorporators and trustees (54 percent) graduated from New England colleges; sixteen from Yale. Although Yale along with Princeton has been considered "the mother of colleges," the eleven professors and nine instructors who served Western Reserve College after graduating from Yale represent 20 out of 25 Yale graduates found in this study of Michigan and Ohio antebellum church-associated colleges.[168] While Western Reserve College drew heavily on Yale graduates -- for a while it was considered "the Yale of the West"[169] -- that reliance was exceptional in Michigan and Ohio during the antebellum period.

Even Western Reserve College's reliance on New England for professors appears to conceal the college's reliance on the Ohio region. Frederick Clayton White provides exceptionally detailed information on all of the instructorial positions at Western Reserve College. The backgrounds of the adjunct faculty, guest lecturers,

---

[168]Illinois College was the home of Julian M. Sturtevant's "Yale Band," but it was only one college among many.

[169]Cramer, *Western Reserve*, 29.

instructors, tutors, and preparatory teachers present a much more complex situation. White lists 49 persons in these subordinate positions. When they are included in the tabulations, only 34 out of 73 (46.6 percent) of the teachers came from New England colleges; twenty of 73 (27.4 percent) from Yale. Another 34 graduated from Ohio Colleges; thirty-two (43.8 percent) from Western Reserve College itself.[170] Even though Western Reserve College was a Presbyterian-Plan of Union institution that was heavily effected by its Eastern-oriented leaders, the effect of its location in Ohio and the absorption of persons who were raised in Ohio obviously was of significance.
forced out the abolitionist faculty.

---

[170]Cramer, *Western Reserve,* Appendix K, 168.

Ohio Wesleyan University

Ohio Wesleyan University and Ohio Wesleyan Female College bore several marks peculiar to Methodist Episcopal-associated colleges in the antebellum West, as well as peculiar characteristics of their own. They were both owned by the Ohio Conference and the Northern Ohio Conference. Unlike most antebellum western colleges, however, the decisions to establish the colleges came after their locations had been secured.

A peculiar characteristic of Methodist Episcopal-associated colleges as compared to most other church-associated colleges of native-born denominations was the exceptional extent to which the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church both controlled and supported the colleges. The stricter control that Methodist annual conferences exercised resided in their power to appoint the trustees and sometimes the president of the colleges. The Ohio and Northern Ohio conferences appointed the trustees of Ohio Wesleyan University; the Michigan Conference appointed both the trustees and the president of Albion College. The stricter control is unsurprising given the hierarchical structure of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

The exceptionally formal support for the colleges originated in the General Conference, which granted college supporters access to the church's pulpits and other resources. In 1840, the General Conference called for a

well-developed system of collegiate education, ratified an 1832 call for the Methodist Book Concern to sell its publications to the associated colleges at cost, and authorized annual conferences to direct preachers to take up annual collections for the colleges or take other measures to provide for them.[171] The annual collections are the core of what James Findlay, in "Agency, Denominations, and Western Colleges, 1830-1860," calls "a superior system" that set Methodist colleges in Indiana and Illinois apart from colleges associated with other denominations.[172] Although Indiana was an exceptional case, the annual conferences in Kentucky, Michigan and Ohio also provided systematic support for their associated colleges.

The actions of the annual conferences and General Conference hierarchy do not alone indicate whether traditional historical stereotypes of widespread Methodist opposition to higher education are false, but they show that the church authorities granted supporters of higher education official access to church resources by 1840.[173]

---

[171]Duval, *The Methodist Episcopal Church and Higher Education*, 63-64.

[172]Findlay, "Agency, Denominations and the Western Colleges," 71.

[173]The historiography of the church-associated colleges has contained a stereotyped view of Methodists and to a lesser extent Baptists as opposed to higher education, especially seminary education for preachers. The stereotype appears to have arisen from heavy reliance upon Presbyterian and Congregational sources, including those of the American Education Society, which are explicitly hostile to the Methodists, and from an ungrounded generalization from

Henry C. Hubbart's claim that Ohio Wesleyan University resulted from "an educational renaissance in the Methodist church about 1840, and of the interest of the town of Delaware"[174] fits the developments in the General Conference, the annual conferences in Ohio, and the town of Delaware.

Leaders in the Ohio, Northern Ohio, and Kentucky conferences had sought a college since 1840, but no decisions had been made when Rev. Adam Poe, of Delaware proposed that "the citizens of Delaware purchase "the [Mansion House] and offer it to the conferences as the site for a college."[175] A Joint committee of the Ohio and North Ohio conferences voted on September 1, 1841 "to accept the offer if the citizens' offer materialized and if proper title could be secured."[176] The process differed significantly from the usual steps of chartering a college and then seeking competitive offers of land and funds in order to determine the location. Thus Ohio Wesleyan University began with exceptional ties to the local

---

positions between 1815 and 1825 to the entire antebellum period. While in the East, Methodist colleges were established more slowly in the earlier period, by the 1840s, the Methodists were keeping pace with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the West. A third factor may be real Methodist antipathy to clerical education, but even that must be treated as changing over time.

[174]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan*, 9.

[175]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 11.

[176]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 12.

community. The townspeople had raised approximately $10,000 to purchase the site.[177]

Ohio Wesleyan University's reliance upon the citizens of Delaware is evident in its early history. Although the college did not open until 1844, an attached preparatory academy opened in 1841,[178] "under the instruction of Capt. James D. Cobb," a graduate of West Point. Hubbart says of the academy: "The early academy started as a step taken partly to meet the demand of the Delaware community that school work of some kind be offered, and partly to provide for the safety of the property."[179] The citizens wanted some education in return for the funds that they had contributed. Given the progressiveness of several of the western colleges concerning the education of women, the change from the preparatory academy to the university appears anachronistic. Whereas the academy served a mixed student body, when the university opened, the young women were simply told that they could no longer attend the academy.[180] In the meantime, the academy had absorbed the Delaware Academy's students and instructor, thus becoming the sole preparatory school in the village.[181]

---

[177]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 12.

[178]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 13.

[179]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 13.

[180]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 18.

[181]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 15.

The comparative enrollment in the scientific curriculum compared to the classical curriculum further demonstrates Ohio Wesleyan University's role in education outside of the classical curriculum. In 1849, the first year that the scientific course was offered, 123 students, 50.2 percent of the total, enrolled in it while 84 students, 34.3 percent, were enrolled in the preparatory department. Only 38 students, 15.5 percent, were enrolled in the regular classical course. By 1854, the gap widened to 369, or 66.8 percent scientific; 125, or 22.7 percent preparatory; and 58, or merely 10.6 percent, classical. Hubbart simply says that attendance in a biblical course was "minuscule."[182] The scientific course differed from the classical mainly in the exclusion of the Greek requirement and the downgrading of the Latin requirement. There was relatively little science in the technical sense, and only a certificate was offered. The importance of the scientific course (or the english course, as some colleges called it), was that the colleges educated many more persons than received the traditional classical curriculum, it apparently often served as a teacher-education track, and until the state universities arose in the West at mid-century, the church-associated colleges offered almost the only advanced education available.

---

[182]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 28.

Finally, the founders and faculty of Ohio Wesleyan University were largely native-born Ohioans. Out of eighteen faculty, seven were born in Ohio and seven were educated in Ohio,[183] including five at Ohio Wesleyan itself. Of the nine educated elsewhere, six graduated from Wesleyan University in Connecticut, but at least one of those traveled east from New York in order to attend the Methodist institution.

Ohio Wesleyan University benefitted from the control and support that Methodist annual conferences gave associated and especially owned colleges, and it had strong local and regional ties. While the two annual conferences owned the college and appointed the trustees, its conception was a local phenomenon, and the college leaders remained tied to the town of Delaware. At the same time, almost half of the faculty were born and educated within the state, almost one third at the college itself. Ownership, control, and the backgrounds of much of the faculty were all products of Ohio.

---

[183]Eighteen faculty are mentioned; ten places of birth and sixteen places of education are given. Edward Thomson Nelson, *Fifty Years of History of the Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio: 1844-1894*. (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Printing, 1895), 259-262.

Oberlin College

Oberlin Collegiate Institute is the most well-known college found in the antebellum period, and its rise out of the abolition crisis at Lane Seminary is one of the most oft-recounted episodes in the efforts of New England Congregationalists and New York Presbyterians to establish religious and cultural dominance in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Therefore, rather than relating a detailed history here, this account attempts to draw together some of the most important events and characteristics of the institute under a common theme.[184] It posits that the basis of Oberlin Collegiate Institute's identity lay in its relationship to the theologies and ecclesiastical structures of Congregationalism and New School Presbyterianism at the very time that those two groups were coming into conflict over the 1801 Plan-of-Union. That identity is apparent in Oberlin's own theological and ecclesiastical positions, its support for immediate abolition accompanied by militant hostility to the Garrisonians, the attempt to adopt a distinctive Bible-based curriculum, and Oberlin's influence on other colleges.

Shiperd and the faculty that he brought to Oberlin before and after the Lane crisis shared New School

---

[184]Robert Samuel Fletcher's *A History of Oberlin College from its Founding Through the Civil War* 2 vols. (Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1943) is an excellent narrative history of events at Oberlin, but it does not relate various movements and trends to each other.

Presbyterian ties, but they actively rejected those ties while striving to keep their reform temper and theology within Congregationalist ecclesiastical structures. The shift to the Oberlin of Charles G. Finney, Asa Mahan, and the Lane Rebels comprised a movement away from Presbyterian ties to strictly Congregationalist ties, which took place among a whole series of conflicts between the two bodies more than a shift in mission or vision.

John J. Shiperd had envisioned Oberlin Institute as an educational institution that would educate the preachers and pious teachers who answered Lyman Beecher's call to save the Ohio and Mississippi valleys from infidelity, Catholicism, Methodism, and Universalism.[185] By the time he established Oberlin Colony and institute he had trained three young men for ministry in Western New York and Ohio, and converted his Elyria congregation to abstinence from alcohol in 1831.[186] The statement of purpose in the *First Annual Report of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute* (1834) opens: "Its grand scheme is the diffusion of useful science, sound morality and pure religion among the growing multitudes of the Mississippi Valley. It aims also at bearing an important part of extending these blessings to the destitute millions which overspread the earth.[187] Shiperd and the trustees were

---

[185]Fletcher, 173-174.

[186]Fletcher, 86, 82.

[187]*First Annual Report of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute* (1834), 10; Quoted in Fletcher, 130-131.

clearly already pursuing the religious and educational mission that characterized later Oberlin.

Finney's theology and the new faculty's reform temper fit almost precisely Shiperd's vision for saving the Mississippi and Ohio valleys through preaching and reform. Finney and Mahan, however, had both been challenged by the Presbyterians as to their orthodoxy. Finney had been reluctantly ordained by the Saint Lawrence Presbytery when they did not dare challenge his popularity, and had been grilled by a committee of Presbyterian clergy which he left unable to denounce him, but unconvinced of his orthodoxy.[188] Mahan had been ordained by the Oneida Presbytery, and then publicly accused of theological error by Joshua L. Wilson of the Cincinnati Presbytery when Mahan came to the Sixth Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati.[189]

The conflicts involving Finney, Mahan and Beecher were examples and further causes in a pattern of division between

---

[188]Lyman Beecher told Finney that if he attempted to bring his theology to Boston, Beecher would "meet you at the state line, and call out all the artillery-men and fight every inch of the way to Boston, and then I'll fight you there. *Autobiography*, ed. Barbara Cross; Quoted in Ahlstrom, 460-461.

[189]Wilson accused Mahan from the pulpit and in his periodical, the *Cincinnati Standard*. He considered the entire Oneida Presbytery heretical. A settlement was made at the synodical level after Wilson was accused of unchristian conduct for his public attacks. Edward H. Madden and James E. Hamilton, *Freedom and Grace: The Life of Asa Mahan*, Studies in Evangelicalism Series no. 3 (Meutchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1982) 28-29. Wilson also accused Lyman Beecher of heresy, slander, and hypocrisy when he came to head Lane Seminary and became pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church. Ahlstrom, 459.

Old School Presbyterians, New School Presbyterians, and Congregationalists, the later two having been tacitly united in their mission efforts under the 1801 Plan-of-Union.[190] The abolition crisis at Western Reserve College in 1832-33 had pitted New School faculty against several Old School trustees. At least one major issue in the conflict between John P. Cleaveland and John D. Pierce in Michigan were Pierce's formation of a Congregationalist association in direct violation of Cleaveland's order, as Pierce's American Home Missionary Association superior, that Pierce establish churches only under Presbyterian auspices. Knox and Illinois colleges in Illinois, and Wabash College in Indiana also experienced conflict between Old School, New School and Congregationalist supporters by 1837,[191] when the Presbyterian General Assembly divided into New School and Old School churches, each claiming to be the legitimate successor to the General Assembly.

Shiperd and all the 1830s faculty had ties to New School Presbyterianism and the Plan-of-Union. Shiperd was a member of the Huron Presbytery, Mahan was and Finney had been a Presbyterian pastor, and professors John Morgan and

---

[190]George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970) is an excellent account of the events leading up to the Presbyterian Schism of 1837, but its focus neglects the conflicts between the New School and the Congregationalists before the schism, placing them almost entirely after 1838.

[191]Timothy Smith, "Midwestern Colleges," 14-18.

Henry Cowles had roots in Presbyterianism. Finney had become a Congregationalist just previous to coming to Oberlin (largely to avoid accusations of heresy). The fundamental change that the Finney-Mahan faculty brought was a shift from Presbyterian to Congregational allegiance. Mahan and John P. Cowles[192] took an active part in upgrading the Congregational Union of the Western Reserve (1834) to the General Association of the Western Reserve in 1835, and consequently withdrawing Oberlin from the Plan-of-Union and making the center of the new association.[193] In 1837, they established the Lorain County Congregational Association in order to ordinate the graduates of Oberlin's Theological Department, whom even New School presbyteries rejected.[194] Shiperd also must have been converted to Congregationalist loyalty without changing his vision for Oberlin, because he established Olivet Colony and Institute on the same principles as Oberlin and sought Congregational support. Oberlin's shift from Presbyterianism to Congregationalism became more than just one example of the conflict between Presbyterians and Congregationalists. It convinced many Presbyterians that neither the Oberlinites nor the Congregationalists could be expected to have scruples concerning theology and church authority. Oberlin's most

---

[192]John P. Cowles was Henry Cowles' younger brother and Yale classmate.

[193]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 219-220.

[194]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 221. See note 7.

outstanding characteristics in the 1830s and 1840s were its promotion of immediate abolition of slavery and the practice of coeducation in the college course. But if the strictures of the New School marked one boundary that the Oberlin faculty moved away from, Garrison's combination of separatism and support for women addressing public, mixed audience in the abolition movement marked the other. Both aspects of Garrison's campaign generated a militant response from the Oberlin community because the campaign attacked key aspects of the faculty's vision for the institute. The faculty, especially Shiperd and Finney, envisioned the institute's mission as primarily the evangelization and education of the people of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys for the sake of a Christian nation. Garrison's condemnation of the church and the federal government thus produced a heated reaction from the Oberlinites who considered slavery only the greatest among many evils that threatened the nation. To Garrison, the church and the federal government were exceptionally corrupt; to the Oberlinites, the church and the government were the means by which the nation could be saved.

In 1840, the Oberlinites helped lead a schism in the abolition movement over the same issue that would divide the Oberlin community for at least another 18 years: The propriety of women addressing mixed public audiences. The Garrisonians supported the propriety of women addressing mixed audiences with specific reference to Sarah and

Angelina Grimke.[195] With the notable exception of President Mahan, the Oberlin community opposed the expansion of women's rights, including women speaking to public and mixed audiences as "a thing positively disagreeable to both sexes."[196] They separated and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.[197]

Betsey Cowles, Lucy Stone, and Sallie Holley were all Garrisonians. Betsey Cowles contributed to the Garrisonian *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, and was a personal friend of Abbey Kelley Foster; Lucy Stone subscribed to *The Liberator* and the *Bugle*, and treasured a picture of Garrison on her wall; after their graduation, Stone and Holley became accredited lecturers for the American Anti-Slavery Society.[198] Abbey Kelley Foster and her brother Stephen S. Foster spoke at Oberlin on separatism for three days in 1846, at the invitation of Betsey Cowles and Lucy Stone. Fletcher says:

> The appearance of a woman as a public speaker was objected to on principle. Most listeners were unfavorably affected, concluded that Mrs. Foster was vulgar and shameless and that they had no good program to offer. Only Lucy Stone had a good word for them.[199]

---

[195]George Brown Tindall, *America: A Narrative History*, 1st Edition, (NY: Norton, 1984) 564-565.

[196]J.H. Fairchild, *Women's Rights and Duties* (Oberlin, 1849) 18; Quoted in Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 290.

[197]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 241.

[198]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 266-267.

[199]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 267.

The campus was split in June of 1846 over a return visit by the Fosters.[200]

The personal confrontation between the women and the college officials began with the commencement exercises in 1847. The regular policy was for women in the Ladies' Department to read their commencement addresses to a Ladies' Department commencement on Tuesday, and for women in the college course to have their commencement addresses read by males to the regular commencement on Wednesday. Garrison, Frederick Douglass, Stephen S. Foster, and other supporters attended the 1847 commencement, apparently in hopes of seeing Lucy Stone's graduation from the college course. She had entered the college course at Oberlin because only Oberlin opened their college course to women at that time.[201] While Antoinette Brown read her own commencement address as a graduate of the Ladies' Department on Tuesday,[202] the faculty turned down Lucy Stone's request to

---

[200]Some students and resident blacks favored their return while the faculty opposed it. They were allowed to speak in the old chapel with a response by the Oberlin faculty. The exchange culminated in a twelve-hour debate between Stephen S. Foster and Asa Mahan. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 268-269.

[201]Many of the college histories used in this project speak of coeducation. Most are very unclear about what the term meant, but in most cases it is clear that women were not admitted to the collegiate course. Usually they were educated in a separate Ladies' Department.

[202] Antoinette Brown graduated from the Ladies' Department and then applied to the Theological Department. Her admission was turned down but she was allowed to attend classes. She received no recognition upon completion, but was ordained by Luther Lee in the Wesleyan Methodist Church.

deliver her own address to the Wednesday audience. She refused to legitimize the separate policy and did not write an address.[203] In 1848, the faculty and trustees squelched President Mahan's strenuous efforts to allow his daughter Anna to deliver her address on Wednesday, and squelched Sarah Pellet's and Antoinette Edgarton's efforts in 1851 and 1854 respectively.[204]Finally in 1854, the Oberlin *Evangelist* published the prohibition as official policy:

> The meeting on Tuesday is a Ladies' Meeting; that on Wednesday is a gentlemen's meeting. On Tuesday a lady -- the Female Principal presides; the Ladies' Board occupy the stand; young ladies exclusively sing, the young lady pupils fill the orchestra, and none but ladies appear before the audience, they come to attend a ladies' meeting, in which the most fastidious cannot object to having ladies read their essays.
>
> On Wednesday, a gentleman presides, gentlemen fill -- not to say crowd -- the stand, the speakers are gentlemen, and those young gentlemen do not read their essays, but deliver them with whatever rhetoric they may be able to command.
>
> These circumstances make a wide difference between the two occasions, a difference which, duly seen and appreciated, repels the charge of inconsistency in permitting the personal reading in the former case and not the later.
>
> The young ladies of the College class have never been hindered from reading their essays --

---

Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 269.

[203]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 269.

[204]Mahan apparently consistently supported the women's right to deliver their addresses to the mixed audience. He allowed mixed classes to deliver addresses and debate one another. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 294-295.

> with their own sex -- in connection with the Female Department.[205]

The faculty ended the discriminatory policy in 1858 when Mary Roley read her address to the mixed Wednesday audience. Fletcher's statement sums up the Oberlin faculty' attitude toward women in the first 20 years: "The only right demanded for women by the Oberlin leaders was the right to be educated."[206]

Shiperd and Mahan both sought to offer a wide range of educational options in order to prepare persons both for life in the West and to preach and teach in the West. The trustees thus attempted a variety of alternative courses.[207] A teacher's course which omitted classical languages and the fourth year curriculum opened in 1846, accompanied by an annual six week "teachers' institute" in the fall.[208]

---

[205]*Oberlin Evangelist*, September 13, 1854; Quoted in Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 294-295.

[206]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 382. Fletcher provides a long explanation of what the goals of female at Oberlin were. They fit precisely the description referred to as "republican motherhood." Ibid. 380.

[207]The trustees, under the direction of Norton S. Townshend, attempted in 1845 and 1854 to open an agricultural school; apparently nothing more than some annual lectures by Oberlin faculty ever came out of it. A business school opened in 1859, but its connection with the college soon dissolved. Bookkeeping was a regular part of the scientific course from 1850 to 1853. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 355, 360-363.

[208]The title "Teachers' Course" gave way to "Scientific Course" by 1864, but retained its emphasis on teacher education. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 343-345.

The centerpiece of Shiperd and Mahan's educational innovation was the Bible-centered collegiate course. Supported by the students who had graduated from a similar course at Oneida Institute, Shiperd and Mahan attacked many of the classics as heathen and not fit for a Christian college. In 1834, Shiperd proposed that Hebrew replace Latin, and in his 1835 inaugural, Mahan proposed that Hebrew could replace Latin, and that the natural sciences, American Law, and History be taught.[209] In 1841, Shiperd again proposed that natural science and study of the Bible (apparently English) replace the classics.[210] Mahan and Shiperd prevailed over the objections of John F. Scovil, Seth Waldo, and John P. Cowles, who desired the more traditional curriculum, in implementing the changes.[211] The core of the new course was weekly study of the English Bible, the replacement of the Latin classics Hebrew and with Hugo Grotius' *De Veritate Religionis Christianae* and George Buchanan's *Psalms*, and replacement of the Greek classics with study in the Septuagint.[212]

---

[209]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 366.

[210]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 371.

[211]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 371.

[212]Plautus, Seneca, Livy, and Horace were removed. New courses offered included *Lowth on Hebrew Poetry*, *Cousin's Psychology*, Anatomy and Physiology, *Coweper's Poems*, *Milton's Poems*, and Science and Art of Sacred Music.

In the 1840s, three at least students graduated without Latin. The trustees stated in 1845 that a lack of Latin would not prevent "the approbation of this college... provided he sustains well an examination in other branches

Although many of the innovations were removed between 1841 and 1858,[213] a confrontation that Oberlin faced with the American Education Society in the mean time was telling of Oberlin's vision. Natalie Naylor, in her dissertation, "Raising a Learned Ministry: The American Education Society, 1815-1860," discusses the society's suspension of aid to Oberlin College. Two significant factors come from her study.

First, the AES insisted on upholding the curricular standards of the 1828 Yale Report and was very much loyal to Yale, which stridently demanded the classical languages as the core of the collegiate curriculum.[214] The New York-based Central Education Society, which oversaw the Old Northwest was predominately Presbyterian (It had been called the Presbyterian Education Society).[215]

After a series of investigations, the CES halted aid to Oberlin Collegiate Institute's theological program in 1836 without explanation and halted aid to collegiate students in

---

needful to prepare him to for his great work of preaching Christ and him crucified. Faculty Minutes, 1845; Quoted in Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 367.

[213]Removed were *Cowper's Poems* (1841); Milton, and Buchanan's *Psalms* (1843); Grotius' *De Veritate* (1846); and Hebrew (1858). Livy, Homer and Horace were added by 1859. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 372.

[214]Naylor, "Learned Ministry," 261-3.

[215]Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, the denominational differences between the CES and the Congregational-dominated, Connecticut-based society grew, until the CES stopped reporting to the AES in the early 1840s. Naylor, "Learned Ministry," 145-150.

1837 for an inadequate course. The inadequacy of the course centered on two issues: the downgrading of the classical languages and a question of how much of the curriculum was being taught.[216] Those were exactly the years that Oberlin moved from its early Presbyterian association to its Congregational stance, and that Charles Finney's *Lectures On Revivals of Religion* (1835) were creating a furor among the Presbyterians. Thus Oberlin's ecclesiastical shift, the publishing of Finney's *Lectures*, the tensions between the CES and the parent AES, and the larger conflicts between the Congregationalists and Presbyterians (of which the rest were a part) in addition to the question of the curriculum all probably were considerations in the issue of aid to Oberlin students.

The personnel and graduates of Oberlin Collegiate Institute had a significant impact on the founding and shaping of colleges in the Midwest, especially in Michigan. Faculty graduates and other personnel from Oberlin served and led colleges associated with Congregationalism and colleges associated with other denominations that shared Oberlin's mission of redeeming the people of the West by evangelization and social reform.

Seventeen known Oberlin Collegiate Institute graduates taught at Oberlin and four other colleges before 1867, and persons closely associated with the institute had formative

---

[216]Naylor, "Learned Ministry," 281-288.

roles in at least eight other successful colleges and three stillborn institutions.[217] John J. Shiperd attempted to open collegiate institutes in Indiana and at Eaton County, Michigan.[218] He finally established a colony and institute modeled on Oberlin at Olivet Michigan, in February, 1844. Shiperd and about half the colonists died in the Cholera epidemic the following year.[219] Olivet's original principal and teachers came to Olivet with Shiperd, and the institute drew its faculty and at least half of its students from Oberlin until at least 1859.[220]

Oberlin enjoyed exceptionally close relations (for eastern Congregationalists) with other denominations that shared its evangelistic vision and support for temperance, coeducation, and abolition of slavery.[221] Two such groups

---

[217]I have found seventeen in this study. The number must be higher because the histories of all of the colleges where Oberlin graduates are accounted for (except Oberlin itself) offer exceptionally little information about the background of faculty after the original groups. Ringenberg claims that Olivet College used almost exclusively Oberlin graduates until at least 1859. Ringenberg, "Protestant Colleges," 71.

[218]They were LaGrange Collegiate Institute at LaGrange, Indiana, and Grand River Seminary. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 199-200.

[219]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 201; Ringenberg, "Protestant Colleges", 70-72.

[220]Ringenberg, 55; James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and its College, 1833-1883* (Oberlin, 1883), 10-12, 14.

[221]Timothy Smith points out that the New Divinity and social reform programs of the Yankees, and even more so of Oberlin, "sounded in Western ears much like those of the Methodists,..." Smith, "Midwestern Colleges," 14-15. A

were the Freewill Baptists, who made slaveholding a bar to membership in 1839, and the Wesleyan Methodists, who split from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840 over its moderation on slavery. Daniel McBride Graham and Edmund B. Fairchild, the first two presidents of the Freewill Baptists' Michigan Union (Hillsdale) College graduated from Oberlin, as did Henry Whipple, another professor. The Wesleyan's college at Leoni made Asa Mahan its president when it relocated to Adrian, where Mahan was preaching.[222] Oberlin personnel were also instrumental in establishing Tabor College (Iowa), Iowa College, Drury College (Missouri), Ripon College (Wisconsin), and Carleton College (Minnesota).[223]

Although the absorption of the Lane rebels, Mahan, Finney, and Morgan gave Oberlin its distinctive identity, their entrance brought a greater change in ecclesiastical loyalty than in vision. A change that was part of and part result of the dissolution of the Plan-of-Union. While New

---

question remains at this point, however, to what degree Oberlin's easy cooperation with Wesleyan and Baptist groups was a function of its identity and to what extent it was a function of conditions in the West.

[222]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 255-256; Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 136, 137. Ringenberg goes on to point out that because the Baptists, Freewill Baptists and Wesleyans in Michigan, who supported Kalamazoo, Hillsdale, and Adrian colleges respectively, opposed slavery; one cannot trace the schools' abolition positions exclusively to Oberlin. Therefore this study only examines direct personnel influences.

[223]Ringenberg, "Protestant College." 54; Fairchild, *Oberlin, Colony and College*, 151-153.

School Presbyterianism marked one boundary of the institute's direction, Garrison's paired call for leaving the church and expanding women's rights provided the other. The Bible-based curriculum and the multitude of reform movements marked Oberlin's drive to redeem the West. The support for abolition at large numbers of western colleges, and the roles of Mahan, Shiperd, Hatch, Graham and others at Adrian, Hillsdale, and Olivet and other colleges demonstrate the influence that the Oberlin vision had on other colleges, particularly in Michigan. In Michigan colleges, and probably Ohio Colleges, Oberlin had a more widespread direct impact than Yale, because it was in the west and moved beyond Presbyterian ecclesiastical boundaries.

The Colleges and Society

Despite the diversity of college constituencies and circumstances, some broad conclusions can be drawn from the colleges collectively concerning how the colleges functioned in their communities, region, and the nation. These are the types of conclusions that are necessary if the colleges are to be treated seriously, rather than having their histories reduced to the history of New England missions or the classical curriculum. Although archival research is necessary to draw firm conclusions, some directions for such research concerning church-relations as shown in charter provisions, and attitudes toward abolition and public education are evident from the material used in this study.

Coeducation is a topic in many of the sources used, but the variety of arrangements was so complex and the self-serving bias in the college histories is so deep as to make it impossible to draw conclusions from the material.

Church Control and Charter Provisions

The circumstances under which most of the colleges received their charters remains unclear. Although the college histories almost without exception include the vital provisions of the early charters, very few indicate what aspects of the respective charter was desired, a result of compromise, or a result of coercion, especially the sections involving the issue of church control of the board of trustees versus a self-perpetuating board of trustees. The variety of charter provisions concerning church control in the Ohio colleges makes the situation there even more confusing. Certainly some of the variety indicated the desire of a specific group to open itself up to or to limit the influence of broad American Protestantism, but enough hints of coerced openness exist to require very careful study of each case before making such charter provisions a cultural indicator.

Whereas in Ohio each college's charter process seems to have been a case in itself,[224] the situation under which institutions received charters in Michigan is quite clear in one respect: Church-state relations became bitterly entangled in the attempts to charter colleges. Only Hillsdale College received full collegiate powers before the

---

[224]The Michigan institutions each had their own experience as well, but because they did not receive college powers until 1855, the issue revolves more around why they could not get full collegiate powers.

supporters of the nascent colleges united to push a general chartering law through the legislature in 1855. Beyond that, the situation is only clear enough to see that it is twisted and complex. William Ringenberg and the historians of Michigan colleges report that John D. Pierce, who became the first State Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1836, vigorously opposed the chartering of "denominational colleges," because he supported centralized college education in the then-organizing University of Michigan. These historians apparently draw this conclusion from Wolcott B. Williams' 1901 History of Olivet College.[225]

These works only evidence one part of an apparently broader struggle between the church-associated colleges and the legislature and the University of Michigan. They do not adequately explain why Pierce turned from supporting denominational colleges to opposing them. Besides, Thomas W. Merrill's first two attempts to secure a collegiate charter were unsuccessful years before Pierce became a person of any influence. The first petition never left committee; the second was vetoed allegedly on a technicality; and the governor only approved the third after several months of personal lobbying by Merrill and his colleagues.

When interested citizens of Marshall petitioned the state legislature for a collegiate charter in 1839, Pierce

---

[225]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 176; Goodsell and Dunbar, *Centennial History*, 14; Wolcott B. Williams, *A History of Olivet College, 1844-1900* (Detroit, 1901), 154.

turned against the project which he had hitherto supported both financially and through his own labor. He delivered a remonstrance against the college signed by himself and 204 other residents of Marshall.[226]

Eleven days later, a counter-petition signed by 110 residents led by John P. Cleaveland was addressed to the legislature. With Pierce as State Superintendent leading the opposition to the college, the college it became insolvent by 1840, despite winning its charter.[227]

There are several possible reasons for Pierce's actions, but thus far, they are not sufficiently untangled.[228] First, Pierce and John P. Cleaveland both came to Michigan in the employ of the American Home Missionary Society, Pierce as a preacher and Cleaveland and district supervisor. Second, Pierce was a Congregationalist and Democrat who opposed nationally based social reform efforts,[229] while Cleaveland was a Presbyterian and Whig who supported the New England-based reform societies. Pierce bristled at Cleaveland's insistence that because of

---

[226]William Wolcott Williams, "Two Early Efforts To Found Colleges in Michigan, at Delta and at Marshall," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 30 (18??), 538.

[227]Williams, "Two Colleges in Michigan," 540-541.

[228]Susan Sleeper Smith, who is completing a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Michigan on the village of Marshall provided me with most of the information on Pierce by both providing dissertation drafts and personal conversations, 1-15-93, 2-15-93, 3-2-93.

[229]Pierce opposed nationally based efforts, but supported local, church-sponsored social reform.

the Plan-of-Union, he should not establish Congregationalist churches or associations.[230] Third, in the years between 1835 and 1850, Calhoun County and the village of Marshall swung very closely between the Whigs and Democrats. Fourth and finally, Pierce decided sometime after reading a Victor Cousin's pamphlet on the Prussian system of education to support a centralized state university and oppose denominational colleges.[231] It is not clear whether Pierce suddenly became a convert to the centralized system or acted to spite Cleaveland or acted out of political and ecclesiastical differences with Cleaveland and his allies.

Merrill's struggle to charter a Baptist controlled institution for Michigan Baptists provides the clearest

---

[230]Here the dispute between Pierce and Cleaveland becomes part of the history of the Plan-of-Union. Local disputes in the west had become commonplace by the 1830s. One result was the 1837 schism of the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., which resulted from divisions between the Old School and New School Presbyterians over the Plan-Of-Union and other cooperation with the Congregationalists in voluntary as opposed to church-run organizations. That year marked an advanced point also in the process of the dissolution of ties between the New School Presbyterians and the Congregationalists as well. George Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 104-142; C. C. Goen *Broken Churches, Broken Nation* (Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985).

[231]Pierce advised that no college be granted a charter unless its supporters could show $100,000 in cash funds and $200,000 in pledges of support, which obviously was prohibitive to anyone in Michigan in 1837. "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan," *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan; 1837* (Detroit: John S. Bagg, State Printer, 1837): 559.

account of the efforts to charter any of the institutions in Michigan and Ohio. The cases of several other colleges are revealing though, both for what they do and do not reveal. In Michigan, Hillsdale College secured the only active full collegiate charter in Michigan (1844) prior to the 1855 general college law.[232] The charter was forfeited when the college relocated from Spring Arbor to Hillsdale.[233] Albion College's trustees and president were elected by the state annual conference, but Albion did not receive full college powers until 1861.[234]

Heidelberg and Wittenberg colleges, which were controlled by the Ohio Synod of the (German) Reformed Church of the United States and the (German) English Lutheran Synod of Ohio respectively, both had their trustees selected by the synods' classes rather than by an independent, self-perpetuating board. Wittenberg was also the only college investigated which had a creedal test for faculty. That test became a significant aspect of Wittenberg's "English" Lutheran identity.

---

[232]The general college law made incorporation a matter of course, as opposed to a legislative procedure.

[233]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 178.

[234]Gildart, *Albion College*, 161. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintained strict control of associated colleges after the 1820 General Conference directed annual conferences to establish colleges or establish control over associated colleges and reaffirmed the order in 1840. Duvall, *Methodist Episcopal Church and Education*, 63,64.

Arthur G. Beach, in his history of Marietta College, celebrates that college's independence of any association with any church, whereas Erving Beauregard, in his history of Franklin College, views a strict prohibition on creedal test or sectarian teaching at Franklin as onerous.[235] The contrast illustrates the difficulty of understanding and evaluating the charter provisions on these matters. Marietta College represented a New England town planted in eastern Ohio, so its leaders may have preferred an arrangement like that in New England, where colleges' associations were implicit by their location. By contrast, Franklin's supporters were much more similar to Heidelberg and Wittenberg in cultural background and their relation to American evangelicalism, so one suspects that the prohibition on creedal tests and teaching were not a matter of choice. Understanding the positions of each college's constituency concerning church control or separate control therefore requires investigating both their attitude toward opening up to broad American evangelicalism, and the intricacies of each charter campaign in the state legislature.

---

[235]Beach, *Marietta*, 67; Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 7.

Abolition

Virtually every college faculty and administration in Michigan and Ohio had to deal with campus activities on behalf of the abolition of slavery. Of the seventeen colleges examined in this study, in house histories indicate that at ten colleges faculty and administration actively supported abolition, while at three, they took action against students or faculty who organized in favor of abolition. Three of the histories do not discuss abolition. Although Oberlin supplied core personnel for several of the colleges that actively supported abolition, the stances of individual leaders and associated state denominational associations appear to have been decisive.

Under the strong personal leadership of Rev. John Walker, Franklin College (1825) became the first Ohio College actively to support abolition. As founder, professor, and vice-president, Walker represented the college in abolitionist causes, taught abolition in his moral philosophy class, and ensured an unequivocally abolitionist faculty. As a pastor he preached abolition in chapel services and to his congregations.[236] He also led an 1840 purge of faculty members who did not represent the college as sufficiently partisan in the conflict over

---

[236]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 16. See the more complete discussion of Franklin College above.

abolition.[237] The influence of denominational positions at Franklin College is unclear because of the web of ethnic-Presbyterian denominations associated with the college.[238]

As is clear from the above discussion of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, whether leadership is attributed to Shiperd and the graduates of George W. Gale's Oneida Institute or to Mahan and the Lane rebels, personal leadership was the unqualified force for immediate abolition there. The shifting denominational positions coupled with the Oberlin leaders' own shift from New School Presbyterianism to Congregationalism via the creation of a new Congregational association indicate that there was little ecclesiastical opinion or authority that could bear on Oberlin.

Personal leadership and the positions of associated denominational bodies decisively influenced the other Ohio colleges that actively supported abolition. Benjamin Waddle one of Muskingum College's two most influential leaders, defended abolition vigorously, but would not allow Garrisonian views at Muskingum.[239] Edward Thompson and Frederick Merrick at Ohio Wesleyan University (1844) "helped

---

[237]Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 34-35.

[238]See note 105 for a discussion of the denominations. While for most their positions on abolition are not clear, Andrew Gordon formed the Free Presbyterian Church out of a local schism specifically to have an openly abolitionist church. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 58-62.

[239]Fisk, *History of Muskingum College*, 30.

give the campus a certain abolitionist tinge."[240] The wording suggests that acceptance was not unqualified. The German Bretheren who founded Otterbein had made owning slaves a bar to membership in 1821. Otterbein accepted blacks from its opening in 1847, regularly hosted abolitionist speakers, and hired two Oberlin graduates to its early faculty.[241]

The situation at Mount Union Seminary (later College) is less clear. E. T. Hartshorn, the seminary's founder, principle, and teacher, organized a revival in response to a visit by Garrisonian separatists in 1847. But in 1850, the Garrisonian *Anti-Slavery Bugle* announced literary society events that included an essay on abolition, and in 1850 a student "noted that the college was thoroughly abolitionist in its sympathies."[242] The college leadership was predominately Methodist, the denomination least receptive to anti-slavery appeals, but it is unclear whether the different episodes represent attitudes toward different abolitionist tactics or represent a change that took place over time.

---

[240]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan*, 33.

[241]Henry Garst, *History of Otterbein University, 1847-1907*, (Dayton, Ohio: United Bretheren Publishing House, W. R. Funk, Publisher, 1907), 129-130.

[242]Newell Yost Osborne, *A Select School: The History of Mount Union College and An Account of A Unique Educational Experiment, Scio College* (Mount Union, Ohio, 1967), Osborne, *A Select School*, 21, 60, 379.

Persons with Oberlin connections comprised the initial core personnel at three of Michigan's five colleges, but each college's position on abolition corresponded to that of their respective denomination. John J. Shiperd, Reuben Hatch, and Oramel and William Hosford founded Olivet Institute on Congregationalist and Oberlinite principals, but the Michigan Congregationalists had already taken a stand in support of abolition by 1844.[243] The Wesleyan Methodists, who split from the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1840 over the slavery issue, founded Adrian College, of which Asa Mahan was the first strong president.[244] The Freewill Baptists, who selected the first two presidents of Michigan Union (Hillsdale) College from among Oberlin alumni, had a strong although not uncontested abolitionist element.[245] Thomas W. Merrill obtained a charter for the Michigan and Huron Literary Institute in 1833, and established the Michigan Baptist Convention in 1836. Under Merrill's direction, the convention passed resolutions condemning slavery in 1839, 1840, 1843, 1856, and 1859. The 1843 statement "expressed a desire to 'disclaim all fellowship with those professing Christians who are involved

---

[243]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 136.

[244]Albert W. Kauffman, "Early Years of Adrian College" *Michigan History* (January, 1929), 89.

[245]Vivian L. Moore, *The First Hundred Years of Hillsdale College*, (Ann Arbor, 1944), 7-8.

in the slave system.'"[246] The 1859 statement expressed sympathy with the Oberlin position.[247] Thus the institute's support of abolition in the early years at Kalamazoo, and James and Lucinda Stone's regular hosting of abolitionist speakers appears to have come from Merrill's leadership and some support for the position within the Michigan Baptist Convention.[248]

Three colleges: Western Reserve College, Granville (Dennison) College, and the University of Miami are known to have dismissed or pressured out abolitionist faculty. At Western Reserve College, Harvey Coe and Caleb Pitkin were powerful trustees of Old School Presbyterian and colonization loyalties who pressured out the New School, abolitionist faculty. Professor Asa Drury was dismissed from Granville College after he hosted the Oberlin faculty during a meeting of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. The trustees at the Presbyterian-dominated University of Miami dismissed President Robert Hamilton Bishop after he announced his sympathy for the student anti-slavery

---

[246]Michigan Baptist Convention, "Minutes of the 1856 Convention," 10. Quoted in Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 136.

[247]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 136-137.

[248]The Kalamazoo faculty records are almost non-existent after the first three years, but no Oberlin connections are noted. The relatively late dates (1839 and following) for the convention to oppose slavery raise some interesting questions.

society.[249] Albion College, the only Michigan institution not to back abolition, was controlled by the Michigan Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Methodist Church did not take a stance against slavery until the souther section left in 1844.[250] Except for Baptist-associated Granville, the colleges opposed to abolition of any kind lined up with their associated denominations.

The positions of influential leaders and denominational associations were highly determinative of colleges' public positions on abolition. Franklin, Kalamazoo, and Oberlin colleges clearly demonstrate the significance of John Walker, Thomas W. Merrill, and the leaders at Oberlin. Edward Thompson and Frederick Merrick at Ohio Wesleyan University and Benjamin Waddles are examples of lesser influence by individuals. Adrian, Hillsdale, and Otterbein illustrate Oberlin personnel in influential positions in denominational communities where strong support for abolition already existed.[251] Finally, suppression of abolitionist activities at Western Reserve and Albion colleges and the University of Miami also followed

---

[249]Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 185-186. Fletcher notes many similar examples; these are the ones in Ohio.

[250]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 136.

[251]Olivet may be included to the extent that the communities were Michigan denominational groups, but whereas the others existed as villages, Shiperd, Hatch, and the Hosfords built Olivet in the wilderness.

denominational lines.[252] Clearly the presence of Oberlin Collegiate Institute may have acted as a catalyst of pro-abolition sentiment for individuals, denominational bodies, and colleges, but it was not determinative in the colleges themselves.

Community Education

In "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," David B. Potts asserts that the antebellum colleges' preparatory and other nonclassical curricula formed the crux of a relationship between the colleges and the surrounding community.[253] In Michigan and Ohio colleges a large majority of the students were enrolled in preparatory and other nonclassical curricula that provided the only available secondary education and most of the education of teachers. The western church-associated colleges thus provided much more than classical or clerical education for a few persons; they provided the two key elements of an early educational structure: education of

---

[252]The northern Methodist Episcopal Church adopted a stance against slavery after the split in 1844. Both events at Mount Union took place after the split. Ringenberg points out that the Michigan Annual Conference condemned slavery, but does not directly comment on any activities at Albion. Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 138. The differences between Merrill's Michigan and Huron Literary Institute (Kalamazoo) and Granville College can be attributed to the Baptist denominational structure, which was fluid enough that one state could oppose slavery and one not.

[253]Potts, "From Localism to Denominationalism," 367.

students and education of teachers.[254] The college trustees' and faculties' motives and desire to provide these courses varied, but the courses bonded the colleges and the communities together, which was a key aspect of both the life of the communities and the survival of the colleges.[255]

Schools in Michigan and Ohio were scattered local institutions established at local initiative before the Civil War. In Ohio, only common schools existed until church-associated and other private academies were established between 1806 and 1830, and public secondary schools existed only in large urban centers as of the Civil War, despite state legislation requiring property tax levies to support schools.[256] In Michigan, public secondary schools were virtually non-existent outside of the Detroit area as of the 1850s.[257] In the absence of public

---

[254]In "Midwestern Colleges," Timothy Smith finds the situation in Illinois and Indiana nearly identical to that found here for Michigan and Ohio. Smith, "Midwestern Colleges,", 28-30.

[255]While Potts provides a useful corrective to most earlier work by demonstrating the importance of social relations, he needlessly reduces the colleges' concerns to social relations, minimizing the religious and other cultural concerns of the founders. Potts, "From Localism to Denominationalism," 367. See "Literature Review: General Works," above.

[256]Knepper claims that the first school that was considered a "high school" opened at Elyria in 1830, and that secondary academies spread in the 1830s. But secondary academies existed at least at Marietta and Hudson by 1806.Knepper, *Ohio and its People*, 185-187.

[257]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 84.

secondary education, the colleges and academies educated aspiring teachers beyond the common-school level, whether in preparatory, classical, normal, or other non-classical courses.[258] College students also worked as common school teachers. The colleges thus became intimately involved in both the local community and the entire educational endeavor. The residents of Delaware, Ohio bought a building for Ohio Wesleyan University and donated it to the Ohio Annual Conference and the Northern Ohio Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1841. Although the conferences did not open Ohio Wesleyan University until 1844, they opened a preparatory academy in 1841 as "a step taken partly to meet the demand of the Delaware community that school work of some kind be offered, and partly to provide for the safety of the property."[259] Orville Hartshorn intentionally shaped the curriculum of Mount Union Seminary, including a normal department, to meet the needs of the town.[260] The trustees of Heidelberg College opened a normal department in the second year of the college's

---

[258]The main nonclassical courses were "English" or "scientific" courses, which generally reduced the emphasis on Greek and substituted modern languages, political economy, geography, or history, and ladies courses which varied widely in curricula and quality. These courses generally culminated in a certificate; occasionally a B.S. was granted, but it was considered an inferior degree.

[259]Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan*, 13.

[260]Osborne, *A Select School*, 18, 41.

existence (1851);[261] all of the regular faculty had experience teaching in secondary academies or high schools;[262] and Jeremiah Good's curricular plan provided preparatory, classical, teachers' scientific, and ladies' courses.[263] The trustees of Western Reserve College intended to abolish its preparatory department soon after the college opened, but they made it permanent in 1839, "because of the inability to get proper preparation elsewhere."[264]

The preparatory and nonclassical courses generally served many more students than the classical course. At Kalamazoo College, the classical course served an average of 11.1 percent of the students between 1855 and 1862, while the preparatory department served on average 88.9 percent, and the scientific course served on average 16.8 percent of

---

[261]E.I.F. Williams, *Heidelberg College*, 54.

[262]Jeremiah Good rose from teacher to rector of Mercersburg Academy. Reuben Good taught in Winchester Virginia immediately after completing college. S. S. Rickly taught in the Columbus schools and was elected Superintendent of the Tiffin schools in 1851. E. V. Gerhart taught in the female seminary at Mercersburg, and was recognized by the Toledo schools and the Ohio State Teachers' Association for his contributions to public education. E.I.F. Williams, *Heidelberg College*, 48-49, 53, 52, 69, 68.

[263]Jeremiah Good's plan also included an agricultural curriculum that was never implemented. It was to both to provide some education for farmers and to bring German Reformed farmers within denominational institutions. E.I.F. Williams, *Heidelberg College*, 83-84.

[264]Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 399.

the students between 1857 and 1862.[265] At Hillsdale College, which had an exceptionally large and developed female department, the classical course served 5.9 percent of the students between 1856 and 1858, the preparatory department 74.6 percent, and the female course 14.2 percent, while the scientific course served 5.3 percent of the students between 1858 and 1865.[266] At Ohio Wesleyan University, total enrollment increased from 254 students in 1849 to 594 in 1854 because of a new scientific curriculum and a new scholarship program. In that period, classical enrollment decreased from 15.0 percent to 9.8 percent of enrollment, the preparatory course decreased from 33.0 percent to 21.0 percent, and the new scientific course rose from 48.4 percent of enrollment to 62.0 percent.[267] Even at Western Reserve College, which strenuously sought to

---

[265] Between 1855 and 1862, the only years for which complete numbers are available, the preparatory department served 2,381 students while the classical department served only 264. The scientific course served 400 people between 1857 and 1862. At Kalamazoo, women were not considered part of the college despite their close interaction under the Stones in these years. (See "Kalamazoo College," above). Also, the preparatory enrollment declined after 1857 because standards were increased. Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 97, Figure 3; Goodsell and Dunbar, *Kalamazoo College,* 198.

[266] At Hillsdale, the classical course served 356 persons from 1856 through 1865, while the preparatory course served 4,480 students and the female course served 851 students. The scientific course served 321 students from 1858 through 1865. Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 97, Figure 3.

[267] The scientific course enrollment increased from 123 to 368, and the preparatory enrollment increased from 84 to 125, while the classical course enrollment increased only from 38 to 58. Hubbart, *Ohio Wesleyan University*, 28.

limit preparatory enrollment to those intending to complete the classical course and discouraged enrollment in the scientific course, the classical enrollment was 53.9 percent of the total while the preparatory enrollment was 40.6 percent.[268] Thus any study of the colleges that attempts to address the persons that came into contact with the colleges must place significant emphasis on the effects of the nonclassical curricula.

Several of the colleges offered more or less formal teacher education programs in addition to the preparation that many teachers-to-be received in preparatory and English or scientific courses. Heidelberg College, Mt. Union Seminary, and Muskingum College developed normal programs before 1865.[269] Olivet Institute offered a seven-week teacher training course five times per year from the institute's 1844 inception until it opened a normal

---

[268]The preparatory department served 1,608 students while the classical course served 1,852 between 1827 and 1867. Only a few students were occasionally enrolled as scientific or special students. During its existence (1827-1853), the theological program enrolled on average 5.6 percent of the student body. Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 511, Appendix K.

[269]E.I.F. Williams, 54; Osborne, 53; Fisk, 59. Osborne cites the *Journal of the Pittsburgh Annual Conference*, 1860 as indicating that 306 of 337 graduates of Mt. Union's normal department had taught in district schools. Osborne, 41. Ringenberg states that all of the Michigan institutions offered teacher education programs in the fall, but the evidence is somewhat sketchy. Ringenberg, Protestant College," 88.

department in 1853.[270] College leaders characteristically supported public education.[271] The Muskingum College faculty considered training of public school teachers to be the primary purpose of their normal department.[272] Hartshorn opened the normal program at Mt. Union Seminary in direct response to a report to the Ohio State Teachers' Association that there were too few qualified teachers in the state and the resulting resolution to petition the state legislature for a State Normal School.[273] E. V. Gerhart, president of Heidelberg College, received praise from the Toledo schools and the Ohio teachers' association for his work in support of public education in the state.[274] Many

---

[270]Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 88; Wolcott .B. Williams, *Olivet College*, 29, 86.

[271]Timothy Smith says that "Christian educators in every college" in Indiana and Illinois vigorously promoted public education. Timothy Smith, *"Midwestern Colleges,"*, 28-30. At least several did in Michigan and Ohio. Much of the material is indeterminate.

[272]Fisk, 59. It appears that virtually all teacher education programs in the colleges were aimed at public education since it was the fastest growing form of primary and secondary education by the late 1850s, and because many of the teachers of the preparatory departments and secondary academies were graduates of the classical course.

[273]Osborne, *Select School*, 41.

[274]Gerhart addressed the Ohio State Teachers' Association meetings in 1852, 1853, and 1854. E.I.F. Williams, *Heidelberg College*, 54, 68. The opening of a normal program at the inception of a college whose instruction was in both English and German indicates the complexity of the dynamics of distinct ethnic confessional groups at that time.

of the collegiate teachers taught in preparatory departments or secondary academies at some time.[275]

Although all of the colleges offered preparatory courses, their motives and purposes varied across colleges, but the need to maintain the financial support of the community was always a concern.[276] The founders and leaders at Western Reserve College made the most strenuous efforts to distance themselves from preparatory education, but found it impossible. As the most consciously eastern group among Ohio college leaders, they sought to maintain the eastern separation of preparatory and collegiate education by both limiting the preparatory curriculum to preparation for the classical course and physically separating the preparatory academy from the college.[277] For lack of separate academies however, they had to cultivate their own students by providing the preparatory

---

[275]Many professors entered colleges after teaching in secondary academies; many moved with their institution from academy or seminar to college status; and some were hired into the preparatory department and then promoted to the collegiate courses.

[276]Several colleges were forced to relocate when community support diminished. The removal of Michigan Central College (Hillsdale) under cover of night, brought use of physical force, intrigue, court litigation, and loss of the only fulfilled college charter in Michigan prior to 1855.

[277]The founders had accepted preparatory students who did not intend to complete the college course. President George Edmund Pierce attempted to stop that practice in 1834. Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 398, 404.

education.[278] The restrictive admission and curricular policies made maintenance of community support difficult. Waite puts the issue in stark terms:

> The growth of the college was dependent upon the good will of the people of the Western Reserve and largely upon their contributions.... It was inexpedient to say to one owning a scholarship or to a donor of a smaller amount that his son would be admitted only if he began a course largely devoted to the classical languages, when he did not expect that son to complete a college course and when a knowledge of classical languages did not enter into the contemplated career of that son.[279]

By 1839, the trustees made the preparatory department permanent, and instituted a preparatory English course to provide basic secondary education for persons in the Western

---

[278]The founders believed that if they produced their first few classes in the preparatory program, separate academies and public schools would produce students for them, but those academies and public schools did not materialize before the Civil War. Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 399.

[279]Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 404. The pressure on Western Reserve College to offer more practical curricula points to the heart of the historiographical issues concerning the colleges. One result of historians' generalizations from Presbyterian and Congregationalist-associated colleges and their rhetoric has been neglect of the non-classical curricula, which those colleges, at least in Michigan and Ohio, exceptionally minimized.

Reserve,[280] although the faculty attempted several times to remove it.[281]

Many of the church-associated colleges started out as academies, institutes, and seminaries, and the quality of instruction in a few of them did not improve beyond that level in the antebellum period.[282] Preparatory and nonclassical education was much more integral to their function than at Western Reserve College. Hartshorn started the Mt. Union Seminary to meet the needs of the community, and he shaped the classes, including the normal department, respectively.[283] Ohio Wesleyan opened its preparatory program three years before the college in part to meet community demands for secondary education. John Walker ran

---

[280]Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 405. Out of the 1515 preparatory students enrolled between 1827 and 1882, 310 (20.5 percent) were from Hudson, 145 (9.6 percent) from other villages in Summit County, and 571 (37.7 percent) from other counties in the Western Reserve, for a total of 1,026 (67.8 percent) from the Western Reserve. Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 406.

[281]Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 405. When the campus expanded and then in 1882, when the college moved to Cleveland, the preparatory department was physically separated from the college. Waite, *Western Reserve College*, 406.

[282]With the temporary exception of Hillsdale College, none of the Michigan colleges was legally a college before the legislature passed the college bill of 1855. Ringenberg points out that the quality of education varied widely in the Michigan institutions. Using the University of Michigan as a standard, he finds that Kalamazoo College certainly offered equal work, "Adrian, Hillsdale, and Olivet probably did, and Albion probably did not." Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 90.

[283]Osborne, *Select School*, 18 41.

Alma Academy from 1819-1825 before chartering it as a college.[284] The founders of Heidelberg College explicitly sought to provide educational opportunities at all levels for the German Reformed people in Ohio, and Jeremiah Good's proposed curriculum indicates the extent to which they went to reach persons of as many occupations as possible.[285] Thomas W. Merrill originally sought an educational institute owned by Michigan Baptists for Michigan Baptists. He settled for an institute with a self-perpetuating board of trustees, no religious qualifications for admission, and no college powers.[286]

The range of motivations for offering preparatory, nonclassical, and normal courses, and non-restrictive admission resulted from motivations ranging from Hartshorn's and the Heidelberg faculty's desire to meet community needs to Walker's and Merrill's compromise to get charters to the trustees of Western Reserve College and Ohio Wesleyan University need to maintain community support. All of them, however, exemplify adjustment to historical, community, and regional circumstances. They call into question the accusation which has run from Francis Wayland in 1842 to Schmidt, Hofstadter, and Rudolph, that the colleges did not

---

[284]Walker always hoped to make the academy a college, but he only sought a charter in 1825 in response to neighboring Cadiz Academy's bid for a college charter in the same county. Beauregard, *Old Franklin*, 4.

[285]E.I.F. Williams, *Heidelberg College*, 83-84.

[286]See the above section on Kalamazoo College.

adjust to changing circumstances in the United States and the West.[287]

The place of secondary education and nonclassical courses in the colleges indicates the need to include them in historical analysis of the colleges, education, and other aspects of culture in the antebellum West.[288] Analysis of the colleges and their functions must include secondary education and the "English" and "scientific" courses as of at least equal significance with the classical curriculum. The old saw that the colleges did not adjust to the demands of their society is laid to rest by the examples of Mount Union Seminary, Ohio Wesleyan University, and Heidelberg College. The same examples demonstrate the bond that those programs created between colleges and communities through the desire for and provision of education. Western Reserve College stands out as the stark exception on both accounts.

---

[287]Focusing exclusively on the classical curriculum, Wayland says: "In no other country is the whole plan for the instruction of the young so entirely dissevered from connexion with the business of subsequent life." Francis Wayland, *Thoughts on the Present Collegiate System in the United States* (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1842; reprint, *American Education: Its Men, Institutions and Ideas*, ed. Lawrence A. Cremins, (Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1969); Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College*, 54-60; Rudolph asserts that few colleges adopted alternative courses. Rudolph, *College and University*, 115. Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom*, 226-227; Hofstadter, *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in The United States* (New York: Teachers' College Columbia University Press, 1952) 12-13, 21.

[288]The church-associated colleges appear to mark an intersection of religious concern and eduction -- two key aspects of culture -- in a single institution.

At the same time, analysis of education as a means of socialization and cultural transmission in the West must take into account the role of the colleges in educating youth, professionals, and teachers. If academies and college preparatory departments were indeed the only significant source of secondary and further education outside of urban centers in Michigan and Ohio from settlement to the Civil War, their impact must have been great indeed, especially in comparison to previous portrayals of them as educating only a few ministers and lawyers.[289]

Conclusions

Although the colleges and their leaders differed in many ways, three general conclusions can be drawn from this study. First, a wide variety of denominations were associated with colleges in Michigan and Ohio. Narrow Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Plan-of-Union institutions were a small minority. Of twenty-two colleges founded in Michigan and Ohio before 1870, only Marietta, Western Reserve, Oberlin, and Olivet were associated with Presbyterians or Congregationalists, and Oberlin and

---

[289]A major problem in tracing the nonclassical curricula and its effects is that the certificate status of most of the courses left little in the way of records compared with the commencement lists and paraphernalia associated with the A.B. Not only are certificate holders rarely listed a time of completion, they also were less likely to not their own status.

Olivet's relations with the Presbyterians and Congregationalists were not always cordial. Both the variety of non-Presbygational colleges and the numerous conflicts that were rending the Presbyterians and the Plan-of-Union by the mid 1830s refute the simple explanations of college founding as a product of Presbygational unity and social domination, Methodist and Baptist antipathy to higher education, and the uniformity of the colleges based entirely on the classical curriculum in common.

Hofstadter and Rudolph reduce the presence of religion in the colleges to the classical curriculum and the clerical faculty and then decry the deadness and irrelevance of that curriculum, while Potts rejects any religious element in the colleges' relations to their communities. However, apparently religious concerns are evident in leaders' statements and avowed goals, as well as in the structure and activities of the colleges themselves. Founders and faculty almost unanimously attested to the goal of providing both education and religion in the West. The native-born evangelical groups often included the maintenance of Christian (American Protestant) civilization, in their goals. Virtually all of the teachers and at least half of the trustees were ministers. Most of them preached regularly during their careers, and many did so while teaching. About one-third of the boards of trustees were appointed by denominational bodies and denominational conflicts affected the colleges. The colleges also required chapel and sabbath

service attendance. Finally, the Moral Philosophy and Christian Evidences classes were largely apologetic in content. Each of these aspects of the church-associated colleges should be considered in accounting for religiosity or the lack thereof in the colleges.

Although migration, appeals to eastern institutions, and the education of almost half the faculty of Michigan and Ohio Colleges in New England demonstrate that New England had some influence on the colleges, local considerations were of much greater importance, and no remote "planting" of colleges occurred in Michigan or Ohio. As Timothy Smith has emphasized, even though many of the colleges' leaders came from the East, and some considered themselves easterners throughout their lives, they were in the West founding colleges that had to attract the people of the West. In a region that had been open to white settlement for less than fifty years (much shorter in Michigan), only 42.7 percent of the faculty were born in New England, only 9.52 percent graduated from Yale -- "the mother of colleges." Individuals, local or regional bodies such as the Ohio Baptist Educational Association, and classes and conferences, rather than national denominational bodies founded the colleges. Easterners who played a role moved west in order to do so.

Preparatory education, teacher education, and english and scientific courses also tied the colleges to their communities. The preparatory departments both provided rare

secondary education for local youth and produced potential students for the colleges. English, scientific, and normal programs provided the only advanced training for aspiring teachers. Potts also shows that the colleges were tied to the communities through boarding arrangements, pulpit supply, financial pledges, and the mere prestige that the institutions brought to the towns.

Colleges in Michigan and Ohio respectively also reflected their respective state's legislative tendencies and migration and settlement patterns. The charter difficulties of Michigan colleges set them apart. Michigan colleges reflected the New England-New York axis of the state's settlement in their association with native-born denominations: Baptists, Free Will Baptists, Methodists, Wesleyan Methodists, Methodist Protestants, and Congregationalists. Some colleges in Ohio were associated with the larger of these groups, but others were associated with several ethnic German and Scotch-Irish denominations, Disciples, Christians and Episcopalians, which reflected the New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia axis of its immigration, with all of its confessional, ethnic, and other cultural variety.

Together, these findings show that the religious, social, and cultural history of the midwestern church-associated colleges as a set of institutions has barely been scratched. Although they educated a small percentage of the population, they may serve as a series of decentralized

institutions that represent the religiously and culturally diverse settlement that filled in the Old Northwest and the Great Lakes in the first half of the Nineteenth century. Their preparatory, english, and normal programs, which have received scant attention, may provide clues to how at least some people were socialized. And despite Hofstdater's and Rudolph's claims, the colleges curricular adaptations illustrate how nineteenth-century institutions attempted to change to meet the changing needs of their society.

Appendices

Appendix A Places of Birth of College Professors Through 1867 by State

Appendix A

Table A1 Adrian College [290]

State	Number	Percent of[291] Known	Percent of Total
New York	1	100.00%	25.00%
Total of Known	1	100.00%	25.00%
Unknown	3	-----	75.00%
Total	4	-----	100.00%

[290]The places of birth of college professors are given by state. The data is limited to professors rather than the entire staff, because almost no information beyond names is given for other staff. In a few cases, distinguishing was impossible. In the cases of Marietta College and Western Reserve College two sets of data are given, one including all instructorial staff. In these cases, only the professors are counted in the cumulative total.

[291]The "Percent of Known" category is the percentage of those for whom the birthplace is available. The "Percent of Total" is the percentage in the category of all the names available.

Table A2 Albion College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
New Hampshire	1	20.00%	5.56%
New York	1	20.00%	5.56%
Ohio	1	20.00%	5.56%
Vermont	1	20.00%	5.56%
Virginia	1	20.00%	5.56%
Total of Known	5	100.00%	5.00%
Not Available	13	-----	72.22%
Total	18	-----	100.00%

Table A3 Franklin College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Ohio	1	9.09%	3.45%
Pennsylvania	9	81.82%	31.03%
South Carolina	1	9.09%	3.45%
Total Known	11	100.00%	37.93%
Unknown	18	-----	62.07%
Total	29	-----	100.00

Table A4 Granville College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Massachusetts	2	33.33%	28.57%
New Hampshire	1	16.67%	14.29%
New Jersey	1	16.67%	14.29%
Vermont	2	33.33%	28.57%
Total Known	6	100.00%	85.71%
Unknown	1	-----	14.29%
Total	7	-----	100.00%

Table A5 Heidelberg College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
New York	1	10.00%	6.67%
Pennsylvania	6	60.00%	40.00%
Virginia	1	10.00%	6.67%
Germany	1	10.00%	6.67%
Switzerland	1	10.00%	6.67%
Total of Known	10	100.00%	66.67%
Unknown	5	-----	33.33%
Total	15	-----	100.00%

Table A6 Hillsdale College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Massachusetts	1	33.33	5.56
New York	1	33.33	5.56
Virginia	1	33.33	5.56
Total Known	3	100.00	16.67
Unknown	15	-----	83.33
Total	18	-----	100.00

Table A7 Hiram College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
New York	3	25.00%	21.43%
Ohio	2	16.67%	14.29%
Pennsylvania	7	58.33%	50.00%
Total Known	12	100.00%	85.71%
Unknown	2	-----	14.29%
Total	14	-----	100.00%

Table A8 Kalamazoo College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Maine	2	33.33%	25.00%
New Hampshire	2	33.33%	25.00%
Vermont	2	33.33%	25.00%
Total Known	6	100.00%	75.00%
Unknown	2	-----	25.00%
Total	8	-----	100.00%

Table A9 Marietta College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Total Known	0	0.00%	0.00%
Unknown	14	-----	100.00%
Total	14	-----	100.00%

Table A10 Mt. Union College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Known	0	-----	0.00%
Unknown	6	-----	100.00%
Total	6	-----	100.00%

Table A11 Oberlin College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
South (General)	1	100.00%	3.85%
Total Known	1	100.00%	3.85%
Unknown	25	-----	96.15%
Total	26	-----	100.00%

Table A12 Ohio Wesleyan University

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Massachusetts	1	10.00%	9.09%
New York	1	10.00%	9.09%
Ohio	7	70.00%	63.64%
England	1	10.00%	9.09%
Total Known	10	100.00%	90.91%
Unknown	1	-----	9.09%
Total	11	-----	100.00%

Table A13 Olivet College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
South (General)	1	100.00%	7.69%
Total Known	1	100.00%	7.69%
Unknown	12	-----	92.31%
Total	13	-----	100.00%

Table A14 Otterbein College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Ohio	2	50.00%	10.00%
Pennsylvania	1	25.00%	5.00%
Virginia	1	25.00%	5.00%
Total Known	4	100.00%	20.00%
Unknown	16	-----	80.00%
Total	20	-----	100.00%

Table A15 Western Reserve College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Connecticut	8	33.33%	33.33%
Massachusetts	6	25.00%	25.00%
New Hampshire	7	29.17%	29.17%
Ohio	2	8.33%	8.33%
Scotland	1	4.17%	4.17%
Total Known	24	100.00%	100.00%
Unknown	0	-----	0.00%
Total	24	-----	100.00%

Table A16 All Instructors at Western Reserve College

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Connecticut	17	23.29%	22.37%
Illinois	1	1.37%	1.32%
Massachusetts	13	17.81%	17.11%
New Hampshire	8	10.96%	10.53%
New Jersey	1	1.37%	1.32%
New York	5	6.85%	6.58%
Ohio	15	20.55%	19.74%
Pennsylvania	3	4.11%	3.95%
Vermont	6	8.22%	7.89%
Germany	1	1.37%	1.32%
Scotland	2	2.74%	2.63%
Siam	1	1.37%	1.32%
Total Known	73	100.00%	96.05%
Unknown	3	-----	3.95%
Total	76	-----	100.00%

Table A17 Cumulative Totals by State of Birth

State	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Connecticut	8	8.51%	4.32%
Massachusetts	10	10.64%	5.41%
Maine	2	2.13%	1.08%
New Hampshire	11	11.70%	5.95%
New Jersey	1	1.06%	0.54%
New York	8	8.51%	4.32%
Ohio	15	15.96%	8.11%
Pennsylvania	23	24.47%	12.43%
S. Carolina	1	1.06%	0.54%
Vermont	5	5.32%	2.70%
Virginia	4	4.26%	2.16%
South (gen.)Shiperd	1	1.06%	0.54%
England	1	1.06%	0.54%
Germany	1	1.06%	0.54%
Scotland	1	1.06%	0.54%
Siam	1	1.06%	0.54%
Switzerland	1	1.06%	0.54%
Total Known	94	100.00%	50.81%
Total	185	-----	100.00%

Appendix B Institutions of Professors' Graduation

Appendix B

Table B1 Adrian College

Institution	Number	Percentage of Known	Percentage of Total
Hamilton (New York)	1	100.00%	25.00%
Total Known	1	100.00%	25.00%
Unknown	3	-----	75.00%
Total	4	-----	100.00%

Table B2 Albion College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Ohio University	1	100.00%	5.88%
Total Known	1	100.00%	5.88%
Unknown	16	-----	94.12%
Total	17	-----	100.00%

Table B3 Franklin College

Insitution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Associate Reformed Theological Sem.	1	3.85%	3.45%
Blount	1	3.85%	3.45%
Franklin	10	38.46%	34.48%
Jefferson	11	42.31%	37.93%
Madison	1	3.85%	3.45%
Union (New York)	1	3.85%	3.45%
Washington	1	3.85%	3.45%
Total Known	26	100.00%	89.66%
Unknown	3	-----	10.34%
Total	29	-----	100.00%

Table B4 Granville College (Dennison University)

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Amherst	1	14.29%	14.29%
Brown	3	42.86%	42.86%
Middlebury	1	14.29%	14.29%
Univ. of Michigan	1	14.29%	14.29%
Self/Tutor	1	14.29%	14.29%
Total Known	7	100.00%	100.00%
Unknown	0	-----	0.00%
Total	7	-----	100.00%

Table B5 Heidelberg College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Franklin and Marshall College	8	100.00%	61.54%
Total Known	8	100.00%	61.54%
Unknown	5	-----	38.46%
Total	13	-----	100.00%

Table B6 Hillsdale College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Oberlin	2	66.67%	10.53%
Self\Tutor	1	33.33%	5.26%
Total Known	3	100.00%	15.79%
Unknown	16	-----	84.21%
Total	19	-----	100.00%

Table B7 Hiram College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Hiram	1	25.00%	6.67%
Jefferson	1	25.00%	6.67%
Oberlin	2	50.00%	13.33%
Western Reserve	1	25.00%	6.67%
Total Known	5	100.00%	33.33%
Unknown	10	-----	66.67%
Total	15	-----	100.00%

Table B8 Kalamazoo College

Appendix B

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Brown	1	12.50%	12.50%
Hamilton (NY)	2	25.00%	25.00%
Middlebury	3	37.50%	37.50%
Waterville	1	12.50%	12.50%
Self/Tutor	1	12.50%	12.50%
Total Known	8.00	100.00%	100.00%
Unknown	0	-----	0.00%
Total	8.00	-----	100.00%

Table B9 Marietta College 1825-1870[292]

Institution	Number	Percentage of Known	Percentage of Total
Amherst	1	8.3	7.1
Dartmouth	2	16.7	14.3
Harvard	0	0.0	0.0
Marietta	1	8.3	7.1
Middlebury	4	33.3	28.6
Ohio U.	0	0.0	0.0
Private	0	0.0	0.0
Williams	3	25.0	21.4
Yale	1	8.3	7.1
Total Known	12	100.0	85.7
Unknown	2	-----	14.3
Total	14	-----	100.0

[292]Table 26 includes only the formal postsecondary phase of Marietta's development from 1825. Table 27 includes the secondary development from 1800.

Table B10 Marietta College 1800-1870

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Amherst	2	8.3%	7.7
Dartmouth	6	25.0%	23.1%
Harvard	0	0.0%	0.0%
Marietta	1	4.2%	3.9%
Middlebury	4	16.7%	15.4%
Ohio U.	2	8.3%	7.7%
Private	0	0.0%	0.0%
Williams	4	16.7%	15.4%
Yale	3	12.5%	11.5%
None	2	8.3%	7.7%
Total Known	24	100.0%	92.3%
Unknown	2	-----	7.7%
Total	26	-----	100.0%

Table B11 Mount Union College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Allegheny	4	80.00%	66.67%
Mt. Union	1	20.00%	16.67%
Total Known	5	100.00%	83.33%
Unknown	1	-----	16.67%
Total	6	-----	100.00%

Table B12 Muskingum College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Franklin	2	20.00%	16.67%
Jefferson	1	10.00%	8.33%
Miami Univ.	2	20.00%	16.67%
Muskingum	2	20.00%	16.67%
Union (PA)	1	10.00%	8.33%
Western Univ.	1	10.00%	8.33%
Wheeling Acad. (VA)	1	10.00%	8.33%
Total Known	10	100.00%	83.33%
N/A	2	-----	16.67%
Total	12	-----	100.00%

Table B13 Oberlin College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Amherst	2	15.38%	11.76%
Dartmouth	1	7.69%	5.88%
Hamilton	1	7.69%	5.88%
Oberlin	7	53.85%	41.18%
Yale	2	15.38%	11.76%
Self/Tutor[293]	1	7.69%	5.88%
Total Known	13	100.00%	76.47%
Unknown	4	-----	23.53%
Total	17	-----	100.00%

Table B14 Ohio Wesleyan University

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Augusta	1	7.14%	5.88%
Ohio University	1	7.14%	5.88%
Ohio Wesleyan U.	5	35.71%	29.41%
Philadelphia Med.	1	7.14%	5.88%
Wesleyan U.	5	35.71%	29.41%
Woodward	1	7.14%	5.88%
Total Known	14	100.00%	82.35%
Unknown	3	-----	17.65%
Total	17	-----	100.00%

Table B15 Olivet College

[293]Only persons who the sources state was self-educated or educated by a tutor are cited as such here. If the source of education is unknown, it is counted as such.

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Oberlin	4	100.00%	30.77%
Total Known	4	100.00%	30.77%
Unknown[294]	9	-----	69.23%
Total	13	-----	100.00%

Table B16 Otterbein College

Otterbein College Professors	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Grand River Inst. (New York)	1	20.00%	5.00%
Indiana Asbury	1	20.00%	5.00%
Oberlin	2	40.00%	10.00%
Self/Tutor	1	20.00%	5.00%
Total Known	5	100.00%	25.00%
Unknown	15	-----	75.00%
Total	20	-----	100.00%

[294]There is no direct confirmation of the places of education of these nine faculty members. The names are from the *Annual Catalgouge of Olivet College*, (Lansing, 1844-1870). Fletcher and Ringenberg claim that Olivet drew all of its faculty from Oberlin until at least 1870. Fletcher, *Oberlin*, 255-256; Ringenberg, "Protestant College," 55.

Table B17 Professors at Western Reserve College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Coll. of New Jersey	1	4.17%	4.17%
Dartmouth	6	25.00%	25.00%
Middlebury	1	4.17%	4.17%
Union (New York)	1	4.17%	4.17%
Western Reserve	2	8.33%	8.33%
Williams	2	8.33%	8.33%
Yale	11	45.83%	45.83%
Total Known	24	100.00%	100.00%
Unknown	0	-----	0.00%
Total	24	-----	100.00%

Table B18 All Instructors at Western Reserve College

Institution	Number	Percent Known	Percent of Total
Princeton	1	1.37%	1.37%
Dartmouth	8	10.96%	10.96%
Hamilton	1	1.37%	1.37%
Harvard	1	1.37%	1.37%
Jefferson	1	1.37%	1.37%
Middlebury	1	1.37%	1.37%
Oberlin	1	1.37%	1.37%
Union (NY)	1	1.37%	1.37%
Western Reserve	32	43.84%	43.84%
Williams	4	5.48%	5.48%
Yale	20	27.40%	27.40%
U. of Glasgow	1	1.37%	1.37%
U. of Berlin	1	1.37%	1.37%
Total Known	73	100.00%	100.00%
Unknown/None	0	-----	0.00%
Total	73	-----	100.00%

Table B19 Wittenberg College

Institution	Number	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Gettysburg	7	87.50%	87.50%
Wittenberg	1	12.50%	12.50%
Total	8	100.00	100.00
Unknown	0	-----	0.00
Total	8	-----	100.00%

Table B20 Cumulative Totals of Faculty Graduations

Institution	Numberr	Percent of Known	Percent of Total
Allegheny	4	2.72	1.79
Amherst	4	2.72%	1.79%
Associate Ref. Sem. (AB)	1	0.68%	0.45%
Augusta	1	0.68%	0.45%
Blount	1	0.68%	0.45%
Brown	4	2.72%	1.79%
College of New Jersey	1	0.68%	0.45%
Dartmouth	9	6.12%	4.02%
Franklin	12	8.16%	5.36%
Gettysburg	7	4.76%	3.13%
Grand River Inst.	1	0.68%	0.45%
Hamilton	4	2.72%	1.79%
Hiram	1	0.68%	0.45%
Indiana Asbury	1	0.68%	0.45%
Jefferson	14	9.52%	6.25%
Madison (Ohio)	1	0.68%	0.45%
Marietta	1	0.68%	0.45%
Marshall	8	5.44%	3.57%
Miami U. (Ohio)	2	1.36%	0.89%
Middlebury	9	6.12%	4.02%
Mt. Union	1	0.68%	0.45%
Muskingum	2	1.36%	0.89%
Oberlin	17	11.56%	7.59%
Ohio U.	2	1.36%	0.89%

Table 20 (Cont'd)

Ohio Wesleyan	5	3.40%	2.23%
Philadelphia Coll. Med.	1	0.68%	0.45%
Union (NYC)	2	1.36%	0.89%
Union (PA)	1	0.68%	0.45%
U. of Michigan	1	0.68%	0.45%
Washington	1	0.68%	0.45%
Waterville	1	0.68%	0.45%
Wesleyan	5	3.40%	2.23%
Western Reserve	3	2.04%	1.34%
Western University	1	0.68%	0.45%
Wheeling Academy	1	0.68	0.45
Williams	2	1.36%	0.89%
Wittenberg	1	0.68%	0.45%
Woodward	1	0.68%	0.45%
Yale	14	9.52%	6.25%
Total Known	148	100.68%	66.07%
Unknown	76	-----	33.93%
Total	224	-----	100.00%

Bibliography

Bibliography

Ahlstrom, Sydney. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

Beach, Arthur G. *A Pioneer College: The Story of Marietta College*. Privately printed, 1935.

Erving E. Beauregard, "A Clergyman Pioneer in Ohio." *Fides et Historia* 24 (Winter/Spring 1992): 97-112.

Beauregard, Erving E. *Old Franklin, The Eternal Touch: A History of Franklin College, New Athens, Harrison County, Ohio*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1983.

Butler, Jon. *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Cross, Whitney R. *The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1957.

Dunbar, Willis F. *Kalamazoo, and How it Grew... and Grew....* Kalamazoo, Mich.: Western Michigan University, 1969.

Duvall, Sylvanus M. "The Methodist Episcopal Church and Education up to 1869," (Ed.D. diss., Teachers' College, Columbia University, 1928; reprint, in Teachers' College, Columbia University Contributions to Education, No. 284. New York: AMS Press, 1972).

Fairchild, James H. *Oberlin: The Colony and its College, 1833-1883*. Oberlin, 1883.

Findlay, James. "Agency, Denominations and the Western Colleges, 1830-1860: Some Connections Between Evangelicalism and American Higher Education." *Church History* 50 no. 1 (March, 1981): 64-80.

Findlay, James. "The SPCTEW and Western Colleges: Religion and Higher Education in Mid-Nineteenth Century

America." *History of Education Quarterly* 10 no. 5 (Spring, 1977): 31-64.

"First Annual Report of the Oberlin College Collegiate Institute," 1834.

Fisk, William L. *A History Of Muskingum College.* New Concord, Ohio: Muskingum College, 1978.

Fletcher, Robert Samuel. *A History of Oberlin College from its Founding Through the Civil War* 2 vols. Oberlin, Ohio: Oberlin College, 1943.

Fuller, George N. *Economic and Social Beginnings of Michigan: A Study of the Settlement of the Lower Peninsula During the Territorial Period, 1805-1837.* Lansing, Michigan: Wynkoop Hallenbeck Crawford Col, State Printers, 1916.

Garst, Henry. *Otterbein University, 1847-1907.* Dayton, Ohio: United Bretheren Publishing House, W. R. Funk, 1907.

Geiger, C. Harve. *The Program of Higher Education of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America.* Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Laurance Press, 1940.

Goen, C. C. *Broken Churches, Broken Nation.* Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1985.

Good, James I. *The Historical Handbook of the Reformed Church.* Philadelphia, Penn.: Heidelberg Press, 1901.

Goodykoontz, Colin Brummitt. *Home Missions on the American Frontier: With Particular Reference to the Home Missionary Society.* Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, 1939.

Hofstadter, Richard. *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

Hofstadter, Richard, Hardy, DeWitt C. *The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States.* New York: Columbia University Press, for the Commission on financing Higher Education, 1952.

Hubbart, Clyde Henry. *Ohio Wesleyan's First Hundred Years.* Delaware, Ohio: Ohio Wesleyan University, 1943.

Kauffman, Albert W. "The Early Years of Adrian College." *Michigan History.* (January, 1929): 76-90.

Lentz, Harold H. *A History of Wittenberg College, 1845-1945*. Wittenberg, Ohio: Wittenberg College Press, 1946.

Madden, Edward H. and Hamilton, James E. *Freedom and Grace: The Life of Asa Mahan*. Studies in Evangelicalism Series. Meutchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1982.

Marsden, George M. *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1970.

May, Henry F. "The Religion of the Republic" in *Ideas, Faiths, and Feelings: Essays on American Intellectual and Religious History, 1952-1982*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983., See

Moore, Vivian. L. *The First Hundred Years of Hillsdale College*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: 1944.

Naylor, Natalie. "Raising an Learned Ministry: The American Education Society, 1815-1860." Ed.D diss., Teachers' College of Columbia University, 1971.

Osborne, Newell Yost. *The History of Mount Union College and an Account of A Unique Educational Experiment: Scio College*. Mount Union College, 1967.

Potts, David B. "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism." *History of Education Quarterly* 11, 4 (Winter, 1971): 363-380.

Potts, David B. "Baptist Colleges in the Development of American Society, 1812-1861." Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1967.

"Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Michigan." *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, 1837*. Detroit: John S. Bagg, State Printer, (1837): 521-569.

Ringenberg, William C. *The Christian College*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdman's, 1984.

Ringenberg, William C. "The Protestant College on the Michigan Frontier," Ph.d. diss., Michigan State University, 1970.

Rudolph, Frederick. *The American College and University: A History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962.

Schwalm, Vernon Franklin. "The Historical Development of the Denominational Colleges in the Old Northwest to 1870." Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1926.

Schmidt, George P. *The Liberal Arts College: A Chapter in American Cultural History.* New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1957.

Schmidt, George P. *The Old-Time College President.* New York, University of Columbia Press, 1930.

Shepardson, Francis W. *Denison University, 1831-1931: A Centennial History.* Granville, Ohio: Denison University, 1931

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. Personal Conversations, 12-15-92; 1-15-93; 2-15-93, 3-2-93.

Sleeper-Smith, Susan. Unfinished Ph.D. dissertation on Marshall, Michigan, 1993.

Smith, James Ward and Jamison, Leland. *Religion in American Life* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. vol. 4, nos. 1 and 2. *A Critical Bibliography of Religion in America*. by Nelson R. Burr.

Smith, Timothy. "Uncommon Schools: Christian Colleges and Social Idealism in Midwestern America, 1820-1950," in *Indiana Historical Society Lectures, 1976-1977: The History of Education in the Middle West*. by Timothy L. Smith and Donald E. Pitzer, Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1978.

Solberg, Winton S. *Lutheran Higher Education in North America.* Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1984.

Tewksbury, Donald G. *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement.* Hamdon, Connecticut: Archon Books, 1965 [1932c].

Tindall, George Brown. *American: A Narrative History,* 1st ed. New York: Norton, 1984.

Waite, Frederick, Clayton. *Western Reserve University: The Hudson Era, A History of Western Reserve College and Academy at Hudson, Ohio, from 1826 to 1882.* Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1943.

Wayland, Francis. *Thoughts onf the Present Collegiate System in the United States.* Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1842; reprint, *American Education: Its Men, Institutions, and Ideas* series, ed. Lawrence A. Cremins. New York: Teachers' College, Columbia University Press, 1969.

Wilhelm, Hubert G. H. "The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio: 1850." Unpublished Ph.D diss. Ohio State University, 1982.

Williams, E.I.F. *Heidelberg Democratic Christian College, 1850-1950.* Menasha, Wisc: George Banta Publishing Company, 1952.

Williams, William Wolcott, "Two Early Efforts to Found Colleges in Michigan, at Delta and at Marshall," *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* 30, 524-549.

Williams, Wolcott B., *A History of Olivet College, 1844-1900.* Olivet, Mich.: Olivet, 1901.