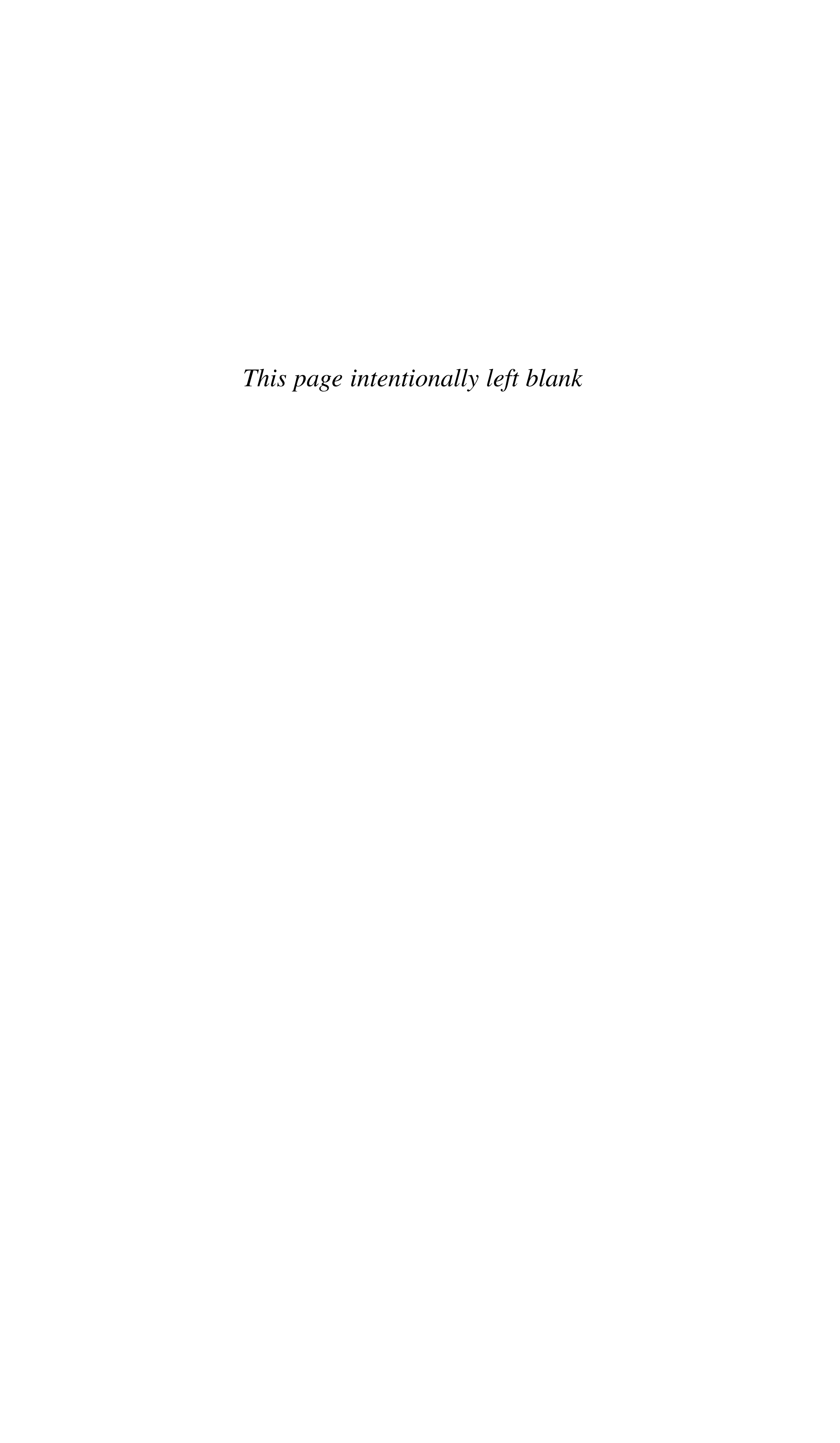
Ohio's Independent
Colleges and Universities

Cradles of Conscience



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# Cradles of Conscience

## *Ohio's Independent Colleges and Universities*

EDITED BY

John William Oliver Jr.,

James A. Hodges,

and

James H. O'Donnell

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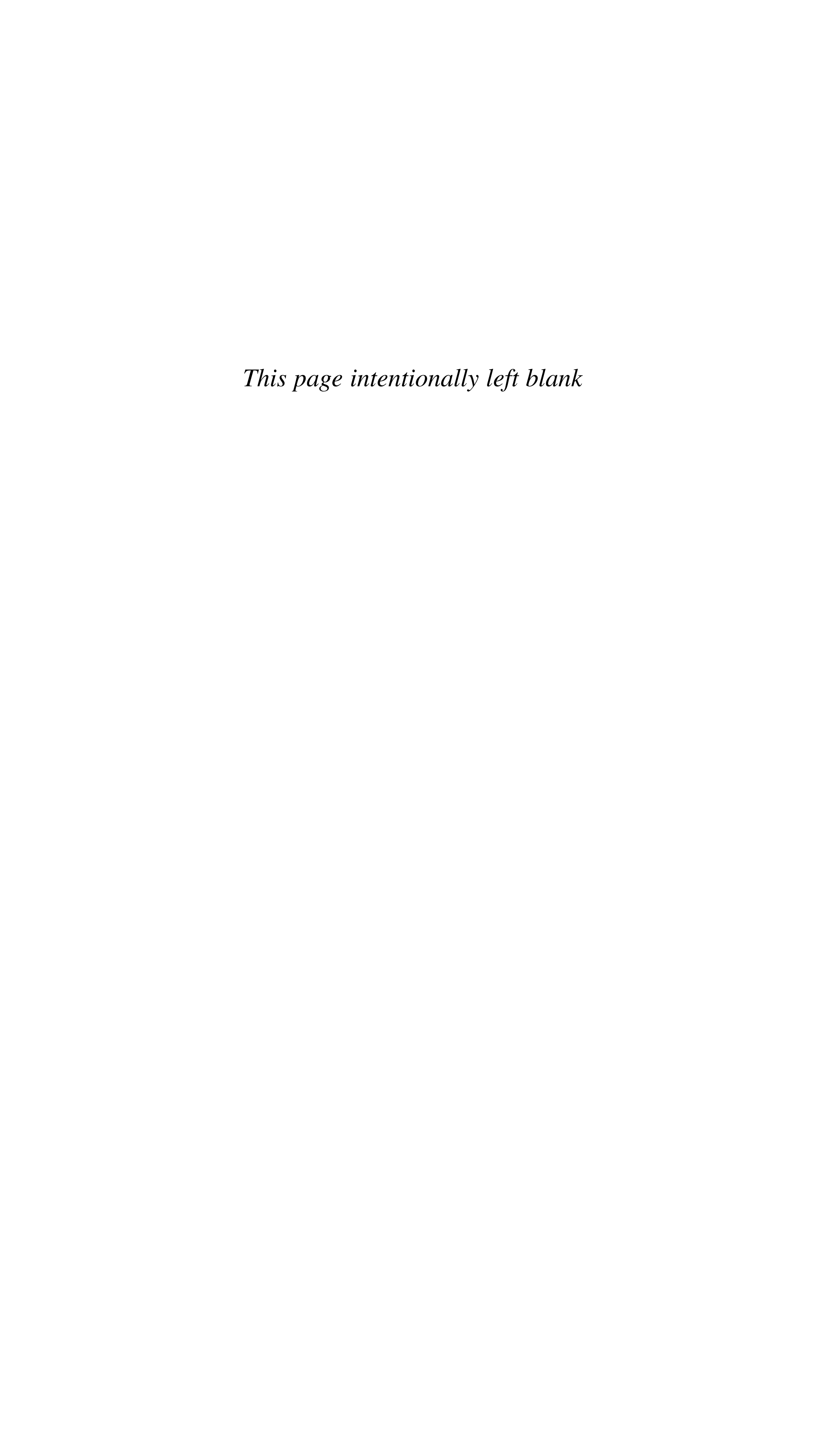
To Geoffrey Blodgett (1931–2001),
and to all the gifted teachers and scholars in Ohio's
independent colleges and universities.



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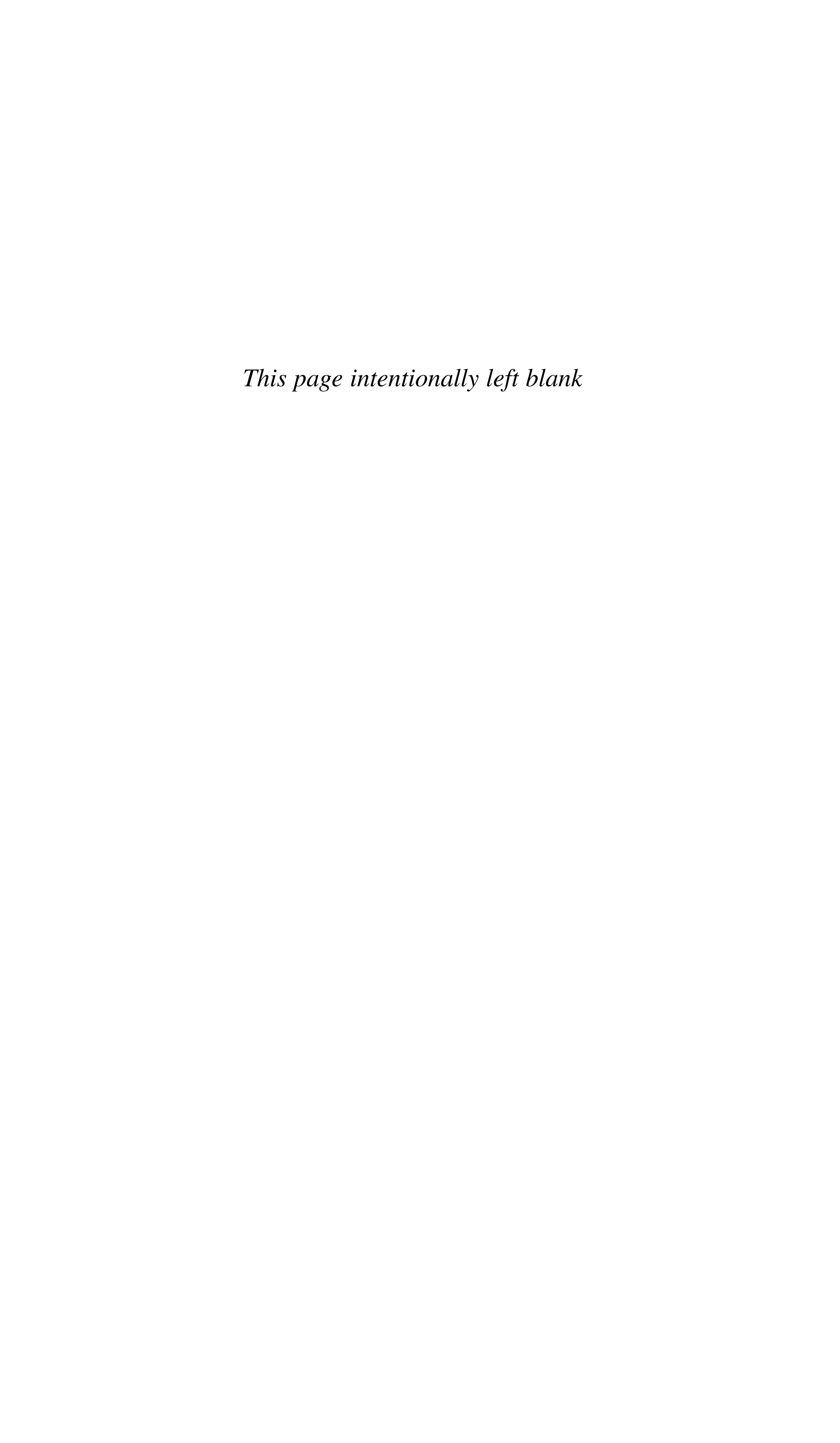
# Preface and Acknowledgments

The idea of collecting the histories of Ohio's independent colleges arose from an interest in the story of Malone College, where I taught from 1966 to 1998. A school in transition from a Bible to a liberal arts college, Malone was fertile ground for seeds of change. But was this story unique or was it similar to the histories of Ohio's other colleges, most of which were founded in an earlier era? Is there a pattern colleges commonly follow? How, if at all, is the original identity of the college likely to affect what it becomes over time?

This book only became possible after two past presidents of the Ohio Academy of History—Jim Hodges of the College of Wooster and Jim O'Donnell of Marietta College—committed themselves to this project. In addition, the project required help from dozens of historians who set about to explain the mission of the founders of each school and how and why each has changed over time. Finally, we are indebted to John Hubbell and Joanna Hildebrand Craig of The Kent State University Press, who agreed to serve as our publishers, and to the Ohio Foundation of Independent Colleges for their generous support.

Jim Hodges thanks Denise Monbarren and Elaine Snyder of the Special Collections room of Andrews Library and faculty secretaries Dale Catteau and Charlotte Wahl, as well as Damon Hickey, director of Libraries at The College of Wooster, who helped in the early days to put this book together. James O'Donnell thanks Mabry O'Donnell and the librarians at Marietta College.

John William Oliver Jr.



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# *Introduction*

## Thinking about Ohio's Independent Colleges and Universities

James A. Hodges

In 1998 John Oliver, a historian at Malone College, thought it would be interesting to gather together some historical essays on the founding and development of Ohio's private, or independent, colleges. John argued that Ohio, as the most eastern state of the Northwest Territory, exploded in growth throughout the nineteenth century, and from the beginning the people of Ohio sought colleges and universities. As the essay on defunct colleges chronicles, many of the early institutions failed to thrive. Nevertheless, Kenyon College (1824), Denison University (1831), Ohio Wesleyan University (1832), Marietta College (1835), and Muskingum College (1836) persisted and were, by the 1880s, joined by many others that grace the state.

Ohio today has more independent colleges than other state except for Pennsylvania. These schools educate tens of thousands of Ohioans and students from every state in the nation and from all over the globe. How were they founded and by whom? What happened to their founding missions and how did they meet the twists and turns of challenges of financial crises, different arguments for educational mission, changing student interests, the increasing secularity of American society, the crises of the American war experiences, the cultural conflicts of the 1960s, and the cyclical nature of the American economy? How do they now see themselves and their meaning for their students and constituencies in the twenty-first century?

John enlisted James O'Donnell and me, both of us former presidents of the Ohio Academy of History, to join him in assembling a group of contributors who would write short interpretative essays about individual colleges or universities. The essays, presented here in alphabetical order by college, came about as the three of us found willing contributors. The contributors are in preponderance historians who teach or taught at the colleges they write about. But these authors are also archivists, a librarian, a public relations professional, and other college- or university-affiliated people

who agreed to join this effort. The nature of the essays varies from the comprehensive chronologically arranged essays to those that develop singular thematic treatments. Each, however, provides an interesting look at the college or university. We trust that they are accurate and useful essays as well as mostly affectionate in tone. The authors were given no rigid formula of fact and topics selection to follow, only a hopeful request that they give clear insight as to what human forces brought the colleges and universities into being, what the major events or circumstances were that informed the history of their institution, and what distinguishes the institution at the turn into this century. We believe this to be a useful collection of informative and knowledgeable stories about these lively Ohio places.

The clearest theme that dominates the essays and drives the title of the book has to do with founding ideals. Except for two (Ohio Northern and Franklin Universities), all the institutions were founded by people of distinctive Christian faith with the clear conviction that a college or university was needed to prepare men and/or women for the ministry or for a life of Christian service. From that point the stories develop quite differently from campus to campus. At each school there was through the decades an evolution of the founding mission. At some the strong Christian identity slowly melded into a late-twentieth-century view of the college or university as a place of academic excellence for education in a diverse and complex secular world. At others various leaders and crises confronted the college with modernity, but the search for an overt primary religious mission remains, although sometimes muted and explained by the contingencies of attracting students and supporters to an attractive educational program for a far more secular world. Some schools retain a firm commitment to religious education with such things as mandatory Bible courses, mandatory attendance at devotional meetings, religious enrichment programs to stimulate spiritual growth, prohibition against the use of alcohol, dress codes, and moral codes of personal behavior. A majority celebrate their church ties as a historical tradition with only a few or no symbolic practices on campus. All these institutions share the idea that education consists of more than the accumulation of knowledge; they argue passionately for educating the whole person and providing access to a moral and aesthetic world beyond the merely selfish individual.

What is common among these schools is that a mission of conscience peculiar to their identity and their circumstances was present at the beginning and still remains. The essays' explanations of the colleges' reasons for being, despite the wide diversity—Protestant to Catholic, mainstream religious ideals to more conservative ideals, a continuing strong church affiliation to a slight one or none at all—show one sign of commonality: the trustees, the administrators and faculty, and the immediate constituents—and they alone—decide what they are and what they might be. Even the most secular schools dedicated to academic achievement and distinction

as a dominant goal labored mightily to remain connected in some way to the past religious and moral conscience that brought them into being.

The essays commandingly demonstrate that these schools depended heavily on presidential leadership to establish themselves and then to weather all sorts of crises. For example, Perry Lentz sees two different Kenyon Colleges: the Old Kenyon under the control of the bishops of the Ohio Protestant Episcopal Church and the Kenyon College that, under the dynamic and forceful leadership of William Foster Peirce (1896–1937), would become a nationally recognized liberal arts college. In some ways Peirce's leadership traits can be seen in the history of many of the schools profiled in this collection. Peirce, in his forty-one years at Kenyon, did not depend on some vague vision; he thought that "Kenyon must believe in itself if it is to induce others to believe in it." Loyalty to Kenyon College dominated his presidency; he was a partisan in the struggle for Kenyon's present and future.

The essays bring attention to such leadership, principled and visionary but also pragmatic for the place and time. A transforming leadership can be seen at Capital University in the thirty-eight-year presidency of Otto Mees (1912–46), who skillfully negotiated the school's growth and changes through the modernity shoals of the first half of the twentieth century. For exemplary purposes of this phenomenon, consider in the essays the triumphant careers of Israel Ward Andrews at Marietta College (1855–85), Charles E. Miller at Heidelberg College (1902–37), A. E. Smith at Ohio Northern University (1905–30), William Henry McMaster at Mount Union College (1908–37), Alfred B. Bonds Jr. at Baldwin-Wallace College (1955–81), and Glenn L. Clayton at Ashland University (1946–77).

Sometimes the impact of important presidential leadership could be measured in shorter years, as the tenure of Kevin McCann of Defiance College (1951–64), who led a college of only 200 students to financial stability, steady and increased enrollment, and reaccreditation. A common pattern of leadership was that just when things were adrift, an energetic and thoughtful leader set the institution on the right path. At Wooster Louis Edward Holden (1894–1915) raised the funds to build the core of the modern campus after the school's major academic building burned in 1901; Howard Foster Lowry (1944–77) established a thoughtful and compelling curriculum that still serves the school well; and Henry Jefferson Copeland (1977–95) artfully guided the school through the financial and cultural challenges peculiar to the 1980s and early 1990s. The essays concerning Lourdes, Notre Dame of Ohio, Ohio Dominican, and Ursuline tell us about the consistent leadership that facilitated the adaptations their colleges made to the world around them. But nothing sums up the importance of presidential leadership better than one of the earliest examples of it in Ohio—the literal college-saving exertions of the famous Horace Mann at Antioch College, its first president, who used his own resources to keep the college alive (and who worked himself to death in 1859).

Those interested in program development will find these essays useful. Most of the early colleges founded in the early or middle of the nineteenth century adopted the prevailing classical curriculum of the eastern colleges, with Yale being a popular model. The title of "college" or "university" often meant little in practical ways, as these schools were small and the various departments or branches of knowledge were staffed with one to three professors. Some schools, such as Ohio Wesleyan and Denison, kept the "university" designation, though over the years they became four-year liberal arts colleges. Some four-year colleges in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries established small programs that granted master's degrees and doctorates, but the practice died out with the coming of professional graduate schools. Many survived in the nineteenth century and up to the first decade of the twentieth century by having affiliated preparatory schools (high schools). Case Western, which began as two separate four-year colleges that merged in 1967, became a national research university in which its graduate schools actually dominate the university.

What these essays teach is that these schools have often pragmatically made their way through the thickets of knowledge gauging the academic market and deciding what they could do to attract supporters and students while at the same time remaining true to, or at least in touch with, their sense of why they exist. Today they all offer four-year baccalaureate degrees of several kinds with majors and minors in a bristling number of academic divisions full of proficient scholar-teachers.

The importance of the faculty and the roles they played in founding the schools and their contributions to keeping these schools alive and enriching their presence emerge in some essays. In these brief histories one can see the faculty change from devout ministerial-trained B.A.s and M.A.s from schools like those they taught in to the professional, discipline-trained Ph.D.s out of the graduate programs of large public and private universities. The essays also discuss how, in the second half of the twentieth century, the schools and their faculties responded in positive and swift manner to the new fields of knowledge and to the new interdisciplinary nature of the social and natural world. Otterbein College's current program, as outlined by Elizabeth McLean, is the best example of such changes prevalent throughout these institutions.

The schools changed their academic programs despite the continual financial burdens they often faced. Every school needed financial support beyond just tuition fees. The schools at first depended on the churches for funds and on the few people who had brought them to life. Then, as they accumulated alumni, they broadened their appeals to wherever they could find support. As early as 1859 the Reverend Thomas Hill, a Unitarian minister and the second president of Antioch College, observed, as he attempted to cast Antioch's appeals to a broader audience, that the founding group, the Christian Movement, was "slow to pay and quick to demand

privilege." Official church support over the years lost importance, and each school developed its own body of supporters and set out on an unceasing search for financial support. What is fascinating is how, just at critical moments, presidential leadership, a generous donor, and determined faculty support and sacrifice emerged to give these places a future. Make no mistake about it, these schools exist because committed people saw them as needed places they loved.

Openness characterized these institutions from the first. While most from the very beginning admitted women, following the early practice of Oberlin, Mount Union, and Antioch, some schools, such as Ohio Wesleyan and Denison, admitted women much later. Interestingly, Kenyon College waited until 1972 to become coeducational, a decision that Perry Lentz called the "most significant" in the college's history, and one of the "happiest." And even though the Catholic women's colleges were founded and developed by women for women, they too have in recent years opened their programs to men. Early on Oberlin had a significant number of African American students. Elsewhere, apparently, no college or university prohibited their enrollment, but black students were small in numbers and isolated in white seas. Nevertheless, the colleges responded quickly to the changing cycles of race relations in the post–World War II years. Amid the civil rights revolution of the 1960s and beyond, the schools recruited black students vigorously, and many established black study courses and programs.

Despite the strong denominational feelings that produced these schools, not a single one developed a specific denominational test for admittance. Most underscored their acceptance of students of different faiths, even if at the beginning most of the faculty remained in the faith and the governing boards came exclusively from the ranks of the faithful, a practice that has all but disappeared. Usually, at first, all students had to attend daily or weekly chapel and attend on Sunday a church of their choice. Most at the beginning required biblical study courses, and many still do. The trend was always toward tolerance and even religious ecumenicalism. At the turn of the twentieth century Protestant schools had students from all faiths, and daily chapel or any kind of required religious devotion practices had disappeared. At the Catholic schools students of all faiths were welcomed, and the Catholic identity never got in the way of traditional educational goals.

The diversity of admission to these schools so often thought of as "private" and the strong attention to classroom instruction and the faculty and student bonds produced an inordinate number of leaders. Ohio Wesleyan University's long history produced both Union Civil War generals as well as Confederate, as did Marietta College. Richard Smith's essay recounts some truly impressive achievements of Ohio Wesleyan graduates. Indeed, most of the essays tell us that accomplished Americans of distinct fame in politics, education, business, academia, and many other endeavors came from the ivy-covered halls of these colleges. Despite the

dominance in numbers of students enrolled in public universities, the authors of these essays clearly would argue that the independent institutions more than justify their history and continuance in today's complex society.

These colleges' and universities' histories never happened outside the pulls and tugs of American life at large. The fortunes of these institutions were often at the mercy of events beyond their control. The pre–Civil War colleges saw the war threaten their enrollments and their fragile support. World War I, with its brief history for this country, barely impacted them; but World War II severely challenged them as enrollments fell drastically. Several of the essays note that the avoidance of great pain, if not survival, depended on the officer training programs that the U.S. military service placed on the campuses (although one wonders just how swiftly faculty members adapted to teaching navigation and how many planes and ships lost their way). Many authors note the importance of the GI Bill in giving a needed jolt to admissions and even in changing the nature of student life. As the Ashland University essay notes, "They had seen the world and they were more worldly." The Vietnam War did not create a fiscal crisis, but it did challenge on many of the campuses the purpose of education, control of student life, and the meaning of authority. One great result of this was the end, in varying degrees, of in loco parentis for these residential colleges. What jumps out of these essays often is the active and involved nature of student life in the second half of the twentieth century. The Ivory Tower was never a reality, and clearly students at these independent colleges have always been encouraged to participate in the world around them.

History shows that these schools were not immune to the shifts in the economy around them. The "panics" of the 1870s and the 1890s set back many a college. The colleges prospered in the golden years of 1900 to 1918 and boomed in the 1920s. But the Great Depression of the 1930s was a dark period, with salaries cut in half, few new buildings constructed, and survival often an issue. The early 1950s also saw a brief challenge to enrollment as GIs left the campuses and the postwar boom was a few years short of filling the classrooms. In some ways, too, the postwar American economic miracle also challenged the schools because it created a huge demand for higher education. So to compete with public schools, these private colleges and universities had to vary their curriculum, modernize their mission, and create new programs not envisioned by their predecessors.

There are some light moments in these histories of these schools. Most touch on the pleasantries of student life amid ideas, parties, and sports. You can discover the Purple Eagles of Ashland University, the pride of Mount Union's recent athletic success, and the improbable story of Franciscan University in Steubenville. You can read about how Antioch College was twice up for sale and discover why Denison University in the 1850s sued William T. Denison, for whom the school was named, for $10,000. Would you believe that in 1980 half of Urbana College's students were

incarcerated? Find out which university, well into the twentieth century, had no paved road to its campus and which college on an April day in 1953 in less than two hours changed its affiliation from Presbyterian to Baptist. Discover why Mount Vernon Nazarene College has a day set aside in the spring for students, staff, faculty, and administrators to join together to plant flowers and trees.

The editors hope that readers will come to their own insights about particular places that interest them. These essays tell vivid stories of hopes and dreams, defeats and victories, and success over sometimes long odds. These schools followed the dictates of conscience and developed their own sense of how to educate. Over the decades societal changes economically and ideologically buffeted these colleges and universities, forcing them to change and adapt. But as the essays argue, they still see themselves as independent places with their own distinctive ideals that they hope to convey to their students. They see themselves as modern cradles of conscience just as strongly as did their nineteenth-century founders. At the beginning of the new millennium, they have achieved an impressive stability as a group and enormous status as state and national institutions, and they have every reason to expect that they will flourish in the future.

# *Antioch College*

## Establishing the Faith

Scott Sanders

As Ohio commemorates its bicentennial in 2003, Antioch College celebrates its own sesquicentennial. The approach of such a milestone becomes all the more monumental against the backdrop of Antioch's distinguished, colorful, if not occasionally unfortunate, past. Scattered among its many successes—a distinctive liberal arts curriculum combining work and study, a revolutionary program of education abroad, and a unique participatory governance system, just to name a few—are the pitfalls of its history that can provoke wonder at how it has survived at all. Over its 150 years Antioch has endured bankruptcy, an auction, three suspensions, and a near-sale to the YMCA, and that's just half the story. Its propensity for controversy—a concomitant trait of intellectual freedom—is legendary, and while generally known for amiable disagreement in its last seventy-five years, its first were marked by sectarian strife that repeatedly threatened its existence. Despite such impediments, the college never lacked enthusiasm for its work, and at no time were its high aspirations, its quarrelsome ways, or its financial exigency more evident than in its earliest years.

Antioch was born out of a heated dispute between the founders of Meadville Theological School (now the Meadville/Lombard School of the University of Chicago) in Pennsylvania. Established in 1844 by two ostensibly like-minded Protestant sects, the Unitarian Association and the Christian Connexion (hereafter "the Christians"), Meadville was intended, as one Christian leader declared, to educate "young men who intended to preach the gospel—not of Calvin, nor of Wesley, but of Jesus." At issue was a statement by Henry W. Bellows, a prominent Unitarian minister of New York, that "the Christian denomination with its thousand ministers [Christian clergy actually numbered about half that figure], almost identical in opinion with us, if we will take charge of their theological education, will become

Earliest known photograph of the Antioch College Campus, ca. 1860

one with ourselves." The response to such condescension was perhaps best put in the Reverend John Ross's letter to the editor of the *Christian Palladium* in July 1845: "We have not yet approximated sufficiently near to denominational Unitarianism to grow giddy in view of the awful gulf below or the vast elevation above us." Fearing they might be "swallowed up" by their Unitarian friends, in 1848 the Christians withdrew from Meadville and struck out to establish a college of their own.

The dispute over Meadville merely scratched the surface of the differences between the Christians and Unitarians. The Christians professed a simple ecumenical faith, declaring "the Bible, our only creed; Christian character, our only test of fellowship and communion; private judgment, the right and duty of all men; our aim, the union of all Christians and the conversion of sinners." An amalgam of former Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, their nondenominational position afforded wide latitude for their religious beliefs and left perhaps too much room for disagreement. Many distrusted any form of ministerial education at all, believing it inherently denominational and therefore "un-Christian."

The Unitarians, while similar in outlook to the Christians—both rejected creeds, valued freedom of worship, and believed in the essential goodness of humanity—more strenuously denied the divinity of Christ and sought enlightenment in sources other than Scripture. Also, they valued greatly their history of nonconformity and intellectualism in religious thought. By seeking to preserve this unique identity, Unitarians of the nineteenth century appeared sectarian in comparison to the Christians.

Beyond their theological disagreements, the two sects represented two distinct constituencies. The Unitarians represented a well-educated, individualistic, urban congregation, the Christians were mostly rural, salt-of-the-earth folks more interested in tent revivals, prayer meetings, and mass conversion than the scholarly, introspective form of worship the Unitarians represented. Most importantly for the development of Antioch history, the Unitarians had money while the Christians had none.

Finances aside, the Christians went at the founding of their new college with missionary fervor. At their annual General Convention in October 1850 at Marion, New York, they resolved to raise a sum of $100,000 "as the standard by which to measure [their] zeal and effort." An endowment of $50,000 was stipulated, which would be raised with the sale of 500 scholarships, much like a stock certificate in the college providing the investor the benefit of free tuition for one student, of $100 each. The convention further decreed that the college be located in the most healthful, inexpensive, and accessible place that also pledged the most money. Though not broadly supported at the convention, an influential minority of liberal Christian ministers provided for a nonsectarian college with no theology in its curriculum. The economics of building separate colleges motivated the Christians to found a coeducational institution. Both their lack of agreement on and commitment to these novel principles would create great tension for them and even greater problems for their college.

One issue all in attendance at the Marion Conference agreed on concerning the college was its name: Antioch, after the biblical Syrian city where, as written in Acts 9:26, the term "Christians" first appeared. Though possibly apocryphal, having not been revealed until 1913, the origin myth of the name Antioch is nonetheless worth retelling. Joseph Badger, an elder in the Christian Church and by 1850 paralyzed and dying, was asked to provide a motto to put over the door of the college library. Unable to speak, Badger replied in a scribbled note: "The disciples were called Christians first at Antioch. Call the College Antioch." The storyteller, his daughter, described it as the last act of his life, even though he died nearly two years after the Marion convention where the name was unanimously approved.

As to location, early consensus held that the college should be somewhere in western New York. Ohio took the lead in fund-raising, however, thanks largely to the efforts of the fanatical elder John Phillips of Lebanon, and it became the favorite as the apparent "seat" of the Christian Church. The publicity surrounding the proposed school aroused much interest across the state and engendered the kind of intercommunity rivalry common in the West as neighboring towns competed to deny one another internal improvements to insure their own prosperity.

"Judge" William Mills, who gained his "office" through the mediation of a few local disputes, had already achieved a measure of success at this sort of contest for

the tiny Greene County village of Yellow Springs, his adopted hometown. Born in Connecticut in 1814, Mills had come west with his family in 1819. In 1827 his father, Elisha, purchased a rustic hotel near the iron-laden spring that gives the town its name and moved there from Cincinnati. By the 1840s William was the leading citizen among barely 150 residents, and he had big ideas. In 1845 he successfully wrested the route of the Little Miami Railroad away from nearby Clifton to Yellow Springs, with almost immediate impact. Thanks to Judge Mills, the railroad, and vast quantities of native limestone (from which lime, a key ingredient in concrete and fertilizer, is extracted), by 1852 Yellow Springs had developed into an important commercial center with a population of 1,500. Mills intended his town to become an educational center as well.

Though as many as eight Ohio towns considered themselves in the running, Lebanon and Yellow Springs were the strongest candidates, and they fought it out in the local newspapers over the issue. In February 1852 the editor of the *Xenia Torchlight* attacked the editor of a Lebanon paper, probably the *Western Star,* for referring to Yellow Springs as "a barren poverty-stricken oak knobs country, which produces only hazelnuts and a plant not good for cows." By then, however, the outcome was already beyond doubt, as Mills had presented the case for Yellow Springs (in typical western hyperbole, he claimed the area so healthful that its residents had to go elsewhere to die) along with a gift of twenty acres and a pledge of $30,000, rendering the *Western Star*'s barbs as so many sour grapes.

For their college president the Christians settled on the Honorable Horace Mann of West Newton, Massachusetts. Mann was one of the most famous people of his time, known as a brilliant public speaker (he was a perennial orator in Boston on the Fourth of July), an eloquent defense attorney (in 1848 he defended the sea captain Daniel Drayton in a landmark test of the Fugitive Slave Laws), and an outspoken antislavery congressman (attacking slavery as a "bedside institution"). A career reformer, he had championed such causes as temperance and proper care for the insane as well as abolition, but he received his greatest acclaim as a pioneer of American public education.

Massachusetts had formed the first State Board of Education in American history in 1837, and it in turn appointed Mann its first secretary. He threw himself into the job with characteristic fervor, publicizing the conditions of Massachusetts's common schools in *The Common School Journal* and in his twelve monumental *Annual Reports on Education*. Mann served the board indefatigably until 1849, often with little regard for his own well-being or for the feelings of those educators whose methods he found flawed or inadequate. When it came to advancing the cause, Mann let nothing stand in his way.

By 1850, as America's most recognizable educational reformer, Mann had become a natural candidate for a college president. He received an offer for the presidency

of "a Missouri college" (possibly Marion College in Palmyra) as early as 1839, but he declined. In 1849 Mann refused a similar offer from Girard College in Philadelphia, founded as a school for orphaned boys in 1848 from a bequest from wealthy banker Stephen Girard, promising Mann a fine house and "light duties." He was, after all, still a member of Congress with responsibilities to the Massachusetts Eighth District.

Christians who heard Mann at a March 1852 speaking engagement in Rochester, New York, probably first recommended him for the presidency. The honor of approaching him for the position went to Elder Eli Fay, chair of the college committee. Though attracted by Antioch's nonsectarian and coeducational principles, an unsure Horace Mann vacillated and sought the counsel of friends and colleagues. In a letter to Lexington schoolmaster Cyrus Peirce, he asked, "Confidentially, what would you think of your humble servant's complying with a request to preside over this [college]?" Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, a reformer and adventurer (he fought in the Greek revolution) perhaps most famous for being married to the suffrage leader Julia Ward Howe, told him, "You are of vastly more importance to the Institution over which you are invited to preside than it is or ever will be to you." Ultimately he convinced himself to take the job as an opportunity to mold the young minds (and morals) of the West, and on September 17, 1852, he accepted the unanimous election to the presidency of Antioch College.

That same day the Sub-Committee of Antioch College assembled to elect a faculty. They believed strongly that Antioch's professors should be of the Christian denomination since most of the students would presumably be of that persuasion. Of the six inaugural faculty positions, four were bestowed on Christian ministers (described as so zealous they would do the job for nothing), and the other two went to Mann's niece and nephew, Rebecca and Calvin Pennell. Mann had several conditions for acceptance of his new post, one of which that he have the right to choose two professors so at least some of his teachers would be familiar with his methods. Mann further demanded full control over the curriculum, high standards of moral conduct, and a house worthy of a college president. The founders also pledged to him a liberally endowed college free of financial worry and a handsome annual salary of $3,000.

In charge of constructing the campus was an influential and colorful Christian carpenter with the memorable name of Alpheus Marshall Merrifield. Dubbed the "Master Builder from Massachusetts," Merrifield had long supported the college project, he served on the committee that established Antioch and contributed $1,000 to its construction. He also supported the founding of a separate theological school, to which he gave an additional $500. Though untrained as an architect, he possessed extensive building experience and, perhaps most importantly, he thought in grandiose terms. Merrifield designed an imposing physical plant to support 1,000 students, employing a mix of the Greek, gothic, and Romanesque revival styles popular for institutional buildings of the day. The plans, which still

survive in the Antioch archives, called for a main building (its floor plan in the shape of a cross), flanked by "male" and "female" dormitories, and a president's house. Facing east toward the railroad and Yellow Springs's unique and picturesque glen, the sight of Antioch Hall (lauded incorrectly at the time as the largest structure on the highest ground in Ohio) rising above the broad lawn of Front Campus would be an impressive one for any rail traveler.

As Merrifield set about hacking the campus out of the thick forests of Yellow Springs, Mann convened the first meeting of the Antioch College faculty at his West Newton home in early November 1852. Though he would later discover otherwise, Mann wrote to Christian minister Austin Craig of the broad range of agreement among his teachers, "not only as to theory but in practical matters. We were all teetotalers; all anti-tobacco men; all anti-slavery men; a majority of us believers in Phrenology. . . . We agreed entirely in regard to religious and Chapel exercises, etc. etc." The primary source of future disagreement on the faculty was the founding principle of nonsectarian education and the one that most influenced Mann's decision to take the job. The Christians' professed ecumenism worked against Antioch in this case, as many of their constituents, including members of the faculty and board of trustees (specifically one A. M. Merrifield), opposed the notion of a college that would not advance the theological views of its own denomination. Indeed, from the outset of the college project a counterreformation was at work to turn Antioch into a Christian seminary.

The curriculum formed at that meeting was as progressive as any other of the day. It reflected the president's interest in phrenology, the early behavioral pseudoscience that formed the basis of all his educational efforts. The curriculum emphasized the sciences, history, and literature over the classics (though Latin and Greek were required, elective courses could be substituted for advanced classical language) and Mann's disdain for emulation, the tendency of students to compete for prizes, which he believed fostered unhealthy rivalries and hindered the learning process. Other modern elements included courses in didactics (teacher training), required physical education (for male students only), and a rudimentary form of independent study. Moral and ethical instruction was provided throughout, as well as lessons in personal hygiene and the development of oratorical skill.

The following year was a heady and busy one, particularly for Master Builder Merrifield. He not only supervised the project, but he also handled all the hiring and purchasing of materials. As their chief representative in Yellow Springs during construction, the founders had added "College Treasurer" to his other duties. In keeping accounts, however, Merrifield was well beyond his expertise; and it was during this time that the first signs of Antioch's financial misfortunes appeared. As pledges of money poured in, he declared the $400 annual fee to employ an accountant to be an unnecessary waste of money. He apparently knew more about wasting

money than the nuances of bookkeeping. Though he projected initial building costs at $50,000, the final bill more than doubled that figure.

Merrifield's inadequacies aside, many of the road agents appointed to sell the scholarships intended for the endowment did so at dangerously low prices. In far too many cases they demanded only the 6 percent annual interest up front on a $100 note. In return for their support of the college, scholarship holders received a tenth of a vote to elect trustees and one student enrolled in perpetuity, neither of which could any institution of the time expect to fulfill on six dollars a year. Factor in the Christians and their general observance of the poverty of Christ in their own lives, and the inspiring educational dream of Antioch College stood in stark contrast to its numbing fiscal reality.

Nevertheless, Merrifield had set a feverish construction pace, instructing th laborers to work even on the Sabbath. Yet when Mann arrived with his wife, Mary, and their three sons in September 1853, the campus was in a chaotic state. The main building was sheathed in scaffolding, its familiar towers not yet in place, and South ("Gents") Hall was barely framed; only North ("Ladies") Hall had windows. The president's house did not exist except as a drawing in Merrifield's sketchpad. The Manns moved into a suite of rooms in North Hall as the unfinished "little Harvard of the West" and its undaunted president prepared for their mutual inauguration, set for October 5, the same day the Christians had passed their resolution to establish a college.

Three thousand spectators (described by Mary Mann as "a motley multitude that would have made a splendid show if their costumes were as brilliant as they were various") attended Horace Mann's inauguration. Yellow Springs, then a village of perhaps 1,500, was simply not equipped to accommodate such a great host, and many visitors had had to spend the previous night in their carriages. In appreciation he delivered a marathon address of 27,000 words, lasting perhaps two hours. As Mrs. Mann wrote to her father, the speech was "a fine dish of discourse to the music of eight to ten babies who cried about all the time." The Reverend T. Starr King said it contained enough inspiration to make a college flourish in the Sahara.

By that time a vigorous promotional campaign had produced nearly a thousand applications, the vast majority from Ohio. Few survived the harsh entrance examinations imposed by Mann, however, and only eight students advanced to the first college class. About 250 applicants qualified for enrollment in a Preparatory Department that in its long association with the college always boasted a significantly larger registration until the 1920s.

Overwhelmingly from Ohio, the first student body had a rough-hewn quality that appalled the vastly more cultured Manns; however, a core of students was possessed of a greater maturity, and their seriousness set high standards of scholarship. For example, Eli and Mahala Jay, two of the original eight college freshmen, had transferred

from Oberlin College. Dissatisfied with its somewhat limited coeducation, they were attracted by Antioch's promise of equal treatment of the sexes. In particular Mahala wanted to read her graduation essay atop the college platform at her commencement, a right Oberlin then extended only to its male graduates. The Jays and other students like them—older, more experienced, and idealistic—helped guide, and periodically had to force, Antioch in living up to its own coeducational values.

The college faculty suffered from a lack of faith either in full coeducation or in their students' ability to carry it forward. There persisted among them notions of an inferior female intellect and disagreement on the morality of educating men and women together. Women were restricted from otherwise required instruction in physical education. At least one preparatory teacher did not permit his female students to deliver papers before the class from memory. President Mann himself expressed an inconsistency in his belief. He spoke often of "the Great Experiment," in almost biblical terms, but when confronted with the reality of college-educated women let loose on the world, he confided that, had he known this result, he might have "reconsidered presiding over a coeducational institution." It ultimately took the effort and will of its students to make Antioch deliver on its promise.

As they shaped its core values, Antioch students also, ironically, helped bring down its financial house of cards. The first operating budget allowed a maximum one-third of the 500 students to "hold" scholarships, but more than half of the first scholars held such notes. Inexpensive tuition (just eight dollars per year) and room and board contributed almost nothing to a paltry $6,000 annual income, and with no endowment the college opened with a deficit. It took just eighteen months to accumulate $75,000 in debts. Based on Antioch's original articles of incorporation, state law held the scholarship holders responsible for the debts of the college. Most of them cried foul, as they heaped their collective wrath upon Horace Mann, blaming him for the collapse. They judged his constant lecture touring across the state as neglect of his duties, though he quietly put most of the fees he earned into the meager Antioch treasury. Little did they know how much of his own money he had diverted to its coffers and how many IOUs he had received from the college treasurer for his salary.

Mann, of course, had little to do with Antioch's bedeviling finances. Ohio's depressed economy and the high interest rates in the 1850s made recovery increasingly difficult. Gifts of funds from influential eastern friends, including Peter Cooper, Henry Bellows, and Moses Grinnell, failed to reverse the debt. William Mills, the dynamic Yellow Springs man who had brought Antioch to town, would lose his entire fortune to a wash of claims against the college and the bubble of local land speculation burst by the Panic of 1857. The final insult came from Mills's own brother-in-law, Antioch trustee and local limestone magnate Joseph Wilson, who subsequently had Mills evicted from the grand mansion he had built in the center of town.

Mann received his greatest challenge not because of Antioch's financial problems but for his fierce nondenominationalism. From the time he agreed to serve as Antioch president, he had to defend his religious views against Christian criticisms. He had to respond to innumerable letters that sharply questioned his disbelief in the Trinity, even though the founders guaranteed him safety from such attacks. Upon revealing a plan (before the congregation of the First Christian Church of Yellow Springs) to teach all religions to Antioch students, he inadvertently galvanized the forces of religious conservatism, and they resolved to rid themselves of this president who sought to "Unitarianize" Antioch.

The debate over a literary or theological college had raged in the editorial pages of the monthly *Christian Palladium* since the Marion convention in 1850. Did not every other Protestant denomination advance their aims through higher education? A great majority of the Christian faith regarded establishing a seminary as a responsibility to the denomination. Master Builder Merrifield shared this view, and he took out his frustrations on the Manns by delaying completion of the president's house while constructing the campus. He pulled laborers and materials for the job constantly, and the stately home remained uninhabitable until the fall of 1854. A year before, Mann had written to his friend Samuel Downer in Boston that "Ohio growths are rapid growths; but this does not hold true of our house, which has not yet grown up to the chamber-floor." After finally completing the house, Merrifield neglected Mrs. Mann's request for a fence to protect the fruit trees and flowers she had brought from home, and the livestock that freely roamed the campus quickly consumed them.

Key insiders assisted the outside forces arrayed against Mann and the liberal educators: Merrifield, who by his time sat on the board of trustees, set about garnering enough votes on the board to remove the president, mathematics professor Ira Allen agreed to serve as Mann's replacement. In town the mutiny was led by Elder Derostus F. Ladley of the Christian Church, who if he did not think Mann an infidel at least said as much on one occasion, and to a lesser extent William Mills, who perhaps saw too much of his rapidly dwindling political capital at risk to oppose the plot.

The coup might have succeeded but for circumstance. The trustees met to appoint a new principal of the preparatory school in September 1856. Mann proposed acting principal John C. Zachos, who would go on to become a famous educator himself. The conservative faction supported a more politically reliable choice, Henry Burlingame, who had recently resigned from the college faculty. The board twice elected Burlingame (the president demanded a recount after the first vote), and a sectarian victory appeared imminent, but their candidate declined to serve, and Mann won by default.

A financial crisis further unraveled the plot, for by spring 1857 Antioch faced certain bankruptcy. The trustees had no alternative but to release the faculty

outright. They chose soon thereafter to keep the college open while they sought its pecuniary redemption and to rehire all the instructors save two, the Reverend James Doherty, because of incompetence, and the pretender Allen. The following December Merrifield resigned from the board in disgust, never to return to the college he built, except once for two weeks in 1858 to exhort local parents to send their children to any other school but Antioch. There the plan died but for a final, pointless act, the publication in 1858 of *A History of the Rise, Difficulties and Suspension of Antioch College,* Allen's scathing diatribe against the Mann regime. In a battle of words Mann and his supporters had the advantage, however, and they soundly discredited *Rise, Difficulties and Suspension* as slander in *A Rejoinder to the Pseudo-History of Antioch College by Professor Allen,* edited by the Reverend Eli Fay, Mann's strongest advocate on the board.

Though the liberals now controlled the direction of the college, they fared little better than anyone else at controlling its finances. Past the point of desperation, they divested Antioch of its ruinous scholarships, brought suit against the holders of hundreds of delinquent notes, and tripled the cost of tuition. In a particularly dramatic moment a group of trustees and Mann himself put forth great sums of their own to retire one $20,000 claim against the college. Unable to satisfy another $27,000 suit, however, the board assigned Antioch College for its debts and put the property up for public auction. Antioch went on the block in Cincinnati on April 19, 1859. Francis A. Palmer of New York City, a friend of Antioch, a trustee, and president of the Broadway Bank, bought the college for $40,000 without an opposing bid. Palmer then turned control of a reorganized Antioch over to a new board of trustees. A new charter forbade the contraction of debt.

The spring of 1859 wore terribly on Horace Mann, who bore much of the responsibility of the reorganization ordered by Palmer. He carried an ever-increasing teaching load as members of his faculty defected for teaching positions at other institutions that actually paid them for their work. His many years of self-sacrifice for the causes dear to his heart—the common school, the abolition of slavery, the nurturing of Antioch—had caught up with him, and his often-fragile health had worsened. Exhausted, he tendered his resignation to the board in June, only to accept his unanimous reelection. He just never could say no.

Though he scarcely possessed the strength, Mann ascended the college platform one last time at the commencement of the class of 1859 to deliver the baccalaureate address. Harried as usual, he had not quite completed the speech. As he made his concluding remarks, he told the story of Admiral Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar and then closed with the most fateful and stirring words conceived in an entire lifetime of legendary oration: "I beseech you to treasure up in your hearts these my parting words: Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity." It was the last public statement Horace Mann ever made.

Through the month of July he declined rapidly under the strain of endless meetings and searing summer heat. He ate little and hardly slept despite constant fatigue. On July 28 he wrote a brief note accepting a small payment, perhaps another gift to help keep Antioch solvent: "Dear Sir, Rec'd thirty-five dollars on acct. I am very sick." His illness proved so severe that before his correspondent, a Mr. Warner of Wrentham, Massachusetts, received the receipt, Mann had already died on August 2. He was buried on the Antioch campus, a spot marked since 1883 by an obelisk that bears his parting words. In 1860 Mary Mann had his body disinterred and reburied in the North Burial Ground in Providence, Rhode Island, next to Mann's first wife, Charlotte, who had died during childbirth in 1824.

The day before he died, Mann knew he neared the end, and he received a stream of visitors. Despite his delirium he spoke to each one, and true to form he managed an admonition for many on how to live their lives. To the moment of his death he thought of others, and of his college. He gave instructions to contact Henry Bellows, the Unitarian minister whose comments on the Christians started the idea of Antioch back in 1848, and urge him to take over the presidency. "More than any man I know of," Mann pronounced, "[Bellows] can carry [Antioch] on with zeal and energy, he must come and do it."

By his death, Antioch's first president began its transformation into a Unitarian college. Henry Bellows declined to serve as successor as Mann had hoped. Instead he found Antioch a new president. The Reverend Thomas Hill, a Harvard-educated Unitarian minister and husband to Dr. Bellows's cousin, Anne Foster Bellows, agreed to leave his pastorate in Massachusetts to fill the post. An astronomer and mathematician as well as a theologian, Hill was scholarly and serene in contrast to his fiery predecessor. In the raising of funds Hill found even less success than Mann with the Christians, as many of them strenuously objected to a Unitarian presiding over the college they founded. Equally frustrated with their poor stewardship of Antioch, he once wrote of the Christians as "slow to pay and quick to demand privilege." He made great inroads, however, in gathering support from other prominent Unitarians before returning to Harvard in 1862 to serve as its president. The college soon closed until operating costs and an endowment were raised. The board of trustees then resolved to determine which denomination would control Antioch. The Christians and Unitarians entered into an agreement whereby each had an equal opportunity to raise enough funds to reopen the college and establish a $50,000 endowment. The side that failed would forfeit its seats on the board, leaving the other in charge. In this contest the Christians had no chance. In 1865 the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, the most prominent American Unitarian (A.U.) of his time, presented Antioch with an endowment of $100,000, more than twice the prescribed figure. The Christians withdrew their meager support, and Antioch passed into Unitarian hands.

The college continued to operate on little more than the interest of that same $100,000 well into the twentieth century. Enrollment remained small throughout the period: there were no graduates in the Class of 1880. In 1881 the trustees voted to suspend operations for three years while they scrounged for funds. The Reverend J. B. Weston, a member of the first graduating class, served his third interim presidency during that time as little more than a caretaker. The board was returned to the Christians the following year under the auspices of the Christian Education Society, to whom the trustees gave the right to nominate the faculty. They reopened the college, though perhaps only to transfer Antioch's endowment to another institution, possibly Union Christian College in Merom, Indiana. In 1883 they entertained such a proposal only to discover restrictions placed on the money caused it to revert to the Unitarians if ever diverted.

Failing to raise any additional capital, though they managed to lose some, the Christian Education Society dissolved in 1898 when the board rescinded its faculty appointments. This decision put an end to the perennial sectarian strife, though money continued to be a problem. But for the lively presidency of future Ohio congressman and senator Simeon D. Fess (1906–17), which enjoyed strong enrollment in the Summer Normal program and featured an annual Chautauqua held on the college grounds, Antioch barely remained operational.

By 1919 the board was strongly considering selling Antioch. The Young Men's Christian Association, seeking to establish a college of its own, had approached the trustees with a $50,000 pledge to take over the campus. The trustees accepted and even elected a provisional president, YMCA educational director Grant Perkins. They did so on a mere promise of money, which spoke volumes about their desperate view of the situation.

Unitarian representation on the board of trustees had shrunk to one seat by that time, and as the trustees pondered the YMCA offer that seat came open. The American Unitarians in turn appointed its energetic lay vice president, Arthur E. Morgan, to look after its interests. Morgan, a flood-control engineer, was directing the construction of the Miami Conservancy District, a system of earthen dams to solve the Miami Valley's chronic flooding problems. A product of the Progressive Era, Morgan brought to the job a strong sense of social responsibility, establishing public parks rather than reservoirs behind the dams and providing permanent low-cost housing for construction workers and their families. Morgan also had ideas about education: he wanted young people to get a broad range of instruction in the classroom, but he saw great educational value in real-world experience. Morgan himself had never finished high school and attended the University of Colorado for only six weeks, but he had been a logger, a surveyor, and a miner before starting his own engineering company. At the time of his appointment as an Antioch trustee, he and his wife, Lucy, pondered building a school on a farm they had bought in the

Berkshires in Massachusetts (a farm that became the internationally famous school of modern dance, Jacob's Pillow).

The YMCA proposal evaporated once they discovered they were unable to raise the money and complete the sale, and the trustees began to look for a new president. Morgan had proposed an idea he called "industrial education" that afforded students a traditional education in the classroom and experience working in business and industry. Perhaps most importantly for Morgan, through the program's work component students could earn money to pay for college. It soon became clear to the rest of the board that Morgan was the best candidate for college president. After much modification by more qualified educators Morgan had hired, his ideas translated eventually into a cooperative plan of alternating work at a job and study on campus. Based on the "Schneider plan" then in place in the University of Cincinnati Engineering Department, the Antioch version applied to the entire curriculum and all majors. Morgan began to aggressively promote "the New Antioch" and to cultivate the support of industrialists and business leaders. The effort paid off. In 1921 the college reopened to its highest enrollment yet, 203; and by 1927 it rose to over 700. The nature of work-study meant that only half of the students were on campus at any one time; thus the program actually helped to stabilize Antioch's long precarious finances.

The Antioch reestablished under Arthur Morgan has since gained national prominence for its often-creative approach to higher education and campus governance. By encouraging invention and providing space for it, Antioch has contributed to the founding of important local industries in Vernay Laboratories (precision fluid handling products), Morris Bean, Inc. (aluminum casting), and the Yellow Springs Instrument Company (sensor technology). In 1930, by invitation of Arthur Morgan, the Samuel Fels Foundation launched its landmark longitudinal study of human development in a farmhouse adjacent to the campus that continues to this day under the management of Wright State University. In the natural splendor of its thousand-acre Glen Helen—a gift of Hugh Taylor Birch, a wealthy Antiochian of the 1860s who as a boy knew Horace Mann—Antioch created a model for outdoor education. In 1941 members of the faculty put their liberal anti-Communist views on the line in a small political journal called the *Antioch Review,* now a literary publication and widely regarded as one of the nation's finest "little magazines." Beginning in 1954, with strong support from President Samuel Gould, later architect and first chancellor of the State University of New York system, Antioch Education Abroad set standards for cross-cultural study.

The second half of the twentieth century saw Antioch enjoy its greatest period of intellectual ferment, endure some of its most significant challenges, and undergo its most dramatic changes. In the years following World War II there matriculated at Antioch future leaders in education (Warren Bennis), literature (Mark Strand),

law (A. Leon Higginbotham), science (Stephen Jay Gould), civil rights (Coretta Scott King), politics (Eleanor Holmes Norton), and even television (Rod Serling). Beginning in 1963 with the acquisition of the Putney Graduate School of Education in Vermont, the college embarked on an expansion of almost missionary fervor that would see it grow to a mind-boggling network of thirty-five campuses, clusters, and field centers by 1975. With substantial funding from the Rockefeller Foundation, from 1965 the Antioch Program for Interracial Education and its student-led successor New Directions attempted the college's most radical admissions efforts to increase its cultural pluralism. Those same students would shut down the campus in Yellow Springs for six weeks in the spring of 1973 when cuts in federal financial aid threatened to terminate their educations. In 1978, having developed or taken over several graduate programs from New England to the West Coast, including the inventive School of Law in Washington, D.C., the board of trustees reincorporated the entire institution as Antioch University. The system remains in place today as a federation of five independent campuses, including the original Antioch College in Yellow Springs.

None of it might have happened without the tireless efforts of Horace Mann. He kept a poverty-stricken college afloat in its formative years on little more than willpower. He fought the forces of religious bigotry that sought to subvert the founding principles that he knew would make it a significant institution. He gave Antioch most all his time and money, neither of which he possessed in great abundance, to keep it from slipping into financial oblivion. In a sense, Mann died so that Antioch might live. Its 150th anniversary would have surely satisfied his martyr's complex.

## Suggested Reading

Robert L. Straker (Class of 1925) was perhaps the most thorough historian of Antioch College during the nineteenth century. His *Unseen Harvest: Horace Mann at Antioch College* (Antioch Press, 1955), a brief study of operations in its early years, and *Horace Mann and Others* (Antioch Press, 1963), a series of biographical essays, are both well researched if a bit dated. "A Brief Sketch of Antioch College: 1853–1921," an unpublished pamphlet composed for the Antioch Centennial celebration in 1953, is highly detailed and informative and available on the Antioch College website. *Horace Mann at Antioch* (1938), by Joy Elmer Morgan, was written for the National Education Association in observance of the 100th anniversary of public education in 1936. Several biographies of Horace Mann exist, the most authoritative one written by Jonathan Messerli, *Horace Mann* (Knopf, 1971). Antioch is a featured institution along with Reed and Swarthmore in Burton R. Clark's comparative study *The Distinctive College: Antioch, Reed and Swarthmore* (Aldine, 1970). *Connected Thoughts: A*

*Reinterpretation of the Reorganization of Antioch College in the 1920s* (University Press of America, 1997), by Stephen R. Herr (Class of 1983), presents an interesting if controversial view of the Arthur Morgan era that makes extensive use of Morgan's own personal papers housed in the Antioch Archives. *Antioch College: Its Design for Liberal Education* (Harper, 1946), by Algo D. Henderson and Dorothy Hall, is an administrative study by an Antioch president of the first twenty-five years after the reorganization in 1921. The memoir of James P. Dixon's presidency, *Antioch: The Dixon Era 1959–1975* (Bastille Books, 1991) by Edla Mills Dixon (Class of 1941), gives one view of the changes at Antioch through the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s. *An Antioch Career: The Memoirs of J. Dudley Dawson* (Antioch University, 1995) recounts a near-seventy-year association with the college of a longtime Antioch administrator. *Notes from a Pragmatic Idealist: Selected Papers, 1985–1997* (Antioch University, 1997), by Alan E. Guskin, is a series of essays and speeches by the former president and chancellor of Antioch University. *Not Just A Matter of Degree: 20-Plus Years at Antioch Los Angeles* (Antioch University, Southern California, 1996), by Harvey Mindess, is a memoir by a former psychology professor and one of the original faculty members at one of the three remaining West Coast Antioch campuses. *Five Experimental Colleges: Bensalem, Antioch-Putney, Franconia, Old Westbury, Fairhaven* (Harper and Row, 1973), edited by Gary B. MacDonald, includes an essay on the graduate school of education known today as Antioch New England written by former director Roy P. Fairfield. Doctoral dissertations on Antioch include Harvard F. Vallance, "Connected Thoughts: A History of Antioch College" (Ohio State University, 1936); George C. Newman, "The Morgan Years: Politics of Innovative Change—Antioch College in the 1920s" (University of Michigan, 1978); and Steven R. Coleman, "To Promote Creativity, Community and Democracy: The Progressive Colleges of the 1920s and 1930s" (Columbia University, 2000), which includes a study of Antioch during the Morgan era.

# *Ashland University*

## Patterns of Expansion

John L. Nethers

Ashland College was established by a Christian denomination, the Brethren, that grew out of the Reformation and the Anabaptist movement of the 1500s and 1600s. Many of these religious dissenters, including the Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Amish, were primarily of Germanic origins. They were driven from Europe by religious, military, and political persecution, frequently finding refuge in Holland. In the 1730s they began migrating to America, settling predominantly in Pennsylvania.

Experiencing countless hardships in the East because of their seemingly odd religious practices and because of the shortage of good farmland, they began migrating westward to set up their own separate communities. With the organization of the Northwest Territory in the 1780s and 1790s and subsequent creation of new states like Ohio in 1803, the West provided a refuge and a new home for these religious pioneers. The life of the Brethren consisted of two dynamic verities: religion and education, the church and the school—heart and mind. Even from their early history these Brethren had some college-trained men among their leaders. By the second half of the twentieth century the Brethren had become interested in establishing an institution in northeastern Ohio for educating ministers and other students, since many of their members had settled in the region.

When northeastern Ohio was suggested in the 1870s as a possible college location, the Brethren also considered Akron, Canton, Danville, and Louisville. Ashland, a town of only 2,000 and relatively isolated from the "evils" of urban society, seemed like an ideal setting and a wholesome environment, both for the sons and daughters of Brethren as well as other likely applicants from the surrounding area. Dr. Edward Jacobs, the tenth president, observed, "Perhaps as influential a group of ministers as could be found within the whole church lived in Ashland and Wayne counties." So within this constituency, at the Maple Grove Church near Ashland,

Founders Hall–Administration Building

a meeting was called in March 1877 in order to consider the matter; this gathering was "remarkably well attended."

Subsequently, a meeting was called later in the year for the purpose of asking the citizens of Ashland if they were interested in a college locating in their community; if so, they must subscribe to the amount of $10,000. Furthermore, the proposed college must offer and provide teacher training for the public schools, a department of science, a "classical course of high character," and "advantages of a higher education to young people—for both boys and girls." It was understood that this new institution would be a training facility for potential ministers and religious leaders, especially of the Brethren faith. To these requirements the citizen leaders of Ashland enthusiastically agreed.

Following the Board of Incorporation in 1878, a fifteen-member board of trustees was formed. After a charter was granted by the State of Ohio, efforts proceeded to find a president. Dr. S. Z. Sharp, a Brethren evangelist who had organized and participated in many love feasts within the area, became the first president. (Love feasts, usually an annual occurrence, are a tradition among Brethren when, at the time of communion, they have "washing of the feet" and also share dinner, the latter being symbolic of the Last Supper.) In 1878 Sharp and Brother Ezra Packer, who had been instrumental in seeing the need for a college, began soliciting funds and asking for pledges among congregations in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan

for the purpose of erecting buildings. Fourteen acres of the original twenty-eight-acre building site were purchased for $2,900, and Founders Hall was constructed. George Washington Cramer, who later became a leading church architect in New York, designed Founders Hall. His fee was $100, which he later contributed to the college funds. This three-storied edifice with its impressive central tower, made of bricks from the clay soil right on the campus, was the central academic and administrative building until October 1952, when it was destroyed by fire.

Most of the promoters of this new endeavor were not experienced in creating a college. Thus they had overlooked the need for student housing. It was known, however, that some students would commute. While Founders was being erected someone asked, "Where shall the students be accommodated with lodging and board?" The trustees therefore borrowed $15,000 and constructed a boarding hall. The dormitory, known as Allen Hall, at first housed both men and women but ultimately only women; it was demolished in the 1970s to make room for the eight-story Memorial Library.

The first term began on September 17, 1879, with sixty students present; by the close of the college year there were 102 students. There were eight faculty members, including the "teaching" president. President Sharp received a salary of $750. The initial 1879 college catalog, under "General Information" and "Religious Exercises," informed the students that the college was "thoroughly Christian but not sectarian" and that the college "inculcates the spirit of plainness and economy in dress and manner of living and aims to adorn the mind rather than the body." Furthermore, it stated that "students who are members of the Brethren are required to attend Sunday School and Prayer Meeting services held in the College Chapel"; and all students were required to attend daily morning chapel, and non-Brethren students should attend their own churches on Sundays. The 1884–85 catalog noted that "this church is an advocate of plainness in dress though not a particular form and simplicity in manner of living. . . . One of the distinctive features of Ashland College, therefore, is that rich and poor meet upon the grounds of equality; that worth, not dress, is valued and respected, that economy, not extravagance, is fostered, and that a desire for usefulness, not show, is promoted." Ashland has always made plain its purposes and convictions.

Although the early years of the college opened with promise, serious problems soon faced the new institution. In 1881 a sharp theological division between the conservative and the progressive Brethren caused difficulties for the fragile institution, but staunch supporters among the progressive element won control and managed to maintain the college. In 1888 the college went into receivership, owing $41,000; the faithful trustees, however, paid off the debt and the college passed legally under the direction of the Brethren Church, and in August 1888 a new charter was issued and the name was officially changed to Ashland University. It remained a university

until 1926, when it was designated a college; but in 1989 it officially changed its name back to Ashland University.

In 1896 financial problems again hindered the college's progress, and it was forced to close for two years. But with the debt liquidated, it opened again and has been in continuous operation since. Upon his arrival the new president, Dr. J. Allen Miller (1898–1906), besides being confronted with financial problems, "found two buildings on a bleak, desolate campus of thorns and briars." Another critic noted that the "grounds were covered with weeds, blackberry bushes, and baldwin apples." Supposedly Miller and his wife "knelt in prayer, pledging their lives to the enrichment of youth and asking God's blessing upon their efforts."

The fall term in 1898 opened with five faculty members with a curricula consisting of economics, English, history, Latin, language, literature, mathematics, music, philosophy, and theology. The academic year was divided into three ten-week terms. Classes met five times a week with forty-five minutes "allowed for each recitation." The catalog for 1900 revealed the additional offerings of French, Greek, German, natural sciences, bookkeeping, typewriting, and both vocal and instrumental music. The total enrollment varied between fifty and seventy students.

During the eight years of Miller's leadership, the college's significant progress and growth gave the institution a "new" beginning. The campus was made more attractive, trees were planted, especially evergreens, which came to characterize the hilltop school and are noted in the singing of the *Alma Mater:* "Remember among those pine trees upon the hill so blue." Greatly adding to the enrichment of the institution was the erecting of a much-needed gymnasium in 1902 at a cost of $6,000, joining Founders and Allen Halls. The gymnasium, funded through a gift from a member of the board of trustees, was a "tile building, with only a dirt floor and balcony around the playing area for spectators, appeared as fine as Madison Square Garden to those sports-loving fans. . . . A few years later a wood floor was installed, making the building more commodious." In that same year a "large ceremony was held to celebrate the record enrollment of over 100 students." Up to then it had fluctuated between thirty and forty students. The college in 1902 was now free from debt and had an endowment of $2,500.

By 1904 there were forty-five graduates, and at that year's commencement a notice was sent requesting "all alumni . . . to meet at Ashland on June 14 at 10:00 in the College for the purpose of effecting an organization." As a result the first reunion of alumni and students was held with 243 present. The commencement speaker at that year's address ascertained that "he who has never been a senior and a graduate has missed one of the supreme joys, and he who does not attend an occasional Commencement misses [out] on one of the best opportunities for reviving the golden glow of youth."

Furthering its commitment to the training of ministers, the university's Bible department was designated a seminary in 1906. Since that time the seminary has been an integral part of the university; according to the constitution and by-laws, it is a division of the university and not owned by the Brethren Church.

The university had only one dormitory, Allen Hall, and it housed both men and women. When it first opened women occupied the first floor and the men the second and third, but a few years later the women were housed in the front half and the men in the rear half of the hall, separated by a wooden wall. Fuel was supplied by coal, and the "dormitory management kept a record of the weight of each pail of coal . . . and the sum added to the student's account each month." Cleanliness was a serious problem due to the absence of adequate toilet and bath facilities. Toilets were outdoor wooden structures located some distance away from the dormitory; the men's facility was dubbed "Mother Jones." Coal oil–lit dormitory lamps and crude boardwalks were the way of life, but in 1910 campus life was modernized with the installation of gas lights and heating stoves in each room. At the same time, running water and new bathrooms, even though crude, made life more comfortable. Walking became less hazardous as the boardwalks were replaced with brick.

With the advent of World War I and the administration of Dr. W. D. Furry (1911–19), a men's military unit took over the dormitory and the college enrollment increased from 100 to 500 students. During World War I church support was lethargic, finances critical, and the buildings sorely in need of improvement. Thus, the trustees solicited churches and the community for funds. The resulting financial enrichment led to the building of a library and the installation of a modern heating plant in Founders Hall.

With the resignation of Dr. Furry in 1919, Dr. E. E. Jacobs (1919–35) assumed the presidency. Jacobs was known as an intellectual, a great scientist, and an excellent administrator, and Ashland was fortunate that he remained in office for sixteen years. New academic departments were added, including music, speech, and business, and a successful endowment campaign was launched. A new library was constructed, Miller Hall, and the holdings expanded from 3,000 to 14,000 books. Further restructuring occurred with the establishment of the publicity and alumni offices.

The university had been recognized as a teacher training institution by the State Department of Education as early as 1925, but a significant accomplishment was securing in 1930 full accreditation by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the Ohio College Association. (Actually, prior to the mid-1920s there was little concern by colleges to have their teacher programs certified.) Further improvement in the academic programs was the creation of a summer school and the beginning of Saturday classes, especially for teachers, who needed to upgrade their training and gain certification. In the spring of 1930 the Theological Seminary was enlarged and the offerings within the department expanded.

During the administrations of Dr. C. L. Anspach (1935–39) and Dr. E. G. Mason (1939–45) there were reorganizations of the academic philosophy and the standardization of courses that permitted the institution to reenter the North Central Association and the Ohio College Association. A major building addition to the college was the gift in 1940 of a palatial residence known as the Myers Memorial Home. Within a block of the campus, Myers became the music building, a location that greatly enhanced the department. The faculty now numbered fifteen with doctoral degrees and thirty-two with master's degrees, a key factor in maintaining accreditation. During the 1920s enrollment fluctuated between 100 and 200 students, but by 1931–32 it had grown to 454. However, during World War II, with many students going off to war, the mostly female student body dropped to around 100. Nonetheless, the "doors were kept open" with the total academic program maintained. As one critic observed, "Ashland College was born in the midst of crisis and has weathered many crises throughout her history, [but] crises have been conceived as challenges [to] its leaders, faculty, students and community."

When Mason resigned in 1945, Dr. Raymond W. Bixler, a member of the history department, was selected as president. Although presidents generally had been members of the Brethren faith, Bixler was a Methodist; he served for only three years before happily returning to the teaching faculty. During his administration the influx of returning veterans boosted the enrollment from 100 to over 600, the largest to that time. This required the addition of married veterans' housing, designated Glenn Haller Court, in the form of twelve Quonset huts, which made for a "lively little community." After the veterans left, these buildings proved to be both a blessing and a sore spot; they were used by various departments until the last two were torn down in the late 1980s to make room for parking. Without question, the influx of veterans with their GI Bill of Rights, often commuters and over twenty-one, brought challenges to conservative traditions. As was frequently said, "They had seen the world and they were more worldly."

In the autumn of 1948 Dr. Glenn L. Clayton, a thirty-seven-year-old history professor from Ohio State University and a member of the Brethren faith, was inaugurated as the college's youngest president. He remained for twenty-nine years, and during his presidency enrollment grew from 300 students to over 3,000, and in 1970 the largest freshman class in Ashland's history was enrolled with 1,000 students. In 1950 Clayton presented a ten-year plan that included more buildings, additional faculty, increased enrollment, and curriculum advancement. Another significant project of the plan was to substantially increase the financial endowment of the college. This was successfully achieved through vigorous and persistent efforts. As with many private and independent colleges, Ashland could not exist without the generosity of alumni and friends, as it has always depended heavily on grants, donations, and private and corporate giving.

The college's long desire for a chapel was met in 1950 when the National Women's Missionary Society of the Brethren Church funded the building now known as University Memorial Chapel. It was completed in 1952 at a cost of $176,000. That same autumn a great tragedy shook the college community. On the night of October 20 the oldest building and the hub of the campus, Founders Hall, was destroyed by fire. Albert T. Ronk observed in his *History of the Brethren Church* that "nothing remained but smoking embers. . . . The loss seemed a catastrophe. . . . Yet, that fire might have been a benefit in disguise." A week later, in an all-night session, the trustees and the president made a momentous decision. After much deliberation and despite considerable argument for closing the college forever, they determined to take the insurance money and rebuild. Fortunately, the college remained open that autumn term by utilizing classroom space in the new chapel and some additional community facilities. Ronk sensed that "sympathizers among Ashland College friends, Brethren and non-Brethren alike, thrust hands deep into pockets to provide funds to carry on." Consequently, the $98,000 insurance money from Founders was used for the building of a student union, which was started the next March and opened that October; it also provided temporary classroom space.

A new Founders Hall was completed in 1954, incorporating the foundation stones and chimney from the old structure. To meet the immediate needs of student housing, several surplus army barracks were erected. Under various programs entitled "Programs for Quality" and a complimentary philosophy "Accent on the Individual," the institution changed from a commuter college to a residential campus.

After erecting the new Founders and student union, college buildings "seemed to spring up like mushrooms." Beginning in 1956, with Edward E. Jacobs Hall, and lasting until 1968, four additional residential halls were built—Myers, Clayton, Clark, and Kilhefner—as well as four fraternity houses, known as Fraternity Circle. In addition, rapidly appearing on campus were a new library (a few years later being converted to Patterson Student Center); the Charles F. Kettering Science Center; the Redwood Dining Hall; Kates Gymnasium; Conard Field House; Hoffman Natatorium; the Arts and Humanities Building and adjoining Hugo Young Theater; and Myers Convocation Center. Capping off this building program was the tearing down of Allen Hall and in its place the building in 1972 of the impressive eight-story, centrally located Memorial Library.

Since the 1960s Ashland has offered off-campus college credit classes at the nearby Mansfield State Correctional Institution and, beginning in the 1970s, at the Grafton Correctional Institution. The affiliations, classroom facilities, and academic offerings have varied over the years, but Ashland is compensated by the Ohio Department of Rehabilitation and Corrections, although it receives some funding from the federal government. This unique program is offered to inmates who can pass the GED equivalency tests and is essentially an aspect of their rehabilitation. It has been a

meaningful and beneficial program to the university in terms of financial support, as well as complementing its humanitarian mission.

The college also saw parallel growth in the theological seminary, and in 1958 it moved from the main campus to the John C. Myers Home on Center Street, two blocks away. Under the direction of Dean Joseph R. Shultz, a seminary library and the first chapel were completed in 1964. Soon thereafter the Myers and Miller gardens and property were purchased and became part of a six-acre campus. Campus apartments and the Ronk Memorial Chapel were built in 1970 and additional classrooms in 1973. With this expansion program and the improvement in both faculty and programming, the seminary was fully accredited by the Association of Theological Schools in 1969. Its enrollment grew from eighteen to nearly 500 students. In 1976 the seminary added a fully accredited doctor of ministry program.

As Ashland College entered the 1960s and the period of the Vietnam conflict, it was confronted by the civil unrest that beset the entire nation. As President Clayton noted, "Ashland was not exempt from these disturbing trends." He further asserted, "Our student body was no longer regional . . . but reflected a cross-section of urban and rural homes from many states and was sure to feel the impact of broad national movements . . . [and the] new morality and rising tides of change." Although the invasion of Cambodia in April 1970 led to a "wave of student unrest, protest, and violence on many campuses," Ashland was relative free of turmoil at this time. But the tragic and infamous event at nearby Kent State University on May 4, 1970, in which four students were killed, caused sympathy pains to be felt on many campuses, including Ashland. As a result of a student-faculty march from the campus through downtown Ashland and other demonstrations, the college closed for two days.

Further complicating matters, the college had scheduled a well-advertised major lecture for May 10 with the arrival of comedian Bob Hope. Eight thousand tickets had been sold and among the guests to attend was Governor James Rhodes. Hope, sympathetic to the war, symbolized the conflict to its supporters. Knowing that he was coming to the Ashland campus for a major address, students from other colleges started flocking to the area by May 8 amid rumors that there would be a major antiwar demonstration. Townspeople, especially those living near the campus, were greatly disturbed by the "demonstrators who were bedding down in their yards." The situation on campus became highly volatile, and the mayor and city officials alerted the college administration that they "doubted their ability to keep order." Adding to the tension was the discovery of a homemade bomb hidden in the student union's men's room.

The college administration, realizing the inflammatory environment, awakened the students on the morning of May 9 at 2:00 A.M. and told them "to vacate the campus and not to return until [May] 20th." The institution was then shut down.

Only a few security and administrators were permitted on campus. Bob Hope was informed of the situation, and he agreed not to come, graciously returning the $15,000 speaking fee. Fortunately, the campus was quiet the rest of the summer.

In the early 1970s the college joined other private colleges facing declining enrollments and financial crises. Factors such as unemployment, a precarious economy, changing demographics, and the increased attractiveness of public institutions of higher learning strongly undermined the financial stability of numerous colleges, even threatening some with closure. For Ashland this meant, among other things, tight fiscal management and a reduction in faculty and administrative personnel.

After serving so admirably as president for twenty-nine years, Dr. Clayton resigned in 1977, realizing that a "change of administration might be for the best interests of the college." He was succeeded by Dr. Arthur L. Schultz, who became enmeshed in the college's financial crisis. After two rather stormy years he stepped down in 1979, and Dr. Joseph R. Shultz, the dean of the seminary, became Ashland's twenty-fifth president. Shultz, helped by two most successful capital campaign efforts, "A Time of Opportunity" and a "Partnership in Excellence," brought in much-needed capital. The various departments were reorganized into five schools: the Schools of Arts and Humanities, Business Administration, Economics and Radio/TV, Education and Related Professions, and Sciences. Then in 1981 a School of Nursing was added. In 1976 the Master of Education program began, followed in 1978 by a Master of Business Administration program, both of which have enjoyed phenomenal growth. The college also established a number of branch campuses.

Two important academic programs attached to Ashland University are the John M. Ashbrook Center for Public Affairs, named for a former Ohio congressman and American political conservative, and the Gill Center for Business and Economic Education. Both were established in the 1960s but have greatly expanded since. The Ashbrook Center is "an academic forum for the study, research and discussion of the principles and practices of American constitutional government and politics." It annually hosts a series of campus lectures and conferences, publishes scholarly monographs and books, and provides internship opportunities for students interested in careers related to public affairs. The Gill Center programs are designed primarily for business people, teachers, and students to enhance their understanding of economics and the private enterprise system. Both centers reach out to the public and are looked on as excellent public relations for the university.

In 1970 the seminary began its satellite extension, and the institution followed with a combined total of fourteen program centers. This seemingly created a "new Ashland College." The enrollments in these graduate programs, together with the seminary, by 1989 comprised nearly 50 percent of the total enrollment. Enrollment, off- and on-campus, reached over 4,000, the highest in its history. There

were now more than eighty academic majors with six undergraduate degrees and six graduate degrees.

During this economic crisis an innovative program was the establishment of a high school academy. Its major purpose was to bring in needed revenue and to attract students to "fill up empty dorm and classroom space." Fully accredited and professionally staffed" with fifteen faculty members, it lasted from 1981 to 1985. The high school had its own classrooms, housing, faculty, and administration. At first there was much enthusiasm and optimism, but at its peak it had only sixty-five students registered; however, it had two graduating classes, five students in the first and seventeen in the second. It collapsed primarily because it failed to bring in sufficient funds and students.

In 1989, after a two-year feasibility study, the board of trustees voted to officially change the name to Ashland University, which was formally announced at that year's May commencement. This designation was the result of much debate. The change, undoubtedly, more appropriately represented the role the institution played in higher education, but also it was an "aspect in the development of a strategic plan that [called] for the consideration of several new programs for the 1990s." Thus, the university was still to maintain a genuine concern for it historic undergraduate mission of liberal arts and professional studies but at the same time develop further graduate programs.

In the past two decades the university budget has grown from $11 million to $70 million. Much of this growth has occurred under the administration of Dr. G. William Benz, a Presbyterian who assumed the presidency in May 1993. Soon after, under the slogan "A Vision Worth Pursuing" and the prevailing philosophy of "Accent on the Individual," Benz outlined programs for the enhancement of the institution. These changes are apparent in the university's greatly increased financial strength and stability; significant growth in enrollment, particularly with respect to graduate and nontraditional students; strengthened academic programs; major increase in donor support; and improvements and additions to facilities and the physical plant and an upgrading in the appearance and upkeep of the campus.

The new state-of-the-art Hawkins-Conard Student Center was dedicated in the fall of 1996. During the mid-1990s the main campus and the satellites were equipped with the technology for teaching and learning in the information age. Governance changes were instituted by converting five academic schools into the Colleges of Arts and Sciences, Business and Economics, and Education, with each headed by a dean.

In January 1998 the Ohio Board of Regents granted authorization for Ashland to offer the Doctor of Education in educational leadership; in June fourteen doctoral students were admitted to the program. In the same year the university became affiliated with the Council of Graduate Schools, the largest national council rep-

resenting the interests of graduate education. The institution now offers master's degrees through the Colleges of Education and Business and Economics and the Ashland Theological Seminary and doctoral degrees in the College of Education and Ashland Theological Seminary.

In the mid-1990s an environmental science program was established to "provide specific environmental training for students who wish to pursue a career in environmental science or in biology, chemistry or geology with an emphasis in environmental science." A popular and expanding program, it recognizes that many scientific investigations and research projects today and in the foreseeable future deal with environmental problems. This program has been augmented with the addition of three different parcels of land within a few miles of the campus. Referred to as "environmental preserves," they encompass eighty-three acres and are different in terms of the terrain and wildlife. The program has been further augmented by an environmental lecture series funded through several grants.

The Ashland Theological Seminary, with the opening 1999 autumn semester, registered 760 students and is the twelfth largest seminary in the United States and Canada and the largest in Ohio. The student body represents more than seventy denominations and/or religious organizations from almost every state in the nation and fourteen foreign countries. The seminary also offers extensive programs at its campuses in Cleveland and Detroit, plus selected courses in Columbus and Akron.

Ashland University competes in intercollegiate athletics. As with other programs, many changes have occurred since their introduction in the 1920s. Amusingly, because of the restriction on football exacted in the will of major donor Lydia Fox of Miamisburg, football in the earlier years had been forbidden, but in a 1923 meeting of the board of trustees this ban was lifted. As early as 1905–6 the college had sponsored basketball and baseball teams; however, they competed mainly against noncollege competitors such as YMCAs. In 1929 Ashland joined the Ohio Athletic Conference. There was much enthusiasm for the football team as they won six out of seven games in that inaugural year. Thus, a longtime landmark was added to the campus in Redwood Stadium. Not only used for recreational purposes, it was the facility for commencements and local high school football games. It was torn down in the mid-1960s to pave way for two new dormitories; however, especially at homecoming, alumni reverently and nostalgically reflect on the heroics at the old facility. Finding itself in need of a new football field, the college and the city school system joined efforts in 1964–65 to build Community Stadium, which lies a few blocks south of campus.

Late one night in October 1926 a fire destroyed the original gymnasium that had served the college since 1902. Shortly thereafter a new gymnasium appeared, which was considered a "show case" when erected in 1927. Besides hosting many heated

collegiate basketball games, it functioned as a community facility for nearly thirty years. Finally the "old" gym was abandoned in 1966–67 and used as a storage facility until it was torn down in 1990.

By the mid-1960s, with the need for additional space, a new athletic complex, Kates Gymnasium and the adjoining Hoffman Natatorium, were constructed. Within the next several years the athletic facilities were complemented with Conard Field House and the Wurster Fitness Center. The university, with the growth of women's athletics and with competition in twenty intercollegiate sports, is contemplating building further recreational facilities.

In the spring of 1948 Ashland dropped out of the Ohio Athletic Conference, joined the NAIA's Mid-Ohio Conference for eighteen years, and played in the Division II Heartland Collegiate Conference until 1990, when it affiliated with the Midwest Intercollegiate Conference (MIFC) for football and the Great Lakes Valley Conference (GLIAC) for all other sports. The two conferences merged in 1995.

Without a doubt, the strongest tradition is the heritage of the purple and gold eagles. (Purple and gold have been the college colors since 1900.) The college's athletic teams competed as the Purple Titans from 1928 until the autumn of 1933 when the college became the Purple Eagles as the result of a contest sponsored by *The Collegian*. The name "Purple Eagles" was supposedly inspired both by FDR's National Recovery Act's symbolic blue eagle and the national bird. Stuffed and wooden eagles, eagle jewelry and jackets, and a whole array of eagle paraphernalia adorn the shelves at the university bookstore. The most visible, striking, mysterious, and controversial are the imposing eagle statues spread around the campus that were once the corporate symbol of the Case Implement Company. In the 1970s the company gave the university the molds for the eagles and donated the eight-foot eagle that had adorned their corporate headquarters in Columbus. This eagle, called Old Abe, is painted purple and gold and perches boldly atop a four-foot round metal world in front of Kates Gymnasium.

Whereas literary societies, such as Pierian, Dallas, Philomathean and Hesperian, once were an active part of student life, today the social fraternities and sororities—the-so-called Greeks, who appeared on campus in the 1960s—address the needs of numerous students. The Greek activities, especially the competition among these various organizations, certainly add liveliness to campus life.

Unlike today, when there is an excessive amount of ready entertainment, the students, especially prior to World War II, provided for their own—YMCA and YWCA, gospels teams, literary societies, scavenger hunts, popcorn- and candy-making parties, unscheduled ball games, and a few faculty chaperoned dress-up parties. Students were informed that "dancing, card playing, billiard-playing, and visiting any billiard soloon [*sic*] or any immoral place are forbidden." Furthermore, "The university is a place for work. Young persons seeking chiefly social enjoyment

should look elsewhere to gratify their wishes . . . as their presence tend to demoralize those of higher aspirations." Despite the rules, supposedly "cards were secreted into ingeniously-contrived spots."

Although numerous colleges banned students (especially underclassmen) from bringing cars to the campus, Ashland, although it was discussed by various administrations, never officially prevented freshmen from having cars. Evidently this was because the college had many commuters, as well as students from outside Ohio, especially after World War II. Nevertheless, President Clayton emphasized that automobiles were "greatly discouraged."

When the college was founded, smoking was prohibited on campus, as it was forbidden by the teachings of the Brethren Church. In fact, smoking was not permitted on campus until the 1960s; of course, it was frequently hidden. By the 1990s growing concerns about the dangers of cigarette smoke brought a ban on the campus sale of cigarettes and limited smoking to specific campus areas. At the request of the student government and with a ruling by the board of trustees, there was no smoking in residence halls beginning in the academic year 2000–2001. Alcoholic beverages were forbidden on campus prior to 1960. With an increasing number of student requests from 1970 until 1990, alcoholic beverages were eventually permitted on campus. Then, with the stricter state restrictions on the usage of alcohol by underage college students and the dangers of institutional liability, the trustees ruled that beginning in 1990–91 no alcohol would be permitted on campus.

The entire Ashland community is enriched culturally and socially because of the university. The Departments of Music and Fine Arts, for example, since the birth of the college, have provided activities and entertainment for town and gown. The university radio/television department, through WRDL 88.9 FM and WRDL TV 2, also serves the Ashland community. A communicative arts major in the field of radio and television was established in the 1960s. This popular major offers a range of laboratory experiences for students through the campus radio and television stations. Besides airing college activities, both the radio and TV stations carry a wide variety of community events, which contribute toward good public relations. Moreover, the university contributes substantially to the local economy. The Ashland Chamber of Commerce estimates that the total dollar impact of the university on the local community is "countless millions." With over 600 full-time employees and many part-time, the university is among the three largest employers in Ashland County. And since 90 percent of these employees live in the nearby area, most of the $25 million annual payroll is spent in the Mansfield-Ashland community. In 1995 these employees paid $315,000 in city taxes.

From an institution of fewer than 100 students and ten to fifteen faculty members and three buildings on fourteen acres during its first few years, the university has grown to nearly 6,000 students, 220 full-time faculty, and thirty-five buildings

on more than 100 acres. With a minimal number of offerings in those early years, Ashland now offers more than seventy majors, including hotel and restaurant management, radio and television, international studies, toxicology and environmental science, and sports medicine. And with only 25 percent of the faculty having doctoral degrees in the 1950s, the university faculty with doctorates is now over 80 percent. In 1906 the college had an annual budget of $7,000; it now is nearly $70 million. And what was once just one campus, Ashland now offers programs at thirteen other sites throughout Ohio. In the college's early years the student body was generally Brethren, but today according to the "Report of the President, 1998–99," the university has nearly 2,000 full-time students of diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds on the main campus. Some 85 percent come from Ohio—from sixty-two of the state's eighty-eight counties—while the remainder come from twenty states and twenty-five countries.

Ashland University, although not as strongly tied to the Brethren Church or as dependent upon it for financial support as at the time of its founding, still has a deep commitment to the Christian faith and its affiliation with the Brethren Church. Neither Ashland University nor the Theological Seminary is owned by the Church but, rather, by the board of trustees, which has to have half of its thirty-nine members as Brethren. Entering students do not have to take a pledge to any religious affiliation, neither are they required to attend chapel service; and belonging to any college religious organization is voluntary. The original required daily chapel services later became a three-time-a-week requirement and then weekly; in 1968–69 the requirement was dropped altogether. In 1999 there was instituted a midweek voluntary chapel service. Sponsored by the Department of Religious Life, the service offers participants a twenty-five-minute inspirational service conducted by persons of various Christian traditions. In 1999–2000 more than 400 different students identify with these student activities; of course, some participate in several organizations. All undergraduate students must take a three-semester-hour credit in religion to meet the graduation requirement, but this requirement is met by a variety of nondenomination religious study courses.

The 1998–99 mission statement for Ashland University states that it "is a mid-sized regional teaching university historically related to the Brethren Church. Our mission is to serve the educational needs of all—undergraduate and graduate, traditional and non-traditional, full and part time—by providing educational programs of high quality in an environment that is both challenging and supportive." Furthermore, the programs "emphasize both the importance of liberal arts and sciences and the need to provide initial and advanced preparation in selected professional areas—including business, education and theology—which enables our students to lead meaningful and productive lives in the world community." The university is built on a "long-standing commitment to Judeo-Christian values that stresses the importance

of the each individual." Ashland University enters the new millennium with a spirit of optimism and a commitment to its rich heritage.

## Suggested Reading

Several general histories of Ashland County provided useful material: H. S. Knapp, *A History of the Pioneer and Modern Times of Ashland County* (J. B. Lippincott, 1863); George William Hill, *History of Ashland County* (Williams Bros., 1880); A. J. Baughman, *History of Ashland County* (S. J. Clarke, 1909); and Betty Plank, *Historic Ashland County,* vols. 1 and 2 (Ashland County Historical Society, 1987–95). A most valuable source on the relationship of the Brethren Church to Ashland University was Albert T. Ronk, *History of the Brethren Church* (Brethren Publishers, 1968). The sesquicentennial booklet *Ashland, Ohio: Past and Present in Word and Picture* (1965) proved useful.

Clara Worst Miller and Glenn E. Mason, *A Short History of Ashland College 1873–1953* (Brethren Publishers, 1953), provided an insightful view of that period. Duncan R. Jamieson and Kristine M. Kleptach, *The Eagles of Ashland* (Ashland University Press, 1994), and Joseph R. Shultz, *Ashland from College to University* (Landoll, 1995), were of topical usage. President Glenn L. Clayton's two-volume, unpublished survey "Whispering Pines and Purple Eagles: A Personal View of Ashland College, 1948–77" conveys an account of his administration. Clayton, who has a doctorate in history and is still working at the college, gives penetrating insight into the functioning of the university during his lengthy association with it.

Many useful articles were found in the Ashland University Library archives: S. Z. Sharp, "The Origin and Early History of Ashland College: 1878–1882 (n.d); "Ashland College Songs," *Ashland College Bulletin* vol. 19 (Oct. 1945); "Traditions and Customs," *The Key* (1946–47); "Fifty Years of A.C. Presidents," *Ashland Collegian,* Oct. 20, 1948; "The Changing Shape of Ashland College," *Brethren Evangelist* (Feb. 1978); "A Historical Vignette: Founder's Day Centennial Worship Service" (Feb. 19, 1978); and "What College Should I Attend," *Brethren Evangelist* (Oct. 1998). Several official university publications were also useful: *Accent Magazine* (Winter 1997; Spring, Summer, Winter, 1999); the undergraduate and graduate catalogs (1998–99); and the president's annual reports (1996–99).

A few articles from the local *Ashland Times Gazette* were valuable: "Traditions at Ashland College," Feb. 22, 1978; "AU President Looks at Past, Future at Start of Year," Aug. 25, 1999; "Students Back to Class Today," Aug. 30, 1999; "University Acquires Equipment to Enhance Video/TV Curriculum," Sep. 18, 1999; "AU's Strength Built upon Continuous Improvement," (Sep. 18, 1999); and "Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow," Dec. 30, 1999. A few electronic sources were of value as well in preparing this

article; see the websites for Ashland University, the Church of the Brethren, and the Ashland Park Street Brethren Church.

During the year 1999 and through the spring of 2000 interviews were conducted on the campus with many Ashland University personnel, some of whom are retired: James A. Barnes, Glenn L. Clayton, Robert C. Cyders, Mary Ellen Drushal, William H. Etling, Frederick J. Finks, Michael Gleason, William J. Goldring, Steven M. Hannan, Susan B. Heiman, Al King, Fred Martinelli, William W. Mast, Mary Alice Mielke, Mia Preston, Donald Rinehart, David Roepke, Joseph R. Shultz, Stanford K. Siders, Thomas Stoffer, Ralph V. Tomassi, William B. Weiss, and Robert G. Zinkan.

# *Baldwin-Wallace College*

## A Microcosm of America

Norman J. Clary

To examine the history of Baldwin-Wallace College is to see a microcosm of the changes of American life across time. The college has been representative of much of the evolution of American college education and has also shared in the achievements and the problems in the country's development. The college evolved through several stages from what was at first a primary school called the Berea Seminary, chartered in 1837, which was expanded in 1838 into an academy of both primary and secondary levels called the Berea Lyceum School. In its origin the institution was part of the movement of various American religious denominations to found communities to promote the pursuit of religious life and the study of the liberal arts and, frequently, the acquisition of practical and vocational skills. From these beginnings the lives of Berea as college and town intertwined. The aim of this account is to trace the stages of the college's evolution as it reflected the development of the country.

The town was founded in 1836 as a Methodist communal association by James Gilruth, Henry Sheldon, and John Baldwin. Sheldon and Baldwin were from Connecticut and Gilruth was from western Virginia. All were devout Methodists and, like their denominational peers, were against the use of tobacco or liquor. Like most northern Methodists, all three were opposed to slavery. While Sheldon and Gilruth were preachers, Baldwin had taught school. All three farmed, and in 1828 Baldwin began farming with property on both sides of the East Branch of the Rocky River, where Baldwin Lake in Berea is today.

In 1836 the three men, who had met each other through their Methodism, founded the Community of United Christians and named it for the New Testament town of Berea. By the spring of 1837 about thirty families had joined. The purpose of the community was to promote "holiness," cleanse the members of sinfulness,

*From left:* Josiah Holbrook, John Baldwin, and Wilhelm Nast

relieve the oppressed of the "human family," and spread "useful knowledge." The members immediately built a meetinghouse large enough to seat everyone and also to house their school, the "Berea Seminary," for which they received a charter from the state on March 14, 1837, the earliest of several foundation dates for what would become Baldwin-Wallace College. The school opened in the meetinghouse on April 3 with twenty-four children taught by the Reverend John L. Johnson. Unfortunately, the inflated land prices of 1836 and then the Panic of 1837 hurt the little community economically, causing the first Berea's decline.

Sheldon then appealed to Josiah Holbrook of New England and New York City, founder in 1827 of the lyceum movement, through which he became one of the foremost educational reformers of his time. Holbrook came west to help refound the community and school. Sheldon had visited Holbrook in 1834 in Baltimore and had learned that more than 3,000 towns across the northeastern United States were participating in his lyceum movement. Indeed, the 1837 charter of the Berea Seminary referred to Berea as a "lyceum village." In accordance with Holbrook's concept, each lyceum village was linked with an academy, or lyceum, that would provide instruction in literature, religious principles, science, and skilled craftsmanship and would train teachers to serve at additional lyceums. In addition, the lyceum villages were expected to promote adult education through libraries, science museums, and public lectures by such notable figures as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Daniel Webster, William Lloyd Garrison, Charles Dickens, and Susan B. Anthony, who in fact did lecture on the lyceum circuit.

In 1837 Holbrook accepted the invitation to come to Ohio because he wanted to create a model village for his lyceum association and saw the great economic potential of the Berea and Cleveland area. With his eldest son, Alfred, he marked out the

streets for a revived Berea. The village green laid out by the Holbrooks is now the grassy area between the college's Marting Hall and the Conservatory of Music. It is still known as the Lyceum Village Square and is listed, along with Marting Hall, in the National Registry of Historic Places. The Berea school founded by Holbrook in 1838, sometimes called the Lyceum School and sometimes the Berea Seminary, the name of the first school, was the real beginning of Baldwin-Wallace College.

The study of literature was emphasized, but true to the American way and Holbrook's concepts the school included the practical by making employment available to students at a small "factory" doing the highly skilled work of making terrestrial globes for sale. Holbrook's second son, Dwight, was the manager. The Lyceum's building was the meetinghouse that had been used by the first Berea. Holbrook's son Alfred was the principal of the little Lyceum. Both he and his father were graduates of Yale College and were originally from Connecticut, like many other early Bereans and settlers throughout the Connecticut Western Reserve.

The meetinghouse, said Alfred Holbrook, was "a rickety, unfinished, cheerless building" unfit for a school. So in its place John Baldwin, who was on the verge of becoming extremely wealthy through the quarrying of the large deposits of fine sandstone on his farm for high-quality grinding wheels and building stone, erected a two-story sandstone building. It was located on Factory Street (now part of South Rocky River Drive) on the west side of the Factory Triangle (now a little park in downtown Berea known as "the Triangle"). The lower floor was occupied by the factory and store, and the upper floor housed the Lyceum School. Alfred soon married a cousin, who was also a teacher, and both taught in the Lyceum. In 1841 Sheldon converted the school from a community-owned institution into a joint-stock corporation. However, the economic depression of the early 1840s frightened away investors. Meanwhile, a new public school called the Central School competed successfully with the Lyceum. And as the Central School succeeded, the Lyceum school declined.

When the private Lyceum fell into financial collapse, John Baldwin quickly gave the academy a financial rescue for rebirth in 1845. It had a faculty of four, including Holbrook, and a new location on land donated from Baldwin's farm along the east side of Rocky River at the southern edge of Berea. The reborn academy, chartered on December 20, 1845, was renamed the Baldwin Institute and unlike the Lyceum was linked to the Methodist Church Conference. For that reason and because of the new name, the year 1845 has been used ever since as the foundin date of Baldwin-Wallace College, even though the institution is really older, traceable back to 1838 and even 1837. While respecting the Methodist claims and traditions, one may view the Holbrooks, in addition to Sheldon and Baldwin, as the primary contributors to the college's foundations and the Lyceum as the true forebear of the college. Both Baldwin and Alfred Holbrook were among the trustees of Baldwin Institute. Baldwin repeatedly entreated Holbrook to continue as principal of the academy, now

called the Baldwin Institute, but he declined because he believed that the Methodist Church leaders would prefer to have a minister head a Methodist school. Instead, he accepted the position of assistant principal. The Reverend Holden Dwight, principal of the defunct Norwalk Academy (founded by Sheldon in 1834), was appointed principal. Baldwin erected a building, North Hall, at the new location, and classes opened on April 9, 1846. The Baldwin Institute was in part a resurrection of the Norwalk Seminary. The Methodist Church of Northern Ohio now looked at the Baldwin Institute as the academic affiliate.

Although he dressed like a backwoods rustic, John Baldwin was an able entrepreneur. He soon developed not only a quarry but also a grindstone factory, a flourmill, a saw mill, and woolen mills. These provided jobs for students and invigorated Berea economically and also enabled Baldwin to have the means to found and support more schools: Baker University and its town, Baldwin City, Kansas, in 1856, along with mills there to help support the school; Baldwin Seminary in Baldwin, Louisiana, a two-year vocational school to teach freed African Americans; and Baldwin High School for Boys and Girls in Bangalore, India. At all the schools he founded he always insisted on his policies of no liquor and admission to all regardless of nationality, creed, race, religion, or gender. He and his wife, Mary Chappell Baldwin, were so devoted to freedom and equality that they set up at their house in Berea the first "Underground Railroad" stop in the township, part of the famous network across northern America that helped fleeing slaves escape to Canada.

Other men would soon form quarry companies at Berea, and one of them, James Wallace, a wealthy man from Detroit and a Baldwin Institute trustee, promised that if the institute would add a division for higher education, he would construct for this "university" a stone building on the Lyceum Village Square. The new principal of Baldwin Institute, the Reverend James Wheeler, was pleased with the idea, and the institute acquired a new charter in 1855 permitting it to become Baldwin University with Wheeler as its first president.

Despite the new name it was still a small school, like all American colleges then. For an actual university education one had to go to Europe after graduation from a college in America. Even so, the university required the study of Latin, Greek, Greek history, algebra, geometry, and Bible study for the first year of its curriculum. In the second year the curriculum included Latin and Greek, geometry, trigonometry, English ("rhetoric"), general science ("natural theology"), and Bible study. In the third year the required courses were Latin and Greek literature, chemistry, geology, physics, English, logic, aesthetics, and economics. And the fourth-year courses were Latin and Greek literature, astronomy, philology, English literature, history, religion ("evidences of Christianity"). This Classical Curriculum was in accordance with German and, later, French practice. There was an alternative curriculum, abbreviated to

three years, Scientific Course that actually had fewer science courses but no Greek or Latin. Having such a second curriculum also followed the European model. Electives included French, German, Hebrew, Italian, piano, voice, guitar, melodeon (a small reed organ), and drawing. In 1857 a Commercial Curriculum was begun, offering courses in bookkeeping, banking, shipping, and mining. The promised Wallace Hall was completed in 1857 on the Public Lyceum Square. In 1859 five students, including one woman, were the first graduates of Baldwin University. Its enrollment was 269 in its first year of existence, and it soon reached 400.

From 1861 to 1865 the Civil War engendered strong feelings of patriotism at the school, but it also caused a precipitous drop in the male enrollment as young men went into military service. After the war the university recovered slowly and always had a small enrollment and financial difficulties. In 1858 the school had begun the building of a stone chapel on the primary campus on the south side of Berea. Financial support for the building came from James Wallace and another quarry and mill owner, Fletcher Hulet. The architecture was copied from the general design of the Oberlin College Chapel that was built in 1855. Construction was suspended during the Civil War, and work proceeded so slowly after the war that the chapel was not finished until 1878. Named Hulet Hall, it had classrooms on the first floor and, like the Oberlin chapel, a sanctuary on the second.

Financial difficulties were especially acute in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1874, during the depression that followed the Panic of 1873, President William D. Godman even suggested that the university should close and give its assets to his alma mater, Ohio Wesleyan University (also the source of his honorary doctorate). After the Berea townspeople hanged and burned him in effigy from a tree in his front yard, Godman soon departed. The university struggled on, with enrollments through the rest of the century remaining between 175 and 250, the great majority of whom were in the Preparatory School, the heir of the Lyceum School. The Preparatory School included not only an academy but also the normal department, or teacher training department, which was the way teacher training in Europe and America was structured during that time. In spite of the financial difficulties, a large stone dormitory, Ladies Hall (in fact housing gentlemen as well), was slowly erected starting in the mid-1870s.

Unfortunately, the location of the main campus of Baldwin University had become untenable by the early 1890s because quarries now extended dangerously close to the foundations of the campus buildings. Incessant noise and dust from the quarries may also have contributed to enrollment problems. Consequently, the campus had to be abandoned. Despite the precarious physical and financial situation of the tiny university, ways were found to build two beautiful stone buildings on a new campus north of Bagley Road: Recitation Hall, or Wheeler Hall (1892), and a library building (1893). Before the disappearance of the old campus, two buildings

there, including Ladies Hall, were torn down and moved stone by stone to the new campus, where Ladies Hall became, with help from the Carnegie Foundation, Carnegie Science Hall.

The university achieved success also in the establishment of a link with another educational institution in the Cleveland area. From 1897 to 1913 what would become Cleveland-Marshall Law School was connected to Baldwin University and from 1913 to 1926 to Baldwin-Wallace College. The law school began in 1897 as the Baldwin University Law School, organized by several judges and attorneys, including Willis Vickery (1857–1932), a Shakespeare scholar of national renown, and Frederick C. Howe (1867–1940), the recipient of a Ph.D. from the John Hopkins University, partner in law with the sons of President James Garfield, and leader of the Progressive movement in Cleveland and Ohio. Another law school merged with the law school in 1899, and the united school took the name Cleveland Law School, which was still connected to the university. It was Ohio's first evening law school and, true to the Baldwin way, the first to admit women.

While Baldwin University struggled along financially during the Civil War, its seven-year-old German department did so well that in 1863 the department became the nucleus for a separate college, German Wallace College. The man whose idea it was to create the German department, and even a college especially for German-American Methodists, was the Reverend Dr. Jacob Rothweiler, born in 1823 in Berghausen in the state of Baden. He came with his family in 1839 to New York City, where so many immigrants from Germany were joining the American Methodists that they were organizing a German Methodist branch of the denomination. Rothweiler joined the new organization, which sponsored him as a missionary to German Americans in Ohio. When he visited Berea in 1856, he proposed to President Wheeler that the new Baldwin University create a German department because of the many German Americans in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Detroit, and Buffalo.

Actual departments of modern languages were quite unusual then, but instant support for the proposal for a German department came from the Reverend Wilhelm Nast (1807–1899) of Cincinnati, who was a trustee of Baldwin University from 1859 to 1865. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, he had attended the Blaubeuren Seminary in eastern Württemberg, near Ulm, and then the University of Tübingen, intending to prepare for the Lutheran ministry. While at Tübingen he was the roommate of David Friedrich Strauss, who would soon become an influential figure among those modern biblical scholars searching for the "historical Jesus." Nast, in contrast, followed a more traditional interpretation of the Gospels. He came to America in 1828 and served as librarian and professor of German at West Point and then as professor of Greek and Hebrew at Kenyon College. In 1835 he joined the Methodist Church and became a missionary to German immigrants in Cincinnati and, later, in Kentucky and other states. A published scholar and acknowledged father of German Methodism

in America, he would give vital support to Ludwig Jacoby, the founder of the first American Methodist mission to Germany. Strong agreement with Rothweiler's proposal for a German department at Baldwin University came also from the Cincinnati Methodist Conference and the Northern Ohio Methodist Conference.

Meanwhile, Dr. Rothweiler received financial support for a German department from his old friend of Detroit and Berea, James Wallace. John Baldwin also supported Rothweiler's proposal, promising to grant students studying German the use of Baldwin Hall as a residence. In its first year the enrollment of the German department totaled twelve and soon expanded. Rothweiler was the professor of German from 1859 to 1864. Most of the support for scholarships for German American students at the university came from German Americans in Cincinnati.

With the growing success of the German department, the German Methodist Conference, led by Wilhelm Nast, decided to promote Rothweiler's idea for the establishment of a German Methodist College. In response Wallace, trustee and treasurer of the university and mayor of Berea, donated the already-constructed Wallace Hall, the Lyceum Village Square, and some of his own funds to establish the college named after him. Soon after German Wallace College was chartered in 1863, John Baldwin gave Baldwin Hall on the Baldwin campus to the new institution. Enrolling forty students in 1864–65, the college continued to expand after the end of the Civil War. In 1864 Nast became the first president of the board of trustees of the college; he remained a trustee until 1895 and served as president of the college from 1864 until 1893.

Despite the move to the new campus, Baldwin University continued to be financially weak, while German Wallace, with its special niche in the market for students, grew steadily stronger. Seeing the financial difficulties of Baldwin University, Methodist leaders encouraged the two colleges of Berea, with their common roots, to merge. They did unite in 1913, forming Baldwin-Wallace College. United the faculty numbered more than thirty and the student body well over 300. The great majority of the students were from German Wallace. The president of German Wallace College and graduate in 1898 of the college, the Reverend Dr. Arthur L. Breslich, became president of Baldwin-Wallace College. George F. Collier, the registrar and dean of the faculty of Baldwin University from 1896 to 1913 and also professor of English and an expert on Shakespeare, became registrar and dean of Baldwin-Wallace.

Included in the newly united college was the Nast Theological Seminary, located in Marting Hall. In the first year of German Wallace College its trustees had founded a chair in biblical studies. President Nast had expanded the program and then had founded the Theological Seminary for graduate study, offering the B.D. degree, the preeminent graduate degree in "divinity" studies. After his death in 1899 the little school was named the Nast Theological Seminary in his honor.

Although the Baldwins had been abolitionists and supporters of the "Underground Railroad," even after World War I there were no African American students at the college. That was typical of American colleges in the North and South for years to come. And there was racism at the college, particularly among the students. In Marting Hall, at a party of one of the student "literary societies," while the women guests were dressed in beautiful dresses in the fashion of the time, and the young men wore suits and ties, some of the men were made up in minstrel-style blackface. The chapter room of the society was hung with burlap and animal skins to make it seem "more realistic" as a cabin in the Old South. Using a racist pejorative written in a mock southern dialect, the student newspaper reported a quartet in blackface "captivated the audience." Neither the members of the society nor the reporters for the student newspaper, *The Exponent,* seem to have had any sense that they were an illustration of the enormous American tragedy. Minstrel-style "entertainments" continued at the college into the 1920s and perhaps beyond, as they did across America.

Toward students from China and other Asian countries, however, the college's attitude was quite different. Two factors account for this. First, there had been Methodist schools in China for many years, served in part by missionaries who were graduates of German Wallace College. Second, on May 13, 1908, the United States informed China that about two-thirds (or $12 million) of the Boxer Rebellion indemnity to the United States would be remitted to China if it would use the money for scholarships to send students to American colleges. Thus, between 1901 and 1940 some 7,900 Chinese students attended American colleges, including Baldwin-Wallace. Students and faculty members of Baldwin-Wallace welcomed Chinese students. In 1921, for example, the Chinese students, all male, were the guests of a literary society for women students. During October of that year Professor Frederick Roehm invited the Chinese students of the college to his house in celebration of the tenth anniversary of the "Double Ten," the beginning of the Chinese Revolution, October 10, 1911. There were students from eleven other foreign countries, including Egypt, Sweden, and Hungary, where there had been a small Methodist mission among German Calvinists at Srbrobran in the Voyvodina since 1898.

During the early years of the new college there were a number of study programs. Those graduates of June 1917 completed the following courses of study: seventeen in the liberal arts and sciences, twenty-two in piano and organ; fourteen in the normal department, which included the new (1913) home economics department; five in the academy (the descendant of the Lyceum School); twenty-six in the academy's branch at the Cleveland Law School, the Cleveland Preparatory School, a night school in downtown Cleveland that offered students a way to meet the state's requirement of a high school diploma for admission into a law school; and fifty-eight in the law school.

Baldwin-Wallace's early-twentieth-century development was hindered by the great wave of hostility toward German Americans during World War I. The resultant nationalism led to the removal of the president, Dr. Arthur Breslich, who was also professor of Hebrew and author, in 1913, of the words to Baldwin-Wallace's original *Alma Mater.* In January 1918 he was "relieved" of his position by the college trustees following the campus uproar that included marches, petitions, and disruption over his attempt to lead the annual college Christmas service in singing "Silent Night" in German. Claims that his patriotism was half-hearted, mainly from persons with Baldwin University roots, were turned over to the head of the Cleveland office of what was developing into the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But there were no grounds for charges against Breslich.

The repressive actions of nationalists toward German Americans in 1917–18 were paralleled by the Prohibitionists' success in achieving passage of the Eighteenth Amendment in December 1917 (ratification in 1919), designed to prevent everyone from drinking alcoholic beverages. The temperance movement had always been strong in Methodism, and in 1917 it was claimed that half the students at the college had volunteered to assist in the campaign for the amendment.

Following the unfortunate termination of Dr. Breslich, the college appointed to its presidency the Reverend Albert Storms, whose honorary doctorate was from Drake University. Storms, a professor of history, worked successfully to end discord at the college. Even so, in 1926 the Cleveland Law School ended its affiliation, which had begun in 1897. The separation was caused by disagreements over the control of finances and appointments at the law school.

After the Wall Street crash of October 1929, the United States rapidly entered the Great Depression. Everyone at the college received a 45 percent cut in salary, but there were no firings of faculty members. In spite of the Depression the college managed to survive. Because of declining enrollments, however, the Nast Theological Seminary did cease to exist in 1935. The Conservatory of Music, however, continued to thrive. In 1899 Professor Albert Riemenschneider (German Wallace Class of 1899)—son of scholarly professor of philosophy and college president (1893–1908) Dr. Karl Riemenschneider—had founded the German Wallace music school. Fourteen years later he founded the conservatory by combining the music departments of the uniting colleges. Director of the conservatory from 1913 to 1948, he was also an outstanding organist who installed in 1914 the great Austin pipe organ with its sixty ranks and four manuals in the conservatory's concert hall. In 1933, during the depths of the Great Depression, he and his wife, Selma, founded the annual Bach Festival and the important Bach Library. The library became the heart of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute formed in 1969 to coordinate research by scholars from around the world who use its archives. The institute sponsors symposiums and since 1970 has published a scholarly journal, *BACH*.

Similarly, the college, as a whole as well as the American nation, would pass through difficult years to achieve greater strength. From 1934 to 1948 the president of the college was the Reverend Dr. Louis C. Wright, who had received the Ph.D. from Boston University in 1917. Following graduation he was director of the YMCA and worked with American soldiers in France. From 1920 to 1934 he was pastor at the Epworth-Euclid Church in Cleveland. During the fifteen years of the Wright administration the United States went through the Depression and the Second World War to emerge as the most powerful country, militarily and economically, in the world. At the college student enrollment tripled and finances improved greatly. During the war a Navy V-12 unit was established at the college on July 1, 1943, to offer education to officer candidates. More than 850 men went through the program, which ended on November 1, 1945. Also during the early period of the war, more than 300 Army Air Corps officer candidates were trained in the War Training Service at the college.

After the war veterans flooded the campus. Their tuition, books, and room and board were covered by the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of June 1944, popularly known as the GI Bill of Rights. Not wanting to lose this opportunity for a major enrollment increase, the college dropped the semester system and on September 23, 1946, began the quarterly system, thus offering more opportunities per year for veterans to enter, which also meant a more intensive study program. At the same time attendance at chapel programs and services was made voluntary. Even though there were three presidents from 1948 to 1955, and two of them were acting presidents chosen from the faculty, enrollment continued to increase.

Beginning in 1955 the college entered a new era of leadership under Alfred B. Bonds Jr. From Arkansas, he held an A.B. from Henderson State Teachers College and an A.M. from Louisiana State University and had served in the U.S. Department of Education. He soon brought Dr. Fred Harris to the college as dean of the faculty. The college education and professional life of the two men was in teacher training. Dean Harris was a specialist in elementary education. Both men believed that the college needed strong, authoritarian leadership, and they would have a large impact on the college, particularly on the Humanities Division.

President Bonds was excellent at raising money from both private and government sources at a time when money was becoming readily available. To form the inner circle of the college's trustees, he selected outstanding Cleveland business and banking figures, such as Dr. Jacob Kamm, the brilliant but modest financial expert, businessman, author of books on investment, professor of business administration and reformer of the curriculum of the Division of Business Administration, and later member of the Ohio Board of Regents. With the American economy booming through the postwar period, and with enrollment increasing from 1,300 students in 1956 to 2,400 in the 1960s, President Bonds carried through an extensive building program which included the new library building, the college union, the art and

drama center, and many dormitories. Also, the ratio of female students to male was improved from 1:2 in the 1950s to 1:1 in the 1960s, as it was in colleges across America in this time.

Not all parts of the college would thrive, however. The "shift from academic merit to student consumerism is one of the . . . greatest reversals of direction in all the history of American higher education," Clark Kerr of Berkeley wrote in 1980. For William H. Whyte, writing in 1956, the crucial shift was the dislodging of the liberal arts and sciences by technical and vocational education as the center of the university, a shift much desired by parents and businessmen, whatever they might claim. Bonds and Harris led Baldwin-Wallace in following these trends. Thus, Dean Harris decided to reduce sharply the required hours for the humanities in the core curriculum. The change was accomplished in two phases, in 1965 and in 1968–69. Amazingly it was not foreseen by any but a few that these changes were going to reduce the need for faculty members in the humanities. The times seemed so good that there was no fear.

In the late 1960s, during the years of the nationwide movement against the war in Vietnam, an increasing number of students and faculty at the college joined in "silent vigils" in Berea to protest the war and also participated in the "Mobilization Against the War" in New York and the march on the Pentagon. Some protested out of pacifist convictions; others believed the war was not in the U.S. interest, was a massacre of the Vietnamese people, and was resulting in needless and tragic deaths of American soldiers. No one was against American soldiers. All distrusted the government's claims regarding the war. Meanwhile, the civil rights movement helped to bring a growing number of African American students to the college.

At the college the democratic spirit of the sixties would finally appear in the elimination of much of the authoritarian form of leadership of the Harris era. Richard Miller, who held an Ed.D. from Columbia University, became the dean of the faculty in 1969. Not only did Miller dismantle much of the Harris governance system, but he also persuaded President Bonds to allow the faculty to elect the person who would preside over faculty meetings and proposed the creation of several faculty-elected committees for the faculty. While these changes did not lessen the administration' s strength, it did gave an opportunity for many more faculty members to participate on committees instead of just a few persons handpicked by the dean. In addition, Dean Miller accepted the proposal to have the dean grant departments the right to elect their heads, or choose a rotation procedure, with final approval by the dean, for three-year terms, instead of having chairpersons appointed by the dean. The faculty approved these proposals enthusiastically and virtually unanimously. Immediately faculty morale rose. Also, Dean Miller dropped Harris's merit-pay system and introduced a much better teacher evaluation form. He proposed a faculty grievance committee. One of the college lawyers, the elegant