DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 394 436 HE 029 130

AUTHOR Waite, Cally L.

TITLE Oberlin College and the Decision To Admit Black

Students.

PUB DATE Apr 96

NOTE 22p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the

American Educational Research Association (New York,

NY, April 8-12, 1996).

PUB TYPE Reports - Descriptive (141) -- Speeches/Conference

Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Access to Education; *Administrative Policy; *Black

Students; Case Studies; College Administration; *College Admission; College Students; Educational History; Higher Education; *Policy Formation; *Racial

Integration; School Policy

IDENTIFIERS Abolitionism; Nineteenth Century History; *Oberlin

College OH

ABSTRACT

The decision to open Oberlin College (Ohio) to black students in 1835, two years after its founding, is discussed. The decision challenged both laws and common perceptions of blacks, and was a milestone in black educational history. Two crucial factors in the decision are identified: Oberlin's founding principles and its economic future. The college was established by two New England Congregationalist ministers, who envisioned an ideal community in which the education of teachers and ministers was an important element. Both colonists and students were recruited, for the survival of the community and the college. In particular, one of the founders urged the trustees to resolve to admit students regardless of color and recruited a group of students and two faculty involved in an anti-slavery controversy at a Cincinnati seminary. This group brought with it the financial support of a New York abolitionist. Despite strong opposition in the Oberlin colony, a warmly worded and persuasive open letter to the congregation and extended discussion of the religious and financial issues resulted in a decision by the trustees to accept black students. The college's covenant and the founder's open letter are appended. (Contains 27 references.) (MSE)



American Educational Research Association Annual Conference New York City, April, 1996

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION Office of Educational Research and improvement EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

- This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
- Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality
- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Cally L. Waite

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Oberlin College and the Decision to Admit Black Students

Cally L. Waite

Harvard University

Oberlin College¹ has long been recognized for its abolitionist and anti-slavery stance during the early nineteenth century. Many of the teachers in the Freedmen's Bureau were trained at Oberlin College.² As well, Mary Jane Patterson, the first American black woman to earn the AB degree was graduated from Oberlin in 1862.³ Women students were welcomed at Oberlin from its founding in 1833, and in 1835 the college resolved to admit black students. In the early 19th century, before Oberlin College was founded, there were no black colleges for students to attend. Although Bowdoin College in Maine boasts the first black graduate, there were few other white colleges that opened their doors to black students.⁴ The struggle for free blacks to gain access to education is well documented in court cases in New York and Boston where blacks sought access to public education at the grammar school level.⁵ In the south, free blacks had little if any access to even basic literacy training. The majority of the black



population, 2,009,043 according to the U.S. Census, was enslaved.⁶ In a majority of states it was a crime for whites to teach slaves to read and a crime for slaves to learn to read.

The purpose of this paper is to consider why Oberlin College decided to admit black students. The opportunity that Oberlin offered to black students was extraordinarily important. The decision to admit black students to the college not only challenged laws but commonly perceived notions of blacks "as childlike, inferior and incapable of learning." Oberlin's decision to admit students "irrespective of color" was a milestone in black educational history and is worthy of study. In this paper I will examine two factors that influenced Oberlin in its decision. Oberlin's founding principles and its economic future were crucial in this landmark decision.

Oberlin was founded by two New England Congregationalist ministers. John Shipherd and Philo Stewart met as students in the Pawlet Academy of Vermont. Both were New Englanders, from Massachusetts and Connecticut respectively, who years later felt the "call to carry the gospel into the 'Valley of Moral Death'." Shipherd headed to Ohio, where he was minister to a church in Elyria, nine miles from the soon-to-befounded Oberlin. Stewart had taken on the missionary task of bringing Christianity to the Choctaw Indians of Mississippi. When the illness of Stewart's wife forced them to leave Mississippi, he joined Shipherd in Elyria.

The two were very much influenced by the evangelical movement of the period that called for strict adherence to the Gospel.⁹ They envisioned an ideal community

inspired by and dedicated to "glorify God and do good to men," not only by practicing the word of the Gospel but spreading it to a "dying world." Shipherd outlined this vision to his parents in a letter dated August 6, 1832.

...I propose through his [God's] assistance to plant a colony somewhere in this region whose chief aim shall be to glorify God & do good to men to the utmost extent of their ability. They are to simplify food, dress &c--to be industrious & economical, & give all over their current, or annual expense to the spread of the Gospel....They are to establish schools of the first order from an infant school up to an academic school which shall afford a thorough education in English & the useful languages;....In these schools all children of the colony are to be well educated....These schools will also educate school teachers for our desolate valley, & many ministers for our dying world. 10

In part, the desolate valley to which they refer was the Ohio Valley. In 1832 Ohio had only recently been granted statehood. It was still considered the west and relatively unsettled when compared to New England. Shipherd and Stewart saw this area as an excellent place to create the community of Oberlin. The colony and college were named after Jean Frederic Oberlin, a French priest who had sacrificed worldly goods and the safety of his career to minister to a neglected area of France. Shipherd and Stewart had read of his work and were greatly impressed.¹¹

Shipherd headed east to raise funds and find colonists as well as arrange for acquisition of the parcel of land he and Stewart had selected for the colony. He was successful in his quest, acquiring 500 acres of land for the college on the condition that he sell the surrounding 4500 acres of the tract within the next seven years. Many

pious New Englanders were attracted to the Oberlin Colony. However, their settlement was not guaranteed. Each colonist was required to sign a covenant. The purpose of the document was to establish that the colony existed for the "express purpose of glorifying God in doing good to men to the extent of our ability." ¹³

Although the covenant was abandoned after the first few years, it definitely gave form to the religious and social life of the colony because the covenant dictated lifestyle as well. Colonists were to live a simple life eating plain food and eschewing tobacco, alcohol, coffee and tea. Women were to be plain in their dress with no tight-fitting clothes. Furniture and houses were to be built for simplicity and durability. Crops were to be raised communally and there was certainly to be no profit made from selling the land (See Appendix A for full text).¹⁴

In many ways the covenant reflected the ideas of a number of utopian communities, however Oberlin's primary goal was the spreading of the Gospel. The founders believed that a school would provide the best opportunity of saving "the fallen race," by training ministers, missionaries and teachers to spread the Gospel. The Oberlin Colony proved to be successful. Colonists came to settle and students enrolled in the college. The majority of students came from New England and Ohio. "Applicants must furnish testimonials of good moral character..." for admission according to the first College Catalogue printed in 1835. 16

Shipherd's job went beyond recruiting students and colonists for the new community, funds were desperately needed for the survival of the college. In a fund-

raising trip to Cincinnati, Shipherd negotiated a deal that would test not only the convictions of the community, but its very survival. In December of 1834, Shipherd wrote to the trustees at Oberlin urging them to

"secure the passage of the following resolution... 'resolved that students shall be received into this Institution irrespective of color' this should be passed because it is a right principle, and God will bless us in doing right. Also because thus doing right we gain the confidence of benevolent and able men who will probably furnish us some thousands." 17

Shipherd expected that the trustees, recognizing the wrong of slavery and the opportunity to be blessed would immediately pass the resolution. Instead, students and townspeople, fearing that Oberlin would become a black-only college, responded swiftly, strongly and negatively to the proposal of black students attending Oberlin College and subsequently living in the town.¹⁸ Others wondered if Shipherd had gone mad.¹⁹

Indeed, where had Shipherd gotten the notion of admitting black students to Oberlin College? The Oberlin controversy finds its roots in the Lane Theological Seminary of Cincinnati. In 1832, students of the Seminary committed themselves to the "neglected mass of colored population," by establishing Sabbath and day schools to teach blacks in Cincinnati. The Seminary disapproved and forbad the students from this practice. These students wanted to have blacks admitted to the school. This request was also denied. When the students began an Anti-slavery Society under the leadership of Theodore Weld, the board of trustees of Lane Seminary then prohibited all siscussions about slavery. Incensed, the group of fifty-one students, known as the Lane Rebels, withdrew and created their own school in a neighboring community with the support of

two faculty members.²¹ It is important to acknowledge that these students did not reflect the pre-slavery sentiments of the majority of Cincinnati and most of Ohio.²²

The actions of the Lane Rebels had generated a significant amount of press.

Shipherd saw the opportunity for growth of the student body and perhaps philanthropic support. He headed to Cincinnati on his fund-raising junket. The Lane Rebels agreed to come to Oberlin if a number of conditions were met. They asked that their two professors be given employment. Asa Mahan would be president of Oberlin College and John Morgan a professor. Charles G. Finney, the powerful and renowned evangelical minister whom Shipherd greatly admired, would join the faculty as a professor of theology. Most important to the Lane Rebels was the guarantee of free speech and the admission of blacks and whites to the college.²³

The Lane Rebels also found both ideological and financial support in Arthur Tappan, a philanthropist and ardent supporter of abolition from upstate New York.

Tappan was sympathetic to the Lane Rebels in their quest to provide education for blacks.

It was through the Lane Rebels that Shipherd made the acquaintance of Arthur Tappan. Along with his brother Lewis and other friends, Tappan offered Shipherd ten thousand dollars and the salaries for a number of professorships contingent upon Oberlin College accepting black students.

Opposition to Shipherd's resolution was vociferous, be it a "right principle" or not. This opposition had a deeper implication, for in some ways the dispute threatened

the future of both college and town. It is likely that townspeople and students were caught between following Shipherd's word or their own views about integration. There was concern from others that the funding of New England churches would be withdrawn if Oberlin were to admit black students to the college.²⁴

Conversely, unless black students were allowed admission to Oberlin, Tappan's offer would be withdrawn. Originally the trustees had agreed to all of the conditions of the Lane Rebels' conditions, except for the admission of black students. Instead, they tabled the issue. John Morgan labelled the Oberlin trustees as having an "odious attitude" because the trustees would not address the issue of black students coming to Oberlin. Although the trustees and community of Oberlin were opposed, and the Lane Rebels offended, Shipherd had already forged the beginning of an agreement with Tappan. Although the colony's opposition was strong, Shipherd's influence in the community cannot be discounted.

Shipherd appealed to the entire Oberlin community in an open letter to be read in church. January 27, 1835, Shipherd writes,

My fears are excited by your recent expressions of unwillingness to have youth of color educated at our Institute. Those expressions were a grief to me, such as I have rarely suffered....So confident was I that this [educating students irrespective of color] would be the prevailing sentiment in the colony and the institute that about a year ago I informed eastern inquirers that we received students according to character, irrespective of color; and beloved, whatever the expediency or prejudices of some may say, does not duty require this? Most certainly.²⁶

It is the religious language of Shipherd's letter on which I would like to focus. In the

beginning of the letter he refers to his parishioners as beloved, indicating the good feelings he has for the congregation and what he knows is their desire and their duty to serve God. He strengthens this position with references to what God would want. He says, "God made them of one blood with us; they are our fellows.... They are our neighbors, and whatever we would they should do unto them, or become guilty before God...."²⁷

Shipherd tells the congregation that blacks "will be elevated much more rapidly if taught with whites hitherto far more forward than if educated separately." He points out that blacks "...are needed as ministers, missionaries, and teachers for the land of their fathers and for their untaught, injured perishing brethren of our country.... Their education seems highly essential if not indispensable to the emancipation and salvation of their colored brethren." Since Oberlin was founded on the premise of producing ministers and teachers for the west, Shipherd highlights the need for blacks to produce their own ministers and teachers for their salvation.

Shipherd appealed to the missionary and evangelical spirit of his parishioners in the majority of his letter. Black students are cast as inferior beings to whom whites might minister. Shipherd does this by comparing blacks to those most reviled in the Bible, publicans (tavern keepers) and sinners. He casts Oberlin in the role of savior.

Shipherd argues that by accepting black students into the college, those in the Oberlin community would be acting as Jesus might have if faced with the same decision. He makes this appeal clearly when he says, "None of you will be compelled to receive them into your families, unless, like Christ, the love your neighbor compels you to....

Those who desire to receive and educate them have the same right to do it that Christ had to eat with publicans and sinners." The comparison of blacks to publicans and sinners strengthens Shipherd's parallel of Oberlin colonists as saviors, and blacks as those who must be saved. Simply by the color of their skin blacks were compared to sinners; those to whom Jesus was charitable.

In the same appeal Shipherd elevated the actions of the community, if they accepted the proposal, to the actions of Jesus. He further develops that parallel when he says, "the objection to associating with them for the purpose of thus doing them good is like the objections of the Pharisees against our Saviours's eating with publicans and sinners." In this case Shipherd not only implies that blacks would be better off associating with the community of Oberlin, just as the publicans and sinners were in associating with Christ, but that to deny the truth of that would make one a hypocrite. 31

Shipherd skillfully translated the question of admission of blacks to the college as a question of Christian faith and goodness. Would the community be adhering to the Gospel, their founding principle, if they did not admit black students? In his final paragraph Shipherd threatens to leave if black students are not admitted. Shipherd asked a great deal of these colonists and it is doubtful that Shipherd's appeal fell on deaf ears. As James Fairchild, future president of Oberlin College, writes "The trustees and the colonists to whom these appeals of Mr. Shipherd were addressed were earnest Christian men and women.... Slavery they regarded as a great evil -- a curse; but the idea that they had anything to do about it; had not entered their minds." 32

Even the strength of this letter did not convince the trustees or the community that blacks should be admitted to the college. Issues of faith could be argued in the abstract, but the concrete fact was that an affirmative decision meant that black students would be attending the college and living in the community. Surely, that raised fears of a potentially large black population settling in Oberlin that overshadowed issues of faith.

However, there was more to be considered than the moral and religious issues of this resolution. There was a financial issue to consider as well. In 1834 the tuition at Oberlin College was fifteen dollars per year. Weekly board was 75 cents or one dollar for the vegetable or meat diet, respectively. The founders believed that once the buildings were erected, the college's operating budget could be maintained from the cost of tuition. Unfortunately, expenses proved to be more than they thought. Professors salaries alone were \$400 per year. The funds available to the college were in the hundreds of dollars. Oberlin College was in serious need of money.

Therefore, Arthur Tappan's generous financial offer cannot be ignored in any discussion of the decision to admit black students. Shipherd writes to the community,

The men and money which would make our institutions most useful cannot be obtained if we reject our colored brethren. Eight professorships and \$10,000 are subscribed upon conditions that Rev. C.C. [sic] Finney become professor of Theology in our institute, and he will not unless the youth of color are received. Nor will President Mahan, nor Professor Morgan serve unless this condition is complied with. And they are men we need irrespective of their anti-slavery sentiments [emphasis added].³⁴

Although Shipherd consistently reminds the trustees of the financial benefit, it should not be construed that he was interested in profit. I would argue instead that Shipherd was



making the appeal that the growth of the college and the colony and the financial means to realize those goals were more important than the issue of admitting black students.

Clearly, there was a great deal at stake when Shipherd met with the trustees at his home, February 9, 1835, for what would be the final discussion about the admission of blacks to the college. All of the benefits of the Tappan gift were contingent upon the admission of black students to Oberlin. In this meeting Shipherd moved away from the issue of admission and instead focussed on the notion of academic freedom. He argued that the issue at Lane was not as much about the admission of blacks as it was about the lack of freedom for students to discuss important and topical subjects. He cautioned that the same situation could well arise at Oberlin. 35

However, what is interesting about this argument is that Oberlin students had protested Shipherd's proposal that black students be admitted. In fact, students presented a petition to the trustees "for and against the admission of colored students;" thirty-two were opposed and twenty-six were in favor. The majority of women, 15 of 21, were opposed.³⁶ The women students threatened to return to their homes immediately even if they had to "wade Lake Erie."³⁷ Although Shipherd made the argument one of academic freedom and allowing students voice, ironically, the opinions of the majority of Oberlin students were ignored.

After much deliberation, described in numerous accounts as passionate, a tie breaking vote was cast by Reverend John Keep, president of the board of trustees and a Cleveland minister who studied under Charles Finney. The trustees decision, "Resolved

That the question in respect to the admission of students into this Seminary be in all cases left to the decision of the Faculty..." ³⁸ apparently grants access to the college for black students providing they met the standards set by the faculty. This resolution has been the source of much scholarly discussion because it allows for a great deal of interpretation. Fletcher points out that there are "supplementary expressions of sentiment on the question of the Negro," that are not explicitly stated in the resolution. ³⁹ For example, "..resolved, that the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest, and should be encouraged and sustained in this institution."

Although the board of trustees had agreed to admit students "irrespective of color," there were few qualified to attend. Shipherd and the trustees did not propose recruiting or training black students to qualify for admission. Rather, if a promising black youth were to apply he should be allowed to come. But from where would these promising youths come? At that time the number of blacks who were qualified, intellectually and financially, to attend the Institute had to be extraordinarily small. The community's fears that Oberlin would be overrun with black students were unfounded. In the 1830 census there were only 3 blacks in all of Lorain County, none of whom were school-aged and none of whom lived in Russia Township⁴¹ where Oberlin was located. In the 1840 census there were 37 blacks in Russia Township.⁴²

In 1835 James Bradley, brought to Oberlin by the Lane Rebels, was enrolled in the Preparatory Department of Oberlin College, ⁴³ and became "The first colored man to enter a collegiate institute in Ohio." ⁴⁴ Ultimately, Bradley's admission is what proved to

be important out of this controversy. It should be noted that the black population of Oberlin College never exceeded five percent in the nineteenth century. It would be easy to say that Shipherd and the trustees agreed to admit black students purely for the promise of financial gain.

However, Oberlin College lived up to the moral obligation it set for itself in the admission of black students. Arthur Tappan lost most of his fortune in the economic panic of 1837 and was not able to make good on his financial commitment to Oberlin. By that time students and townspeople who had once been opposed to the idea of black students at Oberlin had dedicated themselves to the cause of abolition. The Oberlin Anti-Slavery Society had 300 members by the end of 1835. The points that Shipherd raised in his letter to the congregation as well as the influence of the Lane Rebels must have affected with the community. The abstract nature of those appeals and subtle prodding regarding the responsibility of Christians clearly had an effect.

Shipherd and Stewart created a colony whose "chief aim will be to glorify God in doing good to men." In its quest to follow an evangelical way of life the Oberlin community committed itself to the abolition movement and in the process, did good to and for black men and women by allowing them access to educational opportunity.

Notes

- 1. Oberlin College was originally founded as the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. In 1850 the name was changed to Oberlin College. The change in name brought about no significant changes in the curriculum of the school. For continuity and clarity, I've chosen to use the term Oberlin College.
- 2. Jacqueline Jones, Soldiers of Light and Love (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 104.
- 3. Henry Cowles, Catalogue and Record of Colored Students, Office of the Secretary, Oberlin College. Oberlin College Archives.
- 4. Leon Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 139.
- 5. David B. Tyack, <u>The One Best System</u>, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974), 110.
- 6. Population of the United States in 1860; complied from the original returns of the eighth census (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864) p. ix. The free black population in 1830 was 319,599, living predominantly in the south.
- 7. Alan Brinkley, American History, A Survey, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991) 373.
- 8. Robert S. Fletcher, A History of Oberlin College From its Foundation through the Civil War (Ohio: Oberlin College Press, 1943), 87.
- 9. Mark Hanley, <u>Beyond a Christian Commonwealth</u> (North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), chapters 1-2.
- 10. John Shipherd to Zebulon Shipherd, August 6, 1832 as quoted in Fletcher, p. 90.
- 11. John Barnard, <u>From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College</u>, 1866-1917 (Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 3. Fletcher, p. .87
- 12. A.S. Root, "History of the Financial Support of the College," <u>Oberlin Alumni Magazine</u> 9 (June 1908), 343.
- 13. Wilbur Phillips, Oberlin Colony, The Story of a Century, (Ohio: Oberlin Printing Co., 1933), 17-18.



- 14. Ibid.
- 15. James Fairchild, Oberlin: The Colony and the College 1833-1883. (Oberlin: Ohio: E.J. Goodrich, 1883) 25-28; Phillips, 17-18; Fletcher, 114-5.
- 16. As quoted in J.M. Ellis, "The First Catalogue of Oberlin College," Oberlin Review 3 (March 8, 1876), 1-3.
- 17. Fairchild, p. 55.
- 18. Fletcher, p.170.
- 19. Fletcher, p. 170.
- 20. Charles Hickok, The Negro in Ohio, (Cleveland, Ohio: Williams Publishing 1896) 83.
- 21. Hickok, p. 84.
- 22. Clearly, this a very complex issue. Their views were not representative of the prevailing attitudes about slavery in southern Ohio. The Ohio River separated Kentucky, a slave state, from Cincinnati. Ohio's southeastern neighbor was the slave state of Virginia. Sympathy for the anti-slavery movement was not well received in those areas. As well, since the Anti-Slavery Society called for the complete emancipation of blacks as opposed to the colonization of blacks in Africa, even those who were opposed to slavery could not accept the position of these students.
- 23. Fletcher, 169-170; Fairchild, 51-64.
- 24. Fletcher, p. 170.
- 25. Fletcher, p. 176.
- 26. Frederick A. McGinnis, <u>The Education of Negroes in Ohio</u> (Ohio: Curliss Printing Co., 1962) 78-79. Interestingly enough this letter is not included in Fletcher's work. He says, in fact, that this is historically less significant than a letter written to the trustees.
- 27. Ibid.
- 28. Ibid.
- 29. Ibid.
- 30. Ibid.

- 31. According to the dictionary, Pharisees are those who "hypocritically observe the letter of religious and moral law, but not the spirit."
- 32. Fairchild, p. 62.
- 33. Root, p. 344-345.
- 34. McGinnis, p. 79.
- 35. Fletcher, p. 166-178.
- 36. Fletcher, p. 170.
- 37. Fairchild, p. 56.
- 38. Fletcher, p. 178.
- 39. Fletcher, p. 178 n.28
- 40. Fairchild, p. 64.
- 41. Russia Township was the unincorporated area that surrounded Oberlin. Oberlin was not recognized as its own community in the census until 1860.
- 42. Fifth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States 1830 (Washington: Duff Green, 1832); Sixth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States in 1840 (washington: Blair and Rives, 1841).
- 43. There were a number of courses of study at Oberlin College. In addition to the classical college course, there was also a Ladies Course, similar to the classical course but not as rigorous and was not a degree granting program. Additionally, there was the Preparatory Department; the equivalent of a high school course to prepare students for college.
- 44. Hickok, p. 84.
- 45. Fletcher, p. 236-7.



17



<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>

Archives and Manuscript Sources

- Oberlin College Library, Oberlin, Ohio. College General. Annual Catalogues 1855-1863.
- Oberlin College library, Oberlin, Ohio. Office of Secretary. Alumni Records 1833-1863.

Books and Journals

- Barnard, John. From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College 1866-1917.
 Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1969.
- Bigglestone, William. They Stopped in Oberlin. Scottsdale, Arizona: Innovation Group, 1981.
- Brandt, Nat. The Town that Started the Civil War. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1990.
- Brinkley, Alan. American History: A Survey. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991.
- Butchart, Ronald. Northern Schools, Southern Blacks and Reconstruction. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980.
- Ellis, J. M. "The First Catalogue of Oberlin College." <u>Oberlin Review</u> 3 (March 8, 1876): 13-15.
- Fairchild, James. Oberlin: The Colony and The College, 1833-1883. Oberlin, Ohio: E.J. Goodrich, 1883.
- Fletcher, Robert Samuel. A History of Oberlin College, From its Foundation through the Civil War. 2 vols. Ohio: Oberlin College Press, 1943.
- General Catalogue of Oberlin College, 1833-1908. Ohio: Oberlin College, 1910.
- Hine, Darlene, Clark. <u>Black Women in America: an historical encyclopedia</u>. Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1993.
- Hanley, Mark. <u>Beyond a Christian Commonwealth</u>. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- Hickok, Charles. The Negro in Ohio, 1802-1870. Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University, 1896.



- Horsford, Frances G. "The Valley of Decision" Oberlin Alumni Magazine 26 (June 1930): 263-5.
- Jones, Jacqueline. Soldiers of Light and Love, Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks, 1865-1873. North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1980.
- Kaestle, Carl F. Pillars of the Republic, Common Schools and American Society, 1790-1860. New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.
- Litwack, Leon. North of Slavery. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- McGinnis, Frederick. The Education of Negroes in Ohio: Curliss Printing Co., 1962.
- Phillips, Wilbur. Oberlin Colony, The Story of a Century. Ohio: Oberlin Printing Company, 1933.
- Root, A.S. "History of the Financial Support of the College." Oberlin Alumni Magazine 9 (June 1908): 343-350.
- Shumway, A.L. and C. Brower eds., <u>Oberliniana</u>. Cleveland: Home Publishing Co., 1883.
- Tyack, David B. <u>The One Best System A History of American Urban Education</u>. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press., 1974.

Theses

- Ellsworth, Clayton. "Oberlin and the Anti-Slavery Movement up to the Civil War." Ph.D. diss., Cornell University, 1930.
- Fletcher, Juanita D. "Against the Consensus: Oberlin College and the Education of American Negroes, 1835-1865." PhD. diss., The American University, 1974.

Censuses

- Fifth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States 1830. Washington: Duff Green, 1832.
- Sixth Census or Enumeration of the Inhabitants of the United States as corrected at the Department of State in 1840. Washington: Blair & Rives, 1841. vol 1

APPENDIX A

Covenant of the Oberlin Colony

Lamenting the degeneracy of the church and the deplorable condition of our perishing world, and ardently desirous of bringing both under the entire influence of the blessed gospel of peace; and viewing with peculiar interest the influence which the valley of the Mississippi must assert over our nation and the nations of the earth; and having, as we trust, in answer to devout supplications, been guided by the counsel of the Lord: The Undersigned covenant together under the name of the Oberlin Colony, subject to the following regulations, which may be amended by a concurrence of two-thirds of the colonists:

First. Providence permitting, we engage as soon as practicable to remove to the Oberlin Colony, in Russia, Lorain County, Ohio and there to fix our residence for the express purpose of glorifying God in doing good to men to the extent of our ability.

Second. We will hold and manage our estates personally, but pledge as perfect a community of interest as though we held a community of property.

Third. We will hold in possession no more property than we believe we can profitably manage for God as his faithful stewards.

Fourth. We will, by industry, economy, and Christian self-denial, obtain as much as we can, above our necessary and family expenses, and faithfully appropriate the same for the spread of the Gospel.

Fifth. That we may have time and health for the Lord's service, we will eat only plain and wholesome food, renouncing all bad habits, and especially the smoking, chewing and snuffing of tobacco, unless it be necessary as a medicine, and deny ourselves all strong and unnecessary drinks, even tea and coffee, as far as practicable, and everything expensive, that is simply calculated to gratify the palate.

Sixth. That we may add to our time and health, money for the service of the Lord, we will renounce all the world's expensive and unwholesome fashions of dress, particularly tight dressing and ornamental attire.

Seventh. And yet more to increase our means of serving Him who bought us with his blood, we will observe plainness and durability in the construction of our houses, furniture, carriages and all that appertains to us.

Eighth. We will strive continually to show that we, as the body of Christ, are members one of another; and, while living, provide for the widows, orphans, and families of the sick and needy as for ourselves.

Ninth. We will take special pains to educated all our children thoroughly, and train them up in body, intellect and heart, for the service of the Lord.

Tenth. We will feel that the interests of the Oberlin Institute are identified with ours, and do what we can to extend its influence to our fallen race.

Eleventh. We will make special efforts to sustain the institutions of the Gospel at home and among our neighbors.

Twelfth. We will strive to maintain deep-toned and elevated personal piety, 'to provoke each other to love and good works', to live together in all things as brethren, and to glorify God in our bodies and spirits, which are His.

In testimony of our fixed purpose thus to do, in reliance on divine grace, we hereunto affix our

^{&#}x27;As quoted in Wilbur Phillips, Oberlin Colony: The Story of a Century (Ohio: Oberlin Printing Company, 1933), 18.

APPENDIX B

Shipherd's letter to the community January 27, 1835

My fears are excited by your recent expressions of unwillingness to have youth of color educated at our Institute. Those expressions were a grief to me, such as I have rarely suffered....So confident was I that this [educating students irrespective of color] would be the prevailing sentiment in the colony and the institute that about a year ago I informed eastern inquirers that we received students according to character, irrespective of color; and beloved, whatever the expediency or prejudices os some may say, does not duty require this? Most certainly.

- 1. They are needed as ministers, missionaries, and teachers for the land of their fathers and for their untaught, injured perishing brethren of our country.
- 2. Their education seems highly essential if not indispensable to the emancipation and salvation of their colored brethren.
- 3. They will be elevated much more rapidly id taught with whites hitherto far more forward than if educated separately.
- 4. The extremity of their wrongs at the white man's hand requires that the best possible means be employed, and without delay, for their education.
- 5. They can nowhere enjoy needed education unless admitted to our institution, or others established for whites.
- 6. God made them of one blood with us; they are our fellows.
- 7. They are our neighbors, and whatever we would they should do unto them, or become guilty before God. Suppose, beloved, that your color were to become black, what would you claim, in this respect, to be your due as a neighbor?
- 8. Those we propose to receive are the "little one's".
- 9. The objection to associating with them for the purpose of thus doing them good is like the objections of the Pharisees against our saviour's eating with publicans and sinners.
- 10. Intermarriage with whites is not asked and need not be feared.
- 11. None of you will be compelled to receive them into your families, unless, like Christ, the love your neighbor compels you to.
- 12. Those who desire to receive and educate them have the same right to so it that Christ had to eat with publicans and sinners.
- 13. Colored youth have been educated at other institutions for whites.
- 14. They will doubtless be received to all such institutions by and by and why should be beloved Oberlin wait to do justice and show mercy till all others have done it? Why hesitate to lead in the cause of humanity an of God?
- 15. Colored youth cannot be rejected through fear that God be dishonored if they are received.



- 16. However it may be with you brethren, I know that it was only pride of my wicked heart that caused me to reject them while I did.
- 17. If we refuse to deliver our brethren now drawn into death I cannot hope that God will smile upon us.
- 18. The men and money which would make our institutions most useful cannot be obtained if we reject our colored brethren. Eight professorships and \$10,000 are subscribed upon conditions that Rev. C.C. [sic] Finney become professor of Theology in our institute, and he will not unless the youth of color are received. Nor will President Mahan, nor Professor Morgan serve unless this condition is complied with. And they are men we need irrespective of their anti-slavery sentiments.
- 19. If you suffer expediency or prejudice to pervert justice in this case you will in another. Such is my conviction of duty in this case that I cannot labor for the enlargement of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute if our brethren in Jesus Christ must be rejected because they differ from us in color.²

²As quoted in Frederick A. McGinnis, <u>The Education of Negroes in Ohio</u> (Ohio: Curliss Printing Co., 1962), 78-79.