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Dorothy E. Finnegan
University of Massachusetts Boston

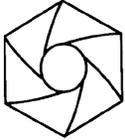
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Working Paper # 6

Opportunity Knocked: The Origins of
Contemporary Comprehensive
Colleges and Universities

Dorothy E. Finnegan

March 1991

**University of Massachusetts Boston
Graduate College of Education
W/2/143-06
Boston, Massachusetts 02125-3393
Phone: (617) 287-7740
Fax: (617) 287-7747
email: nerche@umb.edu**

Opportunity Knocked: The Origins of Contemporary Comprehensive Colleges and Universities

In mid-February 1990, four academics gathered at the New England Resource Center for Higher Education at the University of Massachusetts at Boston to begin research on the academic labor market in New England comprehensive colleges and universities. The group, to a certain degree, resembled the proverbial triad of blind men who were asked to describe an elephant. The amount of knowledge about the comprehensive sector shared by the four of us was as limited and as particularized as the pachyderm describers. As academics are wont to do, we shortly began to discuss possible working papers.

My tendency is to tell the whole story behind the paper. Suffice to say, Zelda Gamson and Ted I.K. Youn originally determined there was a need to describe the evolution of the sector. Zee, Ted, and Robert Ross, our fourth project partner, all gave me constructive criticism and personal support through months of my research. To Zee, I owe the greatest debt as she consistently encouraged the research that removed my blinders. Additionally, Roger Geiger, intrigued by my early characterization of the origins by function, allowed me to air my preliminary findings to his history of higher education class at Penn State. I think my presentation added to the syllabus of his course. And thanks to my husband, Tony Cahill, for putting up with my frustrations with the database and with all of my historical anecdotes when the weather reporter mentions a town in which a comprehensive institution is located. I finally understand an obsession.

Any errors or misrepresentations are entirely my own. I hope that readers will share their experience, research and evaluative expertise to help me reform this working paper.

Dorothy E. Finnegan
State College, Pennsylvania
March 1991

Abstract

Taken together, general statements concerning the nature of the contemporary American comprehensive colleges and universities punctuate the ambiguous state of knowledge about and recent research on this sector. This paper examines the origins of five major institutional types from which contemporary comprehensive institutions have emerged. The institutional types demonstrate that as an aggregate these colleges removed the gender, class, religious and racial barriers of the early higher education system by providing specialized curricula, by serving particular populations, or by combining these two traits. The origins of the five institutional types discussed are: normal schools/teachers colleges, sectarian colleges -- Protestant and Roman Catholic, YMCA colleges, and historically black colleges. The paper suggests that the seemingly artificial nature of the authoritative typology devised in the 1970s by the Carnegie Commission has historical grounding and that the present 595 comprehensive colleges and universities are bound to each other by more than contemporary classificatory criteria.

Introduction

Comprehensive colleges and universities as the middle sector of the institutional continuum often leaves some ambiguity for organizational analysts to define their institutional boundaries. The very term implies the difficulty involved in defining the stratum. Therefore, comprehensives are often denoted in the literature by what they are **not**: they are not research institutions, not liberal arts, not community colleges (Birnbaum, 1985). This less precise tone pervades much of the writing about this sector. For example, comprehensives have an "unsettled quality" (Kerr, 1969) as an "ugly duckling" in higher education (Wong, 1979) implying that they are by-products of other historical events in higher education or have "general dilution" (Clark, 1987) "with too few parades to march" (Riesman, 1974) pointing to a relatively weak institutional culture that does not stand strongly on its own.

A few writers, however, describe the comprehensive sector in more positive terms, drawing especially on egalitarian values in American higher education. Harclerod and Ostar (1987) emphasize the contributions of state colleges to increasing access to higher education in general and to professional education. Similarly, Dunham (1969) portrays the public institutions within the sector as serving a neglected but increasingly important population by referring to them as the "Colleges for the Forgotten Americans." Lynton and Elman (1987) point to the contributions of regional, especially urban, universities to the application of knowledge and the preparation of professionals committed to solving societal problems.

Further confusing the issue, prior to the early 1970s, scholars and authors of government reports generally distinguished American institutions into four categories: universities, four-year colleges, two-year colleges, and others, which translated to professional schools, such as medicine and law. In 1972, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching devised an authoritative typology of American post-secondary institutions. The comprehensive sector has been defined as one of nine categories in the classification scheme. Using survey data from the Department of Education's Higher Education General Information Surveys (HEGIS), the National Science Foundation, the Higher Education Research Institute, and the 1987 Higher Education Directory, the most recent Carnegie Classification (1987) groups colleges and universities according to the types and number of degrees offered. Further distinctions are made according to the amount of research support from the federal government, the number of degrees received annually, and admissions selectivity. The Carnegie Classification distinguishes public and private comprehensive institutions in two

categories, differentially based on enrollment size.¹

Scholars have at once praised the contributions of public and urban comprehensive institutions and lamented the ambiguity and lack of focus of their missions in light of other more seemingly defined or better understood sectors. Perhaps the ambiguous nature of the literature that includes both apologia and criticism reflects our lack of comprehension and appreciation of historical and contemporary functions more than it explains the nature of these institutions. Beyond the traits identified by the Carnegie Classification, does the sector exist? Do these institutions share significant traits so as to form a non-artificial sector of American higher education? Have these institutions merely intersected at a point in time and place or have they been developing along parallel lines through history? Since their membership in the comprehensive category is contemporary, a retrospective analysis of their institutional organizational and objectives could provide a more accurate contemporary perspective. By demonstrating common traits in founding goals and objectives, a future examination of comparable organizational response to a changing environment could be more productive. Institutions in this sector are compared to each other as well as to the other sectors in various research projects. They contrast themselves with other comprehensives when refining institutional policies and practices. By grasping the nature of the various grafting splices, the current structure and fruits of this hybrid sector, if it is a hybrid, may be better understood.

This paper examines the historical origins and development of some of the major forms of the organizations that comprise the comprehensive sector. Three central questions are posed: (1) why did certain historical institutional types originate? (2) once formed, how did these historical types compare in organizational structure and purpose? and (3) how did they compare in their interaction with the social environment and the American system of education? The paper defines a variety of historical types that emerge at various points during the past 200 years. The common institutional nature within each historical type is discussed within the context of the nature of the organization or movement that produced the type. Institutions are founded by people-- in most cases within this story, by people who are members of organizations or

¹ **Comprehensive Universities and Colleges I:** These institutions offer baccalaureate programs and, with few exceptions, graduate education through the masters degree. More than half of their baccalaureate degrees are awarded in two or more occupational or professional disciplines such as engineering or business administration. All of the institutions in this group enroll at least 2,500 students.

Comprehensive Universities and Colleges II: These institutions award more than half of their baccalaureate degrees in two or more occupational or professional disciplines, such as engineering or business administration, and many offer graduate education through the masters degree. All of the colleges and universities in this group enroll between 1,500 and 2,500 students (Carnegie Foundation, 1987, p.7).

social movements that recognized a specific need not met by existing forms of American higher education.

The argument presented poses an interesting methodological and analytical problem. The category of comprehensive colleges and universities is contemporary, yet, the underlying contention is that these institutions are and have been related to one another by more than the current Carnegie resource criteria. How does one analyze a group of colleges retrospectively? The method used here was first to identify the founding organization and charter dates of each of the 595 institutions. The date of the first conferral of the baccalaureate degree, enrollments at various points, and changes in name and control were also noted. As the data was being extracted from the **American Universities and Colleges** (1973; 1987) and **The College Blue Book** (1928), sub-groupings became apparent within both the private and public institutional sectors (see Tables 1 and 2). A data base was constructed to ease the construction of subgroupings. Once the sub-categories were determined, the research entailed surveying the literature, both contemporary and historical, to uncover the founding intentions, missions, functions, curricula, and organizational patterns within each major educational trend discussed. With a few exceptions, the analysis relies primarily on secondary sources. Every attempt was made to locate non-academic sources, such as government reports and summaries, that analyzed and summarized the state of the institutions at various times throughout their existence. While this is not ultimately the most desirable means of research, the research indicates trends and the necessity of further and more primary analysis of specific institutional types.

Three Species in the Comprehensive Sector

Surveys of the historical development of American higher education establish three institutional types: the collegiate model rooted in the colonial experience, the land-grant model devised in the second half of the 19th century, and the research-oriented university model adapted by American scholars from the German post-secondary tradition. The land-grant model, associated with the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, is restricted in definition and largely underestimated as an institution form as long as its utilitarian nature and conception is associated with the mid-century legislation. The land-grant institution did not emerge merely out of whole cloth, but rather was a confluence of existing educational experiments. Housing the particular curricular programs under one institutional roof was the significant contribution of the legislative action. Through the 19th century, the incipient American model of utilitarian education became manifest in a variety of institutional types, the justification of which undoubtedly flowed from several European heritages and trends.

Among the legacies was the Scottish propensity toward utilitarian curriculum. By the 18th century, Scottish academics had been experimenting for more than a century with curriculum that was responsive to the needs of national and local society (Sloan, 1971:19-37). Late 18th and early 19th century curricula at various American institutions show attempts at preparing students for applied vocations.

Table 1.
Origins of Comprehensive Universities and Colleges²
Public Institutions

| Carnegie Type | Academy / Preps | Normal Schools | Teachers St C & U | Land-Grants Technicals | Extensions Branches | Two Years | Privates | Total |
|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|-----------------|--------------|
| I | 18 | 115 | 49 | 18 | 45 | 21 | 18 | 284 |
| II | 5 | 17 | 3 | 10 | 9 | - | 3 | 47 |
| Total | 23 | 132 | 52 | 28 | 54 | 21 | 21 | 331 |

Data Source: compiled from **American Universities and Colleges**, 1973 and 1987.

As early as 1785, the College at Charleston, South Carolina provided students with practical skills such as "...mathematics, construction arts, bookkeeping and the rudiments of law and medicine" (Robson, 1983:327). Following the same trend, the University of North Carolina presented lectures on agriculture, mineralogy, architecture and commerce. In Tennessee, Philip Lindsley added agriculture, mechanical trades and business to the classical and scientific curriculum at Cumberland College (Sloan, 1971:183). Second, by the early 19th century, American educators were also very much aware of European institutions dedicated to singular vocational purpose, such as teacher-training institutes (Woody, 1929:317). These models, utilitarian curriculum and single-purpose institutions, served as the backdrop for the founding of many of the 19th and 20th century colleges and universities.

Contemporary public and private institutions each have distinctive early missions and structural antecedents (see Tables 1 and 2). Both groups addressed acute societal priorities by providing relevant basic and vocational skills. They also opened their doors to students excluded from participation in the existing American system. The exclusion was based on a lack of academic preparation, on deficiencies in regional education systems, and by membership in various ascribed and achieved statuses, i.e., gender, ethnicity, class, or religion. The intention of the original missions and organizational forms of contemporary comprehensive institutions may be categorized in one of three ways: (1) they served an explicit population of students; (2) they specialized in a certain curriculum producing graduates for a specific vocation; or (3) combining the two, they provided a specialized curriculum to a particular group with limited access to mainstream American higher education.

² See Appendix A for definitions of sub-types.

Currently, comprehensive colleges and universities number 595 institutions. Slightly more than half are public, most often controlled by the states, but also by a few municipalities (see Table 1). In the public sector, society's imperatives were approached. The need to educate teachers for increasingly popular and eventually legislated primary and secondary education led to the founding of the institutions within the categories of normal schools and the teachers colleges. The requisite to train technicians or professionals in applied occupations devolved by the industrial and technological revolution demanded the creation and extension of institutions that disseminated applied knowledge rather than created knowledge. Extension centers and two-year colleges that evolved into comprehensive four-year institutions and fully-constituted state colleges and universities served these functions. Many of the land grant and agricultural, mechanical and technical institutions were established in an effort to provide equality in educational opportunity to African Americans. While these institutions afforded access to higher education, they initially determined the boundaries of that admittance to technical vocations.

Table 2.

Origins of Comprehensive Universities and Colleges³
Private Institutions

| Carnegie Type | Academies Preparatory | Bible Seminaries | Junior College | Normal Sch Teachers Col | Techs Profssls | Liberal Arts | Metropols | Total |
|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|----------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------|------------|
| I | 24 | 7 | 18 | 6 | 15 | 59 | 11 | 140 |
| Prot. | 8 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 20 | - | 41 |
| Cath. | 14 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 31 | 1 | 56 |
| YMCA | - | - | - | - | - | - | 4 | 4 |
| Indep | 2 | - | 11 | 3 | 9 | 8 | 6 | 39 |
| II | 30 | 13 | 10 | - | 3 | 61 | 7 | 124 |
| Prot. | 16 | 11 | 3 | - | 2 | 33 | - | 65 |
| Cath. | 12 | 2 | 6 | - | - | 23 | - | 43 |
| YMCA | - | - | - | - | - | - | 2 | 2 |
| Indep | 2 | - | 1 | - | 1 | 5 | 5 | 14 |
| Total | 54 | 20 | 28 | 6 | 18 | 120 | 18 | 264 |

Data Source: compiled from **American Universities and Colleges**, 1973 and 1987

Privately controlled comprehensive colleges and universities were initially established by urban and sectarian constituencies for very instrumental functions (see Table 2). Concerned about the secular nature of public

³ See Appendix A for definitions of sub-types.

colleges, Protestant denominations and Roman Catholic dioceses and religious associations founded over 200 private institutions that are now classified as comprehensive.⁴ The original missions run the gamut of liberal arts and two year colleges to academies, bible colleges, or theological training centers. During the last years of the 19th century, a plethora of semi-autonomous urban centers of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) initiated an entirely new and very eclectic institutional mission by offering courses for the citizens of their cities. At least eleven universities credit their origins to the YMCA movement. Finally, some independent colleges and universities were founded by civic-minded entrepreneurs to provide primarily specialized technical and applied education to local citizens.

The present discussion of the origins is limited in nature. A full description of each of the antecedent types from which the comprehensive universities and colleges have developed is beyond the scope of this paper. The argument presents the means to interpolate the historical rationale of a contemporary organizational category that is ostensibly artificial. For this reason, examples of the three species are presented to demonstrate both the circumstances under which these institutions were founded and the rationale for the focused missions that included specialized curricula, targeted populations, or the combination of the two. The origins of normal schools and teachers colleges, representing a major portion of the public comprehensive sector, historically black colleges that include both land-grant and multi-purpose colleges, denominational colleges, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and YMCA colleges are considered. Women's institutions and predominantly white technical institutes are left to a more thorough treatment in the future. Women's colleges, while founded for a particular segment of the population, tend to cross-cut several of the categories under discussion. At this time however, a more complete treatment is beyond this research.

Specialized Curricula: Teacher Education

As a result of the national organizational pattern of decentralized authority, early American educational philosophies and practices evolved through a combination of diffusion and independent invention. Not until the founding of the accreditation movement and of various national professional education organizations did any informal governance related to standards develop (Geiger, 1970). After the initial provincial colleges were established, institutions of higher learning were started throughout the colonies, or eventually, the states, by graduates of one tradition or another and by concerned local citizens. Graduates of established colleges served as "missionaries" spreading the educational philosophies and curricula of the colleges that produced them. Political and business leaders in some towns,

⁴ A number of current public institutions were founded by private associations (see Table 1).

concerned with the expansion of both their local economy and the cultural base of the populace, provided a basic elementary education through common-schools. However, the teachers of the common-schools were often illprepared or transient to the "profession." Schoolmasters in the colonial period generally used the occupation as a means for support while studying for a career in a *bone fide* profession, such as the ministry or public service (Herbst, 1989:22). Many of the teachers employed in the common-schools had little more education than their charges. Without a centralized national authority to dictate standards, a recognition of the need to provide an education to common-school teachers slowly diffused through the American states during the 19th century.

Various constituencies throughout the 19th century were convinced of the need to educate common-school teachers but consensus on the appropriate organizational form took time to reach. Several experiments in Pennsylvania reflect the range of institutional types considered apropos. From the 1750 College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia (later the University of Pennsylvania) support of instruction of "promising children of poor Germans" for charity and common-schools teaching (Sack, 1963:512) to legislative appropriations to five private colleges, Pennsylvania attempted to advance the quality of its common-school teachers. Even an early prototype of a normal school, the Chester Street Model School, was initiated in 1818 in Philadelphia with legislative support. The Chester Street Model School trained quality teachers for the local area and other parts of the state (Sack, 1963:524). Finally, in 1840, in addition to the state legislators and private college administrators, a third body emerged, advocating teacher training in academies and several were established through local subscription (Pennsylvania Department of Instruction, 1925:295).

By the end of the 1830s, the debate had solidified into two camps: those who advocated single-purpose institutions, and the proponents of the existing academies. Massachusetts was the first state to establish public normal schools to train common-school teachers, founding institutions at Lexington (1839, subsequently moved to Framingham); at Barre (1839, moved to Westfield); and at Bridgewater (1840) (Woody, 1929:473). The mission of these non-collegiate institutions,⁵ to educate common-school teachers, assumed that students needed to prepare in the basic subjects that they would teach. Many had no more training when they began their studies at the normal school

⁵ At this point in time, education in the United States was far from systematic. Common-schools provided a basic elementary education through the vagaries of local interest and funding. Academies were private ventures and approached a contemporary definition of secondary education, but are difficult to categorize as some prepared students for a collegiate education and others served as terminus of training. Normal schools fell in-between the cracks; they were vocational, provided a more advanced education than the common-schools, but at first, at least taught common-school subjects. They were not collegiate, offering only certificates of proficiency, not degrees.

than that gained in their own elementary education. Through the first several decades, normal school curriculum consisted of little more than reviewing the content of the basic subjects taught to common-school children, even though the Lexington school provided a model curriculum. The original school at Lexington was exclusively for women and at first, was operated solely by a principal. Tuition-free instruction in the common branches of learning and practical experience in teaching and administering in a contained model school was provided (Woody, 1929:475).

The establishment of normal schools gradually spread throughout many of the states and territories of the United States throughout the second half of the 19th century, but not without the continued controversy. The prevailing wisdom assumed that teacher training did not require a college education. Academy proponents, many of which were adamant republicans, insisted that teacher-training schools were foreign in origin since they were modeled after Prussian and French institutes. Eschewing the compulsory nature of the European system, they argued that normal schools and their associated pedagogical theory were an anathema to the American system (Meader, 1928:8). In some states, the proponents of the academy won. Eighteen of the present contemporary state colleges and universities, most of which are located in New England, began as academies that offered a curriculum of practical subjects in addition to teacher education instruction. By the turn of the century, however, 103 normal schools had been established throughout the country (Harclerod, Sagen and Molens, 1969:15-20).

The transition from non-collegiate to collegiate and then to baccalaureate education for primary and secondary school teachers progressed in stages from the late 18th through the first third of the 20th century. Not all regions, however, progressed through all of the stages. By the time the West was ready for teacher-education, the early debates had basically been settled. West of the Allegheny Mountains, teacher education became a part of the state-wide provision for higher education. Illinois State Normal University, established in 1857 as a collegiate institution, was designed for 600-1,000 students. It served as a model for the development of teacher training in the western states (Harclerod, Sagen and Molens, 1969:14-16). The present State University of New York at Albany, a normal school founded in 1844, conferred its first baccalaureate degree in 1892, concentrating on teaching methods, school management, and the philosophy and history of education. The curriculum was entirely professional with no disciplinary content (Dunham, 1969:33). Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti followed the degree advancement in 1899 and twenty-five additional institutions offered degrees for teachers by 1918 (Harclerod and Ostar, 1987:42-43).

Five factors encouraged the evolution of the normal schools into teachers colleges: (1) the rapid increase in the number of primary and secondary students that necessitated more teachers; (2) the turnover in

teachers in primary and secondary schools, which made it desirable to stabilize the profession; (3) the demand for collegiate and secondary school academic standards which resulted in the beginning of the voluntary accreditation movement; (4) the propagation of voluntary associations of higher education administrators by institutional type; and (5) the upgrading of the curriculum of the normal schools through the development of education theory and practice.

Increased Demand for Teachers

Immigration, a natural growth in the population in general and the migration west, all heightened the press on the elementary and secondary schools. However, each of the regions of the country experienced different needs and patterns of demography. In the East, where participation rates were already high, the sheer number of students increased dramatically. In Connecticut, for example, out of 96,382 children aged 4 to 16 years in 1852, 75,880 or 79% were in school. By 1889, 81% or 125,792 of the 154,932 children were in school. The school-aged population had increased by 62% and the school population by 65%. This occasioned a need for more teachers. In the same years, the number of teachers (1,790 to 3,122) increased by 74%. By 1921, the 267,875 children in the Connecticut school were taught by 8,129 teachers (Meador, 1928: 31;37). In one year alone, 1913, the city of Newark, New Jersey built three additional high schools to accompany one existing high school and to accommodate the swelling student population (Raichle, 1980:108). Westward migration increased Illinois' population by 31% between 1850 and 1855. The student population during that period jumped by 172%, creating an escalating need for teachers (Herbst, 1989:109). Prior to the Civil War, southern common-schools only sparsely existed in a few urban centers. Not until the end of the conflict did local communities and the states begin to support a system of public schooling. Once they moved in this direction and within the social and eventually legal environment of segregation, the need for both white and black teachers multiplied (Teeter, 1983:65-76).

Instructional Staff Stability

Turnover in the teaching staff of the normal and secondary schools plagued the struggling American school system for decades. Men used the occupation as a means to support themselves while preparing for a different profession, generally teaching only for a few years and generally in the winter terms. Seven out of ten male normalites at Westfield and Framingham, Massachusetts were sons of farmers with an average entrance age of 20+ years. "Some argued that these graduates [of the normal school who taught for a few years] were only practicing the time-honored American way to get ahead in life and to climb the ladder of social mobility" (Herbst, 1989:77).

The majority of the normal school students traditionally were women. They began their studies at an average age of 18+ years and were more likely

to be the daughter of blue-collar or non-professional white collar fathers. Two of the normal schools in Massachusetts admitted only women. While the other two were co-educational from their inception, women always comprised a majority, reaching 88% by 1870. At the Oswego Primary Training School, from 1862 to 1877, less than one out of ten graduates were men (Rogers, 1961:58). Not surprisingly, the teaching in the common-schools in most states was primarily a women's field. A testimony, urging the institution of tuition-free normal schools for every state, sent to Congress mid-century stated that women outnumbered men in the common-schools five to one in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio (Woody, 1929:[1],481). By 1888, 63% of the country's teachers were women. A third of a century later, 87% of the public elementary and 64% of the public secondary school teachers were women (Biennial Survey of Education, 1916-1918:89; Statistical Survey of Education, 1921-1922).

Keeping teachers in the occupation became increasingly more of a concern as the population demands evolved. From 1870 to 1919, the average teaching career of Pennsylvania normal schools was 7.7 years compared to eleven years in Massachusetts (Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, 1925:204). Poor facilities and supplies in rural district schools, loneliness, and tenuous contracts hindered long-term dedication to one town or rural area (Woody, 1928:[1],486). Seasonal hiring patterns and gender-based salaries did not assist women in their dedication to the occupation, nor did the inadequate salaries attract more men to the public schools. By several decades, Eastern states lagged behind many Midwestern and western states in providing equal pay for teachers of both genders.

Standardization and Quality Issues

The accreditation movement also affected the evolution of the normal schools into baccalaureate-granting institutions. Between 1885 and 1895, four regional accrediting associations were founded: New England (1885), Middle States (1887), North Central (1895) and Southern (1895) (Young, 1983:167-8). The regional voluntary associations were comprised of leaders from both secondary and post-secondary institutions. The original purpose was to develop cooperation and mutual assistance in the elevation of standards of scholarship and uniform college entrance requirements. Within its first fifteen years of its founding, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools established requirements for graduation from secondary schools and admissions and graduation requirements for colleges and universities (Harclerod, 1980:10-11). By 1912, the North Central Association developed a set of twelve resource criteria for colleges and universities, which included minimal faculty preparation, size and teaching loads, admissions requirements, graduation requirements, and fiscal, facilities and support-system requirements. A year later, the Association published the first list of accredited colleges and universities, which included seventy-three colleges

and universities and five teachers' colleges and normal schools (Geiger, 1970:187-8). Iowa State Teachers College, one of the five latter institutions, boasted fifteen teacher-education programs that ranged from four year baccalaureate degrees to a one-year professional course for college graduates (Herbst, 1989:139).

At the same time, the Office of Education, having previously published directories of institutions, developed in 1910 a list of colleges that included 602 colleges based on their "quality." While the furor over the government's categorizing of institutions forestalled the continuation of such a list, standardization became a requisite for colleges to compete for students. Regional accreditation standards influenced state concern for the preparation of the faculty teaching in pre-collegiate levels of American education. For example, the Pennsylvania High School Inquiry Committee recommended college certification for high school teachers by September, 1929 (Pa Department of Public Instruction, 1925:159). On an education prestige scale, urban schools and secondary schools attracted baccalaureate graduates to the teacher corps. General working conditions and salaries were the lure to these graduates. The success rates as measured by working conditions and salary of graduates urged state education specialists to compete with the collegiate institutions within their states and with the progress made in other states (see Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction, 1925:207).

Professional Voluntary Associations

In addition to regional accreditation associations and state education departments, both of which cross-cut the three levels of education, voluntary associations of collegiate administrators came into existence during this formative period. The presidents of Illinois State Normal University, Iowa State Teachers College, Michigan State Normal School, State Normal School at Kirksville, Missouri, and State Normal School of Miami University (Ohio) established in 1917 the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC) (Harclerod and Ostar, 1987:43). By this time, fourteen states, primarily in the Midwest and West, were sponsoring twenty-seven degree-granting teachers colleges. Ten years later, the AATC adopted accreditation standards that defined minimal criteria for teacher education institutions: they specified a four-year unified curriculum devoted exclusively to the preparation of teachers, admissions standards requiring the completion of a standard high school curriculum, a masters-prepared faculty,⁶ a maximum teaching load of sixteen clock hours per week, and the maintenance of a training or laboratory

⁶ The faculty at the time of the adoption of the standards was assumed to at least possess baccalaureate degrees. The masters degree standard was to have taken effect within six years of the adoption of the standards and was considered to be the minimal criterion for faculty preparation. The stated desirable preparation for faculty was at least three years graduate study beyond the baccalaureate.

school⁷(Hurt, 1928:292-7). Accommodations were for normal schools and junior colleges were made in the original standards. Hurt, reporting in 1928 on 139 teacher-education institutions, identified the length of coursework required in ninety of the schools and colleges: 51% provided four-year programs; 3% had three-year courses, 36% had a combination of two-, three- and four-year programs; and 10% persisted with only a two year teacher preparation courses (1928: 298-315). The variance in the length of program relates to the contemporary conviction of the amount of training necessary for the two levels of public education. At the New Jersey State Normal School and Teachers College in Trenton in 1927, students pursuing training for elementary school teaching did not receive a degree, while the secondary school teachers did (Raichle, 1980:147). New York State Normal at Albany ran parallel courses for its secondary teachers, offering a collegiate and a scientific department in addition to its one- and two-year normal school department. Brockport, on the other hand, provided its secondary teachers advanced English and classical courses in a parallel three- and four-year program, but only a two-year program for elementary teachers (Dunham, 1969:32).

Upgrading the Curriculum

As the minimal credentials of the normal school faculty were increased to the masters level of preparation and the requirements of the matriculants extended, the content of the curriculum in the normal schools developed in two ways. First, recitation methodology and fundamental primary school content were replaced with advances in pedagogical theory and disciplinary content. During the late 1880s, the Oswego State Normal, under the direction of Edward Austin Sheldon, began to test systematically educational theories of child development in its age-graded instructional laboratories. Normalites became engaged in planning teaching lessons rather than relying entirely on the outline and contents of a single text for a subject (Rogers, 1961:75-80). Second, as secondary education spread throughout the country, instruction in the disciplines taught in the high schools entered the curriculum. The humanities, social and natural sciences all took their places in the programmatic offerings of the normal schools (see Rogers, 1961; Raichle, 1980; Harclerod and Ostar, 1987; Herbst, 1989).

The change in institutional nomenclature from normal school to teachers colleges or colleges of education in some states and finally to state colleges and state universities reflects the shift in philosophy and curriculum of the institutions, and at least a modicum of planning to respond to future needs of the students of their states. During the 1920s, a number of states,⁸ all in the

⁷ The placement of student teachers into urban or rural schools under supervision could serve as a substitute.

⁸ These included California, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wisconsin and a few widely scattered single institutions within various states.

Midwest and West, upgraded their curriculum, degree-granting capacity, and name to reflect the baccalaureate nature of their singular purpose. Additional states, mostly Eastern, such as Connecticut, Kentucky, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maryland, and a variety of single institutions followed suit in the thirties. The New York system trailed behind, modifying their teacher certification program to comply with baccalaureate requirements in 1940-42.

The teachers colleges of the 1920-1950/60s were dedicated to a single purpose, that is to prepare public school teachers for the state. The structure organized faculty and programmatic majors reflected the dominant purpose of the institution. The addition of English, foreign languages, mathematics, science and social science as content areas was a direct result of supporting the training of high school teachers (Dunham, 1969:11). By the mid- to late 1950s, these colleges were poised to move in two distinct ways: they diversified the curriculum to attend increased collegiate participation, and advanced their degree-granting authorization to the masters level. In New Jersey, as in many of states, the presidents of the state teachers colleges recognized two important factors: that Rutgers, The State University, was the only public institution in the state that offered students a liberal arts degree and that the 1960s would see a surge in the demand for a variety of collegiate preparation, not merely in education, in their state as a result of the heightened birth rates of the 1940s. Petitioning the state Commissioner and Board of Education, they managed to eliminate the term "teacher" from their institutional names and to broaden the curriculum with liberal arts majors (Raichle, 1980:283). At about the same time, the New Haven faculty (now Southern Connecticut State University), after instituting liberal arts majors, obtained permission to offer free-standing masters degrees for education majors, dropping an affiliation with Yale Department of Education (Southern Connecticut State College General Catalog, 1963-64). The colleges then were poised for the influx of students through the 1960s, able to attract regional matriculants with the bid for teacher education and liberal arts at an affordable tuition rate.

By the mid-60s, teaching had become a significant profession for the graduates of American colleges; one-third of all the baccalaureate graduates were teachers. However, many of the former normal schools were no longer single-purpose institutions. Rather, the complement of liberal arts faculty who originally served as disciplinary specialists for secondary teachers' programs began to develop liberal arts majors, attracting 38% of the students in the state colleges (Dunham, 1969:39). With the influx of students during this expansion period, liberal arts and professional studies, additional faculty were hired to broaden the curriculum. The colleges slowly became multi-purpose institutions, offering both professional and liberal arts programs in a variety of applied and disciplinary fields. Offering a comprehensive curriculum that included masters degrees, they joined ranks with other multi-purpose state colleges established through the 20th century, and many from both foundations

began to look toward university status. One hundred and fifty-eight current state comprehensive colleges were founded as or modified from academies into normal schools. Eighty-two percent proceeded through the phase of teachers colleges on their way toward becoming state colleges. Ninety-four percent of the normal schools became state colleges with the rest moving directly to state university status.

The progression of the normal school to state college and university exhibits a continuing pattern of student access to education and to the professions and an institutional mission of serving the commonweal. The normal schools, albeit perhaps not altruistically, did provide an early means of education for women, discouraged in many of other sectors of American higher education. Later, as the popularity of higher education and eligible eighteen-year olds amassed, the state college sector, recognizing a new role, modified its mission to append mid-level professional education. Keeping tuition costs to a minimum maintained the historical pattern of access for previously under-represented groups, the emerging middle- and working-classes.

Categorical Populations: Sectarian Colleges and Universities

The contemporary comprehensive colleges and universities that were established by sectarian groups largely came into existence during the later half of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century. Few sectarian colleges and universities have been established during the past two decades. The primary purpose of these sectarian institutions was to provide a post-secondary education within the religious milieu of the particular religion. These institutions originally shared a common trait in that they were organized to serve a sectarian population. Some institutions originally favored and/or attracted students of their own religious orientation but could not afford to exclude students who maintained dissimilar beliefs. Some institutions began as seminaries or bible colleges with the express mission of educating future clergy, later finding that mission to be too restrictive to maintain a viable enrollment. Finally, some institutions addressed the needs of their targeted student population by offering a more practical curriculum rather than the traditional liberal culture or liberal arts program. Today while the religious mission and ethos may have diminished in importance in some institutions, they share a similarity in offering a broad curriculum predominantly to urban and religiously heterogeneous populations.

Protestant Colleges and Universities

A variety of American Protestant mainstream denominations, including Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Lutherans, and other smaller religious organizations, such as Disciples of Christ, Church of Nazarene and Church of Christ, established institutions throughout the past 150 years. The denominations responded to the deficiencies of 19th century higher education

by providing institutions to serve their own membership in addition to excluded segments of the population. The curriculum, of course, was driven by the goals and objectives of the founding organization and the needs of their constituency. One hundred and eleven sectarian colleges fall into one of three categories: (1) four year colleges, primarily founded in the 19th century, which began with a traditional classical curriculum, generally including scientific and normal courses of study, or proceeded quickly from an academy or institute into the classical model; (2) seminaries and bible colleges; and (3) denominational normal or technical schools, generally founded for either black men and women, or for white women. This discussion is limited to the patterns of origin shared by a host of contemporary comprehensive institutions that fall into the first category. Technical schools for African American students are treated under the species of historically black colleges.

The question that drives this section, as all others, is: Do the contemporary comprehensive colleges and universities share in common any early organizational patterns which helped to direct such seemingly diverse institutional types toward their present similarities? The present argument is limited in that only denominational colleges that have attained a sufficient enrollment to be classified as comprehensives are analyzed. Many current church-related colleges are viable with less students. Recently, Breneman has questioned the Carnegie categorization of a large percentage of these colleges as liberal arts as they parallel the comprehensives in curriculum yet do not have the enrollments required of that class of institutions (1990). The 19th century curriculum of a significant number of the denominational colleges that are currently comprehensive demonstrates that the present curricular programs has an historical base. The argument proffered is dualistic: (1) that in the main, these colleges were sufficiently stabilized by the later part of the 19th century to experiment with a curriculum that included professional and advanced degrees, and (2) that they responded to their perceptions of the needs of the students that they served, of the needs of the locale, and of the inaccessibility or undesirable nature of public education.

The Classical College: Function and Mission

The motivating force behind the proliferation of most denominational colleges was organizational self-preservation, arising from two interests: (1) the exigency of more and better educated clerics; and (2) the desire to insure the continued faithfulness of its youth. Without a professional body of leaders to minister to its adherents, the denomination was doomed. Equally, without a succeeding generation, the future would be as bleak.

Organizing themselves into state or regional associations, many of the religious groups understood the imperative to insure the perpetuity of their creed within their locale. As America's population swelled in the East and spread westward, ministers in increasing numbers were needed to attend to

the religious life of the people. The numerical adequacy of the state's denominational clergy was a primary concern of these associations as parishioners increased and the migration bug bit many clergy.

In addition to the concern with the size of the ministerial profession, the content and delivery of the sacred message were of equal concern to the various denominational associations. The Great Awakening of the late 18th century and the subsequent 19th century evangelical movement spawned a multitude of new sects and drove wedges into the traditional religions, splintering them considerably (Fraser, 1988:3-4). Free-agent revivalists challenged traditional dogma with their own interpolations of the Scriptures, while disputes over pro- and anti-revivalism produced schisms in the established denominations. Religious organizations could not withstand personal interpretation and personal charisma for very long if they were to continue beyond the instant authority of an individual. Sectarian education in classical colleges, seminaries and bible colleges became the means by which denominations could regulate the theological knowledge and catechetic methods of its clergy.⁹

At the same time, church leaders, aware of the rising cultural expectations and participation in education, feared that an uneducated clergy would not hold the interest or respect of their parishioners. In Ohio, Bishop Glossbrenner of the United Brethren in Christ remarked in the early 1840s that "there were several large conference which did not contain a single minister or layman who enjoyed the benefits of a collegiate education" (quoted in Knight and Commons, 1891:140). One Southern Baptist minister suggested that high schools and colleges might be closed to lay students so that uneducated ministers would not clear the pews preaching to educated congregants (Godbold,1944:49). Clearly, the ministry required a higher level of erudition. To this end, many southern and mid-western state denominational associations set up institutions that combined classical and theological courses of study for young men preparing for the ministry. Most, like Mercer University in Georgia, modified their mission (and charter when necessary) to include "others besides students of divinity" (Jones, 1888:61) when they recognized the potential enrollment limitations of their original objective.

The second interest of the denominations was the continuance of the religion through insuring active church participation and societal leadership in the next generation. Denominational associations recognized the potential loss of adherents to the faith through higher education, but knew that advanced education was a necessary means to gain and preserve dynamic citizenship. Public institutions of higher learning proscribed a religious context in both the academic and social spheres, leading church leaders to fear that their youth

⁹ See Sloan, 1971 and Fraser, 1988 for discussions of 18th century log colleges which promoted revival Presbyterianism.

would fall prey to secular temptations and away from their religious values. Only within the walls of a denominational college would students be instructed with a Christian influence. North-Western Christian University (now Butler University) in Indiana was founded in 1850 "in order to lay a broad foundation, and to give due emphasis and prominence to Christian scholarship, and as a protest against the increasing secularism of the time" (Woodburn, 1981:(I),158).

The established colleges of the East and some of the public universities, especially in the South were considered by some denominational members to be bastions of the rich and elite of the country. Even though some Southern state institutions offered either free tuition to poor in-state students or provisions for students to work to support their education, access to higher education was considered to be limited for religious lower and middle class families and their children (Godbold, 1944:151-2). The pre-Civil War limitations on public education in the South further complicated the situation. With the absence of local community or state support of primary and secondary education, access to existing higher education was limited to those families who could or would afford the tuition for private pre-collegiate education. Providing preparatory programs of study and controlling tuition costs were major concerns throughout the South. State conventions, such as the Alabama Baptists, realized the importance of educating not only the young men of the denomination, but aspiring ministers, and not only those young men from families that could afford education but also the poor. An early solution, tried by many antebellum church college founders, was to engage students in the support of their education. During the second quarter of the century, several southern and Midwestern colleges were founded as manual labor schools. In Alabama, Howard College (now Samford University) was proposed in 1833 as a seminary of learning on the manual labor plan, for the education of indigent young men called to the ministry (Clark, 1889:177). Mistakenly, trustees and administrators believed that by putting students to work for three hours a day in the college's fields that they could defray some of the cost of their education as well as relieve the tensions of their sedentary student life.

The manual labor experiment stretched from the inception of the Oneida Manual Training Institute (f. 1823) in New York (Fraser, 1988:57-58) to the founding of Otterbein University (f. 1847) in Ohio. By the mid-1840s, administrators in most manual labor colleges, such as Wake Forest and Richmond Colleges (now University of Richmond) and Mercer University, realized that the experiment actually cost the college more than it gained. The trustees of the latter college, after eleven years of trying to "unite agricultural labor with study," felt that the program was not merely expensive, but had "...materially retarded the growth of the institution" (Jones, 1888:65). Laying aside the manual-labor plan, contemporary comprehensive institutions with denominational heritages eventually found the benefactors, albeit not always quickly or easily, to secure a healthy endowment, including scholarship funds,

before the beginning of the 20th century. The financial security kept tuition costs to a reasonable level so that the colleges could expand their faculty and curriculum, and compete with the growing secular public institutions for students.

The Classical College: Laying the Foundation for Viability

The early struggles of the sectarian colleges through primarily the last three-quarters of the 19th century were mitigated by several factors, two of which were related to membership and two concerned with finance. First, with regard to membership, they were founded with a clear purpose that translated into the future health and survival of their religious convictions. Church leaders and members alike were committed to educating their youth in order to perpetuate their membership. The colleges reinforced not only membership but religious teachings throughout the scholarly and social realms of the school. Second, while the church colleges could rely on a certain number of students from within their denominational membership, they did not circumscribe the potential enrollment by limiting matriculation to their own persuasion. Some colleges, such as Carson-Newman in Tennessee and Ottawa University in Kansas, maintained limited affiliation with their denominational founders (see Merriam, 1893; Blackmar, 1900). Congregational Lincoln College (now Washburn University) in Kansas, established at the end of the Civil War, was chartered as an "institution of learning of a high literary and religious character ... an engine of civil and religious liberty... to afford to all classes, without the distinction of color, the advantages of a liberal education, thus fitting them for positions of usefulness" (Blackmar, 1900:133).

Two financial circumstances confirmed the viability of surviving institutions. First, since most denominational leaders worked through state associations and, in a number of cases, state educational societies, they could limit the proliferation of their own denominational colleges within the state and dedicate their financial and organizational support to one college, or more, if the capital were available. This concentration insured that the association's donations and fund-raising efforts were not diluted so as not to be effective. It also prevented establishing too many educational mouths to feed from a limited financial cupboard.

State associations, or the college trustees and administrators once appointed, in an effort to secure financial stability, set out to build endowments prior to the start or within the first years of the institution's academic exercises through a variety of means. Educational societies such as the Baptist society in Virginia, secured property and assets in preparation for the establishment of a college. In this case, Richmond College substantially benefited from the Society's endeavors at the time of charter (Harris, 1888:271-2). Towns entered competitions bidding combinations of land, buildings, and endowment property

or funds (Blackmar, 1900:130). Bonds were issued and stock companies established by several associations and colleges to raise early endowment funds or to secure the needed money for buildings. Finally, subscriptions from state association members enabled colleges to begin operations with comfortable endowments, like Mercer University with an endowment of more than \$30,000 (Jones, 1888:61-61) and North-Western Christian University with \$75,200 (Woodburn, 1981:(I)157).

The establishment of a singular institution within a state or under the protective auspices of one state denominational association continued to be essential for viability beyond the early years of establishment. On the one hand, the efforts strengthened or expanded the existing programs. With a \$65,000 subscription in 1869, the Missouri Baptist General Association endowed a presidential chair of philosophy and an additional chair in the proposed theology department for William Jewell College (f.1849) (Clark, 1898:75). On the other hand, donors aided the colleges to cope with adverse circumstances. Natural and human-made disasters wreaked havoc with even the most solid early endowments and resources. Fire often destroyed the original and solitary building that housed the college's activities and sometimes, even the president and his family. State associations and locals assisted Howard and Drury Colleges and Otterbein University to replace buildings, libraries and apparatus lost to fire (Clark, 1889; Knight and Commons, 1891; Hall, 1898).

Since many of the present comprehensive denominational colleges were southern and mid-western, the Civil War affected them in a number of ways. The location of the college above or below the Mason-Dixon Line largely determined the consequences. Students and faculty enlisted in both armies, reducing enrollments and income, and increasing the responsibilities of those left behind (Woodburn, 1891; Parker, 1893; Clark, 1889). Personnel was not the only loss, however. The assets of many of the colleges were ruined during or as a result of the war. The trustees of William Jewell College declared exigency and vacated the positions of president and its seven faculty as a result of the state economy in 1861. Federal and Confederate troops laid waste to many college buildings in both regions. Libraries were disbursed and scientific apparatus ruined (Clark, 1898:73; Smith, 1888:106).

The ultimate blow for the southern colleges was the devastation of their endowments. College endowments that had been invested in the Confederacy were wiped out. Howard College's \$200,000 interest-bearing notes became virtually worthless as they were paid in Confederate money through the war and had lost any remaining value due to the economic devastation in the South after the war (Clark, 1889:175). Colleges outside of the South were hurt financially also. In addition, pre-war subscription pledges often could not be met following personal losses resulting from the conflict (Clark, 1898:71). Yet, with assistance from their state denominational associations and very often, local

citizenry, these colleges all managed to recover from the war and reconstitute a new endowment.

A second financial factor in the continued viability of a number of these colleges was the ability to secure significant and enduring benefactors beyond the boundaries of their state denominational associations. From scant descriptions available, most out-of-state benefactors seem to fall into one of two categories: (1) they had a personal connection to personnel at the colleges; or (2) they had a personal connection to the location of the college and thus became a civic proponent. Donors often became acquainted with the college as a result of a fund-raising swing undertaken by the president or a financial agent as in the case of a Congregational deacon from Massachusetts who donated \$25,000 to the endowment of two-year old Lincoln College in Topeka. His name, Washburn, became part of the donation to the institution as the college's first name was

"creating confusion and embarrassing" the trustees¹⁰ (Blackmar, 1900:134). Single benefactors also were responsible for not only the founding but early maintenance of colleges. One donor's continuing interest in Rio Grande College in Ohio was responsible for much of the institution's endowment and most of its buildings (Knight and Commons, 1891:235-7). In Florida, the Honorable H.A. DeLand of New York, offered to the Baptist state convention his endowed academy, consisting of five faculty and eighty-eight students, its property (steam-heated buildings) and a \$10,000 endowment if the denomination would match the funds. By 1887, when the charter was granted a year later, DeLand deeded the property in trust of the Stetson University and nine faculty offered instruction to 103 students -- a solid beginning, based on the benefactions of primarily one man (Bush, 1888:50-1).

The Classical College: The Faculty and Their Curriculum

Even with secured endowments, few colleges began with the comforts enjoyed by Florida's DeLand students. Once ratified by its founding group, sometimes even before a charter was issued, most academics rushed to begin instruction. Some, in the earlier years, opened in rented buildings or in hastily-constructed wooden structures. Amid the "freshly plastered walls" of the only completed room and with workmen constructing down the corridor, Drury College, "an academy with aspirations" began in September 1873. President Morrison remembered that "we had advertised that the school would on that day 'take up,' to use the local phrase, and it did" (as quoted in Snow, 1898:105). The accommodations were not the only sparsity. In most regions where these 19th century denominational colleges were organized, the number of

¹⁰ My assumption is that the embarrassment came from sharing the name, Lincoln College, with a college for blacks in Missouri, even though the primarily white Topeka college espoused an admission policy that did not bar candidates by reason of race (Blackmar, 1900:133).

collegiate-qualified students was minimal. The state denominational associations tended to project the need for higher education for their children and for ministry students well in advance of the preparation of the younger generation.

The establishment of the denominational colleges followed the settling of the region. In general, the Southern colleges (excepting those established in Florida) were founded in the 1820s and 1830s; those in the eastern section of the Mid-West began in the 1840s and early 1850s; and Plains and Ozark colleges were started at the end of the Civil War and beyond. Florida in 1860 had less of a population than the city of New Orleans and was almost equally white and black, 78,000 and 63,000 respectively (Thomas, 1979:51). The need for established sectarian colleges in Florida did not appear until the late 1880s.

Few "colleges" therefore, began solely as post-secondary institutions. In order to create a viable student-body and to prepare those eager for advanced instruction, the institutions either began as academies, offering a classical preparatory curriculum, or ran a dual structure of collegiate and academic (preparatory) departments. In the first years, the number of students in the latter department outnumbered the former considerably. In 1843, eleven years after its founding, Richmond College enrolled sixty-eight students; only twenty-five were of collegiate standing (Harris, 1888:274). Again, since the establishment of the colleges paralleled the regional settlement, however late the charter date, the preparation of the students for collegiate work was not necessarily better. Ottawa University in Kansas, founded in 1865 under a combined effort of the Ottawa Native American tribe and the state Baptist association, began with separate preparatory departments for Indian and white youths (Blackburn, 1900:140).

Until the latter part of the 19th century, the development of the collegiate curricula offered at denominational colleges corresponds to a large degree, the evolution of the disciplines.¹¹ Once enough students were prepared and the faculty could provide an advanced course of study, the earliest of these colleges organized their curriculum into classical and scientific departments. Only one college, Otterbein University, restricted the course of study to the classical courses, admitting that supplying the appropriate apparatus for a scientific course would be too costly (Knight and Commons, 1891:142). Until second half of the century, the classical course of study focused primarily on Latin and Greek, both the languages and the literature. Added to this were the

¹¹ It is interesting to note that the original bill (1769) providing for the establishment of what would eventually become the College of Charleston provided for professors of divinity and moral philosophy; Greek and Hebrew; civil and common law and municipal law; physic [sic], anatomy, botany, and chemistry; mathematics, natural and experiential philosophy; and history, chronology and modern languages (Meriwether:1889:52).

principles and practice of grammar and rhetoric. The College at Charleston gave certificates to students who studied English at the institution in 1859, but instruction was primarily on the preparatory level and was not considered to be equivalent to collegiate studies (Meriwether, 1889:60). By the 1860s, English literature and history as distinct subjects were offered by most colleges. Richmond College not only added a professorship of English in 1868, but created, using the University of Virginia model, an independent school of English (Harris, 1888:278,281).

The curriculum in the sciences developed in much the same manner. Mathematics and natural philosophy provided the basis of the scientific course of study at first, although some schools defined their scientific course in a very applied manner. In its earliest days as an academy at the end of the 18th century, The College of Charleston, taught surveying, navigation and astronomy in addition to geometry. Some of these same subjects were carried through into the early decades of the next century to comprise the scientific course of study. In 1832, the scientific course included calculus, navigation, surveying, construction of mathematical instruments and physics. A visit by Louis Agassiz in 1849 to the city of Charleston and specifically to the college and its museum, vivified enough interest in natural history for the City Council to contribute to the support of endowed chairs in geology and paleontology (Meriwether, 1889:57,60,67). Richmond College split its school of natural science into two schools, chemistry and geology, and physics in 1873 (Harris,1888:281). As the century progressed, the scientific course was broadened at other colleges to include chemistry, natural history, geology, and later physics and apparatus and laboratories were supplied for illustrations and experiments.

The evolution of the structure of the curriculum and organization of the faculty mirrored each other, making it difficult to determine which was the model and which was the reflection. Faculty members exchanged positions at times, slipped into emerging disciplinary fields and teaching roles, and hired additional colleagues for newly endowed chairs. Jefferson's organizational model of the University of Virginia diffused through graduates and interested visitors. His concept of independent schools influenced the structure of the curriculum and instruction in several colleges through the middle of the century, aiding the process of "subject parturition," that is, the emergence of new academic subjects (Metzger, 1987:128). By the 1860s, several colleges reorganized their structure from singular professorships into disciplinary-related schools or departments (Snow, 1898:75; Harris, 1888:278). The creation of schools facilitated the decentralization of the curriculum and increased faculty responsibility. Faculty offered certificates to students upon successful completion of the school's course of studies, thereby offering students considerable choice as compared to the formerly prescribed curriculum.

Had the term been in common usage, each of the institutions cited would probably have described themselves in the last quarter of the 19th century as "liberal arts colleges." In fact, the 1916-18 Biennial Survey of Education demonstrates that the majority of these institutions employed faculty and enrolled students primarily in the arts and sciences (Bureau of Education, 1919: table 27, 743-853). However, their 19th century curricula display an early attempt to broaden their mission and objectives. While some only experimented sporadically, by 1880 the majority of the sectarian colleges discussed had developed or were experimenting with utilitarian curriculum. Applied and professional courses of study broadened the colleges' programs, from the oldest of the sectarian institutions to the youngest. Civil engineering, civil service, business schools and courses, applied mathematics and physics, law courses and schools, commercial courses, normal and teachers' courses abound. The science faculty at Drury College even took their students on field trips to Springfield industries to observe the modern applications "to practical problems in chemistry, photography, electricity, and applied mechanics" (Snow, 1898:121). Without tracing the progression of the curriculum in each college's catalogues and analyzing their graduation patterns, the acceptance and popularity of these courses cannot be judged. Evident in 1917, though, are special courses outside of arts and sciences, for example, law, music, art and home economics (Bureau of Education, 1919: table 27, 743-853).

In addition to the bachelor of arts and bachelor of science, and sometimes the bachelor of philosophy, quite a few colleges in 1880 offered a master of arts and some the bachelor of law. In 1917, at least five of the colleges discussed had awarded graduate degrees. The small number of graduates undoubtedly reflects the size and nature of the graduate programs. Again, without inspecting college catalogues, it is impossible to know how many of the other institutions continued to offer graduate degrees during the first quarter of this century. It is likely that few were. On the other end of the curriculum, in 1917, six of the colleges, primarily in the Mid-West, were still maintaining preparatory departments, ranging from a handful of students to well over half of the student body. In summary, the curricular programs of these institutions, denominational colleges that have grown into comprehensive colleges and universities, have been fluid through most of their existence. In part, the fluidity has resulted from the desire to provide education to a regional and denominational population, from economic goodtimes and bad, and from the ethos of the denominations that founded them. An analysis of the 20th century development of these institutions would probably demonstrate the same patterns at work.

Catholic Colleges and Universities

The roots of the comprehensive colleges and universities that were founded by Roman Catholics fall into three basic categories: diocesan

institutions, Jesuit colleges and universities, and colleges and universities founded and controlled by other religious societies, male and female alike. Diocesan bishops, in an effort to insure an educated clergy and to preserve the faith of the local young men and women who wished to continue their education, either founded or encouraged religious communities to establish colleges within their dioceses (Erbacher, 1931:2). Many institutions were initiated by male religious orders for the same purposes. Female religious orders have founded institutions as academies for young women, co-educational urban institutions and as formation institutions to train their novitiates. Some of the religious women's associations initiated institutions with the distinct mission of providing education at a low cost to immigrant and first generation students and in one case, for black students.

The Founding Organizations

The first surviving Catholic institution of higher education, Georgetown University, was founded by the Jesuits in 1789. Catholic dioceses and religious communities initiated academies and colleges at a great rate throughout the 19th century although many did not succeed. Eighty-two Catholic colleges in addition to Georgetown were founded before the Civil War, with only twenty-eight surviving to the present (Greeley, 1967:24). The distribution of founding dates for contemporary Catholic colleges and universities classified as Comprehensive I and II's demonstrates a number of patterns in the development of this sub-type (see Table 5). First, the founding organizational patterns are related to mission and population to be served. Dioceses initiated the fewest of the surviving colleges and universities in this sector;¹² in a number of cases, bishops first asked religious communities to staff and then eventually to assume authority over some institutions (Greeley, 1967:24). Men's religious orders have been responsible for the founding of 48% of the Catholic Comprehensives and 65% of these institutions were founded

Table 3.

Founding Dates and Associations of Catholic Comprehensive Colleges and Universities

Comprehensive I

| Years | Diocesan | Jesuit | Clerical Orders | Sisters | Total |
|------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1800-1865 | 2 | 6 | 8 | - | 16 |
| 1866-1900 | 1 | 9 | 2 | 2 | 14 |
| 1901-1930 | - | 1 | 5 | 6 | 12 |

¹² An analysis of other Carnegie categories might show a different pattern and success rate for diocesan institutions.

Opportunity Knocked: The Origins of Contemporary Comprehensive Colleges and Universities

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 1931-1950 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 11 |
| 1951-pres. | 1 | - | 2 | - | 3 |
| Subtotal | 7 | 17 | 21 | 11 | 56 |

Comprehensive II

| Years | Diocesan | Jesuit | Clerical Orders | Sisters | Total |
|-------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1800-1865 | 2 | - | 1 | 4 | 7 |
| 1866-1900 | 1 | - | 5 | 4 | 10 |
| 1901-1930 | 1 | - | - | 7 | 8 |
| 1931-1950 | - | 1 | 3 | 9 | 13 |
| 1951-pres. | - | - | - | 5 | 5 |
| Subtotal | 4 | 1 | 9 | 29 | 43 |
| TOTAL | 11 | 18 | 30 | 40 | 99 |

Source: compiled from **American Universities and Colleges**, 1973 and 1987.

in the 19th century. Many of the colleges founded by the various orders of religious priests and brothers were founded as seminaries for their own order and included a college for men either immediately or within a short number of years. Most of these institutions began to accept women students in the late 1960's.

Among the religious orders, the Jesuits stand alone in a number of respects. They alone founded eighteen of the Catholic Comprehensive colleges and universities, more than any other one religious order, male or female. All but three of their colleges and universities in this sector were founded in the last century and all of the institutions are located in major cities. The sixteen Comprehensive I Jesuit colleges and universities maintain a coordinate preparatory high school along side of the collegiate program. The simultaneous maintenance of a secondary education program may connote a depletion of funds and possibly physical energy that might be allocated elsewhere. However, it also demonstrates the intention to serve a primary mission of teaching youth (Donohue, 1963).

Communities of religious sisters are responsible for 40% of the Catholic comprehensive colleges and universities.¹³ Unlike the institutions initiated by Catholic religious men, the overwhelming majority (72%) of these are classified as Comprehensive II's. In the Carnegie classification scheme, the

¹³ Greeley (1969:70) indicates that there were 350 Catholic colleges and universities at the time: twenty-two under the control of dioceses, eighty-three controlled by men's religious orders (including twenty-eight by Jesuits) and 245 maintained by women's religious communities, although forty-two were formation colleges (novitiates).

position of an institution is dependent upon enrollment and number of graduate degrees. Most religious communities of women are organized more on a regional or local basis with few satellite convents and few resources to spread around. Few orders established more than one or two colleges, and did so generally in the parish or urban center of their mission. The dense concentration of these schools in the secondary category is certainly related to initial structural and mission considerations. Almost half of these colleges began as academies or colleges for women. The Sisters tended to follow the pattern of development in women's education in the United States. Academies for young women was the 19th century structure. In the early decades of this century, the junior college structure took over with some colleges being established under the two-year model and some academies graduating to the collegiate level. As access to and the curriculum of state institutions extended in the early 1960s, the Catholic women's institutions, just like the men's, found that their single-gender orientation to be a deterrent to students. As a result, coeducation began in earnest during the late 1960s. Some women's colleges were not able to make the transition into a more competitive arena. During the 1960s and 1970s, a small number of women's Catholic colleges merged with the men's colleges in the area, decreasing the overall number of colleges established by religious women. Those that survived began the new decades by continuing to be responsive to their local or regional clientele. The contemporary comprehensives operated by or historically attached to a religious women's order diversified their applied curriculum and added masters degree programs in equally utilitarian areas of study.

Few Catholic colleges and universities historically have enjoyed a solid financial base. The religious communities supported the institution primarily through tuition and fees, and occasionally donations from Europe and the eastern United States (Erbacher, 1931:74-75). Staffed by religious instructors initially, the secularization of the faculty throughout the 20th century increased the fiscal fragility (Greeley, 1969:17-18). Both coeducation and mergers indicate that either some institutions were interested in increasing their enrollments and, for the most part, stabilizing or enhancing their financial picture. A number of the contemporary Catholic Comprehensives focused on development in the early 1960s, increasing the annual support from corporations, alumni, and foundations. Reinert cites Bellarmine College in Kentucky (f. 1950), Gannon, King's, Loras and St. Benedict's among the men's institutions and St. Mary's of Notre Dame, St. Catherine, and New Rochelle as leaders in the women's institutions (1970:63).

The Mission and Curricula

In terms of curriculum, the men's colleges founded primarily in the antebellum period offered a classical, but decidedly Catholic program of study. Religion formed the basis of the curriculum in all 60 colleges existing in the 1850-66 period; English, by means of courses in rhetoric, grammar, writing

and orthography, reading, literature, etc., was the companion course of study. Latin and Greek constituted another part of the instruction for 92% of the colleges. A variety of other subjects from history and geography to ethics and logic filled in the curriculum. Natural philosophy and chemistry were included by more than half of the colleges, but little else in terms of scientific fields (Erbacher, 1931:90). While the Jesuit classical curriculum served as the curricular model, many of the mid-19th century colleges grudgingly offered English and commercial courses. Villanova, Xavier (Ohio), St. Bonaventure Universities and St. Francis and Detroit Colleges boasted a mercantile education in addition to the classical and scientific courses of study (McLaughlin, 1891:169-70; Sherwood,1900:432-33). Xavier even sponsored an evening school for local German immigrants, providing English language and bookkeeping courses (Power, 1958:54-59;69). Generally, in the men's colleges during the 19th century, the commercial program of study earned its students a certificate of achievement and not a degree; it was therefore, a value-added program to the classical curriculum. In contrast, the curricula developed by the colleges founded in the mid-20th century highlights the move toward professional education.

Catholic women's education, sponsored by communities of religious women, grew from the bottom-up through the early establishment of academies. At least eight contemporary comprehensives trace their origins to an academy for girls founded during the second half of the 19th century. The curriculum explored many of the classical and "English" courses of study minus Latin and Greek, but added the "feminine" topics of domestic economy, sewing, artificial flower-making, and parlor ornaments (Power, 1958:178). The early Catholic colleges for women reflected a similar bias toward a curriculum that was assumed to suit women. French and German were the norm in language study in 1878 at the College of Notre Dame of Maryland (f.1863), but students who wished to pursue Latin could do so in private instruction (Power,1958:185). While the women's colleges, unique among Catholic colleges, were concerned that their students prepare for their proper domestic future through home economics courses, they also added commercial courses, such as bookkeeping, stenography and typewriting. By the 1940s, however, recognizing the competition from the state colleges, the Catholic women's colleges "introduced a wide variety of courses not clearly part of the traditional liberal arts-- secretarial science, social service, library science, nutrition, finance" in addition to nursing, teaching, and home economics (Fass, 1989:214).

Solidifying the Mission

Jencks and Riesman projected that Catholic colleges might persist with their traditional mission of serving urban immigrant populations or should emulate "...their better known Protestant predecessors, turning their attention to educating second- and third-generation collegians and to develop a Catholic

intelligentsia" (1968:343). The Jesuits, recognizing these alternatives at an early date, began a dramatic reformation of their educational system during the 1930s. A decade earlier, the Society began to question the quality and the external legitimacy of their institutions. Controversy over mission and structure boiled until a proposal centrally controlled the growth of the major Jesuit institutions, allowing Boston and Holy Cross Colleges, and Georgetown, St. Louis, and Marquette Universities to flourish into doctoral and research universities. The founding of the Jesuit Education Association (JEA) in 1934 resulted from the early debates and recommendations. In 1948, the JEA formed a commission "...to improve the quality of Jesuit education, especially in the graduate schools... and assigning young Jesuits to doctoral studies" (McInnes, 1989:29). The decades of the fifties and sixties presented a variety of challenges to the Jesuit colleges and universities: a desire to tap into government funding to help support their expansion, student and public demands for an increased role for the institutions in citizenship responsibilities, and a redefinition of social justice. Laicization of governing boards and of the faculty due to a growing shortage of Jesuit personnel, a shift into mass education with a response to requisitions for professional education, and a transformation from a homogeneous student body to include women, minorities, adult and international students radically changed the Jesuit system of education from the 1950s to the present (McInnes, 1989:43).

By the early 1970s, comprehensive Catholic colleges and universities, like their Protestant and independent counterparts, had begun to follow one or the other of the paths suggested by Jencks and Riesman. The same environmental pressures experienced by the Jesuit institutions existed for the rest of the sectarian and independent colleges and universities. Like many other independent and Protestant church-related comprehensives, a number of Catholic institutions moved to include graduate education and the resulting multi-purpose university status by acquiring faltering professional schools. The rationale explained that the institution was serving the needs of the local urban population (Greeley, 1969:15-16). For example, the University of San Diego acquired a law school in the early 1970s. A conglomerate since its inception in 1967, the University was established by merging two single-gender coordinate colleges founded in 1952 (women's) and 1954 (men's). Other Comprehensive I universities developed professional schools and colleges, apparently with a view toward urban population needs: University of Detroit, School of Architecture and Evening College of Business Administration; Barry University, School of Social Work; Fairfield University, Schools of Nursing, Education and Corporate & Political Communication. Mergers, acquisitions and expansion into significant professional graduate study, apparently following Jencks and Riesman's advice, are part of the structural changes in the Catholic institutions are now classified as Comprehensive I colleges and universities. Many of the Comprehensive II colleges while also moving into professional masters' programs and offering baccalaureate professional curricula, continue their missionary objective of serving first generation

populations within their urban settings. Tuition is controlled in order to serve this population; teaching and service remain the primary responsibilities of the faculty and staff.

Populations: Urban Institutions -- YMCA Colleges

Various civic and benevolent organizations, concerned with the amelioration of their locale, have been responsible for the establishment of a number of contemporary urban comprehensive universities and colleges. In some cases, both non-collegiate and post-secondary institutions were founded with a single purpose, such as the promotion of the arts, both fine and studio, but found it necessary to later merge with other local institutions to remain viable. Others developed a broader constituency through the expansion and acclimation of their curriculum.

One predominantly urban voluntary association that was responsible for the founding of a significant number of comprehensive colleges and universities was the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA). The movement was begun in London in 1844 by a young clerk in a draper's store to promote camaraderie among young Christian men and to ward off the temptations that accompanied the swelling urban population and the development of the industrial revolution. This type of organization was not new, however. Associations of artisans that provided libraries and lectures to its local members were reported in England as early as a eighteen years before (**North American Review** , 1826:63). Hearing of the London movement, young men gathered in Montreal, Boston (both 1851) and New York (1852) to form associations. By 1854, fifty-three associations had been organized, primarily in urban areas; a dozen years later, the associations numbered ninety (Pence, 1939:47).¹⁴

Mission and Function

The YMCA movement was not a unique social movement during the mid-19th century in the United States. Many voluntary associations, both benevolent and instrumental, religious and secular, were formed as a result of transitions in ideology and in the demographic composition of the country. Urban populations rapidly grew as young people flocked to the cities with increased industrial opportunities. Immigration dramatically changed the

¹⁴ The history of the founding of the various YMCA associations is documented in a number of good sources. See Owen E. Pence, **The Young Men's Christian Association and Social Need**. New York: Association Press, 1939; William B. Whiteside, **The Boston Y.M.C.A. and Community Need. A Century's Evolution, 1851-1951**. New York: Association Press, 1951. The first citation is a published dissertation from Columbia University; the second is based on a dissertation from the history department at Harvard University. Additionally, the most comprehensive history is C. H. Hopkin, **History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America**. New York: Association Press, 1951.

ethnic and religious complexion of urban populations. In response to these changes numerous groups evolved to serve the exclusive nature of its membership. In this, the YMCA movement drew boundaries for its constituency. The Boston constitution, which served as the model for many of the other associations to follow, set as its purpose, "... the improvement of the spiritual and mental condition of young men." In addition, however, the preamble of the association tied its existence to the continuing national evangelical movement through "a strong desire for the promotion of Evangelical religion among the young men of this city" (Whiteside, 1951:19). Similar to other associations of the century,¹⁵ the YMCA associations promoted evangelical Protestantism in response to a perceived encroachment from Unitarians, Universalists and Catholics (Whiteside, 1951:19).

What was unique in this quasi-religious confederation was the organizational structure of decentralized authority. Each association was founded and controlled locally, albeit tied, loosely at first, and increasingly more the decades passed, to a national and international framework. The segmental organizational pattern has been essential to the development of one of the YMCA's more successful programs, that of education. Although many of the urban associations modeled their constitution after the Boston Association and their organizational structure with departments (branches) after the Chicago Association, their autonomy enabled the determination of unique objectives and programs.

A significant objective of the YMCA movement was to improve the mental condition of its members. Translating this objective into a program was the prerogative of each association. The largest associations, those founded in major American cities with the largest population bases, undertook a three-pronged educational program: training for Christian ministry and association professionalism, inter-collegiate campus organizations, and evening schools. Only the third program is germane to this discussion. The early YMCA experiments in evening schools provided the base for the development of a number of collegiate institutions that were eventually to expand into universities, most of which are currently classified as comprehensive. This part of the educational program was adopted by many independent associations. From four associations reporting a slate of evening classes in 1866 to forty-one ten years later to 176 associations in 1886, the diffusion of this idea and apparent need was enormous. By 1888, 13,945 students were being served in the classes.

The Translation of Mission into Curriculum

¹⁵ See Olmstead, 1961:73-74 for a discussion of other evangelical associations, such as the American Bible Society (1816) and the American Tract Society (1825).

The evolution of the educational program, however, was slow at the onset and reflected a normal pattern. The Boston Association (BYMCA) initiated the Lyceum in 1853 which consisted of a Literary Class that featured lectures, debates, criticism and a spring declamation of the year's progress, and a Bible Class, led by ministers and qualified lay persons (Whiteside, 1951:36). Within twenty years of their founding, several of the associations broadened their secular education department's mission from offering occasional and serial lectures to providing informal courses for interested members and non-members. Undoubtedly the diffusion of this form of the educational program resulted from annual association conventions which by the early 1870s were well attended. In 1866, after a dozen years of existence, the Philadelphia Association added informal courses of a very typical curriculum to their Lyceum program: French, German, rhetoric, logic, elocution and music (**The Verdict of Time**, 1905:16). By the mid-1980s, associations in Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, and Chicago offered classes in modern languages, music, mechanical drawing, phonography (shorthand), penmanship, and bookkeeping, assisting young men "to improve their usefulness to their employers and to obtain better situations in business" (Whiteside, 1951:108). Low tuition attracted young working class men and many enrolled in the evening school experienced occupational mobility as a result of the educational program (Annual Report, 1888-89:13, quoted in Brown, 1959:6). By the 1884-85 season, about 700 students accounted for 1,167 enrollments within eighteen different subjects (Whiteside, 1951:82).¹⁶

Two intertwined facets of the structure of these early evening education programs provide a basis for understanding their contemporary and future place in the education system of the country: the content, including the latent significance, of the curriculum and the economics of the program. The objective of the early curriculum taught in the association evening schools was to train rather than educate young men so that they would increase their chances in the economic marketplace. First, the curriculum divided the training into two distinct areas: applied technical skills, such as mechanical drawing, and stylistic skills, such as elocution and penmanship. A few classes were added to develop the students' appreciation for language and the arts, but the more popular courses were the technical skills courses. This is evidenced by the eventual multiplication of sections of existing courses and by the incremental addition of both advanced and entirely new applied areas of study. By 1896, the Hartford YMCA's Hillyer Institute,¹⁷ added courses in pattern

¹⁶ For twelve years, the informal courses were open to women also. In 1880, the fourteen year old Boston YWCA having begun its own education program, featuring courses in domestic and secretarial work, requested the YMCA to exclude women from enrolling in their courses. The exclusion occurred in 1887.

making and molding (for machinists), electricity, woodworking, geometry, sign lettering, chemistry, plumbing, typewriting, commercial arithmetic and physics (Brown, 1959:13-15).

Second, tuition fees were maintained at a minimum so that the program would reach a segment of the population that might not otherwise have access to further education. Within a year of his ascendance to the presidency of the reincarnated University of Chicago, William Rainey Harper exhorted the Chicago Association at a banquet to persist in the field of adult education, that a number of men had not had the opportunity to finish their education but "with the proper urging, men would gladly avail themselves of the opportunities offered by the Y" (Dedmon, 1957:118-19). At the time, Association was providing twenty-four evening classes and four university extension courses and hired the first full-time educational director.

Moving Toward Legitimacy

At first, the courses were ungraded throughout the associations. Some thought that the lack of evaluation was related to the persistence problem, that is, the enrollments did not always reflect the weekly attendance of the classes and certainly did not equate with the number of students who completed the courses they began. Various experiments were tried by different associations in order to promote retention. Refundable fees, based on successful attendance, scholarships, certificates of achievement and student exhibitions were instituted (Whiteside, 1951:109; Brown, 1959:19). The International Convention of the YMCA Associations sponsored Annual Exhibits consisting of the productions of the individual evening schools, aligning the various schools nationally.

In accord with the national trends, standardization and approbation from the larger educational community became the agenda for the Association institutes through the last remaining years of the 19th century and first three decades of the 20th. An experiment in standardized examinations sought to nationalize academic criteria and the certificate programs. The International Committee, a federation-level body, recommended at the Springfield Convention in 1895 that uniform standards for courses be established, that annual simultaneous examinations be held and that federation-level certificates be issued for the successful completion of the examinations. Several colleges and higher technical institutes not only recognized but encourage the federated associations by accepting these certificates as proof of academic achievement; they included: "Pratt Institute, Brooklyn; Pennsylvania State College; Hampton Normal Institute of Virginia; Adrian College Michigan;

¹⁷ A memorial gift that endowed the institute carried the proviso that the object of the Hillyer Institute "shall be to promote manual, industrial, commercial, and art education-- in art, more especially in useful arts-- and to inculcate habits of industry and thrift" (Second Annual Catalog, Hillyer Institute, 1894:9 as quoted in Brown 1959:11).

Harvard School of Chicago [sic], and others (Brown, 1959:38). By 1915, 100 colleges and universities recognized the validity of the YMCA Certificates. The first year of examinations drew participation from only seven associations, but the second year (1897) produced examinations from eight-four. This early attempt at standardization eventually led the institutes to acceptance of the academic progress of students at local and regional colleges and universities. Trinity College fully accepted the work of students at Hillyer Institute as of 1915, allowing students as much as three years of college credit toward a baccalaureate degrees. Hillyer's public response announced that "a college education is to be placed within the reach of every employed man in Hartford and vicinity. No longer will it be necessary for the ambitious man to forego the advantages of a higher education...." (*Hartford Times*, September 10, 1919, quoted in Brown, 1959:80).

The standardization movement did not cease with transfer compacts. The Central Department YMCA Institute of the Chicago Association changed its nomenclature three times, reflecting a progression from a secondary school to a junior college and finally to a four-year college, gaining accredited status from the North Central Association for Schools and Colleges each time (Dedmon, 1957:276-79). In 1936, the Central YMCA College of Chicago, a baccalaureate-granting institution, was reaccredited as a four-years college with twenty-two departments by North Central in 1936.

The progress for the other YMCA colleges follows much the same pattern, the Boston YMCA's program being the exception. That program, which laid the foundation for Northeastern University, developed independent, incorporated professional schools. By 1920, law, commerce, and engineering schools were established and incorporated (Marston, 1961:18;24-25;28-29). Northeastern also established branch campuses the first at Worcester in 1917, supporting law and commerce programs and four others inaugurated in 1920 at Springfield, Providence (RI), Bridgeport, Lynn, and New Haven (CT). Out of these extension centers, the comprehensive institutions of the Universities of New Haven and Bridgeport, and Western New England College and Roger Williams Colleges were established.

By 1920, YMCA schools were located in twenty-five cities. Just over half of the schools developed into colleges. Some of the colleges either lasted only for a few decades, such as Jefferson College in St. Louis and Central YMCA College of Chicago. Others gained autonomy from their parent association, becoming independent or eventually being assumed into the public sector. Most of these colleges generally developing into comprehensive universities, a few have developed into doctoral institutions. Surviving YMCA colleges include: (1) the private Universities of Bridgeport, Hartford, and New Haven; and Southeastern and Golden Gate University; (2) the public Universities of

Baltimore, Houston, and Youngstown and Cleveland State Universities.¹⁸ Roosevelt University in Chicago was founded as a result of a secession by the dissenting president of the Central YMCA College of Chicago in 1945.

A Steadfast Mission

Of the extant institutions that credit their founding to the YMCA movement, most are comprehensive colleges and universities. Of these institutions, all were either originally extension centers of Northeastern or began their foray into collegiate level education as junior colleges, the equivalent of the public community college of today. Their curricula, following the mission of their parent association, were aimed at providing educational opportunities for working adults, for young men who wished to improve their positions but who had little opportunity given the coeval collegiate model of full-time scholarship. The curriculum through the earliest years was decidedly aimed at training young men in useful skills, not educating them as scholars. Each association in its own way, as a result of the structural autonomy allowed by the national confederation of this voluntary association, was able to respond to the needs of its local community in the provision of its curriculum; Hillyer (University of Hartford) formed an automobile school, responding to local business ventures in that field, while the Philadelphia Association extended to its constituency courses related to railroading. The YMCA education movement furnished an alternative type of education to the liberal arts and the land-grant colleges and to the inceptive universities.

As the 20th century began and the educational programs flourished, legitimation and standardization became the concern of certain associations. Where local philanthropists and education professionals were supportive and where a local need for an alternative type of institution was apparent, the educational programs seemed to thrive and mature into viable and alternative educational institutions. With an historical orientation to technical, vocational and applied curricula, the continued translation of the educational program of these institutions to the occupational needs of their surrounding environment has been a strength in their progress through this century. University of Hartford no longer offers instruction in the automobile, the industry left the area decades ago. It does however, capitalize on the prevalence of the insurance industry in that city by providing students with actuarial curriculum. These institutions have been the consummate model of development for this sector. They have always been comprehensive institutions as a result of serving a specific population with a curriculum that served a particular need of their locale, training personnel for the mid-sectors of the American occupational and class system.

¹⁸ This latter university is not a comprehensive. Additionally a YMCA school in Dayton has transformed into a public community college.

Explicit Populations with Specialized Curricula: Black Colleges

Forty-six percent of the four-year historically black colleges and universities (HBC) are contemporary Comprehensive institutions. The majority, thirty-three universities, are publicly controlled, and 60% of these support large enough enrollments to be classified as Comprehensive I's. Comparatively, of the seven private colleges, five are Comprehensive II's. Pennsylvania and Ohio¹⁹ are the only two states that sponsor an HBC outside of the formerly segregated South. A few black colleges were founded prior to the Civil War, but those located in the South were not established until the end of the conflict. Sectarian and benevolent associations, both white and black, constituted the earliest educational opportunities for African Americans, filling one of the voids in the American system of higher education. No system of free common-schools, either white or black existed in the South prior to the Civil War. Families either paid tuition for the education of their children or they did not send them. The latter case was most common. Through the decade following the war, southern states joined northern philanthropic foundations in systematizing white and black elementary and secondary schooling (Teeter, 1983:66). The need therefore for teachers and teacher-training programs, again, both white and black was enormous. Although one public HBC in Maryland was founded at the end of the Civil War, the movement in the southern states to establish colleges for their freed citizens began in earnest in the 1870s and continued through the rest of the 19th century.

The primary driving force of establishment was the need for a trained black workforce in the segregated South to attend educational and religious exigencies of the former slaves, and to be engaged in rather than hinder the economic reconstruction of the region. Early missions and curricula of these institutions reflected a combination of assumptions held by the founding organizations. On one hand, the suppositions related to the abilities and needs of the African Americans of the mid-19th century. On the other hand, a concern for the social and economic consequences resulting from the absence of an educational system for African Americans drove the development of these institutions. Teacher training, ministerial education, and technical training were the predominant programs of study. Whether private or public, the HBC comprehensive institutions provided vocational curricula, combining at least two of these syllabi. Simultaneously, the colleges served a portion of the American population which in the South was otherwise locked out of higher education and in the North had limited access.

¹⁹ Ohio, the site of Wilberforce University (private HBC liberal arts) and its former extension college, Central State University (public HBC comprehensive), legislatively enforced racial segregation in the 19th century.

This discussion presents an overview of the founding of the seven private and the thirty-three public HBC comprehensives. Similarities and differences in mission, curriculum, students and faculty are discussed. Not only did these institutions provide access to higher education to a significant portion of the population, but the social context in which they were established assigned a template for their organizational future. Therefore, the evolving social context is essential to understanding the contemporary position of HBCS.

Private Black Colleges

Prior to the end of the Civil War, blacks were locked out of the formal education structure in the South. After the Union was reinstated, the education of the former slaves complemented southern reconstruction. However, southern segregation imposed boundaries on the educational system in that region, creating a closed complex for black students and faculty on all levels. The establishment and early development of first the private and then the public black colleges and universities in the South must be viewed within this segregated context. Private colleges were established in many southern states by various religious organizations within a few years of the end of the Civil War. The five Comprehensive II colleges were fostered by sectarian groups and were maintained as church-related institutions. The remaining two institutions, Hampton and Tuskegee Universities, both categorized as Comprehensive I's, were primarily secular from the beginning. Their nature and financial stability impacted the other private colleges, given the nature of the closed educational system. Since the southern states provided no immediate post-war leadership in educational opportunities to the recently liberated African Americans, the sectarian founders were free to craft the institutions to their own educational and social philosophies. These institutions corresponded to the southern white sectarian colleges in that the founders were concerned with the preservation of their religious associations through the education of their membership. Four of the five colleges are related to Protestant denominations and were established between 1865-72; the remaining university is Roman Catholic, founded in 1915.

During the second half of the 19th century, two pivotal controversies flared up that affected the nature of the educational system in the South. First, the lack of a public system of education in the region forestalled at first the question of segregation in the schools. However, once the northern-based Peabody Fund initiated a program to assist local districts in establishing common-schools, the issue of segregation had to be settled. After much political maneuvering, the federal Civil Rights Act of 1875 was adopted without an integration clause, clearing the path for segregated schools, not only in the South but in other states throughout the country (Teeter, 1983:74-76). The missing clause at once, allowed the southern states to create separate school

systems for the races, but also forced the imperative of establishing separate normal schools to train staff for the two systems.

The second debate, over the proper nature of the educational curriculum for blacks was not resolved with one conclusion; solutions became institution-dependent. Two major African Americans eventually personified the argument. Booker T. Washington, a conservative educator, extolled the virtues of industrial training for blacks, assuming that it would provide an economic base for the race's progress. He advocated strengthening teacher training and instruction in agriculture and crafts with a coincident basal and apolitical value of character-building. He assumed that a respected black middle-class would emerge from this education which would earn eventually the respect and economic (albeit not social) acceptance of southern whites. The other camp was led by W.E.B. DuBois, a research-oriented sociologist who felt that industrial training actually disciplined blacks to subordination and would truncate the race's social and economic advancement. DuBois agreed that teacher-training was essential but for the purpose of generating a "Talented Tenth," a proportion of black leaders and trainers who would provide social leadership (Drake, 1971:841;839).

While many of the northern church boards supported the DuBois model that championed the classical or liberal arts curriculum, northern industrialists, interested in an educated labor force, leaned toward Washington's standard. As early as 1882, philanthropic agencies, such as the John F. Slater Fund and the Peabody Fund, devised policies that countenanced industrial programs (Winston, 1971:681). Washington gained the support of many philanthropic foundations and organizations, including the Phelps Fund, and the General Education Board, and from influential and benevolent individuals such as Andrew Carnegie. Financial support shifted from the classical arts black colleges to industrial training institutes of Tuskegee and Hampton Institutes (Pifer, 1973:17-18). Many of the sectarian based colleges for blacks that originally furnished a classical education and gave little credence to vocational training²⁰ (Eddy, 1957:259). The private institutions that sought the largess of the industrial philanthropies established manual training departments (Pifer, 1973:17-18).

Several Protestant denominations had significant proportions of African Americans among their communicants and with denominational perpetuation in mind, facilitated the founding of four sectarian colleges. Similar to their non-

²⁰ Further verification is necessary but the evidence points to an early split in the private HBC's resulting from an adherence to or disregard of the foundations' policies. Those institutions that remained steadfast in their provision of a classical curriculum, had to rely on operating and endowment funds generated from tuition and denominational gifts. They remained "liberal arts" colleges. The four Protestant sectarian colleges discussed here adopted a utilitarian curriculum at a very early stage and hence, are the contemporary comprehensive colleges.

segregated collegiate counterparts, these black sectarian colleges offered ministerial and teacher-training programs of study. But the curriculum extended beyond preparation for these two vocations. Furnishing a multi-purpose and utilitarian curriculum, industrial and collegiate programs joined the normal and theological courses to exist under one roof. In Atlanta, Clark University was initiated in 1869 as a primary school by the Freedman's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It finally was chartered as a university in 1877. Ten years later, in addition to normal, preparatory and grammar school courses of study, the university was comprised of a school of theology, departments of business and industrial arts, and a college of music (Jones, 1888:150). The enrollment was 322, including sixty men²¹ in the industrial department. These latter students were schooled in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and industrial and architectural drawing, and could choose a specialty from carpentry, agriculture, printing, wagon and carriage building, and harness-making. Women were provided with domestic economy courses in sewing, dress-making and millinery, and with a training program in nursing (Mayo, 1888:50-52; Jones, 1888:150). The faculty was fairly large for the time, consisting of twenty faculty in addition to the president. The distribution however is telling: eleven faculty taught in the industrial department and three faculty were in the theology school (Jones, 1888:151).

Similarly, in North Carolina, the Baptists and the Episcopalians established multi-purpose colleges to afford its black membership an instrumental education. Shaw University was established as a theological class for freedmen in 1865 by the American Baptist Home Mission Society (Atkins, 1888:157). The Baptist Church experienced a tremendous growth in its African American membership between 1850 and 1863, an jump from 150,000 to 400,000, necessitating an increased in black ministers to serve this population (Daniel, 1925:23). By the late 1880s, Shaw occupied several acres of ground in the city of Raleigh, North Carolina, and enjoyed an estimated endowment of \$20,000. It offered programs of study in six departments: collegiate, scientific, normal, theological, medical and industrial (Atkins, 1888:158). St. Augustine Normal School and Collegiate Institute, a co-educational college, was incorporated in 1867 with four departments: theological, collegiate, normal and preparatory. Its curricular goals and content for the collegiate department are revealing:

The course in the collegiate department embraces history, ancient and modern; mathematics to trigonometry; and so much of the sciences and classics as necessary to make the student master of more of the important facts and theories of science, and to lay the basis of a thorough scholarship in Latin and Greek languages (Smith, 1888:158).

²¹ The enrollment of women in the industrial department was not reported.

St. Augustine's, like many of the historically black private colleges, included a normal department to educate teachers for the burgeoning common-school population. The Cookman Institute (now Bethune-Cookman), founded in 1872, served as the only normal school for blacks in Florida for fifteen years until the state established its own institution in Tallahassee. Six years previously, the state made provisions for the education of freedmen by levying a one dollar tax of "all male persons of color between the ages of 21 and 45" years and charging students a monthly tuition fee of fifty cents. Within the first year, twenty day schools and thirty night schools for adults were established. Two years later, the number of schools increased to seventy-one, but with only sixty-four teachers, half of whom were white (Bush, 1888:24). When the Methodist Freedman's Aid Society set up Cookman as a normal and biblical school, the association was addressing not only the increasing need for ministers, but filling an educational gap left by the state when it provided common-schools but not the means to satisfy the professional personnel necessary for the system. The need for black teachers only increased as the decades rolled by. By 1890, 43% of American blacks were literate. Thirty years later, the figure had jumped to 77% (Daniel, 1925:30). As segregation became an increasing imperative in the South without a federal mandate from the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and with the advent of the Jim Crow laws, the need for black teachers was essential. The obligation for black teacher-training escalated with increased participation and the judicial mandate for educational equality arising out of an 1849 Massachusetts case and eventually, the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 (see Teeter, 1983:85-89).

Public Black Colleges

After the Civil War, the Southern states slowly developed public post-secondary education for black students. Like the private colleges, the public institutions were overwhelmingly vocational in their curriculum. Some colleges were initiated as normal schools, such as the State Colored Normal School at Fayetteville. When it established the school in 1876, the North Carolina General Assembly designated it to be "thorough in all branches required to be taught in the state" and to provide "the best methods of teaching these branches and of governing the schools" (Atkins, 1888:159). Compared to the privately endowed Shaw University's 400 students and twenty-three faculty members in 1886-7, the Fayetteville school enrolled 126 under the tutelage of three instructors. The annual appropriation from the state was \$2,000. Local blacks donated the land for the school's building, erected by the Freedman's Bureau.²² Some states attempted to set up equitable normal schools; both Florida and Arkansas legislatively decreed that the black teachers schools

²² The Freedman's Bureau (f. 1865) invested over \$5 million in education in the South from 1865-71; as a federal government agency, the Bureau commandeered unused government buildings for educational purposes. It also assumed a general supervisory role over the schools that it assisted (Daniel, 1925:19).

would furnish faculty "equal in numbers, attainments, and other qualities to those in the principal normal college." Students were to be furnished with "the same books, same course of study, ...like honors, commendations, and degrees (Shinn, 1900:99). The Branch Normal College at Pine Bluff ("for poorer classes") continued its single-purposed mission for fifteen years, when it was designated as Arkansas' black land grant.

The South after the Civil War was racked with poverty and in desperate need of economic and physical reconstruction. The established white system of higher education, both private and public institutions, had been decimated and required new investments to reopen. Rejoining the Union, the Southern states were required to abide by federal laws, including the emancipation of the slaves. The education of teachers and ministers was only one part of the answer in reconstruction. The freedmen, if trained properly could become contributing members of the economic development of the South. Seventeen black land grant institutions were founded in the segregated Southern states as a result of the Morrill Acts of 1862 and 1890 (see Appendix A for a list of black and white southern land-grant universities).

They are complementary to the white land grant colleges and serve the negro populations of the States in which they are located. Their primary purpose is to furnish theoretical and practical higher education, including agriculture, mechanic arts, home economics, English, mathematics, physical, natural, and economic sciences, to negro youth in order to train them to engage in the pursuits and vocations of life (Klein, 1930:837).

The Morrill Act of 1862, adopted by the federal government at the beginning of the Civil War, was slowly accepted by the seventeen southern states. Only four states, Georgia, Maryland, Delaware and West Virginia took advantage of the government's scheme prior to the end of the 1860s. The Act, making no provision for the segregation of the races within educational institutions, supported the launching of white institutions in these states. During the 1870s, seven more southern states accepted the Act, setting up segregated land-grant colleges. Five of the states though, Mississippi, Virginia, South Carolina²³, Arkansas, and Kentucky, apportioned money to establish black land grant colleges within a few years (Klein, 1930:838).

²³ In 1872 when South Carolina accepted the federal grant from the 1862 Morrill Act, its state legislature was controlled by black politicians. Claflin University, a private black institution was named to receive the appropriation (Klein, 1930, [1]:18). Both Virginia (Hampton Institute) and later in the 1890s, Tennessee (Knoxville College), chose at first to follow this same path of supplementing the financial base of established private black colleges with Morrill funds.

By the time the second Morrill Act was passed by Congress, the issue of equality in education had emerged, at least within some circles. The Act prohibited money for the support of land grant institutions within a racially segregated state that did not establish and maintain colleges for both whites and blacks (Davis, 1934:13). In addition to the four states that originally provided land grant colleges for black students, thirteen more states accepted the terms of the second Morrill Act between 1890 and 1899. The Act required the states to "propose and report to the Secretary of the Interior a just and equitable division of the fund to be received under this act between one college for white students and one institution for colored students...." (Klein, 1930, [2]:840). One of the operative phrases in the provision that relates to the nature and funding of the black land grant colleges is "institution for colored students." As Eddy indicated, the black land-grant institutions "developed under entirely different conditions and with handicaps unknown to the other fifty-two [land-grant institutions]" (Eddy, 1957:257). What was true for the black land grants in terms of "handicaps and different conditions" were also true for private black colleges in the South. First, the academic and social environment of the South circumscribed faculty, student, and curriculum development. Second, limited and belated funding additionally restricted these colleges' progress. And, third, civil rights litigation beginning in the 1930s changed access to graduate education.

The Academic and Social Environment

Without the benefit of primary and secondary education, as was true for the majority of southern citizens, the development of post-secondary education in the South following the war was slow. The need to provide preparatory education existed in black and white schools. Offering a collegiate level of education to an under-prepared population would have been ludicrous; the black land-grant institutions (BLG), like their private analogues, provided primary and secondary educational instruction for many of their early decades. Even by "... 1916 the total enrollment in Land Grant Colleges for Negroes was 4,875 students and of these 2,595 were elementary, 2,268 secondary and 12 of collegiate grade [all of which were in Florida]" (Davis, 1934:23). By 1929, the overall enrollment distribution reversed. Only seven of the BLG's enrolled fewer students in their collegiate than their secondary programs and two completely eliminated their sub-collegiate instruction (Davis, 1934:addenda 41; 50-68). The average enrollment, however, was only 334 collegiate students per institution with a range of twenty-eight to 848 (see Table 5). In contrast, by 1929, all seventeen Southern white land-grant institutions (WLG) had progressed offering as many as five or six masters degrees and three offered one or more doctoral programs (Klein, 1930, [2]:730, Table 8).

Teaching the collegiate and sub-collegiate subjects were BLG faculty who were less prepared than their WLG colleagues. Of the 381 BLG faculty

teaching college classes, 26% held graduate degrees, 61% held bachelor's degrees and 13% had attained no degree (Klein, 1930, [21:884). In comparison, 43% of the faculty in the South Atlantic WLG division had graduate degrees, 42% had baccalaureate degrees, and less than 5% held no degree at all. The educational preparation of the faculty in the WLG South Central division was equivalent (Klein, 1930, [1]:587, table 28). The disparity in faculty preparation and in the degree of collective creativity was the result of several social and educational factors. First, no doctoral programs were available in the South to black scholars prior to the late 1930s when the civil rights litigation began.²⁴ Just prior to that time, 86% of the baccalaureate degrees earned by American blacks were taken at southern black colleges, whereas, 75% of the masters degrees were earned in northern institutions. During the last years of the 1920s, the Rosenwald Fund, constituting a black faculty scholarship fund, resolved to create four major centers of black education in the South; these were located at Atlanta University (GA), Dillard University (LA), Fisk University and Meharry Medical School (TN), and Howard University (DC). By 1936, as a direct result of the foundation funding, 80% of the American black Ph.D.s taught in these four institutions (Winston, 1971:695). At the same time, only three black Ph.D.s were employed in northern institutions.²⁵ The remaining doctorally-educated faculty were left for the other public and private black colleges in the South.²⁶

Second, the professional development for faculty in black colleges and universities, even at the four principal (now doctoral or research) institutions, ranged from meager to non-existent. The external social environment in which the faculty were to pursue their scholarship was hostile. The segregation laws of the South prohibited historians from using the archives and scientists from utilizing laboratories in the white institutions. Local chapters and some national professional meetings barred or limited the participation of black scholars (Winston, 1971:702). Finally, as the historian E. Franklin Frazier complained, the black administrators did not champion faculty development, innovation, and creativity. They tended to play a conservative, accommodating role to protect and promote the interests of their institution within the inimical

²⁴ In a 1949 Rosenwald Fund report, Embree notes that there still were no doctoral or professional programs in medicine, dentistry, or pharmacy in the public black colleges and universities of the segregated states. The colleges largely ignored engineering, law, social sciences, and library science also (Drake, 1971:847).

²⁵ Even as late as 1946, Robert Maynard Hutchins strongly opposed the appointment of blacks to the faculty at the University of Chicago (Winston, 1971:708). Drake, a Stanford sociologist, noted that he began teaching at Roosevelt University in Chicago, a YMCA spin-off college, in 1946, one of less than a half-dozen black faculty teaching in a white institution (1971:834).

²⁶ In 1936, there were 29 black Ph.D. social scientists, nine in history, fifteen in sociology and five in economics. Between 1930 and 1943, 317 American blacks earned the Ph.D. (Winston, 1971:701;693).

social environment of the South. Their administrations were autocratic and paternalistic, deadening innovation and controversy from the faculty. Since employment outside of the

TABLE 4.
FACULTY, STUDENTS, AND INCOME IN SOUTHERN WHITE AND BLACK LAND-GRANT COLLEGES:1927-28

| <i>South Atlantic Division</i> | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|----------|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|---------------|---------|
| State | Students | White Faculty ²⁷ | Income | Students | Black Faculty | Income |
| Del | 622 | 62 | 866,744 | 21 | 1 | 64,105 |
| Fla | 2,072 | 89 | 2,096,464 | 108 | NA | 178,379 |
| Ga | 1,453 | 130 | 982,893 | 106 | 14 | 106,410 |
| Md | 1,064 | 422 | 2,344,660 | 17 | 2 | 43,365 |
| NC | 1,371 | 105 | 2,097,269 | 157 | 6 | 160,773 |
| SC | 1,115 | 80 | 1,586,485 | 197 | 47 | 192,509 |
| Va | 1,131 | 103 | 1,983,510 | 384 | 56 | 275,870 |
| WVa | 2,439 | 156 | 2,301,781 | 359 | 33 | 270,223 |

| <i>South Central Division</i> | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|---------------|-----------|----------|---------------|---------|
| State | Students | White Faculty | Income | Students | Black Faculty | Income |
| Ala | 1,484 | 107 | 1,584,111 | 26 | 11 | 69,263 |
| Ark | 1,361 | 144 | 1,304,189 | 36 | 5 | 106,990 |
| Ky | 2,262 | 160 | 2,216,070 | 163 | 16 | 87,987 |
| La | 1,898 | 113 | 1,594,471 | 110 | 31 | 176,411 |
| Miss | 1,371 | 92 | 1,617,374 | 113 | 23 | 141,138 |
| OKla | 2,359 | 126 | 2,044,158 | 238 | 23 | 184,249 |
| Tenn | 2,997 | 218 | 2,411,702 | 570 | 24 | 280,974 |
| Tx | 2,491 | 174 | 4,059,493 | 738 | 50 | 533,123 |

Sources: Klein, 1930, [11:285-88, table 10; 101-02, 106-07, 111-12, 118-19, 121-22, tables 8 - 13; [21:844, table 2; 856, table 4; 866, table 7; Biennial Survey, 1922-23:608-34, table 26.

black institutions was virtually impossible, the academic labor market became a closed system. Access to academic prestige and employment within the profession-at-large was limited to even the most productive faculty, so that the

²⁷ The data for the faculty in the southern white land-grant institutions is not disaggregated in Klein (1930). This data is derived from the Biennial Survey, 1922-23. The students enrollments for those years in these southern white institutions approximates the enrollments for 1927-28 and therefore, the number of faculty should not be too far removed from reality five years later.

driving incentive in academic employment was contained to salary rather than scholarly actualization (Johnson, 1971:803-11; Winston, 1971:707).

State Funding: Belated and Paltry

The WLGs had a ten- to thirty-year head start on those that were constituted for black students in the 1890s. Some had the advantage of early state appropriations and interest from the sale of the federal script provided by the 1862 Act. Financially, most of the WLGs were on a secure footing by the time the 1890 legislation was enacted. To participate in the second Morrill Act, all seventeen of the states that supported segregated education were required by the provisions of the act to develop a plan of equitable distribution of the funds to their racially-separate institutions. And each did so in its own way. Several states divided the monies between the white and black land grant institutions on the basis of the proportion of each race's school-age population in the state. In states such as Mississippi where the black comprised about 56% of the population the appropriation undoubtedly made a difference. In Kentucky, however, where blacks accounted for 11% of the population, the annual appropriation for the black land grant was \$675.75 as opposed to the \$4,322.25 received by the white land grant. Other states determined a proportional distribution which seem to be based on the proportions of the racial population within the state. For example, Arkansas, whose black population accounted for 28%, apportioned the federal monies, giving 8/11 to the white land grant and the remainder to the black complement (Davis, 1934:13-19;24,Table IV). The appropriations, meager as they were, for the established institutions would have served as "found money"; however, for the fledgling colleges, the support was paltry. In the segregated states, the 1900 per capita educational expenditures favored white students by 60%; thirty years later the disparity had increased to 253% (Thompson, 1935).

A second financial consequence of the impoverished state of affairs in southern black education was related to the under-prepared nature of the student body. Providing the necessary basic pre-collegiate curriculum to its students worked against the black land grant institutions in that their financial resources had to be stretched to underwrite three levels of education rather than merely the post-secondary level. Physical, instructional, and personnel resources had to cover the gamut. If ten faculty were employed, they often were spread across the preparatory and collegiate programs. Faculty were stretched to cover courses of study for which they were not prepared in order to cover the breadth of the curriculum (Johnson, 1971:804).

The two racially distinct southern land grant colleges were at variance in their curricula offerings. Sixteen of the seventeen BLG's provided study in agriculture. By the 1930s, eleven colleges offered bachelor of science degree programs while the remaining five programs consisted of two year or isolated courses. Mechanical arts in white institutions was translated into mechanical,

electrical, civil and chemical engineering, whereas in the twelve BLG's that offer this program, manual training and machine-shop education were the components of the curriculum. "The negro land grant colleges have been handicapped in offering highly technical course in... engineering because of the expensive equipment required and the difficulties in securing highly trained personnel to give instruction" (Klein, 1930, [2]:877). Home economics was also translated differently between black and white institutions. The WLG's emphasize family life and the science of domesticity, whereas the BLG curricula include cafeteria or institutional management, child and invalid care and laundering (Klein, 1930, [2]:878).

Education was the only pervasive curriculum throughout all seventeen institutions, primarily due to the need to staff segregated black public schools in the South. Primary school enrollments for black students increased between 1918 and 1928 by 12% but secondary school enrollments escalated 378% in the same period. The responsibility for staffing these public schools fell largely to the black land-grant colleges.²⁸ In addition, arts and sciences were offered in 12 of the 17 BLG's. Other instructional programs were founded sporadically in these colleges: science (1), commerce and business (4), fine arts (1), music (3), physical education (1), nursing (2) (Klein, 1930, [2]:876, table 9). On the other hand, a wide variety of sub-collegiate trades and industries were taught in these colleges to the majority of their students; these included auto mechanics, brick masonry, carpentry, electricity, plumbing, tailoring, broom and mattress making, and laundry and dry cleaning (Klein, 1930, [2]:882, table 10).

Civil Rights Litigation

Sixteen of the seventeen historically black land-grant institutions are presently categorized as comprehensive institutions by the Carnegie Classification (1987).²⁹ Eleven of the institutions are Comprehensive I's and the remainder are categorized as II's. All of the historically WLGs are categorized as Doctoral or Research Universities. While the classification may be based on arbitrary criteria, the disparity between the progress or expansion of the two sub-types of the southern land-grant institutions is an interesting phenomenon. Clearly, the social restrictions of the South and the minimal state and federal appropriations given to the majority of the BLGs at their inception started them with a deficit in quality for their academic staff and their physical facilities. Additionally, however, several landmark legal cases may

²⁸ "Southern Jim Crow laws prevented whites from teaching at the black state schools until *de jure* segregation was ended by the United States Supreme Court decisions." (Johnson, 1971:805)

²⁹ In the original acceptance of the 1890 Morrill Act, the Maryland legislature charged the University of Maryland with oversight of the land-grant curriculum for black students. The black land-grant institution in this state is part of the University of Maryland system and has had a slightly different historical development.

have caused the civil rights movement to act as a double-edged sword for historically black institutions. The cases opened the southern white institutions, state by state to black students, but served as a deterrent to progress in implementing new and higher degrees in the public black colleges.

The legal suits, all the result of the militancy of Charles Houston, dean of the Howard University Law School and Thurgood Marshall, one of his students (see Teeter, 1983:89-101) extended from a 1935 case in Maryland to a 1950 Supreme Court decision that affected Texas higher education.³⁰ The courts held that “(1) blacks must be admitted to white graduate schools where no black school was immediately available in the state; (2) upon admission blacks could not be segregated; and (3) all aspects of education, including intangibles, must be equal in racially separate institutions” (Harper, 1971:773). These cases had a substantial impact on the higher education for whites and blacks in several segregated states. In the late 1930s, West Virginia institutions began to admit black students to previously segregated schools and several other southern institutions created separate Black graduate and professional schools (Pifer, 1973:22). By the late 1940s, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, all with historically black land-grants, joined West Virginia in desegregating their graduate programs. Graduate education was finally open to black students in at least some of the Southern states. While under *de jure* segregation, Black students who wanted a graduate education had to go north. Few black colleges had graduate programs. After the decisions were rendered at the federal level, students could apply to graduate and professional educational programs in-state as well as the traditional source of the North. Without the demand to change, increased state policies to coordinate public education, and the cost of developing faculty and resources, the historically Black land-grant institutions and the states that ultimately controlled them had little impetus to invest in the development of graduate and professional programs equivalent to the investment in the historically white land-grants. Thus, the historically land-grant institutions remain Comprehensive I and II’s with smaller enrollments and little demand for graduate programs.

Conclusion

Throughout its history, the United States has consisted of one generation after another of immigrants. Some peoples emigrated by choice, others, were impelled by forces or events in their home countries, and finally, a third group was coerced to support an economic system. For the first two

³⁰ *University of Maryland v. Murray*, 169 Md. 478, 182 A. 590 (1936); *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada*, 305 U.S. 337 (1938); *Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 332 U.S. 631 (1948); *Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629 (1950); *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637 (1950).

groups, the new country from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century held the promise of social mobility, of a better life than one left. At first, the realization of that promise came from land. Quickly, once the primary needs of domesticity were satisfied, education and religion became organizational imperatives. Exclusivity, however, was a key element in 19th century higher education. The system as it was evolving was formulated to train men for the professions of the ministry, law, medicine, and community leadership. The secret passwords were Latin and Greek. For those by virtue of gender, ethnicity, religion or class who did not have the keys, education was closed. Education was, at that point, a privilege.

The story of the origins of contemporary comprehensive colleges and universities is tale of access, the chronicle of people and associations who wanted to participate in the development of the country. They were neither rebellious nor militant, nor were they necessarily desirous of supplanting the professionals educated in the established colleges. Some of the colleges that they founded, such as the sectarian and YMCA institutions, perpetuated their associations or ideals while offering their progeny or adherents a means to realize the American promise. Other institutions, such as the normal schools, were civic-minded, preparing students for vocations useful to the community. They addressed and specialized in areas of expertise to produce an emerging phenomenon, the American middle-class. The programs of study and resulting occupations, taking their lead from the leadership provided by the professions and the elite institutions, applied the direction and authority of the elite.

The access provided by these institutions afforded students, white and black, male and female, many of whom during the 19th and early 20th century were no more than one generation removed from the land, with means to climb the social mobility ladder. The access additionally extended the democratic ideal to education. Taken as an aggregate, they disregard class, gender, and ethnicity, and permitted the free expression of religious beliefs. As institutions outside the mainstream, driven by their specialized missions, they progressed through a period of establishing legitimacy, especially with regard to accreditation criteria. The process standardized their structures, faculty, and curriculum, and, in many cases, their mission.

This present story is less complete. Comprehensive institutions share similarities in their origins within their own contemporary classifications but also with colleges that fall into other Carnegie classifications. A thorough analysis of the progress of each of the strains of comprehensive colleges is necessary to determine if the common traits argued here are merely a sanguine retrospective interpretation. If the latter, the artificial nature of the Carnegie Classification actually may be further amplified. On the other hand, if they do possess unique and sustaining features that provided the basis of the

present comprehensive model, then the perspectives that claim their amorphous nature are not sustained.

Several other strains that have not been analyzed in this paper must be inspected. Many 19th century academies for women moved through junior and senior college phases into the comprehensive typology. These schools, in addition to the normal school movement, opened the doors of higher education to women. A preliminary, but feeble attempt has been made in this area with regard to Catholic womens' education. The denominational (both Protestant and Catholic) and independent women's academies, colleges and the southern technical institutes must be studied. Colleges devoted entirely to technical fields of study, such as the Worcester and Rochester Polytechnic and Pratt Institutes extended the definition of legitimate post-secondary education. In addition to these strains, questions of organizational development patterns should be addressed. These issues include the adherence to a continued mission, and the effects of an urban or rural location, persistent funding, visionary leadership, and local and regional environment. Research questions concerning the variety of institutional types posed from the perspective of the functions of mission rather than from positioning in a hierarchical typology may be more persuasive and productive.

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Appendix A

Definitions Of Sub-Types for Tables 1 and 2

Academy and Preparatory Schools: primarily secondary schools that were not authorized to award collegiate degrees. Some comprehensives that are not classified in this category but began as academies or preparatory schools only stayed precollegiate for no more than a year or two and were chartered as colleges.

Normal Schools: 2-, 3-, and 4-year teacher-training schools that did not award the baccalaureate degree.

Bible Schools, Bible Colleges and Theological Schools: primarily collegiate-level institutions that served a primary mission of educating clergy. Some liberal arts colleges also maintained a theology department but this was not their singular or cardinal mission.

Two-Year or Junior Colleges: colleges that offered associates as their highest degree.

Teachers Colleges, State Colleges and Universities: colleges that either evolved from the normal schools or were instituted whole-cloth. The teachers colleges at first offered education degrees for elementary and secondary teachers; baccalaureate degrees in the liberal arts followed. Once the curriculum was diversified, state colleges and/or universities evolved from the state teachers colleges. Some of the latter two sub-types were established without having gone through the normal to teachers college stages.

Land-Grant and Technical Colleges: the comprehensive-level land-grant colleges are overwhelmingly historically black and were primarily vocational and technical in curriculum. Technical colleges range from very specialized curricula to vocational programs of study.

Extension and Branch Campuses: comprehensives that are now autonomous institutions or are a part of a state system that began as satellites, extending the program of study of a parent institution to other regions. Some satellites were more extensive than others, offering degree programs; others enticed students to the main campus with partial degree coursework or enabled students to participate in non-degree continuing education.

Private: this category in the table categorizing public institutions includes schools that are not readily classified in the other public sub-types and

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were founded by private associations. They include Protestant denominational and YMCA colleges primarily. The public sector gained control generally in this century.

Liberal Arts: the bulk of the private institutions, these colleges at first offered a primarily classical curriculum in the 19th century or a disciplinary-based curriculum in the 20th century. All broadened their curriculum to include professional, pre-professional, and/or applied programs of study at some point in time.

Metropolitan and Extensions: private colleges established in this century in urban areas by independent founders with a comprehensive curriculum or as satellites for a parent private college.

Appendix B

SOUTHERN LAND GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

| <i>White</i> | | | <i>Black</i> | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---------------------------------------|--|
| State | Present Name Original Name | Land-grant date Founding date | Present Name Original Name | Land-grant date Founding date |
| Ala | Auburn University | 1867 | Ala A & M U | 1878 |
| | Ala Agric & Mech Col | 1856 | Huntsville Normal S | 1875 |
| Ark | U of Ark, Fayetteville | 1864 | U of Ark at Pine Bluff | 1872 |
| | Ark Industrial U | 1871 | Branch Normal College | 1873 |
| Del | U of Delaware | 1867 | Delaware State College | |
| | 1891 Newark College | 1833 | St Col for Colored Stds | 1891 |
| Fla | U of Florida | 1870 | Fla A & M U | 1890 |
| | East Fla Seminary | 1853 | St Norm C for Colored | 1887 |
| Ga | U of Georgia | 1866 | Fort Valley State College | 1890 |
| | U of Georgia | 1801 | Georgia St Indus Col | 1890 ³¹ |
| Ky | U of Kentucky | 1863 | Kentucky State Univ | 1889 |
| | A & M Col of Ky U | 1865 | Kentucky Normal Inst | 1886 |
| La | La St U & A & M Col | 1869 | Southern U & A M C | 1892 |
| | La St Sem & Mil Acad | 1855 | Southern U & A M C | 1880 |
| Md | U of Maryland | 1864 | U of Md Eastern Shore | 1892 |
| | Maryland Agric Col | 1856 | Princess Anne Acadmy | 1886 |
| Miss | Mississippi St U | 1866 | Alcorn State University | 1871 |
| | Miss A & M Col | 1878 | Alcorn A & M Col | 1871 |
| MO | University of Missouri | 1863 | Lincoln University | 1879 |
| | University of Missouri | 1839 | Lincoln University | 1866 |
| NC | North Carolina St U | 1866 | NC Ag & Tech St U | 1891 |
| | NC Col of A & M Arts | 1889 | A & M Col for Colored | 1891 |
| Okla | Oklahoma State U | 1890 | Langston University | 1897 |
| | Okla A & M Col | 1890 | Colored A & Normal U | 1897 |

³¹ Georgia State Industrial College is now Savannah State College, a senior college of the University of Georgia System and a public Comprehensive II. Fort Valley State College is the black land-grant college at present. Whether both institutions are still supported with land-grants or when the funding changed are questions to be taken up later.

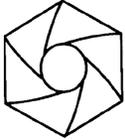
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| <i>White</i> | | | <i>Black</i> | | |
|---------------------|---|--|---------------------------------------|--|--|
| State | Present Name Original Name | Land-grant date Founding date | Present Name Original Name | Land-grant date Founding date | |
| SC | Clemson University | 1868 | South Carolina St Col | 1896 ³² | |
| | Clemson Agric College | 1889 | Colored Norm, A & M | 1896 | |
| Tenn | U of Tennessee | 1868 | Tennessee State U | 1981 ³³ | |
| | Blount College 1912 | 1794 | Ag & Ind St Normal Sch | | |
| Va | Va Polytechnic Inst 1872 ³⁴ | 1870 | Virginia State U | | |
| | Va A & M Col | 1872 | Va Norm & Col Inst | 1882 | |
| WVa | West Virginia U | 1863 | West Virginia State C | 1891 | |
| | Agric College of WVa | 1867 | WVa Colored Institute | 1891 | |

³² South Carolina accepted funds for Claflin College, a private institution, from the Morrill Act of 1862. The Colored Normal, Agricultural and Mechanical College received the "black share" of the state land-grant funds as of 1896.

³³ Tennessee distributed the "black share" of the 1890 Act to Knoxville College, a private black college, until 1912 when it founded the Agricultural and Industrial State Normal School at Nashville.

³⁴ Virginia supported Hampton Institute, a private black college, with the funds from the 1862 Morrill Act from 1872 until 1920 when it established the Virginia State College for Negroes.



About the Author

Dorothy E. Finnegan was a doctoral candidate in the Higher Education Program at Penn State University when working on this paper. Her dissertation research focused on the careers of faculty in comprehensive universities. She is a member of the Faculty Labor Market Study in Comprehensive Universities and College and is a Research Associate of the New England Resource Center for Higher Education. A former dean and tenured faculty member in anthropology, Finnegan has collaborated with Robert Hendrickson in producing the chapter on Higher Education in The Yearbook of Education Law, edited by Stephen B. Thomas (Topeka: National Organization of Legal Problems of Education, 1989;1990) and co-authored with William Toombs an article on college catalogs for the Journal for Higher Education Management, 5 (#2, Winter/Spring) 1990: 59-68.

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