MARGARET M. GRUBIAK

The Danforth Chapel Program on the Public American Campus

In an evaluation of the American college chapel published in the late 1950s, religious historian Martin Marty celebrated Colorado State University's Danforth Chapel and eight other college and university chapels as outstanding examples of a new era in church building. He believed these chapels, with their modernist, progressive architecture, could make religion relevant to the modern age, becoming "the magnet of students who before this never knew that the Christian faith was addressing itself to them as children of the twentieth century."[1] In its stark form and small size, the Danforth Chapel at Colorado State exemplified the kind of worship space that turned a focus to simple and intimate worship (Figure 1). The Colorado State University Danforth Chapel was remarkable as a religious monument on a public university campus, and despite Marty's identification of it as a Christian space, its architecture directly engaged

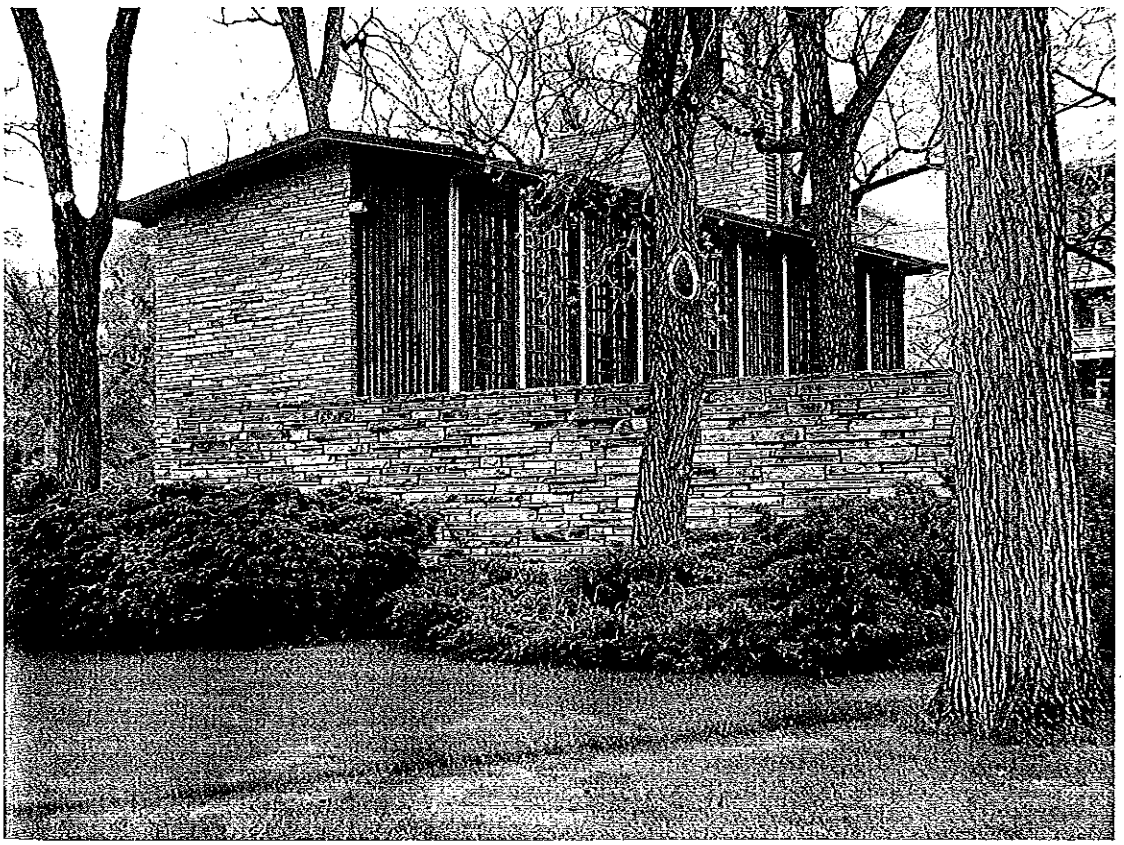


Figure 1. Danforth Chapel, Colorado State University, James M. Hunter, Fort Collins, Colorado, 1954–55. Photograph by Margaret Grubiak.

the mid-century emphasis on nonsectarianism on the university campus.

In declaring the "demise" of the individual architectural patron on campus in the same article, Martin Marty overlooked the donor of the very chapel he celebrated: industrialist William H. Danforth (Figure 2). Marty contended that colleges and universities had themselves become the new patrons of progressive modern architecture, employing outstanding architects like Frank Lloyd Wright, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Eero Saarinen for chapel projects. But over a twenty-year period from about 1937 to 1957, William Danforth and his foundation funded some fifteen chapels on colleges and university campuses, some revivalist in their architecture but many modernist, across the United States. More importantly, Danforth implemented the last major religious building program on the public campus, constructing eleven of his chapels at tax-supported universities. The Danforth Chapels compose a widespread religious landscape united by the Danforth name, which challenged the conception of a strict separation of church and state in the mid-twentieth century.

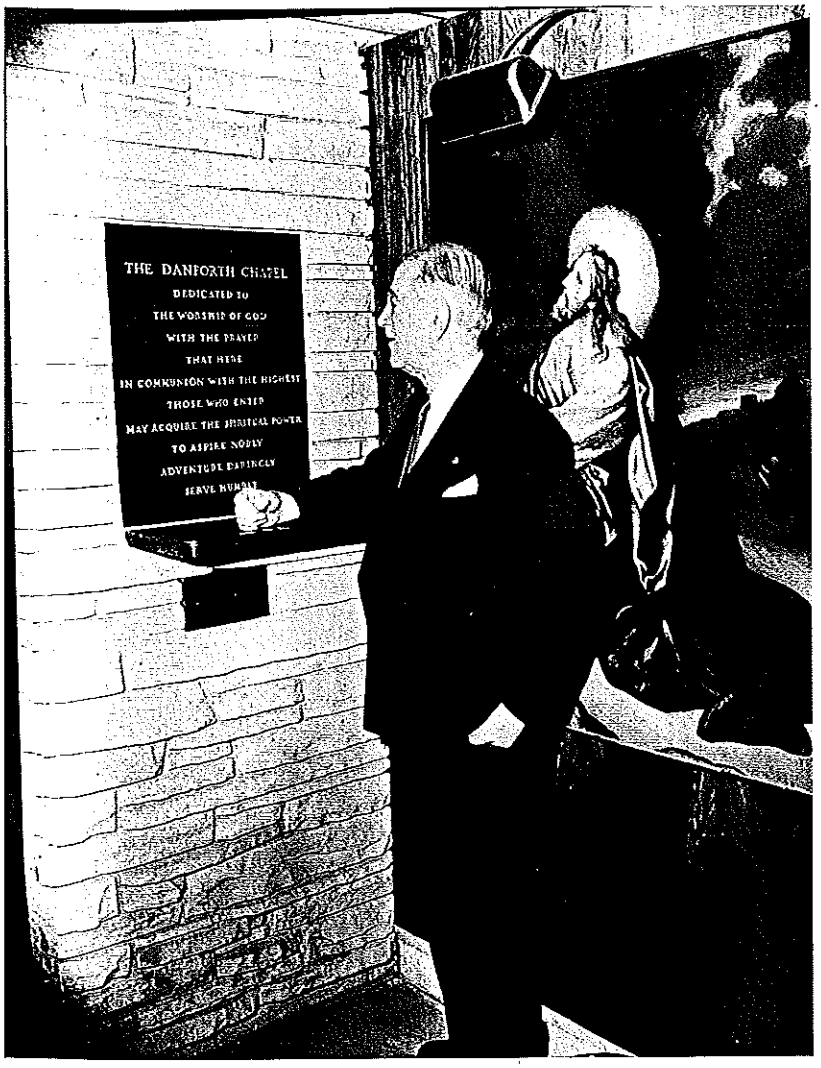


Figure 2. William H. Danforth in 1954, standing in the Colorado State University Danforth Chapel in front of the dedication plaque and *Christ in the Garden of Gesthemane* painting required for each Danforth Chapel. From *The Colorado Aggie Alumnus* (May–June 1954): cover. Courtesy Colorado State University, University Historic Photograph Collection, Archives and Special Collections.

The Danforth Chapel program also contributed to a new university chapel type: the nondenominational meditation chapel. The Danforth Chapels' identity as nondenominational spaces was critical to their inclusion within public universities. But even this nonsectarian claim was distinct from later twentieth-century notions of multifaith spaces. The chapels' religious iconography required by the Danforth Foundation skewed toward a Christian emphasis even while professing an accommodation for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish worship. This frank celebration of Christianity and simultaneous welcoming of other faiths was not contradictory at mid-century. The chapels' small size and limited use ensured they were not shades of sectarian parish churches but distinctive spaces for meditation refocused on the sanctuary. The Danforth Chapel program offered an early model of how to make religion available within communities that needed to respect religious difference.

The Problem and Promise of Religion in the Public University

The place of religion on the public university campus has a complex history. Whereas private and denominational institutions could take whatever stance they wished on religion, state-supported institutions were to obey their own state constitutions as well as hold two aspects of the United States Constitution in balance: the Establishment Clause in the First Amendment forbids states to endorse a particular religion, while the Free Exercise Clause ensures free practice of religion in state institutions. In theory, publicly funded colleges and universities were to be neutral to religion, accommodating all beliefs and discriminating against none.

In practice, public colleges and universities

in the late nineteenth century were infused with a Christian culture. In 1890, University of Michigan President James B. Angell, himself a Congregationalist, gave a description of religion in state universities to allay concerns of nervous parents who conceived of public universities and agricultural colleges as "godless institutions." Of the twenty-four state colleges and universities Angell surveyed in 1890, he found that twenty-two provided daily chapel services and that an astounding half of these instituted a mandatory chapel attendance policy.[2] State universities often had an active extracurricular religious culture with the Young Men's and Women's Christian Associations and clubs associated with the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and Unitarians in buildings ringing the campus periphery.[3] Angell further declared that parents should not fear their children being instructed by nonbelievers. By his count, some 70 to 80 percent of faculty at state institutions belonged to Christian churches.[4] Angell painted a picture of public higher education at the end of the nineteenth century that was still firmly embedded in an overwhelmingly Protestant, Christian tradition.

In the early twentieth century, this religious heritage was challenged in public and private colleges and universities alike. Historians identify the first three decades of the twentieth century as a period of secularization that transformed religion's role in higher education.[5] The maturing of the American college into the modern American university distanced higher education from its religious roots and traditions. In 1905, the Carnegie Foundation offered some private colleges and universities pension support for faculty on the condition that they renounce their denominational ties in an effort to support a more rigorous intellectual program and establish academic freedom. A growing scientific culture further challenged religion's authority, displacing religion from the intellectual core. Religious practice on campus also faced decline. By the 1920s, student campaigns largely ended compulsory chapel requirements in public and private institutions, although even as late as the 1940s a small number of state-supported universities still required chapel attendance.[6] In many ways, the decline of religion's centrality on the American campus mirrored the growing secularization in American culture. For state institutions in particular, increased secularization buried their cooperative history with religion and seemed to confirm the complete separation of church and state.

Yet religion in public higher education was poised to make a comeback by the mid-twentieth century. In 1947, Merrimon Cuninggim, a Methodist minister, then professor of religion at Pomona College, and future director of the Danforth Foundation, traced religion's resurgence in *The College Seeks Religion*. Cuninggim argued that after secularization peaked near World War I, colleges and universities had done much to retake responsibility for the spiritual welfare of their students.[7] This was particularly true for public universities. In 1940, Yale Divinity School professor Clarence Prouty Shedd claimed that public university presidents, "who ten years ago felt their hands were tied by legal limitations, now tend to believe that they have more freedom for direct religious leadership than they are using."[8] A 1949 symposium on "Religion in the State University" at the University of Minnesota supported the legality of religion in tax-supported institutions.[9] As much as state universities needed to avoid sectarian controls, this symposium and the writings of Cuninggim and Shedd argued that tax-supported institutions need not, and should not, be divorced from religion wholesale. As Shedd stated directly, "'Tax-supported' and 'secularized' have never been synonymous terms for state colleges and universities."[10] The public university instead, he asserted, had a real obligation "to do all in its power to encourage the growth of vital religion among students."[11]

The end of World War II had also brought the need for religion generally and respect for religious plurality particularly to the forefront.[12] The war, and especially the dropping of the atomic bomb, prompted colleges and universities to reconsider how to foster a moral and social consciousness among students and even faculty. Precisely because of the moral and ethical questions raised by the work of scientists in the atomic

age, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology called for the construction of a chapel, designed by Eero Saarinen, for the first time on its campus in the immediate postwar years.[13] Awareness of the Holocaust also spurred a call for accommodation of multiple religions on the campus, which in the mid-twentieth century meant a shift from a Protestant dominance to include Catholic and Jewish perspectives. In this postwar atmosphere, colleges and universities constructed chapels as nondenominational spaces accommodating Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish worship. Indeed, the extension of religious tolerance to Catholics and Jews was well understood at the time. Will Herberg deemed the "outstanding feature of the religious situation in America" in the 1950s to be "the pervasiveness of religious self-identification along the tripartite scheme of Protestant, Catholic, Jew."[14] In the context of public higher education, this more inclusive understanding of religion in the postwar period paved a promising path for a resurgence of religion in state-sponsored institutions.

Yet integrating religion within public higher education remained a challenge. Many state colleges and universities focused on agriculture, engineering, and other practical arts, rather than a classically liberal education that included religious or theological instruction. As one report from Colorado State University (previously Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College) emphasized, there was a "very strong tendency in technical schools to emphasize technical training and skills at the expense of some other phases of a rounded education." As late as the 1940s, Colorado State's curriculum included no courses about philosophy or religion.[15] Montana State University's motto for most of the twentieth century, "Education for Efficiency," captured the ethos of a practical education. While a 1939 survey found that thirty-two of thirty-seven surveyed tax-supported colleges and universities provided space for religious meetings, most public college and university campuses did not include a chapel.[16] Even as religious supporters worked toward implementing departments of religious studies, bolstering religious practice on campus, and promoting the programs of Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations, religion and its architectural expression still did not figure among its priorities for many tax-supported universities.

The Danforth Chapel Program

Addressing the lack of chapels on public university campuses became the special mandate of the Danforth Foundation—created in 1927 by William H. Danforth and his wife, Adda Bush Danforth. William Danforth (1870–1955) made his fortune as the founder of the St. Louis–based Ralston Purina Company. A highly successful businessman, Danforth was also an ardent Christian and long-time member of Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis. His lifelong interest was in spreading a positive, inspirational message to young people to "aspire nobly, adventure daringly, serve humbly," spurred by his own experience of overcoming a sickly childhood. Danforth helped in founding the American Youth Foundation and established Camp Miniwanca in Shelby, Michigan, where youth gathered in the summers to explore the principles of Christian living and leadership. He pushed his "four square" principle of balancing physical, mental, social, and religious aspects of life in *I Dare You*, published in more than twenty-eight editions. For Danforth, moral development was an essential pillar of a successful American life.[17]

Danforth's decision to share his wealth for the betterment of American youth was part of a broader tradition of American philanthropy focused on education and moral improvement. From the 1880s until World War I, industrialist Andrew Carnegie supported the construction of more than 1,600 Carnegie Libraries across the United States to give free access to knowledge as a means of self-improvement and to "help those who will help themselves."[18] Such giving from wealthy industrialists to support education extended to the college and university campus. This tradition of giving had already begun to have an impact on American college campuses. Bequests from the Harkness family, whose wealth derived from Standard Oil, funded dormitory building projects at Harvard and Yale. Standard Oil founder John D. Rockefeller and his son John D.

Rockefeller Jr. also funded multiple projects for American higher education, including the University of Chicago's Rockefeller Memorial Church (1928).[19] In building campus chapels, Danforth engaged these educational, Protestant-driven philanthropic traditions to better the moral and spiritual lives of American youth.

William Danforth's specific patronage of religious buildings at colleges and universities also responded to a decline in the popularity of the Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs) that had once been a locus of religion on campus. First founded in England in the 1840s and established in American cities in the 1850s as an urban reform movement infused with Christian morality, the YMCA program spread to the American campus by the 1860s. The YMCA dominated religious extracurricular life; a full 25 to 30 percent of male students participated in the program in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[20] Yet the YMCA's influence declined by the late 1930s as the organization was unable to bridge an increasingly secular culture on campus and a regeneration of religious interest along sectarian lines.[21] The waning of the YMCA movement on the college and university campus left a religious vacuum, one that the Danforth Chapel program sought to fill.[22]

Beginning in the 1940s, the Danforth Foundation focused its efforts on fostering religious values in American education in keeping with Danforth's insistence "that a strong emphasis be kept on the spiritual and moral dimensions in the total development of a leader."[23] The Foundation instituted multipart programs on college and university campuses to foster religious life. The Danforth Faculty Associates were a nationwide network of faculty members, numbering nearly 700 at some 360 colleges and universities by the 1940s, who provided informal spiritual mentorship for students.[24] The Danforth Graduate Fellows, also known as "Danny Grads," were graduate student women who traveled to other campuses to become active in the campus religious life. The Danforth Associates and Danforth Fellows played important roles in championing the construction of the Danforth Chapels on their campuses.[25]

To William Danforth, the chapels were another instrument to increase "spiritual influence on a college campus."[26] Proclaiming that American colleges and universities were "ready right now for a spiritual awakening,"[27] Danforth believed that "on every campus there is a need for a little building where students can slip in and sit quietly, looking toward the cross, and find a solution to the main problems on their minds."[28] His emphasis on a chapel for "every campus" underscored that Danforth believed religion should be included even at tax-supported universities, while his reference to the cross presumed a Christian centrality. A chapel viewed "on the daily travel of the student," as one Danforth Chapel supporter reasoned, would offer "some incentive toward religious thought."[29] These chapels were not to serve as substitutes for students' own parish churches or denominational affiliations—indeed, William Danforth specifically did not want the Danforth Chapels to compete with parish churches, hence their small size—but rather places where God could be encountered in the pattern of daily campus life.

By August 1955, four months before William Danforth's death, seventeen Danforth Chapels had been completed, with several more finished by 1957.[30] Of the twenty-four reported Danforth Chapels, fifteen have been located on college or university campuses in the United States, eleven of these at public institutions. Danforth Chapels are located as far east as Florida and as far west as Arizona, but largely concentrated in the Midwest. In approximate chronological order, Danforth Chapels at public universities were constructed at Arizona State University at Tempe (1945–48), University of Kansas (1946), Kansas State University (1949), Montana State University in Bozeman (1950–52), University of Iowa (1952–53), University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (1952), University of South Dakota in Vermillion (1954), Colorado State University (1954–55), North Carolina State University (1956), University of Southern Mississippi (1956–57), and University of Central Missouri (1954–57). Danforth chapels were also constructed on four private college campuses: Berea College (1937) in Kentucky; Wartburg College (1954–55) in Waverly, Iowa;

Morehouse College (1955) in Atlanta; and Florida Southern College (1955) in Lakeland, Florida.[31]

These Danforth Chapels were welcomed by university leaders sympathetic to the idea of religion as a central component of higher education. Confirming the lasting influence of Christianity in the public university, University of Kansas Chancellor Deane Malott declared in 1944, notably before the ecumenical emphasis following World War II, "The University is happy to have this building as a center of emphasis for Christian living, for which this University has stood throughout its history."[32] Montana State University President R. R. Renne voiced the persistent belief that higher education must foster spiritual and moral values, asserting that his institution "feels that it has a duty to the parents of its students who might feel that the College is indifferent to the religious needs of their children."[33] The public nature of these state institutions was not to stand in the way of providing for such needs. One University of South Dakota alumnus believed that the chapel on campus "would serve to remind every student that, even in our society where church and state are separate, religion ought to be an important part of men . . . and an integral part of every man's everyday activities."[34]

When there was backlash against the Danforth Chapels, it was fragmentary. Whereas the Danforth Associates and Danforth Graduates provided a cohesive network to push the chapel projects through to construction, there is little evidence of organized resistance against the Danforth Chapel program. At Montana State University, those not in support of a chapel believed the funding was needed elsewhere and other churches in town could care for students' spiritual lives, sentiments echoed by students at Colorado State.[35] Faculty at Colorado State University were reported to be generally "unfavorable" toward the construction of a chapel on campus, yet their resistance seemed to rest on the "compulsion" to endorse the idea.[36] Absent among students and faculty on most campuses was an outcry against the very idea of religious inclusion on the public campus, and the decision to build a chapel seemed to be out of student or faculty control. As the Montana State University student newspaper put it, "the future of the chapel is entirely beyond the range of student opinion. . . . [W]e will have a chapel regardless."[37]

The notion that the Danforth Chapels were funded by private sources and were explicitly open to all faiths effectively countered arguments against the chapels. The Danforth Foundation donated an initial gift of $5,000 for the chapel, provided that the college or university met certain required conditions, and expected the rest of the money be raised by other, private sources to ensure the buy-in of the community. The Danforth Foundation purposefully called the Danforth Chapels "meditation chapels" to counter their identification with a particular religious denomination. These chapels needed to be nondenominational to conform to state and federal law. The University of South Dakota pledged to make its chapel "available for the use of all without discrimination" in order to "preserve the spirit of the Constitution."[38] The State Attorney General of Montana affirmed the Danforth Chapel's legality according to the Montana state Constitution as long as it was used as an "all-denominational" space.[39] For most public universities that accepted the Danforth Foundation gift for the chapel, the chapel was approved based on the private nature of the donation and the chapels' open use.

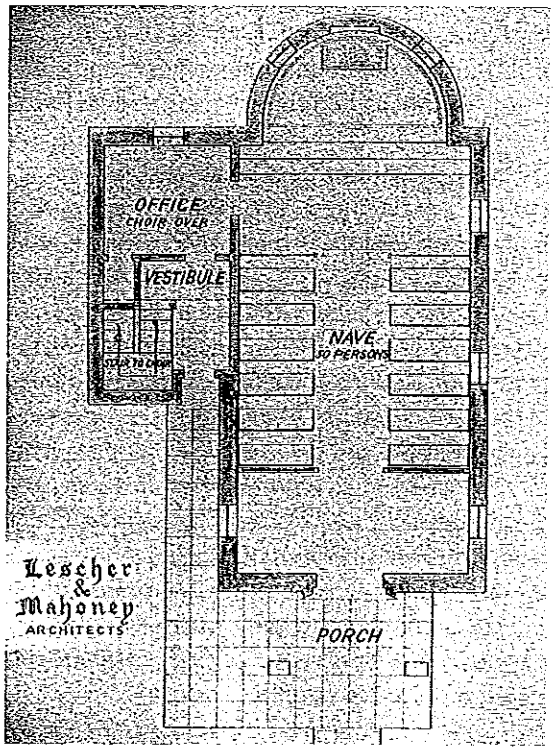
The Danforth Chapels were realized in a concentrated period in the 1940s and 1950s due in large part to William Danforth's own determination to construct the chapels before his death. In his correspondence with college and university presidents, Danforth often alluded to his older age—he was in his eighties when most of the chapels were constructed in the early 1950s—and that he and his wife wanted "to accomplish the maximum amount of good while we are here on earth."[40] Danforth pressured leaders to get the chapels constructed, creating competition between universities and offering additional financial incentives to meet construction deadlines.[41] Danforth personally attended as many of the dedication ceremonies as possible.

William Danforth's choice of the institutions to which he contributed reveals a desire to

support religion in higher education in the far corners of the United States, not just its typical centers of power. Wealthy industrialists of an earlier era—men like Carnegie, Rockefeller, Harkness, Vanderbilt, and Stanford—shaped prestigious university campuses with their large donations. Standing outside this elite culture as a Midwesterner, Danforth instead funded building projects at colleges and universities well outside the Ivy League, choosing to disseminate his wealth across a wide geography in the Midwest, the Southwest, and the Southeast. Danforth often selected states with which he had a personal association: for example, he hunted pheasant in South Dakota and he vacationed in Arizona.[42] By limiting the donation far below the full cost of the chapel and requiring that they be named "Danforth Chapel," William Danforth maximized his contributions and ensured multiple monuments across the United States dedicated to his memory and that of his family.

A New Chapel Type on Campus

The Danforth Chapels, though stylistically diverse, shared three common elements—small scale, focus on the sanctuary, and noncentral placement within the campus—that identify them as part of a new mid-century chapel type on the college and university campus. The Danforth Foundation limited the use of the chapels "exclusively for private devotions, for group meditation and worship, for other exercises of Religion, and for student and faculty funerals."[43] The Danforth Chapels were emphatically not places that gathered the entire university community in common worship, nor were they to be in competition with local parish churches. William Danforth and his advisory architects admonished early designs for the University of Kansas chapel for being "much too large" and stressed that "fifty should be the *maximum* seating capacity" for the chapel.[44] Because of their nondenominational mandate and focus on personal meditation and smaller services, the chapels' scale was purposefully kept small. Their uses typically adhered to the guidelines established by the Danforth Foundation. In the first year of the Danforth Chapel at Colorado State University in 1955, five student religious groups held regular weekly services, twenty-one alumni and student weddings were performed,



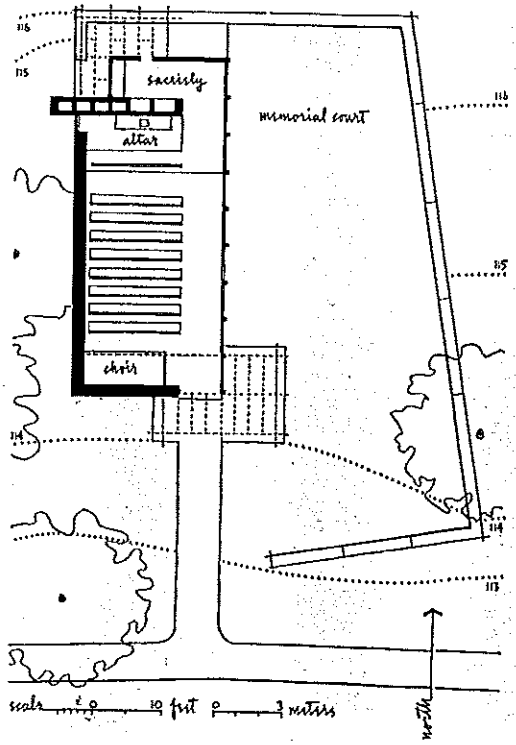


Figure 3. Plan of the Danforth Chapel, Arizona State University, Lescher & Mahoney, Tempe, Arizona, 1945–48. From "Meditation Chapel, Arizona State College, Tempe," circa 1947. Courtesy University Archives, Arizona State University Libraries.

Figure 4. Plan of the Danforth Chapel, Colorado State University. From "Chapel: Colorado Agricultural & Mechanical College, Fort Collins, Colo.," *Progressive Architecture* 36 (July 1955): 79.

and several baptisms, christenings, and initiation ceremonies were also held in the chapel.[45]

A second hallmark of the Danforth Chapels was their focus on being a sanctuary for meditation. While there was a rich tradition of churches devoted to worship, parish churches in particular had expanded to accommodate a range of needs.[46] A typical Protestant parish church by the postwar years needed meeting rooms, rooms for children during services, and office space, "functional necessities" that seemed in the opinion of Martin Marty to "downgrade the interest and investment in space for the worship of God." The Danforth Chapels needed none of these. For the chapels constructed on campus in the midcentury, the worship area was "not just an appendix down the hall."[47] Indeed, the sanctuary (in the post-Reformation sense, the entire church interior was the sanctuary) was the main event, architecturally and functionally. The Danforth Chapel plans typically show a division of the church interior into vestibule, nave, altar, choir area, sacristy, and small storage area (Figures 3 and 4). Yet each of these parts was in the service of meditation and worship. Rather than a comprehensive church complex, the Danforth Chapels focused on prayer and meditation.

The location of the Danforth Chapels reinforced their meditative intent. The Danforth Foundation conditions required that the chapels "shall be located in a quiet, but easily accessible place, not too remote from the center of all-campus activities."[48] In contrast to the location of chapels at the very center of campus common in previous campus planning, Danforth Chapels were set apart. At Colorado State University, the Danforth Chapel sits along the monumental oval at the historic campus center, yet it is set among trees and hemmed in by a stone wall, emphasizing the privacy of place while including it along the university's thoroughfare. At Montana State University, the chapel was sited off the major campus axis in order to provide privacy and maximize the view toward the mountains. Not every Danforth Chapel stood alone on its site. The conditions also allowed for the chapel to be part of a student center, library, main chapel, or other primary educational building, as was the case at Berea College, the University of Central Missouri, North Carolina State University, and Wartburg College (Figure 5). In contrast to the large, centrally located chapels of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the diminutive and off-center Danforth Chapels made religious practice accessible without installing it as central to the university mission or imposing it as a ruling ideology. In this way, the Danforth Chapels fell exactly in line with the trend of nondenominational meditation chapels also being constructed in the 1950s at M.I.T. and the Illinois Institute of Technology.

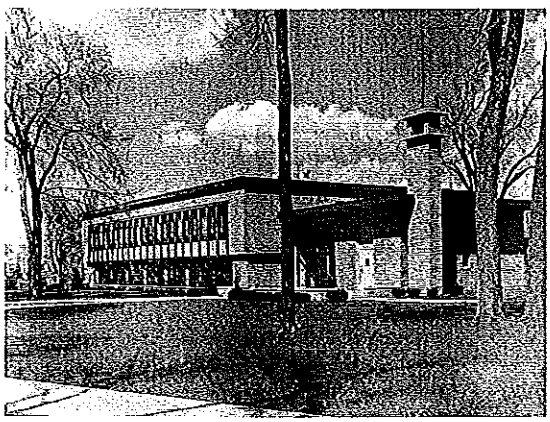


Figure 5. Danforth Chapel and student center, Wartburg College, Woodburn & O'Neil, Waverly, Iowa, 1954–55. Courtesy Wartburg College Archives.

Controlling the Danforth Chapels' Design

William Danforth was unusual among architectural patrons in his personal and detailed involvement in the design of the Danforth Chapels. While Danforth did not dictate the architect of the Danforth Chapels, he required that he and his architects at the Danforth Foundation be allowed to review chapel plans.[49] Danforth's requirement to review the chapel plans was to guarantee quality: "We feel that it is our responsibility to see that any Danforth Chapels should be built right and in keeping with the best design."[50] But in practice their comments were usually refinements. For example, Danforth and his architects directed Edward Tanner, the architect of the University of Kansas chapel, to include a memorial window for aesthetic reasons, to craft a vestibule to prepare the visitor for the experience of the sanctuary, and to light properly the cross above the altar.[51]

The "best design" for William Danforth in-

cluded a range of architectural forms, both revivalist and modernist. The Danforth Foundation conditions specified that the chapels were to be of brick or stone to ensure the chapels' longevity, but the conditions did not specify architectural style. Many of the Danforth Chapels were straightforward revivals. The Danforth Chapel at Berea College is an exceptionally fine example of Collegiate Gothic (Figure 6). Its architects, the firm Jamieson and Spearl, had been members of the Philadelphia firm Cope and Stewardson and worked extensively on the neo-Gothic designs at Washington University in St. Louis; Jamieson and Spearl also designed the Danforth Chapel at William Danforth's own church, Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis, in another notable example of the Gothic revival. The University of Iowa's Danforth Chapel, directed in part by artist Grant Wood, was modeled after measured drawings of a late nineteenth-century parish church in Iowa and drew upon Romanesque revival details (Figure 7).[52] These revivalist Danforth Chapels fit easily within prevailing campus architecture.

Yet the Danforth Chapel program did not shy away from modernist designs, and William Danforth became the patron of one of the most well-known modern American architects: Frank Lloyd Wright. Among the Danforth Chapel ranks is the Danforth Chapel at Florida Southern College, a denominationally Methodist college with an extraordinary campus designed by Wright (Figure 8). Wright's Danforth Chapel was secondary in size and stature to the larger Annie Pfeiffer Chapel, yet in this smallness it fit directly into the Danforth Chapel typology. The chapel retained hallmark Wrightian forms: compressed entrance, prow-shaped window at the altar end, cantilevered roof, and deep reds in the textiles and stained glass (Figure 9). Wright had conceived of what he called the "minor chapel" in coordination with the Pfeiffer Chapel in the early 1940s, long before Danforth appeared as a donor in 1954. William H. Danforth's donation to complete this Danforth Chapel helped to further the completion of Wright's design for the Florida Southern College campus, and in this sense Danforth was a patron of an enormously important American architect and project.[53]

One of the most acclaimed Danforth Chapel designs was the modernist chapel at Colorado State University. Campus architect James M. Hunter created a "simple and direct" chapel for fifty people (see Figure 1).[54] Colorado State University President William Morgan recounted that while William Danforth was "less than enthusiastic about the plans initially, he was ecstatic when he saw the finished chapel."[55] In its simplicity, the chapel was complex. The memorial court held outdoor services, its privacy emphasized by a high wall of sandstone among a grove of walnut trees. A redwood pergola marked the transition from outdoor worship to indoor

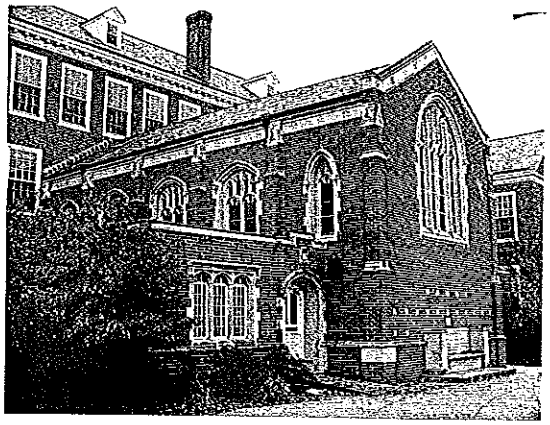


Figure 6. Danforth Chapel, Berea College, Jamieson & Spearl, Berea, Kentucky, 1937. Photograph by Margaret Grubiak.

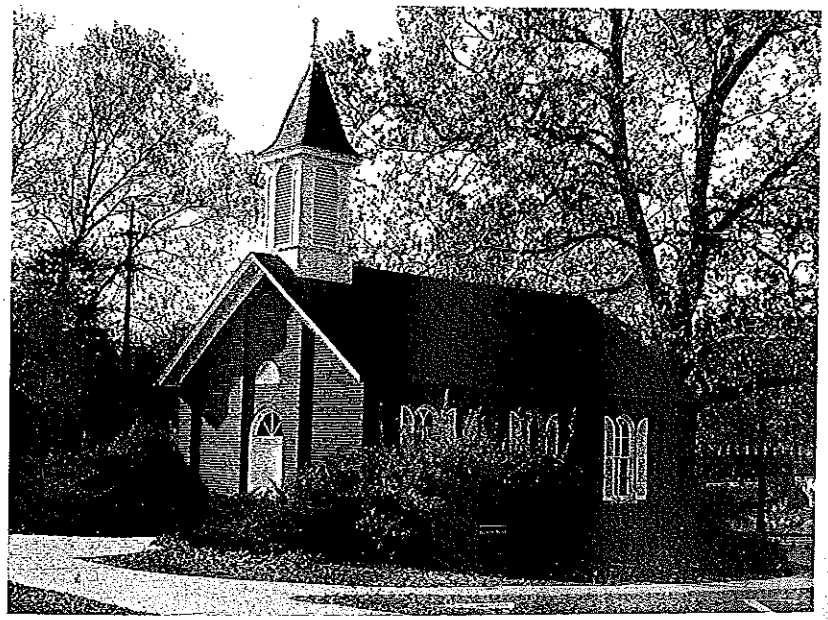
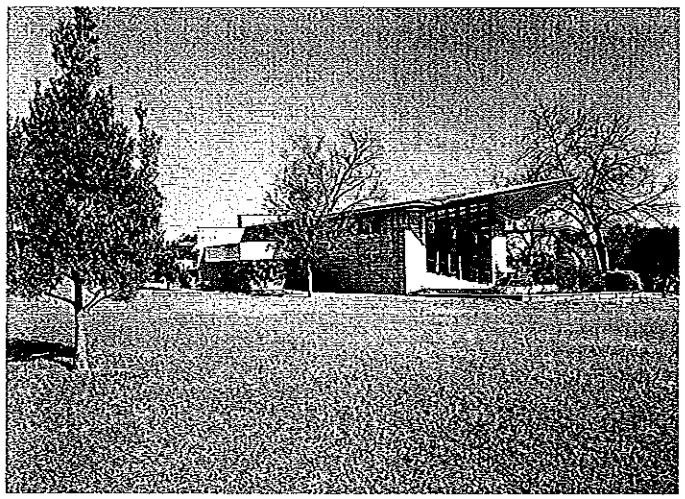


Figure 7. Danforth Chapel, University of Iowa, George H. Horner, Iowa City, Iowa, 1952–53, a replica of St. John's Methodist Episcopal Church, Johnson County, Iowa, 1874, demolished. Photograph by Margaret Grubiak.



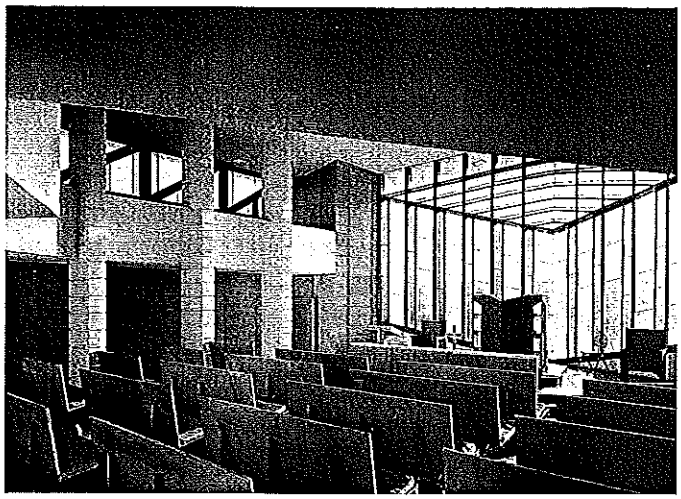
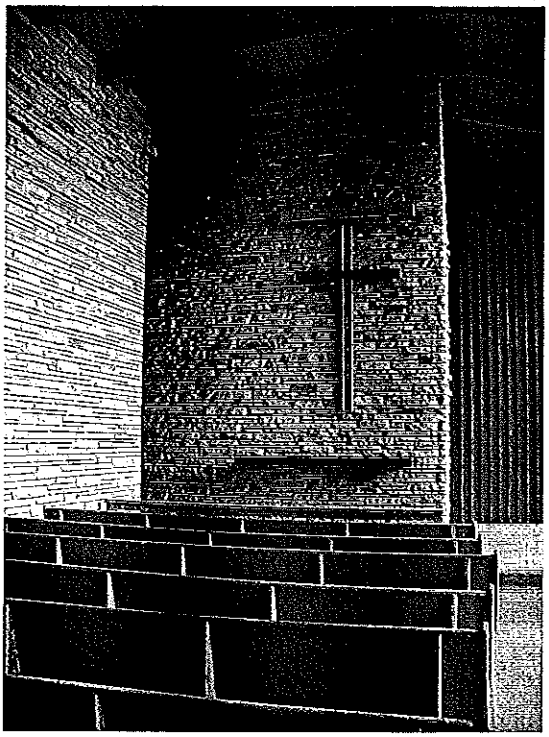


Figure 8. Danforth Chapel, Florida Southern College, Frank Lloyd Wright, Lakeland, Florida, 1955. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, FLA, 53-Lake, 1B-1. Courtesy Frank Lloyd Wright "Child of the Sun" Collection, Florida Southern College.

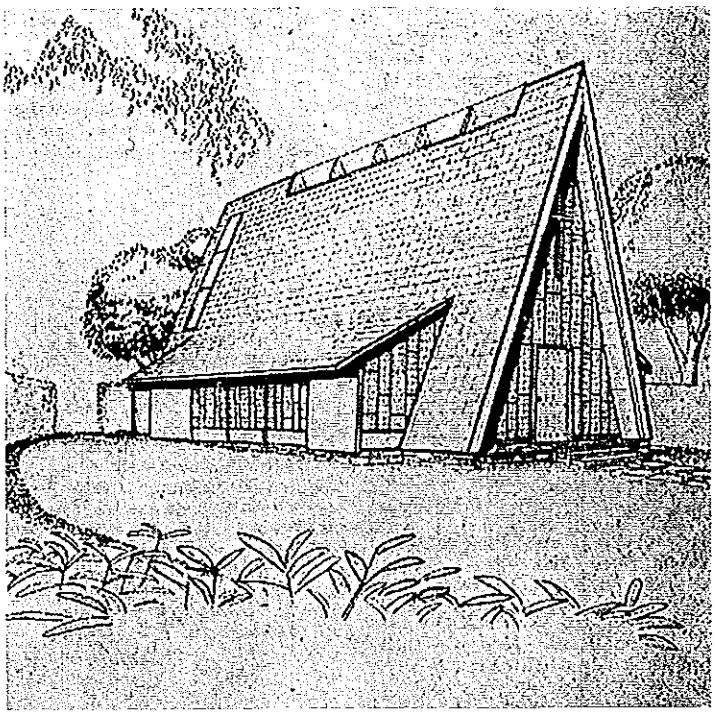
Figure 9. Interior, Danforth Chapel, Florida Southern College. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey, HABS, FLA, 53-Lake, 1B-3. Courtesy Frank Lloyd Wright "Child of the Sun" Collection, Florida Southern College.

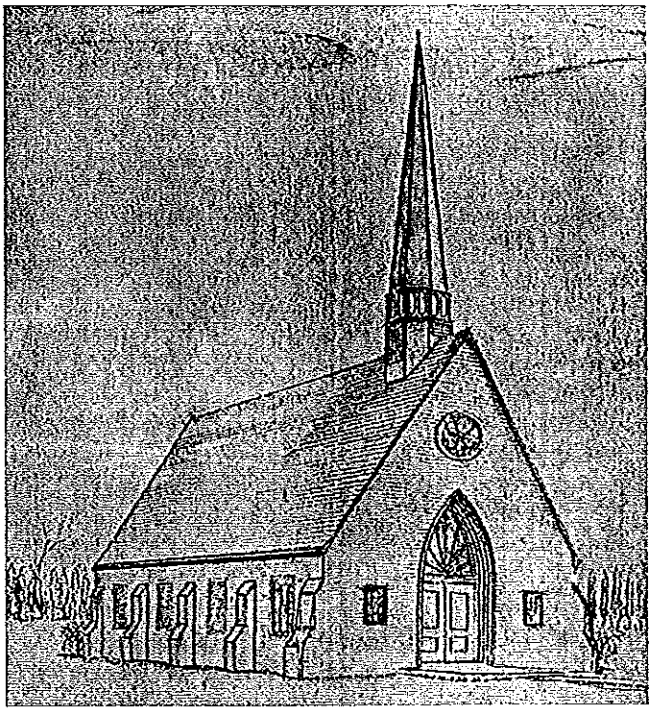
Figure 10. Interior, Danforth Chapel, Colorado State University, with a later cross. Photograph by Margaret Grubiak.

worship. The worship space in the interior was a nearly single volume (Figure 10). The transparency of the eastern wall of amber glass filling the redwood supports was thrown in sharp contrast to the opaque western wall of sandstone. A simplified cross and a shallow, cantilevered black granite altar focused attention to the center. Only upon moving through the space was the narrow western stained glass window visible, casting colored light onto the altar area. The asymmetrical, low-gabled roof, intersecting planes of horizontal sandstone and vertical redwood walls, minimal natural palette, and the chapel's overall simplified form marked this as a modernist space thoroughly attuned to its setting. Its design excellence was recognized in 1956 by the National Council of Churches, which named this Danforth Chapel along with Eero Saarinen's M.I.T. Chapel and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's chapel at I.I.T. as outstanding examples of campus church design in the United States.[56] The Colorado State University chapel's play on geometric forms echoed earlier developments in modernist ecclesiastical structures, especially Eliel Saarinen's First Christian Church (1942) in Columbus, Indiana, and Christ Church Lutheran (1948) in Minneapolis, designed with son Eero Saarinen.



While William Danforth supported modern design, not everyone welcomed it. At the University of South Dakota, the university community jettisoned a progressive modernist chapel design. When initial chapel plans by the Sioux Falls firm Hugill, Blatherwick & Fritzel proved unsatisfactory, William Danforth suggested the services of his grandson, William Danforth Compton, a Massachusetts-based architect who had studied at the Harvard Graduate School of Design.[57] Compton believed the Danforth Chapel in South Dakota should be "strong, simple, and unique," a form that would not evoke a "regular church" but rather "a special place for private meditation."[58] He proposed a chapel with an A-frame structure whose steeply





pitched roofline extended nearly to the ground (Figure 11). Practically, this steep roof would well handle the large amounts of South Dakota snow; symbolically, the form, when viewed from the interior, would draw "the eyes . . . and thoughts" of South Dakota students "upward."[59] Members of the university community, however, had problems accepting the form. They took issue with the "severely triangular shape, going all the way to the ground," which had "a strong association . . . with the Indian tepee."[60] Compton's design was discarded for a design more akin to a "simple New England Church," a design vaguely Gothic revival in character, which William Danforth Compton acutely attacked as a running away from the promises of modernism (Figure 12).[61] William H. Danforth supported the shift away from his grandson's modernist proposal, since his first priority was seeing the chapels constructed.

The Danforth Chapel at Montana State University at Bozeman also showed William Danforth's openness to architectural experimentation within the Danforth Foundation guidelines. Danforth suggested that Montana State, which had an architecture program, "enlist student help in areas where they could do some of the work."[62] The chapel project became a studio assignment, whose architectural program called for a sixty-seat chapel "of such inviting design as to challenge passers-by to enter for a brief period of rest and meditation."[63]Architecture student Emmanuel Milstein transformed the project into his thesis project, and his design was carried out for the construction of the Danforth Chapel in Montana. Milstein, a Jewish student whose later career would focus on synagogue sculpture, designed the nondenominational space "to achieve the effect of quietness and humility amidst a natural setting."[64] It was a modernist vision of simplicity and even severity. Milstein devised a small, one-story building with a sloping roof, a design that included few traditional indications of a religious identity, like a steeple or bell tower (Figure 13). Its exterior religious identity depended on what Milstein called "God's own steeples," by which he meant the tall trees surrounding the building. The chapel's most dramatic feature was a 40-foot long stone wall that interpenetrated the front glass façade. The wall marked the chapel's entrance and divided the interior space so that, as the worshipper walked through the entrance vestibule, the single volume sanctuary was dramatically

Figure 11. Proposed design for the Danforth Chapel at the University of South Dakota by William Danforth Compton, circa 1952. From "Proposed Danforth Chapel at USD," *The University of South Dakota Bulletin* 53, no. 1 (January 1, 1953): 1. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University of South Dakota.

Figure 12. Drawing of final design, Danforth Chapel, University of South Dakota, Harold Brookman, Vermillion, South Dakota, 1953. From "Brookman Draws New Design; Chapel Fund Reaches $13,500," *The* [University of South Dakota] *Volante* 67, no. 11 (December 8, 1953): 1. Courtesy Archives and Special Collections, University of South Dakota.

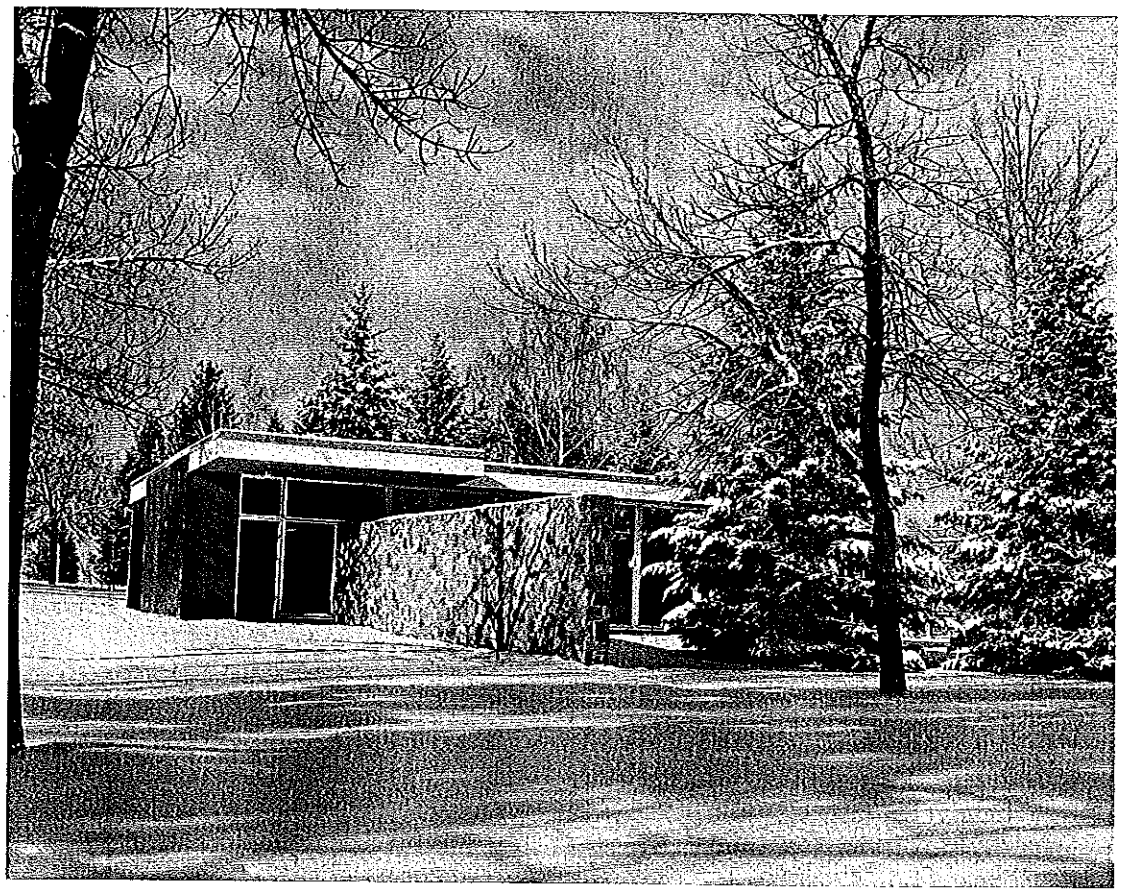


Figure 13. Danforth Chapel, Montana State University, Emmanuel Milstein, Bozeman, Montana, 1950–52. Courtesy Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

Figure 14. Interior of the Danforth Chapel at Montana State University, showing the rock wall interpenetrating the eastern glass wall at left. Courtesy Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

revealed (Figure 14). Another striking element was the sanctuary's floor-to-ceiling window wall to the east, which united the worship space to the surrounding nature and allowed the majestic view toward the mountains. Remarkably, Montana State University faculty and students completed most of the design and construction: the Industrial Arts Department headed construction and carpentry; the Electrical Engineering Department installed lighting; the Mechanical Engineering Department led in the heating and ventilation systems, including radiant floor heating; the Art Department fitted the interior with furniture and designed the stained glass. This student and faculty investment embedded the chapel into the fabric of the community and was an extraordinary example of a student design–build project on campus.[65]

Religious Symbolism in the Multi-Denominational Chapel

That the Danforth Chapels were open to all faiths did not mean that they were neutral in their religious iconography. On the contrary, the Danforth Foundation required certain symbolism that ap-

peared to privilege a Christian message. Early on, William Danforth's own words positioned the Danforth Chapels as part of a Christian rather than multidenominational program. In 1944, Danforth expressed his hope that his chapels would contribute to "the development of a Christian atmosphere on the campus."[66] Ten years later in 1954, Danforth downplayed this Christian emphasis. He asserted that the chapels were not for "any one denomination or religion, but can be adapted to the use of any, 'simply as a suitable place for mediation and worship of God.'"[67] But this openness and flexibility did not exclude Christian imagery. The Danforth Chapels' religious symbolism articulated the mid-century accommodation of religious pluralism in America: Christianity, still the dominant religion and Danforth's own tradition, was frankly celebrated even as other faiths were welcomed.

The painting of Christ that greeted Danforth Chapel visitors illustrated this dualism. The Danforth Foundation conditions required that each chapel display a copy of Heinrich Hoffman's *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* (1890), a painting typically placed in the chapel's entryway (see Figure 2).[68] Hoffman's portrait depicts a kneeling Jesus praying alone the night before his arrest and crucifixion. A halo of light frames Jesus's head as his upward gaze looks beyond the painting's boundary. As art historian David Morgan describes, the painting by Hoffman and a popular version of it by artist Warner Sallman were common images in the American Midwest between 1900 and 1950. William Danforth had surely grown up with this image. While the image is an overt reference to Christ on the eve of his crucifixion, it is also, as Morgan argues, an aid to prayer.[69] The painting provided a visual model of the act of prayer and meditation, the promotion of which was the Danforth Chapel program's principal purpose. Moreover, it also spoke to an "intimacy and privacy" between the worshipper and God, a closeness that William Danforth sought to inspire.[70] More than a promotion of Christianity, the *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* painting modeled the act of meditation, prayer, and worship to take place within the Danforth Chapels' walls. Yet the inclusion of this sentimental representation of Christ caused a tension with the claim of religious inclusion. Such a Christ-focused aid to prayer could not speak to Jewish worshippers, undermining the chapels' intention of accommodating all.

The broader intent of the chapel as meditative space to connect the student with God was captured in a second Danforth Foundation requirement, the display of a plaque with the inscription (see Figure 2):

> Dedicated to the worship of God with the prayer that here in the communion with the highest those who enter may acquire the spiritual power to aspire nobly, adventure daringly, serve humbly.

The inscription repeated William Danforth's clarion call to "aspire nobly, adventure daringly, serve humbly" that he promoted in his writings and particularly in *I Dare You*. For Danforth, it was the central act of worshipping God that was primary to the formation of the whole student. Spirituality was essential to the development of virtue.

Other religious symbols ensured that these buildings were recognized as worship spaces, yet they also continued to assert a dominant Christian identity even within the claim of being nondenominational spaces. The cross was a prominent symbol in many Danforth Chapels, even at public universities. A stone cross surmounted the gable end of the Danforth Chapel at the University of Kansas. The Danforth Chapels at Arizona State University, North Carolina State University, and the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, among others, also had fixed crosses located on their exteriors (Figure 15). Colorado State University's chapel included a pattern of three crosses over its entryway and within the redwood mullions of the eastern wall to symbolize the crosses of Calvary (see Figure 1).[71] However, the interior spaces included more flexible religious symbols to accommodate different denominational services. The Colorado State chapel, for example, had a cross, crucifix, and Star of David that could be interchanged on the altar area, and the Montana State University Danforth Chapel's altar area was also designed

for flexible use.[72] The Danforth Foundation conditions also suggested the inclusion of stained glass "free from figures of prophets, saints, etc., but rich in color, and using the symbol of the Cross, and the symbol of the Torch."[73] At Montana State University, the chapel's singular stained glass window depicted the parable of the vine and branches rather than a cross out of sensitivity to its Jewish architect.[74]

Changes to the religious iconography in the Danforth Chapels over time suggest a discomfort with the original Christian symbols for a nondenominational space. Most Danforth Chapels no longer display the *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* painting, which was often the subject of theft. At Montana State University, the removal of the painting seems more deliberate. The niche that once held the painting now includes a plaque that reads, "The University accepted Danforth Chapel with the stipulation that in its administration 'no preference shall be given to any religious denominations or mode of worship'" (Figure 16). At Arizona State University, the cross surmounting a tower of the Danforth Chapel, an original feature of the chapel's design, became the topic of a heated controversy in the 1980s (see Figure 15). A university resolution called for the cross to be taken down, and soon thereafter the cross did come down either in a windstorm or a suspected act of vandalism. When the university planned to restore the cross to the exterior of the chapel in 1989, the American Civil Liberties Union successfully sued to prevent the cross's restoration in order to make the chapel truly interfaith.[75]

If the Danforth Chapels did not satisfy those wanting the chapels to be fully nondenominational, they often did not satisfy denominational interests either. In the 1960s, Colorado State University ended Sunday services for Christian denominations in the Danforth Chapel on the basis that such sectarian worship violated the intent of the meditation chapel and raised an uncomfortable closeness between church and state. Leaders within the Christian denominations, including the University Christian Movement, protested the decision, claiming the right to hold services in the chapel.[76] How the nondenominational Danforth Chapel was to accommodate denominational worship remained a problematic issue for several universities.

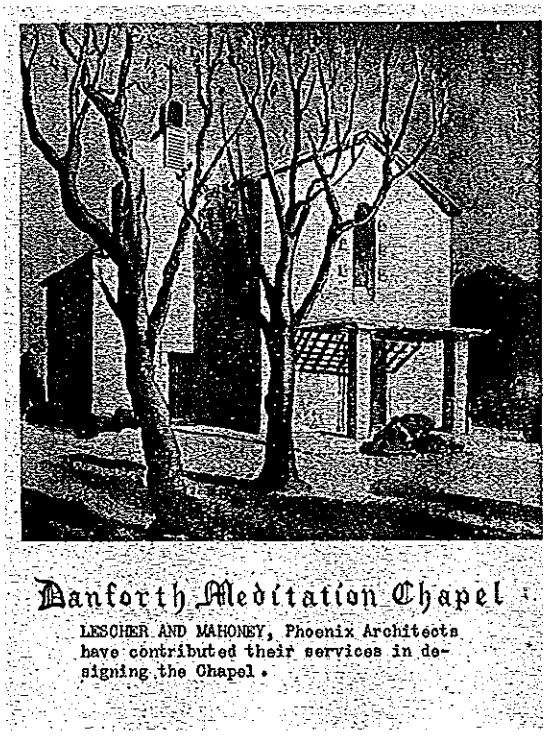


Figure 15. Drawing of the exterior of the Danforth Chapel at the Arizona State University, showing a cross atop the tower. From "Meditation Chapel, Arizona State College, Tempe," circa 1947. Courtesy University Archives, Arizona State University Libraries.

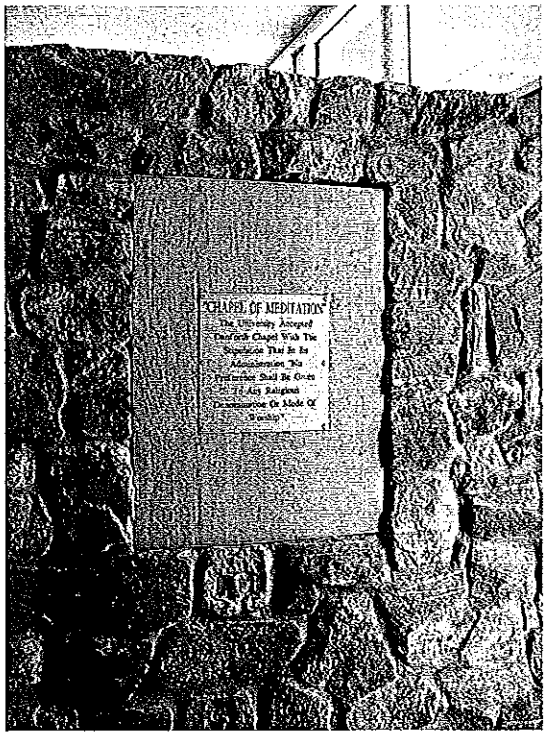


Figure 16. Plaque declaring the Montana State University Danforth Chapel's nondenominational use in the niche that once held the copy of Heinrich Hoffman's *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane.* Photograph by Margaret Grubiak.

Conclusion

The Danforth Chapel program ended with the death of William H. Danforth.[77] Between the 1930s and 1950s, Danforth and his foundation constructed fifteen chapels on college and university campuses across the United States. William Danforth's achievement was to fund chapels for meditation and prayer on the public university campus. His patronage bolstered the mid-century resurgence of religion in higher education and challenged the assumed separation of church and state.

The Danforth Chapels were part of a new campus chapel type, the nondenominational meditation chapel. The chapels embraced a pluralist outlook—even as they included overt Christian iconography—for compelling reasons: first, a nondenominational identity was essential to the chapels' inclusion on the public campus; second, the post–World War II era recognized that Christianity, even in its mainline Protestant, evangelical, and Catholic forms, did not describe the beliefs of all Americans. The Danforth Chapels were self-consciously "chapels of meditation." Their architecture, whether revivalist or modern, adhered to a small scale, with a sole focus on the sanctuary, and a removed campus location in order to promote the individual encounter with the divine. The Danforth Chapels, like the chapels at M.I.T., I.I.T., and Brandeis University also constructed in the 1950s, envisioned a new way to place religion within pluralistic communities. Rather than a communal experience of worship, united in a common faith, these university chapels focused on personal meditation suited to a range of beliefs.

The Danforth Chapel program influenced chapels at other public universities. In 1958 with funding from its alumni, Texas A&M opened its All Faiths Chapel, described, in terms very close to the Danforth Chapel program, as a "chapel for meditation and prayer."[78] Though larger than the Danforth Chapels at more than 150 seats, the chapel was also open to all faiths and religious outlooks, and its progressive design confirmed Martin Marty's observation that modernism revitalized religious forms (Figure 17). Just as the Danforth Chapels included religion on campuses where the curriculum often focused on the practical over the humanistic or philosophical, the Texas A&M chapel sought to balance science and religion. As the head of the chapel committee noted, "It is only natural that in an institution where exploration in the field of science is so prominent as it is at A&M, that there would also be present on the campus an evidence of the deepening spiritual insights that normally should result from scientific study."[79] The chapels constructed on campus in the mid-twentieth century constructed a new role for religion within a modern and pluralistic context. In focusing on religious pluralism and the personal rather than large-scale religious experience, postwar chapels on the campus, especially the public campus, found ways to include religion within a more diverse and even secularized American culture.

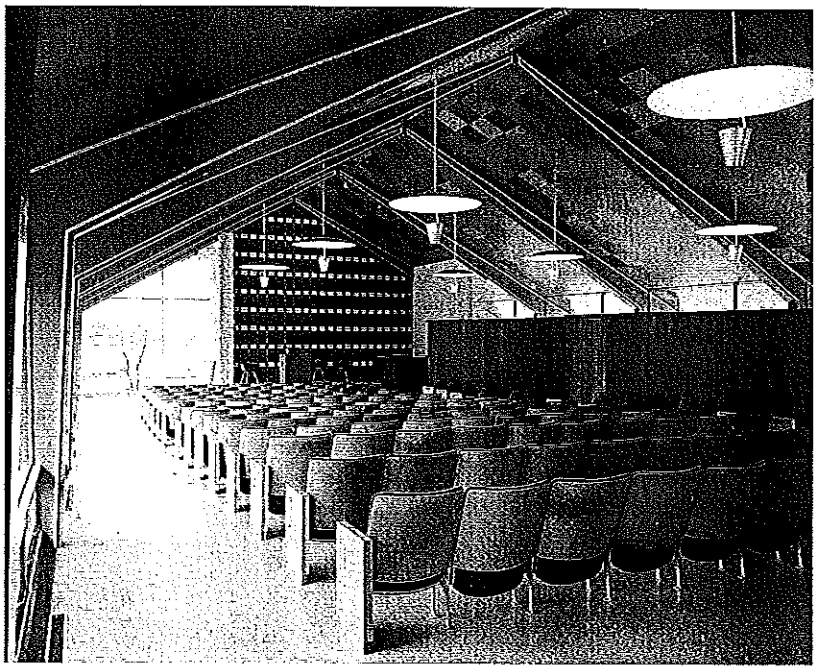


Figure 17. All Faiths Chapel, Texas A&M University, Richard Vrooman, College Station, Texas, 1957–58. Courtesy Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University, College Station, Texas.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Margaret M. Grubiak is assistant professor of architectural history at Villanova University. She specializes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century American architecture and is completing a book on the religious architecture of the American university campus. She holds a PhD and master's of Architectural History from the University of

Virginia and has also taught at Georgetown University and the College of William & Mary.

NOTES

I thank Paula Mohr for sharing her research on Danforth Chapels, particularly in Iowa, and for reading an early draft. I am also grateful to Louis Nelson, Marta Gutman, and the two readers whose comments helped shape this article. I am especially thankful to Arizona State University, Colorado State University, Montana State University Bozeman, Texas A&M University, University of Kansas, University of South Dakota, and Wartburg College for granting me generous access to archival materials.

1. Martin E. Marty, "Church Building, U.S.A.: Part II, College Chapels," *Your Church* 5, no. 2 (April–May–June 1959): 27.

2. James B. Angell, "Religious Life in Our State Universities," *The Andover Review* 13, no. 76 (April 1890): 366. Angell did not identify which colleges and universities were included in his study, save for the University of Michigan and Cornell University.

3. Angell, "Religious Life," 369.

4. Angell, "Religious Life," 367.

5. See George Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, eds., *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); George Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and James Tunstead Burtchaell, *The Dying of the Light: The Disengagement of Colleges and Universities from their Christian Churches* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans, 1998).

6. A 1949 survey conducted by the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, for example, found that of 37 state-supported institutions, three required mandatory chapel attendance and nine offered voluntary chapel services. Merrimon Cuninggim, *The College Seeks Religion*, Yale Studies in Religious Education, vol. 20 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1947), 296.

7. Cuninggim, *College Seeks Religion*, 1.

8. Clarence Prouty Shedd, "Religion in the Colleges," *Journal of Bible and Religion* 8, no. 4 (November 1940): 81, as quoted in Cuninggim, *College Seeks Religion*, 2.

9. For the conference papers, see Henry E. Allen, ed., *Religion in the State University: An Initial Exploration* (Minneapolis: Burgess Publishing Company, 1950).

10. Clarence Prouty Shedd, "Religion in the American State Universities," in Allen, ed., *Religion in the State University*, 13.

11. Clarence Prouty Shedd, "Religion in State Universities: The Responsibility of the State University in the Field of Religion," *The Journal of Higher Education* 12, no. 8 (November 1941): 411. For the development of religious studies programs in the universities, see D. G. Hart, *The University Gets Religion: Religious Studies in American Higher Education* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

12. See Martin E. Marty, *The New Shape of American Religion* (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1958), for a contemporary account of the postwar religious revival in the United States, and Martin E. Marty, *Modern American Religion: Under God, Indivisible, 1941–1960*, vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), for a grounded historical account of postwar American religion.

13. See Margaret M. Grubiak, "Educating the Moral Scientist: The Chapels at I.I.T. and M.I.T.," *ARRIS: Journal of the Southeast Chapter of the Society of Architectural Historians* 18 (2007): 1–14.

14. Will Herberg, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew: An Essay in American Religious Sociology* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), 272.

15. L. R. Bryant, letter to President Roy M. Green, January 16, 1945, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University. See also "Rationale for Chapel," C. L. Terrell, letter to B. B. Crookston, November 11, 1969, folder "Danforth Chapel—1966–67," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

16. Cuninggim, *College Seeks Religion*, 168, 297. Some state universities did include a chapel. The original College Hall (1877) at Kansas State University counted a chapel among its many rooms, and the Massachusetts Agricultural College at Amherst (now University of Massachusetts at Amherst) also included a combination chapel and library, constructed in 1884, on its campus.

17. For an early biography of William H. Danforth, see Gordon M. Philpott, *Daring Venture: The Life Story of William H. Danforth* (New York: Random House, 1960).

18. As quoted in Abigail A. Van Slyck, *Free to All:*

Carnegie Libraries and American Culture, 1890–1920 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 10. See Van Slyck's work for a detailed account of the Carnegie Library program and its place in American philanthropy.

19. Albert F. Schenkel provides an important account of the Rockefellers' philanthropy, including that on American campuses, in *The Rich Man and the Kingdom: John D. Rockefeller Jr. and the Protestant Establishment*, Harvard Theological Studies (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1995).

20. David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 4.

21. Setran, *The College "Y,"* 176.

22. For a study on the rise and decline of the YMCA and YWCA on campus, see Setran, *The College "Y"*. For a broader history of the movement and its architecture in the United States, see Nina Mjagkij and Margaret Spratt, eds., *Men and Women Adrift: The YMCA and the YWCA in the City* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), and Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making ofModern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

23. Philpott, *Daring Venture*, 139.

24. William H. Danforth, letter to Richard E. Larson and Mrs. Richard E. Larson, March 16, 1948, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence and Related Papers: Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

25. For an overview of the Danforth Foundation programs, see the useful account in Merrill G. Burlingame, Patricia Stenhjem Anderson, and William G. Walter, *The Danforth Chapel and Religious Activities at Montana State University, 1893–1991* (Bozeman, Mont: Artcraft Printers, 1991), 1–8.

26. William Danforth, letter to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, September 27, 1944, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

27. William H. Danforth, letter to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, September 27, 1944, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

28. William H. Danforth, letter to President William E. Morgan, n.d., folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

29. L. R. Bryant, letter to President Roy M. Green, January 16, 1945, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

30. William H. Danforth, letter to President William E. Morgan, August 18, 1955, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

31. Because the records in the Danforth Foundation archives were reportedly lost in a fire, the full account of Danforth Chapels constructed and contemplated remains unknown. Five Danforth Chapels are located at land-grant colleges at North Carolina State University, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, Kansas State University, Colorado State University, and Montana State University. Such international locations were reported to include Japan International Christian University and Hislop College in Nagpur, India, though these are unconfirmed. The Danforth Chapel at Morehouse College was originally designed in 1955 but torn down in 1970 and reconstructed at another location. The North Carolina State University Chapel was demolished in the 1970s, and Wartburg College's Danforth Chapel was also demolished. Danforth Chapels at locations other than universities include the Danforth Chapel at Pilgrim Congregational Church in St. Louis, Missouri (circa 1939), the Danforth Chapel at Barnes Hospital at Washington University, and the Danforth Chapel at St. Louis Children's Hospital (dedicated 1955), though it is unclear if these last two chapels are extant. Other Danforth Chapels are also located at Camp Miniwanca in Shelby, Michigan, the site of the American Youth Foundation and Danforth Foundation meetings, and at the YMCA Trout Lodge in Camp Lakewood in Missouri (1957). I am grateful to Paula Mohr for uncovering the location of some of these Danforth Chapels.

32. As quoted in "Student Chapel Will Be Erected on Campus by Danforth Foundation," November 28, 1944, newspaper clipping in series no. 0/22/14, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

33. President Roland R. Renne, n.d., collection 2245, Merrill G. Burlingame Papers, 1880–1990, box 42, folder "2245 Burlingame Papers: MSC/MSU: Danforth

Chapel," Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

34. Martin Weeks Jr., as quoted in "The Proposed Danforth Chapel: A Real Need for These Times," pamphlet, n.d. [circa 1952], USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

35. John Hargrove, "Exponent Pollster Wanders, Survey Campus Chapel Plan," *Montana Exponent* (March 30, 1950): 9; George Champion, "Champ's Corner," *Rocky Mountain Collegian* (May 1, 1953): 6, newspaper clipping in folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

36. L. R. Bryant, letter to President Roy M. Green, January 16, 1945, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

37. "Letters to the Editor," *Montana Exponent*, April 20, 1950: 4.

38. Montana State Attorney General Arnold H. Olson, letter to University of Montana Chancellor George A. Selke, January 19, 1950, folder 42.1, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

39. R. E. Larson, letter to the Regents of Education, August 12, 1951, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota. While Colorado State University constructed its Danforth Chapel without first consulting the state attorney general, when the University of Colorado in Boulder later "took the precaution to get appropriate approval" to have a chapel on its campus, it was prevented by the state attorney general on the basis of separation of church and state. As quoted in Connie Pfeiffenberger, *Visionary Leadership: The Memoirs of William E. Morgan* (Fort Collins: Colorado State University, 2005), 93.

40. William H. Danforth, letter to President I. D. Weeks, January 7, 1952, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities, folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence: Design and Planning, 1950–1953," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

41. For the creation of competition among universities, see, for example, William H. Danforth, letter to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, November 28, 1944, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

42. See, for example, William H. Danforth, letter to Richard E. Larson, May 24, 1950, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence: Design and Planning, 1950–1953," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

43. "Conditions under which the Danforth Foundation may consider contributing five thousand dollars toward the erection of a chapel of mediation upon the campus of a college of university," n.d., copy located in USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota; and Emmanuel Milstein, "A Non-Denominational Chapel for Montana State College," thesis, Montana State University, 1951, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library; among others.

44. William H. Danforth, letter to Chancellor Deane Malott, November 28, 1944, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas. Emphasis in original.

45. "Memo from Office of Student Affairs, Colorado A&M College, Use of the Chapel during the first years, May 30, 1954–June 1, 1955," June 9, 1955, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

46. Jeanne Halgren Kilde traces the addition of domestic spaces like "kitchens, dining rooms, lounges, toilets, nurseries, and libraries" into Protestant church complexes in the United States as early as the 1870s. See Kilde, *When Church Became Theatre: The Transformation of Evangelical Architecture and Worship in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 159–65.

47. Marty, "Church Building," 29.

48. "Conditions under which the Danforth Foundation may consider contributing five thousand dollars."

49. Exactly who were the architects who reviewed the Danforth Chapel plans remains unspecified. One named architect, John T. Huffman, a graduate of the

architecture program at Washington University in St. Louis, Danforth's alma mater, reviewed the designs for the Danforth Chapel at Colorado State University. See John T. Huffman, letter to William H. Danforth, October 28, 1953, folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

50. William H. Danforth, letter to Richard E. Larson, December 13, 1950, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

51. William H. Danforth, letter to Chancellor Deane W. Malott, November 28, 1944, folder 0/22/14 1944, University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

52. See Paula A. Mohr, "Midwestern Regionalism and the University of Iowa's Danforth Chapel of 1953," Missouri Valley History Conference paper, March 2011.

53. See Dale Allen Gyure, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Florida Southern College* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010), 165–69, for a history of the Danforth Chapel development at Florida Southern College.

54. For a contemporary description of this chapel, see "Chapel: Colorado Agricultural & Mechanical College, Fort Collins, Colo.," *Progressive Architecture* 36 (July 1955): 78–81. Hunter is buried at this chapel, as a plaque indicates in the memorial court. Hunter's design for the Danforth Chapel replaced a 1940s Collegiate Gothic version, an image of which can be found in the pamphlet "The Picture of a Dream for 'Tomorrow' at Colorado A&M College," n.d., folder "Danforth Chapel," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

55. As quoted in Pfeiffenberger, *Visionary Leadership*, 92.

56. "18 Churches Win in Architecture," *New York Times*, April 11, 1956: 33. The thirty-five members of the National Council of Churches (NCC) Commission on Architecture, most of whom were architects, selected these examples of architectural excellence out of seventy-two nominations. Their identity as architects and the generalized liberal tendency of the NCC suggests a selection bias for forward-looking ecclesiastical architecture. Not all modernist churches were praised. While the Colorado State University Danforth Chapel may have been critically acclaimed, some Fort Collins residents ridiculed it for looking "like a miniature Safeway [Grocery] Store" (Pfeiffenberger, *Visionary Leadership*, 93).

57. See the obituary "William Danforth Compton," *New York Times*, April 2, 1955: 17.

58. William Danforth Compton, letter to Richard E. Larson, March 14, 1952, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

59. "The Proposed Danforth Chapel: A Real Need for These Times," pamphlet, n.d. [ca. 1952], USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities," folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence; Financial Drive," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

60. Richard E. Larson [?], letter to William Danforth Compton, April 5, 1952, USD 96-0014, box 2 "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities, folder "Buildings: Danforth Chapel: Correspondence: Design and Planning, 1950–1953," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

61. President I. D. Weeks, letter to William H. Danforth, October 30, 1953, and William Danforth Compton, letter to President I. D. Weeks, December 10, 1953, USD 96-0014, box 2, folder "Buildings, Other Structures, and Utilities: Danforth Chapel Correspondence: Dedication," Archives and Special Collections, University Libraries, University of South Dakota.

62. William H. Danforth, letter to President Roland R. Renne, July 19, 1950, collection 2245, Merrill G. Burlingame Papers, 1880–1990, box 42, folder "2245 Burlingame Papers: MSC/MSU: Danforth Chapel," Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

63. "Montana State College, Department of Architecture, Arch 434 Sketch Prob. #2, Autumn Quarter, A SMALL CHAPEL," October 27, 1949, collection 2245, Merrill G. Burlingame Papers, 1880–1990, box 42, folder "2245 Burlingame Papers: MSC/MSU: Danforth Chapel," Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library.

64. Milstein, "A Non-Denominational Chapel for Montana State College," 16.

65. For a detailed history of the Danforth Chapel at

Montana State University, see Burlingame et al., *The Danforth Chapel and Religious Activities at Montana State University,* and Milstein, "A Non-Denominational Chapel for Montana State College."

66. William H. Danforth, letter to ?, November 22, 1944, folder "0/22/14 1944," University Archives, Kenneth Spencer Research Library, University of Kansas.

67. "The Chapel," *The Colorado Aggie Alumnus* (May–June 1954): 11, clipping in folder "Danforth Chapel," Colorado State University Archives.

68. These paintings were often done by artist Fred Rushing Roe of St. Louis and sometimes donated to the universities by the Danforth Foundation. Heinrich Hoffman's original *Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane* is located in Riverside Church in New York City.

69. David Morgan, "Warner Sallman and the Visual Culture of American Protestantism," in *Icons of American Protestantism: The Art of Warner Sallman,* ed. David Morgan (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996), 39–40.

70. Morgan, "Warner Sallman and the Visual Culture of American Protestantism," 41.

71. For a detailed description of the religious symbolism in the Colorado State University's Danforth Chapel, see the pamphlet "Danforth Chapel: Colorado State University, Fort Collins," n.d. (circa 1955), folder "Danforth Chapel—196667," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

72. In 2001, a cross was permanently mounted above the altar of the Colorado State University chapel to prevent the cross from being stolen a fourth time. See Sara Joy Pond, "Permanent Cross on Danforth a 'Necessity,'" *The Rocky Mountain Collegian,* February 22, 2001: 3.

73. "Conditions under which the Danforth Foundation may consider contributing five thousand dollars."

74. Burlingame et al., *The Danforth Chapel and Religious Activities at Montana State University, 1893–1991,* 21.

75. "Restoring a Cross: Separating School and Church," *New York Times,* August 13, 1989: 43.

76. See Don McMillen, "Controversy Flares on Danforth Chapel Use," n.d., newspaper clipping, and James M. White, letter to the Student Life Committee, n.d. (circa 1967) in folder "Danforth Chapel—1966–67," Archives and Special Collections, Colorado State University.

77. William Danforth's biographer explained, "Because Mr. Danforth's interest was more in people than in buildings, since his death the Foundation has discontinued the chapel grant, feeling that other needs take priority." Philpott, *Daring Venture,* 140, 142.

78. Planning for the Texas A&M All Faiths Chapel began in 1952, and it is possible that Texas A&M had been in discussion with the Danforth Foundation for the construction of a nondenominational chapel on campus. However, accounts of the planning for the All Faiths Chapel do not mention the Danforth Foundation. See, for example, "Association Presents Chapel to College," *The Texas Aggie* 20, no. 11 (November 1955): 1, clipping in folder "All Faiths Chapel," Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University.

79. Quoted in "'Effective Use' Plans Made for New Chapel at A&M" *The* [Texas A&M] *Battalion,* May 6, 1955, clipping in folder "All Faiths Chapel," Cushing Memorial Library and Archives, Texas A&M University.