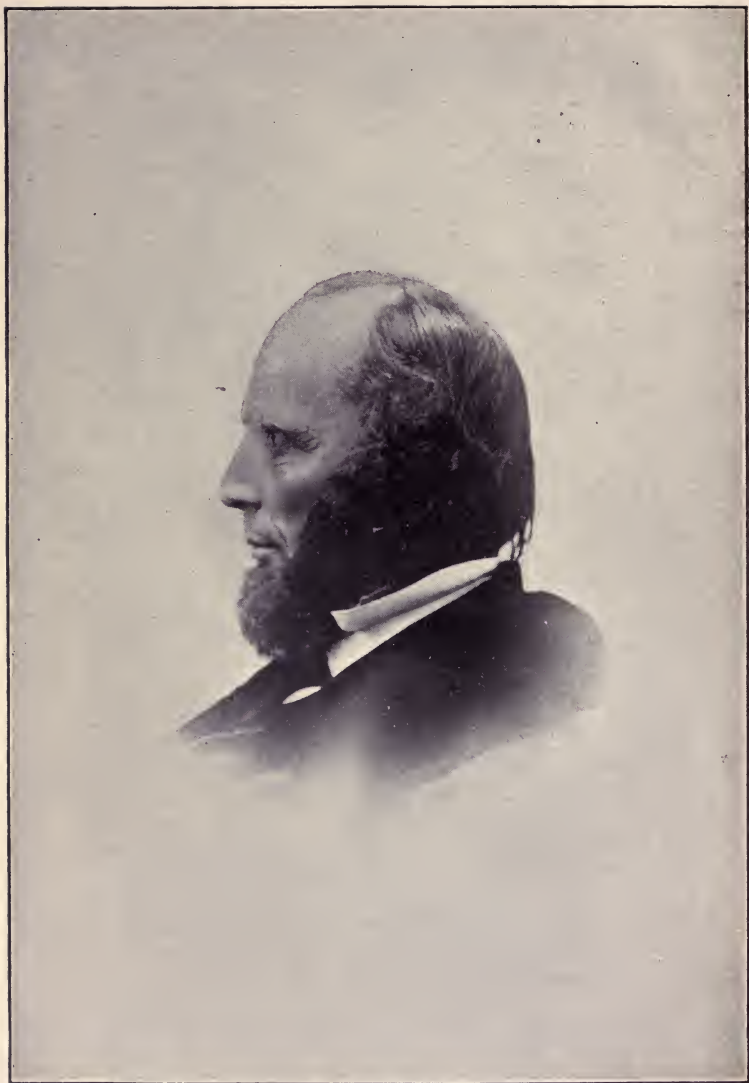




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C. G. FINNEY.

THE STORY OF OBERLIN

THE INSTITUTION,
THE COMMUNITY, THE IDEA, THE MOVEMENT

BY
REV. DELAVAN L. LEONARD, D.D.

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D. L. LEONARD.



Naturalists love to trace the spread of the flora and fauna of a country to all the leeward regions which the steady blowing winds or the great ocean currents can reach. Nothing more strongly impresses the imagination than to see a delicate feathery seaweed, a tiny polyp, a microscopic speck of animal jelly or animal life, making voyages of countless leagues to colonize new lands and carry teeming life to shores and reefs rising from depths of ocean. But here in Northern Ohio are the straits of a great moral gulf stream. Between Lake Erie and the Ohio, from Pittsburgh to Chicago, has been compressed a human tide, fed not only by the overflow of the New England and Middle States, but by that of all Europe, pressing forward in a peaceful caravan, making such irruptions that Attila and the Huns seem insignificant in comparison. Onward it surged, sending off a lateral stream to people the *peninsulam amœnam* of Michigan. With sure instinct it gave a wide berth to the place where slavery had fastened, but broadened out into a great fan when it turned the southern extremity of Lake Michigan, sweeping on until it had occupied the whole land from Manitoba to the Arkansas River, and broke over the ridges of the Rocky Mountains in streams that reached the Pacific coast. Like its physical prototype in the Atlantic Ocean, which, after shooting through the Florida Straits with the rush and speed of a mighty river, widens its warm current till with mollifying influence it makes habitable twenty degrees of latitude in Western Europe, so this human tide has for half a century swept by, and in the very swiftest of the current has stood this school of learning, propagating the seeds of peculiar thought, its special idea of progress, of reform, of right—its zeal making a tropical rapidity of growth and sending them broadcast to take root in all that noble region beyond, doing more, it is hardly extravagant to say, than any other single human influence to give permanent character and purpose to the great Northwest. And it was this growth of the western region that settled the great constitutional question of national freedom.

—Address of General J. D. Cox at the Oberlin Semi-centennial.

PREFACE

THE genesis of this volume was on this wise: Until within but little more than a dozen years I was practically a stranger to Oberlin. In early childhood the Oberlin *Evangelist* was a regular visitor to my home, but beyond that fact I had knowledge of the community and institution only by hearsay or occasional printed news item. My first visit was made while home missionary superintendent in the remote West, and when on journeys to eastern seminaries in search of ministers. So many phases of college life came under my notice which were so unusual, so attractive, and seemed so excellent, that I concluded to send hither my sons for an educational course; and as a result of this decision, through a strange providence, in due season I found myself a resident of the village. As I became acquainted with the inhabitants, the institution in all its departments, the faculty and the churches, as I read of the beginnings and the later happenings, the character and aims of the founders and builders, the conviction steadily increased that verily here was a marvel, here was something phenomenal exceedingly, and at manifold points, yes, something altogether unique. And then came the question, From whence were all these surprising features derived? What forces originated this unmatched and most ad-

mirable combination of good things, intellectual, social, moral and religious? The more I observed and investigated the more the wonder grew, and with all diligence I set myself to find an explanation. Just then, in the effort to solve another problem in some respects similar, I was led to undertake an exhaustive study of the second quarter of this century, especially in American thought and life. As I delved deeper and deeper and pushed out in all directions, it was not long before the surprising discovery was made that well-nigh every feature which characterized early Oberlin did not originate here, but was to be found outside in the times and in the land at large, the only difference being that here occurred a remarkable combination of forces, here various potent principles and personalities so wrought together as to produce results which, for number, variety, and importance, have seldom if ever been equaled, at least in any area so limited, in any community for mere numbers so altogether insignificant.

Here, then, was an exceedingly interesting and significant passage of history, here a story most thrilling which had never been fully told, but with which the world ought to be made acquainted. To be sure, *Oberlin, the Colony and the College*, is a book delightful and perfect in its way, as well as certain to remain always a classic upon this theme; but it is also seriously defective, in that it leaves so much unmentioned. Clearly, then, somebody must take his pen and produce a supplement. Moreover, the set time for such an undertaking seemed fully to have come. The chief actors in the first half-century of Oberlin's life had passed away, to the last one, so that what they were and what they did could be freely spoken of without

impropriety. The passions also of former days, the personal feelings and prejudices, were gone, were so remote that persons and parties and policies could be seen full-orbed, and inspected with open eye. Oberlin was no longer under fire and in need of defence. So much in her career has been proved to be so thoroughly good that any incidental shortcomings and transgressions can be readily admitted. Therefore a date much earlier would have been too early. But, besides, fortunately, scores of men and women still survive whose personal knowledge extends back to the first years, and each one is able to supply some characteristic incidents. These lips, however, will ere long be forever dumb, and hence serious loss would follow longer delay.

But who should essay the weighty task of worthily writing the Oberlin story? At length it came about, in a way which need not be detailed, that I decided the call had come to me. In not a few particulars an out-and-out Oberlin man would possess certain substantial advantages in carrying such an undertaking through to its conclusion, though he would be exposed to the suspicion of prejudice in favor of what all his life he had known and loved. On the other hand, a stranger coming without prepossessions, if he informed himself concerning his theme, could speak with an authority which few would undertake to gainsay, and would at least have the credit of endeavoring to settle all disputed questions with candor and a judicial temper. To make assurance doubly sure that my project was not an unwise one, I took careful counsel with a number of those in whose judgment I had great confidence, especially with such as had had long and intimate connection with the college,

and received heartiest words of encouragement. Later, formal and authoritative countenance was bestowed, coupled with the pledge of all possible assistance in the carrying out of my plan. All the records of the institution were thrown open to my inspection, including a vast correspondence extending back to the time when Oberlin had no existence save in the minds and hearts of its founders. But, possessed of these exceedingly valuable and hitherto almost wholly unused sources of information, the attempt would have been little less than preposterous, and would by no means have been made, had not President Fairchild promised me the priceless boon of fullest and freest conference at every point, and all the cooperation desired as critic and interpreter. His personal knowledge spans the entire period from the first year of Oberlin's history to the present, as student in the college and seminary, as tutor, professor, and then as chief executive, while his memory is a marvelous storehouse of facts from which he is able to draw at pleasure with surprising accuracy of detail. For months together, almost daily it was my privilege to go back and forth over the whole four-and-sixty years, touching again and again upon every noteworthy person and event, plying him with endless questions and making careful note of all additional information which fell from his lips. Being cheered and strengthened by such efficient allies I went forward with my investigations, having recourse to every accessible authority and endeavoring to attain to a thorough understanding of every matter which came under view.

While my design is to present, at least in outline, the thrilling story of Oberlin's beginning and unfolding, the chief emphasis will be laid upon such facts and

phases as are phenomenal. And, besides, each striking and characteristic feature is to be explained or interpreted by reference to the great outlying world, the times which were then passing. This and that phase of early thought and life which excited admiration or odium, which presently proved itself excellent and endured, or else was seen to be unwise and mistaken and was suffered to retire and be forgotten—whence came each one, and what influences brought it hither? As a result it will easily be made to appear that Oberlin was not purely original at many points, either in what was worthy of all praise, or in what was justly open to severe criticism. In other words, it was mightily wrought upon by external forces, and was largely fashioned by its environment.

First, last, and all along, good heed may profitably be given to two suggestions: In my use of it the name which is to appear so often in these pages carries a phenomenal breadth and depth of meaning. It stands for an institution of learning which at various fundamental points is *sui generis*. It stands also for a considerable community whose peculiarities have always differentiated it from any other that can be found. But much more is included; this is but the beginning. There is an Oberlin idea, or sentiment, or conviction, a puissant spirit, or atmosphere, a notable movement which, centering here, and here receiving continual reinforcement of energy, has spread throughout the state and nation, and even to the ends of the earth. It is this Greater Oberlin which is to be portrayed in the following chapters. The second suggestion is that the history to be detailed, especially in the earlier decades, is full to overflowing of remarkable providences. That is, in cases not a few, radical changes were wrought and

important results were brought to pass almost in spite of human volition and effort, so that the outcome is vastly more to the praise of God than to the praise of men. While to their surprise and great sorrow some of the most cherished schemes of the founders and early toilers came to nothing, nevertheless the work grew marvelously and blessed results were achieved vastly beyond the very wildest of their dreams. More than once it happened that errors and blunders which approached perilously near to the culpable were overruled to the furtherance of the Kingdom which, verily, with all their hearts, they loved.

D. L. LEONARD.

OBERLIN, *February 1, 1898.*

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

MY personal relations to the community and college at Oberlin for many years have been such as naturally to impose upon me some of the responsibilities of a historian. Various fragmentary accounts, in the form of addresses and pamphlets, were the natural result during a period of nearly forty years, until the coming of the Jubilee year, when I published the volume entitled *Oberlin, the Colony and the College*, giving a history of the enterprise for the preceding fifty years. With this work, completed nearly fifteen years ago, I have accounted my personal responsibility as essentially discharged, and I am happy to give place to the Rev. D. L. Leonard, the author of the volume herewith presented, to continue and extend this work of the historical presentation.

Dr. Leonard is not, like myself, an original Oberlin man. He is of New England descent through both father and mother, passed his early life upon a farm in Western New York, and received his scholastic training for the ministry in Hamilton College and Union Theological Seminary. After eighteen years of service as pastor in Connecticut, Wisconsin, Illinois, and finally in Northfield, Minnesota, he was appointed by the Home Missionary Society superintendent of the Rocky Mountain district, with headquarters in Salt

Lake City. After six years of toil upon the frontier, and about ten years ago, Dr. Leonard exchanged Utah for Northern Ohio, presently taking a pastorate, but with his work chiefly literary, in connection with the *Missionary Review of the World*, though giving several courses of lectures in our theological seminary, and acting during the greater portion of one year as state superintendent of home missions. Through residence in this community, and acquaintance with the work of many Oberlin men and women, and observation of the educational forces which here were gathering and operating during the last sixty-five years, he has become greatly interested in Oberlin's providential origin and history, and was moved to undertake the work which he now presents. The early records and archives of college and church have been freely opened to him, and whatever has been written or printed has been placed at his disposal. The written material is found in packages of old letters which have not seen the light for many years, and in volumes of records which societies and churches, trustees and committees, have carefully preserved. The printed material embraces the earliest circulars of the founders from 1832, the annual catalogues of the college, and, perhaps most important of all for historical purposes, the twenty-three volumes of the Oberlin *Evangelist* beginning in 1839. But Dr. Leonard has not limited himself to the sources of information accessible to him in Oberlin. The files of the *Ohio Observer*, published first at Cleveland and later at Hudson, cover the greater part of the same period and enable the investigator to perceive how we appeared to our neighbors. To a limited extent living witnesses have added their recollections to the somewhat abundant literature of the subject.

I have myself rejoiced in the fact that one both competent and willing has appeared to carry forward, and in a sense complete, the Oberlin story.

Every chapter and well-nigh every paragraph has been submitted to me in order to prevent any misstatements in relation to matters of fact and any misinterpretation of historical events. And yet the book is issued upon the author's own responsibility. The idea was wholly his, as well as the execution of the plan. It has not seemed to me necessary to check his enthusiasm, or in any instance to abate his admiration. Coming in from abroad a decade since almost a stranger to Oberlin, and so without preconceived notions either for or against, after diligent research he has gathered his ideas and reached his conclusions, and now sets them forth in the chapters which follow.

Oberlin, as I found it and have seen it through the years, was not a mere human plan. The same may doubtless be said of all the early colleges of the land. Good men have given themselves with all consecration to their establishment and enlargement, but

"There 's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them how we will."

It is interesting to trace through all the early circulars and announcements the elementary skeleton of Oberlin as it grew and as it survives to-day, but almost from the beginning also new forces, of which no account had been made, came in and produced their modifications. Two of these were the antislavery impulse, and Mr. Finney. Both were wholly unexpected, yet without them Oberlin could never have done the work which has fallen to it, and probably could not have ex-

isted beyond a single decade. The actual result doubtless transcends the original dream of its founders, and is not essentially different as to kind and quality from their plan and purpose; but without these contributions, which they did not plan, and could not have secured, and could not control or direct when they appeared, the community and college would not have existed as we see them. A successful enterprise must always have a freedom of growth in directions and methods not recognized in the original idea. Hence, it is inevitable that in the progress of the work one generation of helpers after another will yield their places to their successors, with a sense of disappointment as to the past, and of apprehension as to the future.

I am often asked by those who left Oberlin in the earlier times if it has not greatly changed, and by change they mean that it has lost in power and impulse in the direction of righteous character. The question is a difficult one to answer. To myself the influences seem much as they were in 1834. The good people are just as good as then, and the proportion of such in the community is just as large. The prevalent ideal and purpose of life are the same—to serve God and one's generation. There is the same readiness to enlist in every good work at any reasonable sacrifice. In one conspicuous fact, however, I do perceive a change. There is a less distinct impulse to cultivate religious experience, and less intensity of experience than formerly. Such intensity was characteristic of Mr. Shipherd when Oberlin began, and Mr. Finney's influence was in the same direction. The gathering of so many from different parts of the land in a common religious movement generated fervor and

energy. It was an era of revivals, and these are always productive of intensity. But this extreme of emotion and exaltation does not naturally belong to the religious life as a persistent fact, nor indeed to any permanent form of human experience. Nor could it be reproduced. The attempt would be a mistake, and would prove a failure. But, notwithstanding, to one who looks over fifty years, it is startling in a religious gathering of young people to hear so little of the reaching out of the soul after God, and so much concerning the merely outward adjustments of Christian activity. It would be hasty though, and ill-judged, to call such experience superficial, since the fact is beyond dispute that, when the call comes to prove the consecration by obedience, it is not dishonored.

No one, standing where I do, looking back upon more than sixty years of Oberlin, can undertake to set forth in any minute detail what its work should be for the years to come. Its charter at the outset was as wide as the wants of mankind and the work of the kingdom of heaven. Slavery is ended, but Oberlin was not called into being simply for the conflict against slavery. Its divine appointment is to be wherever human want and human sin appear, and in whatever form. This college and community cannot be true to their birthright, except as they maintain their place among the aggressive forces of righteousness in the sphere of Christian education. Every improvement in the forms of Christian activity must find hospitality here. And whatever is unprofitable or harmful in college life should here receive no welcome. Even at the risk of appearing singular and out of harmony with what is accounted the cultured life of the world, we must still exclude from our homes, and from our

banquet-halls, the wine-cup and the fumes of tobacco. Nor will any intelligent friend of Oberlin be inclined to attempt to advance the dignity of its officials, or the influence of its students, in the American society of which we are a part, by gathering up for us the cast-off garments of medieval times. They are not adapted to the movements of the earnest worker. May the Master himself "give us understanding in all things."

J. H. FAIRCHILD.

OBERLIN, *November, 1897.*

THE STORY OF OBERLIN

CHAPTER I

THE STORY IN OUTLINE

THE history of Oberlin naturally divides into three periods, of which each one presents marked peculiarities. The first covers something less than two decades, ending in 1850, and is by far the most phenomenal in character. These were the trying years of feeble infancy, of foundation-building and experiment, of continual struggle with poverty and debt, as well as endurance of ridicule, obloquy, hatred and bitterest opposition. But they were years also of astounding enlargement. The phrase "burning but not consumed" well sets forth the fact. During the closing months an endowment was secured, and President Mahan resigned his office. The second period is of about the same length, embraces the entire presidential term of Mr. Finney, and extends to 1866. In a sense both literal and figurative, Oberlin now began to emerge from the woods. Of a sudden the number of students was more than doubled. The railroad made its advent. The Rebellion was ended, with overwhelming victory for abolition. The malignant passions of the early days had nearly died the death, so that Oberlin was no

longer outcast and tabooed, but was even welcomed into the best of theological and ecclesiastical society. The third period, during most of which President Fairchild was at the helm, is nearly as long as the other two. By a remarkable providence a splendid group of men who had been gathered in the first years had been long spared to toil together for the enlargement and strengthening of the work, but now, one after another transferred their tasks to others and took their departure for unseen realms. The era of new buildings came also. And finally, at every point, the institution has been modernized, and has taken on additional forms of excellence which go far towards making its future secure.

The origin of the enterprise under view was sufficiently humble and feeble, and the visible forces which fashioned it were such as seemed to supply scarcely a possibility of success. Probably not a soul could have been found, possessed only of worldly sagacity and prudence, or living wholly in the realm of reason and judgment, who would have pronounced the attempt other than fanatic and absurd. But, somehow, it turned out in this case, as it also has in so many more, that the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men. It occurred in the spring of 1832 that two men, John J. Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart, without liberal education, unendowed with more than ordinary intellectual gifts, and wholly destitute of financial resources, met by appointment in Elyria, Lorain County, Ohio, to decide upon some definite line of effort which should produce the maximum of spiritual benefit to "a perishing world," but in particular to the Mississippi Valley. One was a home missionary of two years' standing in

the little village where they were holding high counsel, while the other had recently returned from a "foreign" mission among the Choctaws in the far Southwest. After some months of earnest thought and discussion, mingled continually with most fervent petition for heavenly illumination and guidance, it fell out one day that, even while upon their knees, and as if by a vision sent from above, the complete outline of a great undertaking stood forth distinctly in the mind of Mr. Shipherd. In after years he used often to refer to this thrilling experience as "the pattern shown him in the mount." A considerable tract of land was to be secured, upon which should be planted a colony of elect Christian families, bound together by a solemn covenant which pledged them to plainest living and highest thinking, or, in other words, to the utmost of industry, economy and self-denial, in order that they might to the utmost bestow of their possessions for the spread of the kingdom of God. A school also was to be founded, combining various grades or departments, for the careful education of their own children and those of their neighbors; moreover, to train teachers and other Christian toilers for the boundless and most desolate fields in the West. In this seminary-to-be a hearty welcome should be accorded to women, and manual labor should play a most prominent part. Disregarding the logical order of proceeding, a name was next bestowed, while as yet the thing itself was non-existent. A famous pastor in the Steinthal, a barren region lying on the border between Alsace and Lorraine, had recently died, after giving himself for sixty years with almost incredible devotion to the task of redeeming an ignorant and degraded population, a copy of whose biography, just published, had been placed

in the Elyria Sunday-school library, and been read by Mr. Shipherd. His spirit and motives were identical with those of these two men, so that it was an exceedingly happy thought, was well-nigh a stroke of genius, when they decided to bestow his name upon the proposed community and school, and called it Oberlin. It was now high time to institute search for a local habitation. After considerable inquiry and travel, and after canvassing the merits of several sites, various cogent reasons combined to fix their choice upon one in Lorain County, distant less than ten miles. In the southern part of Russia township was a large area of unbroken forest, covering a surface so flat and a soil of clay so tenacious as to have been deemed undesirable for cultivation. Though long since placed upon the market, and though a portion had been offered as a donation for the uses of a school, no buyers had hitherto been found. It was a momentous day when they mounted their horses and, pushing into the dense woods, reached a tiny clearing at length, knelt in prayer, and fixed definitely upon this spot as the center about which the colonists should gather. The tree under which they made such effectual supplication still stands upon the college campus, a living monument to their godly zeal, their stalwart courage, and their heroic endeavor.*

* At a meeting of the college trustees held in August, 1845, Rev. John Keep presented resolutions upon the death of Mr. Shipherd, to which certain "Facts" were appended, the following also being among them. It would seem to throw not a little discredit upon the pleasing tradition that the founders prayed under the elm which stands near the southeast corner of the campus, and which, moreover, was then but a mere sapling. "In November of that year (1833) Mr. Shipherd in company with Mr. Stewart came onto the tract with the view to select a site for the seminary. They united in their first prayer for divine



HISTORIC ELM.

Next ensued a journey to the East to secure possession of the land, to search out and persuade suitable families, to solicit funds for the public buildings required, as well as to advertise the project, so that in due season students might be forthcoming. By the end of October Mr. Shipherd had resigned his pastorate, and, with only three dollars in his pocket, was off for New England on horseback, directing his journey first to New Haven to bargain with Street & Hughes for a title to the tract desired. Calling upon them, his request was for a donation of five hundred acres and a sale of nine square miles, he to parcel this out into farms to be sold again at an advance of a dollar per acre. This proposition coming from a stranger without any financial backing, or the least tangible evidence that he would be able to make good his part of the contract, like sensible men they again and again refused to negotiate upon such an unbusinesslike basis. But so contagious were his enthusiasm and assurance, and so admirably did he plead his case, that these hard-headed Yankees finally succumbed, promising to grant provisional ownership at the rate of a dollar and a half per acre, full titles to be bestowed when the land was paid for. This capital and indispensable point gained, the Christian public was next informed, through notices in the religious papers, concerning the settlement and school

guidance under a large tree one mile north of what is now the village. In the process of examination their next place for prayer was on the spot now occupied by the house of Dr. Jennings [the first house south of Stewart Hall]. They decided on the location of the college grounds; and soon after selected a temporary board of trustees, who held their first session on a clover patch in an opening of a few feet square, which had been used as a place of resort by the Indians, and which is now covered by the house occupied by Hamilton Hill [in front of the high school building and just north of the post-office]."

proposed for the Western Reserve of Ohio. At this stage of progress, so modest was his ambition and so uninstructed was his judgment, that twenty-five families and two thousand dollars for outfit would fairly well suffice. An endowment was not thought of, for if only buildings and needed appliances for manual labor were provided, tuition fees would be adequate for salaries and other expenses! Here, again, his success far surpassed his expectations. By personal visits and correspondence several scores of householders were found ready to sign the covenant and emigrate to the new Canaan in the West. Applications in encouraging numbers came also from earnest-hearted young people of both sexes to be admitted to the promised school in the forest. Nor were the responses to his appeals for money less surprising; for within less than a year from his departure upon his mission not less than \$15,000 had been received in cash or pledges, the bulk in the shape of scholarships taken. Quite curiously, these instruments, which cost the owners a hundred and fifty dollars each, paid no bills for tuition, but only secured admission to the advantages of the seminary and use of the appliances for manual labor. As the result of all these notable achievements, it is not in the least surprising that before Mr. Shipherd turned his face westward his scheme had taken on proportions so greatly enlarged that with the mind's eye he could now perceive an institution of collegiate grade, and even a theological seminary looming up in a future not so very remote.

It was in September of 1833 that he appeared again in Ohio to aid in laying in the wilderness foundations for homes, education, and godly living. Mr. Stewart had been occupied meantime in Elyria helping forward

the same project. The first settler had penetrated to the vicinity of the Historic Elm about six months before and had reared a log cabin almost under its shadow. Peter P. Pease was the honored pioneer, but not long was he left without neighbors and fellow-toilers. Presently the ring of the axe was incessant, giant trees were falling with a crash on every side, day by day the clearing was enlarged, and primitive dwellings began to multiply. By the end of June more than twenty acres had been chopped over, of which a portion had been logged and burned, and a beginning had even been made in sowing grass and grain. A steam-engine had been promised for use in a grist-mill and sawmill, but its coming was so long delayed that serious embarrassment was caused by lack of lumber. With ten men upon the ground and less than half as many women, about as soon as the multitudinous stumps could be eradicated the foundations of Oberlin Hall were laid and its framework began to appear. This was a two-story structure of wood, thirty-five feet by forty, with an extension of lesser height in the rear; and capped with a *quasi* third story, or attic, of about half the width, which projected upward from the roof, whose two rows of rooms were separated by a narrow hall running lengthwise through the center, and provided each with a single window composed of six small lights. The space thus secured was for the convenience and comfort of the young men, two of whom were in all cases expected to tabernacle together in quarters only eight feet square. When stove, table, chairs and bed were in place, scarcely standing ground for the occupants was left in the straitened domicile. But, fortunately, it was so arranged that by day the last named piece of furniture could be turned up against the wall. After a

few years this upper architectural monstrosity gave place to a complete third story. The foundation was fashioned by first digging a cellar and laying large logs horizontally in cobhouse style about the sides, one upon another, till a proper distance above the surface had been reached. Later, for these logs a stone wall was substituted. On the first floor were a dining-room, offices, quarters for the families of Messrs. Shipherd and Stewart, the latter having charge of the boarding department, and also all arrangements for cooking, laundrying, etc. Above were located the "school-room, chapel and church, all in one," while over against it the young women dwelt closely packed together.*

December found eleven families located upon their lots or farms, and the school was opened with two teachers and a goodly company of students, whose numbers steadily increased, until, by the close of the term, forty-four were in attendance, fifteen of them being young women, and a full half from the East. By this time a board of trustees had been chosen, and in February of 1834 an act of incorporation was secured from the legislature for "Oberlin Collegiate Institute." Of course the much-vaunted manual labor system was duly inaugurated, the girls attending to all manner of indoor work, while the other sex waged fierce war upon the woods and pushed on the preparation of the land for the production of crops. A few shops were erected for the performance of various kinds of mechanical toil, while in the sawmill, now in operation, had commenced the manufacture of shingles and lath. Four hours' work each day was required, and con-

* During the first season Mr. and Mrs. Shipherd with their children lived in a single room, and for three weeks shared it also with a family of eight.

sidered necessary for the health of body, mind and spirit. In May of this second year the second term was entered upon, with an attendance which rose later to upwards of a hundred, and with Seth H. Waldo and James Dascomb, Daniel and Mrs. Branch, and presently Mrs. Dascomb, all trained in New England institutions, as permanent teachers. No church had been organized as yet, though the community was almost entirely Christian, and from the first Sunday religious services had been regularly held. An ecclesiastical society had, however, been incorporated in February, and in September a Congregational church came into being with upwards of sixty members, whose peculiar lot it was to wait eight years for a sanctuary, and nearly forty before possessing a pastor whose entire time and strength were devoted to its upbuilding. The first "commencement" came off in the last days of October. Though trained talent was not so very abundant, nevertheless a colloquy was given, and orations in both Latin and Greek. Then came a scattering for the long vacation, which was set in the winter that students might teach, and so continued until times quite recent. It was in October, also, that the first freshman class was organized, composed of four young men. Earlier in the season work was commenced upon a boarding hall, or Ladies' Hall, the main part forty feet by eighty and three stories high, with two wings of two stories each. This structure was reared upon oaken blocks two or three feet in diameter and six feet long. When raising time arrived recitations were suspended for three days, and all hands joined to hoist to their places sills and posts, beams, ridge-pole and rafters. In this period primeval board was to be had in the hall for seventy-five cents a week, if a diet

purely vegetable would suffice, or for a dollar with meat twice a day. At chopping and other heavy work from four to seven cents an hour could be earned:

It was now two years since Mr. Shipherd had set forth upon what appeared to his neighbors and friends to be nothing better than a wild-goose chase. But the event had most abundantly justified his faith. Thirty-five families were now located upon the colonial tract, the plant was worth not less than \$10,000, while hundreds of students had been turned away for lack of room. He was even able to hold out publicly the expectation that by the end of four years, or as soon as the college class just formed should graduate, a theological department would be opened. And yet, on the whole, the situation was such as to excite anxiety if not also alarm. The treasury was empty and worse, while the need of money in considerable sums was imperative; more buildings must be had, and all the first steps were costly indeed. So ominous was the outlook that no one who at this stage had predicted complete failure for the infant enterprise could justly have been charged with groundless apprehension. Besides, here in the wilderness was a flock without a shepherd. The church was pastorless as yet, and for lack of a president the institution was in peril. But the courage of Mr. Shipherd rose to the height of the occasion. Late in November, under instructions from the trustees, he took his departure for the East, not as before by way of Buffalo and Central New York, but over a more southern route. Planning to travel by the National Road from Columbus, which this very year had been completed thus far towards the Mississippi, by an "accidental" occurrence and an inward conviction so strong as to fairly compel obedience, he headed instead

for Cincinnati in the far southwest. Here Rev. Asa Mahan was met, a Presbyterian pastor of that city, who soon was named by several as eminently fitted to be the executive head of a college, and who, when the matter was broached, was found quite ready to accept such an appointment.

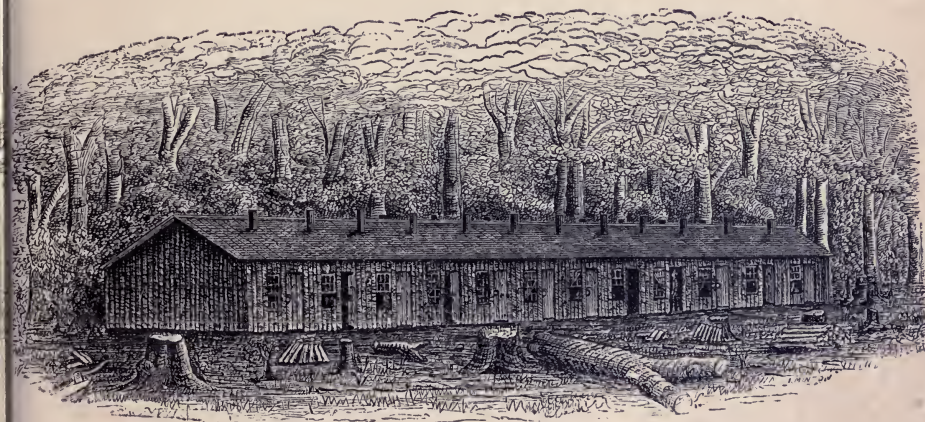
But information of far greater significance was gained. Lane Theological Seminary had been established a few years before, under the leadership of Rev. Lyman Beecher, a fine company of students had been gathered, who had accepted thoroughly and with tremendous enthusiasm the new abolition doctrines. The timid and time-serving trustees, fearing that their zeal would bring serious damage to the school, had forbidden discussion and even conversation concerning slavery; and as a result wholesale "rebellion" and secession had ensued. Mr. Shipherd found these young men in perplexity as touching their future, but meantime pursuing their studies as best they could in a neighboring building which a wealthy friend had opened for their use. Mr. Mahan had stood by them in their troubles, so that with his eyes now turned towards Oberlin, it was but natural that the project should speedily find favor with all concerned, of arranging at the soonest to open a theological course in the little hamlet in the forest. On certain conditions a score or two were ready to make the transfer. Since time was so precious in this astonishing emergency, Messrs. Shipherd and Mahan took an early boat up the river and hastened across the mountains to New York to secure the teachers and funds required to make the proposed enlargement. Rev. Charles G. Finney, then pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle Congregational Church, was sought out and offered

the chair of theology, but declined to accept it unless some solid financial foundation for the institution was assured. Counsel was taken with Arthur Tappan, a man large-hearted, full of public spirit, and possessed of abundant means, who was presently ready with certain others of like character and resources to guarantee the endowment of *eight professorships*, with a loan added sufficient to build a theological hall. Rev. John Morgan also, a Lane teacher who had been dismissed for his antislavery sentiments, was secured as one of the seminary faculty.

But now, after this succession of fortunate occurrences so startling, so well-nigh stunning, the scheme came near to fatal catastrophe. Tappan and his friends, Finney, Morgan, Mahan and the students, to the last man were pronounced and ultra abolitionists, and not one of them would move in this matter except upon the condition that Oberlin should receive colored students to all departments on equal terms with whites. To the colonists and the trustees this was a question entirely new. When first suggested the general sentiment both inside and outside of the institution was overwhelmingly against consenting to any such intimate association with Africans. When called together to take definite action the trustees dodged the issue by declining to make any pledge. And when they met a second time, though facing the appalling contingency of losing students, teachers and endowment, after a discussion warm and protracted, a resolution favorable to the admission of negroes was carried only by a casting vote. February 9, 1835, the decisive action was taken. President Mahan arrived in May to take up his duties, and his associates not much later. Since in the nascent settlement every nook and cranny was crowded already,



TAPPAN HALL.



CINCINNATI, OR "SLAB," HALL.

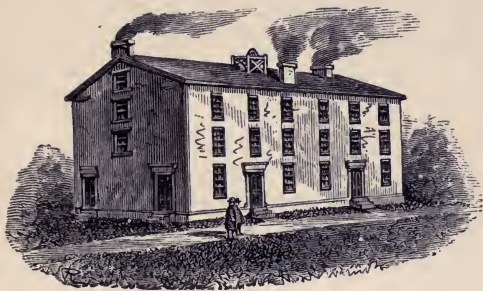
a rough structure was extemporized for the reception of the Lane "rebels," whose name, "Slab Hall," furnishes an adequate description. Presently a second contingent of students put in an appearance, coming from Western Reserve College, Hudson, under the impulse of a similar grievance.

As yet the forest still bordered close upon the campus, while deer, wild turkeys and other game showed themselves not seldom on the edge of the clearing. Access from Elyria was not possible without following a winding trail through the woods for the last two or three miles. Chopping, burning, and subduing the stubborn soil, constituted the chief occupation of the masculine half of the population. Work was commenced this season upon houses for the president and Mr. Finney, and the brick walls of Tappan Hall began to rise, one hundred and twelve by forty-two, and four stories in height, containing recitation rooms and ninety rooms for as many theologues, or, when they were all supplied, for the use of college boys. Colonial Hall was also begun, costing \$5,000, of which the people out of their poverty contributed half. Three days were required to hoist and put in place the heavy timbers, and recitations were suspended in order that student muscle might be made available. Walton Hall was built by a church in New York for the accommodation of such of its young people as should come for an education.* The catalogue in the autumn gave the names of two hundred and seventy-six men and women in attendance (besides

* The Old Laboratory was erected in 1838, of brick, thirty feet by forty. In 1842 followed Music Hall, about the same size, of wood and a single story, supplying an audience room to accommodate about two hundred, with two entries at the front, and between them a piano room with elevated floor and separated by sliding doors from the audience room.

eighty more present a portion of the year), of whom thirty-five were in the seminary and thirty-eight in the college. The catalogue succeeding contained three hundred and ten names, while mention was made of four score others for whom no room could be found, and who therefore had been sent to various points not far distant, like Sheffield, Abbeyville, and Austinburg, and teachers provided; while some had been received into the Elyria high school, and committees were chosen to search out yet other suitable localities. The seminary contained fifty-eight students, and ninety-five were pursuing the classical course. By the end of the first decade the attendance rose to six hundred, while the faculty increased from seven to twelve. Surely such growth under such circumstances is nothing short of phenomenal, and to match it a second case would be hard to find.

An event occurred in the autumn of 1835 which must not be left unmentioned. Just before the long vacation was to begin, Theodore D. Weld, a most gifted and most attractive personality, who had been a Lane student and a leader in the proceedings which had led to the explosion and exodus, visited Oberlin to give a course of lectures upon antislavery, with the especial purpose of supplying a company of students with ammunition for an abolition campaign, to last at least through the winter ensuing. For three solid weeks he spoke to crowded audiences every evening, with such a wealth of information and argument, coupled with such fervor of appeal, that, when he had finished, the entire community was fixed forever in unmeasured hostility towards slavery, and eager to enter upon a warfare to continue till the last bondman should be made free.



COLONIAL HALL.



OLD LABORATORY.

Nor was it much later that the same auditory began to be wrought upon overwhelmingly by a mightier master of logic and persuasion than Weld. Mr. Finney, in the fulness of his remarkable powers, had come to this isolated spot after more than ten years of singularly successful evangelistic service. And no sooner had he made his advent than his passion for souls began to make itself felt in his preaching. A series of powerful revivals presently set in, to be renewed almost annually for the better part of a generation, but for several years being nearly continuous. In this work other members of the faculty, especially Mahan, Morgan, and Henry Cowles, who also came in 1835, were most worthy coadjutors. The Sunday services were solemn in the extreme, nor less the gatherings for social worship during the week. Nor was it uncommon for the recitation hour to be occupied with religious exercises. On special occasions all literary work would be set aside for several days that the fundamental themes of the gospel might be pressed home to the hearts and consciences of all. As a result the lives of multitudes were irrevocably set for godliness, consecration, and devoted toil for the redemption of lost and sorrowing humankind. Missionary zeal was already prevalent, but now it was largely increased. Thus work in behalf of the fugitives from slavery was commenced in Canada in 1836, the next year a pioneer company was despatched to Jamaica to minister to the blacks, in 1841 the Mendi mission was opened in Africa, in 1843 ten men and women set out for the remote Northwest to preach Christ to the Ojibwas, etc. It was in these same early days, when religious thought and emotion were so intense and protracted, probably also in some degree

because of them, that the wave of enthusiasm for "sanctification" began to swell and surge. There were a few occasions when for a season, on the part of some whose heads and hearts were too weak to endure the strain, a perilous approach was made to fanaticism and folly. But such cases were exceptional. In the main the spiritual tone was healthy. We scarcely need to be assured that among these hundreds of youth asceticism and gloom found slight favor, that their souls were buoyant and happy, filled with the courage of faith and desire, determined to achieve noblest things.

Certainly it should not be thought strange that some crude notions and practices not altogether rational crept into this settlement rising so famously among the stumps. Thus it fell out one night that as a mere boyish freak the "classics" were "burnt," that is, an old Virgil was reduced to ashes after President Mahan had argued that some of the Latin poets were not fit to be read. And lo, it went out to the world that Oberlin was no friend to liberal education. Again, Mr. Stewart was in charge of the boarding department, having in former years held a similar position down among the Choctaws. In the interests of an economy too stringent and rigid, he sought to hold these sons and daughters of New England, accustomed to plain but palatable fare, to a regimen that only aborigines could tolerate. At various points his stubborn convictions came into conflict with those of his neighbors, so that in 1836 he resigned and took his departure, from henceforth, though loving it to the last, to bear no considerable part in carrying forward the institution to whose interests for four years he had devoted himself with a consuming zeal. By the cov-

enant on which this community and school were founded, tea and coffee had been put under the ban, with divers other carnal indulgences, and the attempt was erelong made to hold the colonists to their solemn pledge in this particular, though with no encouraging measures of success. By a majority vote it was also settled that for buildings *red* was the only orthodox color, but more and more it appeared that the individual judgment and taste must be allowed to rule in such matters. Then, with the advent of Mr. Finney, it began to be taught that a strict Graham diet was the only one either hygienic or truly Christian, while meat and all condiments were to be eschewed. For four or five years this *régime* bore quite extensive sway, but then once more Anglo-Saxon sense asserted itself, and even in spite of the best performances of a peerless *chef* imported by the college authorities from Boston.

These various differences excited somewhat of evil feeling. Mr. Waldo resigned at the end of a year out of dissatisfaction with the way certain things were going, and Professor J. P. Cowles also took his departure in 1839 in a very unhappy frame, after three years of most excellent work in the teacher's chair. One or two other incidents of Oberlin life during the first decade must suffice. In 1837 *Oberlin Unmasked* (about as scurrilous and villainous a pamphlet as ever saw the light) was published by an ex-student. It purported to expose the follies and wickednesses of both college and community, but was filled in the main with the foul imaginings of a revengeful heart, or calumnies and suspicions raked up from every quarter. In the same eventful year was made the famous experiment with mulberry trees. For this colossal failure manual labor is to be held responsible. Students of

both sexes had been promised all needed facilities for self-support, and in the dearth of employments profitable to all concerned, silk culture was heard of in the very nick of time as supplying admirably a long-felt want. An immense order was forwarded, quite a shipload of boxes was received in return, with contents sufficient to cover the entire cleared area of the college farm, and a week's holiday was ordered that the tender saplings at the very soonest might begin to take root in the clay. Even the campus was utilized as a mulberry garden. But, alas, so altogether unpropitious were the fates that a home-made cocoon was never seen in the colony, and by the end of a year or two the trees had all perished.

But, passing now from these comparatively trifling matters pertaining to the inner life of Oberlin, certain weightier and more public happenings should be mentioned. We have seen how wondrously, how unexpectedly, and all of a sudden, the theological department fairly leaped into life, but the story is even more dramatic, if possible, which tells how speedily, to all human appearance, many of the hopes and expectations thus excited ended in disaster. The financial pledges had been made, the promised building had been reared but not paid for; the faculty were upon the ground and at work, when, lo, within six months the disastrous New York fire befell, which seriously crippled Tappan and all his associates, while the overwhelming crash of 1837 brought them to bankruptcy, so that next to nothing came of their princely promises, except that, because of them, greatly increased expenditures had been made necessary. A vigorous attempt was now made to secure an endowment of \$100,000. On paper it was successful, but by the same financial catastrophe

the ability to pay what was pledged was so effectually destroyed that only a few thousands were ever realized. More than ten years followed of extreme embarrassment and distress both for the institution and all connected with it. For the teachers it was a serious question how to procure the bare necessities of life, and the indebtedness continued to increase until it aggregated more than \$40,000.* Then, in dire extremity, as a desperate last resort, it was decided to send a delegation to England to appeal to the Christian public for help. In 1839, Rev. John Keep and William Dawes were despatched on this errand, who played their part with such vigor and sagacity that on their return they were able to report \$30,000 received in money, besides large accessions to the library, etc.

Beginning with January of 1839, the Oberlin *Evangelist* was started, destined to make its semi-monthly appearance for more than twenty years, designed to constitute an organ for the advancement of the interests of the institution and community, but more especially to diffuse a correct knowledge of the doctrine of sanctification. In 1841-3, the First Church, which for nearly a quarter of a century was the only organization upon the colonial tract, in the midst of general poverty and with singular heroism, determination and self-sacrifice, built a sanctuary of brick, then the largest west of the Alleghanies, at a cost of \$12,000, or more than \$100,000 would mean for the Oberlin of to-day. Before this the Big Tent which came with Mr. Finney had done

* The financial situation was made far worse by the fact that in 1835, when the New York merchant princes promised to endow eight professorships, all charges for tuition had been abolished to students in the college, nor until after years of embarrassing effort could these be restored.

service at commencement and on all special occasions. In 1841, the first rescue case occurred. Some Kentuckians had stolen in unawares, had seized a colored man and his wife and were making off with them southward, when, the fact becoming known, they were pursued by a multitude, were overtaken, surrounded and compelled to halt, were induced to go before a court to have their papers examined, were charged with assault and battery, and before the case came on the fugitives had broken jail and escaped. In 1842 and succeeding years Millerism came in to disturb somewhat, and for a season to carry a few away captive.

In addition to the financial distress, during the forties Oberlin was called to endure a tempest of ridicule and scorn, of hatred and opposition which at this day is altogether inexplicable and next to incredible. The admission of colored students and co-education will account for it in part, as also the advocacy of New School doctrines, and of sanctification, which to many was damnable heresy. Occasions for evil-speaking were afforded, too, by such events as the so-called "lynching" of 1840, and the terrible moral lapse of H. C. Taylor some three years later, who had long been prominent in all church and college affairs. As a result of these and other causes education societies refused to assist students, presbyteries refused to license or even examine them, while after graduation the pulpits of Congregational and Presbyterian churches were closed against them. In 1844 a convention was held at Cleveland, having as a prominent part of its business so to mass and organize the opposition that this arch-troubler of the ecclesiastical and theological Israel might be crushed. But in spite of all obstacles the work went on in this isolated opening in the forest, and,

much more, it grew apace. The catalogue of 1849-50 gave a total attendance of five hundred and forty-three, of whom three hundred and forty-two were young men. Co-education had done damage not the least to the manners, minds or morals of either sex. The young women had displayed really creditable intellectual abilities, and were found ambitious to pursue even the higher branches ; in 1837 four applied for admission to college, from which three graduated in due season, and finally (the marvel !) in 1847 two sought to enter upon a course in theology. It had been greatly feared even by some of the friends of Oberlin that if the doors were opened to Africans they would speedily fill the halls, while the Caucasians would take their final departure, and that miscegenation might follow upon "social equality." But the dreaded element never reached a proportion greater than one in twelve, while the usual number was about as one to twenty.

During all this period the intellectual life may have been at some points quite peculiar for a college, it may quite easily be made to appear seriously defective, and yet it certainly possessed various qualities which went far to redeem it. Several hours a day devoted to manual labor were no doubt likely in some cases to distract and deaden the mind, and so were the interruptions to assist at raisings both in and out of the village. Then it had been the fashion from the first to hold public gatherings for discussions and debates upon all the leading questions of the day, and to suffer each man with a message to present his pet theme, his important discovery, his panacea for human ills ; always on condition that the time should be divided, and that one or more of the leading speakers should have oppor-

tunity to correct, supplement, or controvert. Also, the preaching of the time, though to modern tastes over-frequent and over-long, was yet mighty to stimulate the reason, as well as to quicken the conscience and emotions, and to fortify the will.

The intimate connection of Mr. Shipherd with Oberlin interests continued several years longer than that of his colleague. He, too, however, found that more and more, to his great grief, the ruling influences of the place were out of harmony with his ideas and convictions. Moreover, his brain was kept busy fashioning schemes for the founding of other Oberlins elsewhere. Some vigorous attempts were made, which failed before the first stone was turned. He held brief pastorates in Newark, New Jersey, and in Buffalo, and then he took his departure for Olivet, Michigan, to lay the foundations of a second school, and died there in 1844 at the early age of forty-two. Mr. Stewart outlived him twenty-four years. The middle year of the century was named as marking the close of the first period of this historical recital. Astonishing changes had been witnessed since the axe had been raised against the first tree hard by the Historic Elm. The village had attained to a population of about 1,500, while the nine square miles of the colonial tract had been largely transformed from forest primeval to farms well under cultivation. Though the institution was still struggling with straitened means and a crushing load of debt, the students continued to come in crowds, while opposition of every kind was steadily diminishing. In all that had thus far been achieved President Mahan had played a prominent and praiseworthy part. Both as teacher and preacher his influence had been widely felt. But all along certain faults and infirmities of his had wrought

not a little damage. In particular the forbearance of his associates in college affairs had been increasingly tried for years. A crisis came at the annual meeting of the board of trustees in 1850, and a few months afterwards he resigned, to take a similar position in a short-lived institution just then starting up in Cleveland.

Five other names must here receive honorable mention of Oberlin men, eminent for the length of their terms of service, for strength of intellectual and spiritual character, the special excellence of their work, and the impression they made upon the generation in which they lived, namely: Timothy B. Hudson, 1835-58, the latter being the year of his tragic death; George Whipple, 1838-47, when he resigned to become, for nearly thirty years, secretary of the American Missionary Association; James A. Thome, 1838-48, and afterward pastor in Cleveland and elsewhere; and James H. Fairchild, filling various positions of responsibility from 1839 until to-day. These rank well with Finney, Mahan, Cowles, Morgan and Dascomb as notable builders upon the foundations which Shipherd and Stewart laid. Among the women who wrought efficiently and for many years, these two in particular should be remembered: Mrs. Marianne P. Dascomb, 1836-79, and Mrs. Minerva D. P. Cowles, 1844-79.

We have now reached the dawn of a brighter era. At length the institution was well on its feet. Everywhere, both within and without, the condition was encouraging. The times were far more propitious, and Oberlin herself had learned wisdom by experience and the stern discipline of trial. Pioneer days were past. Ohio was no longer a portion of the chaotic frontier, while the intense excitements and bitter passions which

had ruled for two decades were cooling off and calming down. After more than five years of almost complete exclusion from the world on account of the forest and the horrible roads, in the summer of 1840 a carriage began to make tri-weekly trips between Oberlin and Cleveland; a year later these were changed to daily, to continue thus "until the close of navigation." In 1851 the railroad reached Wellington, only nine miles away, and within a twelvemonth after the first train pulled up to Oberlin station. During the same eventful year the Albany Convention of Congregational Churches assembled, with certain of the faculty present as delegates, who were received into full and hearty fellowship, as also a similar representation had been when a few months before the Ohio State Association was organized. New School theology had now become popular far and wide, and antislavery teaching, already rampant both East and West, was soon to be triumphant throughout the Union. So, verily, the winter was over and gone, the springtime had come. When the twentieth anniversary of the occupation of the first log cabin was celebrated the era of good feeling had fairly set in. As was most fitting, in 1850, the misleading and unworthy name Oberlin Collegiate Institute by act of the legislature was changed to College.

Not long after the resignation of President Mahan, Mr. Finney was chosen to fill the vacant place, and entered on a term which lasted until 1866. Hitherto the financial side of affairs had been a continual source of perplexity and embarrassment, but now it was determined to make a vigorous effort for an endowment of \$100,000. Scholarships were to be sold, guaranteeing perpetual free tuition on payment of \$100, eighteen years for \$50, and six years for \$25.

Success crowned the attempt, and from henceforth the salaries, if woefully meager, were reasonably certain to be paid. Almost at once another result appeared in a prodigious increase of students. While the catalogue of 1851-2 reported an attendance of five hundred and seventy-one, a year later the number had risen to one thousand and twenty, and to one thousand three hundred and five a twelvemonth later still. Except for the temporary losses suffered during the Rebellion these high figures have ever since been maintained. With such a multitude of youth thronging the halls and dwellings, of course it was out of the question even to undertake to supply daily manual labor. After the first few years the requirement to perform such labor was no longer made, and no assurance was given that money for self-support could be obtained from this source. But, nevertheless, for the better part of two decades all sorts of makeshifts and unsuccessful experiments were tried to carry out this much-vaunted feature of the school. But now, in despair, the Gordian knot was cut, the difficulty was finally solved in 1852 by disposing of the five-hundred-acre college farm under perpetual leases, with the condition attached that, if applied for, manual labor should be furnished at the annual rate of two dollars per acre. The long vacation still came in the winter, and was generally utilized by teaching school in all the surrounding region at remunerative wages. So much in demand and so highly prized was Oberlin's pedagogical talent, that in 1855 no less than five hundred and thirty teachers were called for, and sometimes it occurred that after the last candidate was engaged the calls continued to come in.

The college chapel dates from 1854-5, with dimen-

sions fifty-six feet by ninety, in two stories, with offices, lecture-rooms, etc., on the lower floor, and at an original cost of \$11,000. During this period some important additions were made to the teaching force. James Monroe had entered the faculty as far back as 1848, nor was his connection finally severed until after nearly a half century had passed. Henry E. Peck was in service 1852-65; Edward H. Fairchild, 1853-69; John M. Ellis, 1858-94; and Charles H. Churchill began the same year, to remain in service almost four decades.

Among the changes which marked this period of development one transpiring in ecclesiastical realms must be mentioned. At the organization of the First Church the wise and Christian thought was that though Congregational in form, in spirit, creed and management it should be so broad and generous that no division of disciples should be necessary, but all good men and women should worship together in a common sanctuary, under the lead of a common pastor. This lofty ideal was long maintained, nor was any schism accomplished until in 1855, when an Episcopal church was organized. With this evil example before their eyes, before long the Methodists, Baptists, and the colored people moved in the same direction. In spite of these successive withdrawals, it came to pass that in 1860 so large were the congregations that the need of a second Congregational organization was urgent and apparent to all; one was formed accordingly, which for ten years worshipped in the chapel, and then was able to enter a sanctuary of its own.

When the Rebellion broke out, and all through the years of bloody conflict which ensued, Oberlin was prompt and enthusiastic in doing her part towards sustaining the Government and dealing a death-blow



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

to slavery. If any special stimulus had been required, not long since it had been supplied in abundant measure. For in 1858 had occurred the great Oberlin-Wellington rescue with wholesale indictments of leading citizens under the operation of the Fugitive Slave Law, and the incarceration of a number for several months in the Cleveland jail, all for assisting a runaway on the road to freedom. And, besides, Copeland, Green and Leary, among John Brown's colored associates in the attack upon Harper's Ferry, who also expiated their offence on the gallows, had been for years residents of the place. In all eight hundred and fifty graduates and under-graduates enlisted for a longer or shorter period, and on the soldiers' monument, erected in 1870, are inscribed the names of one hundred citizens and students who died in battle, in prison, or in hospital. Other serious losses were suffered, such as these: The college enrolment fell off from thirteen hundred and thirteen in 1860 to eight hundred and fifty-nine two years later, a diminution of thirty-five per cent. In 1863 the Oberlin *Evangelist* was compelled to suspend publication. On account of the increased cost of living it became necessary to solicit annually large sums to meet current expenses. In 1860 the foundations had been laid of a new Ladies' Hall, but funds were not forthcoming to finish it until after five years. The cost, \$40,000, far exceeded that of any other building thus far constructed. In 1866 Mr. Finney resigned the presidency, oppressed by the weight of years, having reached the age of seventy-three. Not long after a worthy successor was chosen in the person of President Fairchild. Almost uniformly the great evangelist had been absent during the winter season holding services in the

East, and twice, for a much longer stay, in 1849-50 and 1858-9, he had visited Great Britain for the same purpose. For various reasons during the last decade or two fewer revivals had occurred in Oberlin, and the religious life had become less intense. However, remarkable visitations of heavenly grace were enjoyed in 1852, and again in 1866, followed by additions to the church of one hundred and five on one occasion and one hundred and eight on another. Mr. Finney was still pastor of the First Church, a position to which he was chosen not long after his advent into Oberlin, with various members of the faculty acting in his absence, notably Professor Morgan. In January of 1861 a careful revision of the church rolls was made, which showed that, since its organization about twenty-five years before, 3,228 members had been received, of whom 1,465 were still in fellowship, though 804 were non-residents. In 1853, when the college had been in existence twenty years, the total number of students enrolled from the beginning had reached 5,473, in 1860 "about 10,000" was given as the aggregate, and in 1871 "over 16,000."

Passing now to the third period, we find ourselves in the region of contemporaneous history. The principal actors are for the most part still in the midst of their career, while, with the leading events multitudes from personal knowledge are familiar. If the first section of the narrative were to be classified as belonging to ancient history, then with equal fitness the next could be denominated medieval, and of course the term modern would describe the last. Or, if the first two periods be said to bear respectively the characteristics of childhood and youth, then to the one remaining may be attributed the vigor and achieve-



FIRST LADIES' HALL.



SECOND LADIES' HALL.

ments of adult years. First of all, our attention is called to the striking fact that almost within the limits of a decade, a half-score of the most notable of those who had laid the foundations took their final departure from earthly scenes. Mr. Shipherd had been called early, dying in 1844; T. B. Hudson had followed in 1858; and Mr. Stewart in 1868. The next to go was Rev. John Keep, a trustee from the first, faithful, judicious and abundant in labors; Mr. Finney was spared until 1875. Professor Whipple survived until the next year, though he retired from teaching in 1847; Professor Allen until 1877, though he had resigned seven years before; Professor Dascomb gave up his work in 1878, the next year laid his wife to rest, and himself followed within a twelvemonth; Professor Cowles was not a member of the faculty after 1848, though a trustee, 1850-81, was engaged upon the *Evangelist* till 1863, upon his Bible commentaries almost to the close of his days, and died in 1881. The same year Professor Morgan withdrew from college duties, and in 1884 bade adieu to earth.

The places of these departed ones were presently filled. Thus to the theological seminary came Hiram Mead, 1870-81, and Judson Smith, 1870-84; Abel H. Ross, non-resident lecturer upon Church Polity, 1871-93; Elijah P. Barrows, 1872-80; William G. Ballantine, 1878-91; Albert H. Currier, 1881-, and George F. Wright, 1881-; Frank H. Foster, 1884-92; and Edward I. Bosworth, 1887-. This department had fallen into a decline after the war of the Rebellion, but in the decade following entered upon a new and enlarged career. Old Tappan Hall was rapidly becoming unfit for occupation, and for two or three years plans were pushed for better quarters, which in 1871-3 even-

tuated in the construction of Council Hall, costing some \$68,000, whose corner-stone was laid in connection with the first meeting of the Congregational National Council. Since then the Slavic Department and the English Course have been organized, resulting in almost doubling the teaching force, and bringing a corresponding enlargement to the number of students. Some progress has also been made towards securing a suitable endowment.

To the faculty of the college much larger accessions have been made, including such as these: Giles W. Shurtleff, 1860-93; Judson Smith, 1866-70; William H. Ryder, 1870-78; Mrs. Adelia A. F. Johnston, 1870-; Albert A. Wright, 1874-; George H. White, 1876-93; Lyman B. Hall, 1878-; William G. Frost, 1879-92; Henry C. King, 1879-; Frank F. Jewett, 1880-; John F. Peck, 1880-; William B. Chamberlain, 1881-94; and Azariah S. Root, 1887-. The catalogue of 1850 named a faculty of eleven members, by 1866 the number had increased to twenty, but in 1896 six pages are covered with the names of twenty-nine professors, six associate professors, thirteen tutors, with nineteen other instructors of various grades; making a total teaching force of eighty-seven.

During these same years the increase of buildings has kept full pace with that in the personnel. Indeed, the last fifteen years constitute Oberlin's building era. So many of the earlier structures have disappeared and been succeeded by others far more roomy and more comely that scarcely a trace remains of the architectural features everywhere visible only a generation since. French Hall dates from 1867, and Society Hall from the year following. Stewart Hall was purchased in 1880, Sturges Hall was erected soon after the semi-centen-

nial of the Institution, and about the same time the chapel was enlarged and improved. Next came Spear Library, setting up a new architectural standard. The Ladies' Hall having been burned it was replaced by Talcott Hall in 1886, and since have been added Baldwin Cottage and Lord Cottage, as well as Warner Hall and Peters Hall.

This outline of the Oberlin story would not be complete without a few words concerning the Musical Department and the Department of Physical Education. As for the former, it had no existence until this last period was well on its way, though music was held in honor from the first, and considerable instruction had been given. Professor Allen trained classes and choirs, and helped to introduce the piano, organ and other instruments. Then, in 1865, as a private enterprise the Oberlin Conservatory of Music came into being, to be later incorporated with the college. In 1871, Fenelon B. Rice was appointed director, who, with his wife, Mrs. Helen M. Rice, had already been giving musical instruction for two years; with Miss Lucretia C. Wattles added in 1871, Charles W. Morrison in 1880, and Arthur S. Kimball and George W. Andrews in 1883, and many more since. For years the greatest embarrassment was endured from straitened quarters, but in 1883 the capacious walls of Warner Hall began to rise, and the number of pupils soon rose to four hundred. The gymnasium dates from 1873, though a cheap building had been erected in 1860, only to be forgotten in the excitements of war. Miss Delphine Hannä, M. D., was appointed director of the woman's gymnasium in 1887, and in 1892 Fred E. Leonard, M. D., was appointed director of the men's gymnasium and professor of physiology.

CHAPTER II

OBERLIN'S ENVIRONMENT

WE pass now to the times in which Oberlin was born and by which it was produced, the forces which played upon it, the influences abroad in the region and the land at large by which its development was conditioned and its character was shaped. For modern science has taught us most convincingly and most impressively that without taking full account of environment neither the individual nor the institution can be adequately interpreted or understood. At every step of progress two sets of forces are at work, part resident within and part upon the outside; between them is continual action and reaction, impact and rebound, while the existing phenomena are always a resultant of the two. If Oberlin has had a remarkable career, this is in part because it was fortunate, exceedingly, in its surroundings. Indeed, so phenomenally fortunate that the assertion may be made, with slight risk of successful contradiction, that if its beginning had been either earlier or later by much more than half a generation, or if its location had been different by a few hundred miles either north, south, east or west, no such series of remarkable events could ever have occurred. As the narrative proceeds it will appear that the founders originated almost nothing, that the bulk of what they introduced into the community and the institution they

borrowed, and then impressed upon it their own individuality. This is emphatically true of both the best things existing in early days, as well as of all matters justly open to criticism. It cannot fail to be profitable to take special note of the many dates to be given in this chapter, and mark how wondrously they cluster just about the birth-year of Oberlin, or belong on one side or the other within a decade.

The three decades lying between 1820 and 1850, with the central one easily most prominent, constitute a notable era in the development of American civilization. The nation had now just stepped forth from the estate of nonage, had fairly entered upon its majority, having also attained almost to the fulness of stature and strength. Beginning with a limited area stretching along the Atlantic seaboard, by the successive acquisitions of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, Oregon, and northern Mexico, the boundaries had rapidly advanced to the Gulf, to the Mississippi, to the Continental Divide, and finally to the remote Pacific. Nor were explorers like Pike and Long, Bonneville and Fremont far behind in the performance of their essential part. Since the opening of the century the national domain had increased nearly tenfold. The growth of population had kept full pace, having reached 12,880,000 in 1820, and 23,191,876 by the end of the period under view. At the opening of the century only 51,000 settlers were found west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, but 5,406,304 in 1850. In 1820 Ohio contained only 581,434 inhabitants, but had 1,980,329 at the end of three decades; while Michigan increased from 8,896 to 397,654, and Indiana, Illinois and Missouri in much the same proportion. During the same thirty years the settled area of the Union advanced from 588,717 square

miles to 979,249, while the center of population had moved westward one hundred and forty-nine miles. Such migrations of the millions the world had never seen as were now in progress through the forests, over the mountains, up the lakes, and down the rivers of the West. Well might it seem to De Tocqueville (1831-3) that "this gradual and continual progress towards the Rocky Mountains has the solemnity of a providential event; it is like a deluge of men rising unabatedly, and daily driven onward by the hand of God." As a result, new commonwealths were springing into existence by the score. Missouri, the first one beyond the Mississippi, was received in 1821, but by the end of that generation California came in, though situated two thousand miles further toward the setting sun, and across the wastes of the Great American Desert.

But equally astounding enlargement and unfolding of another sort is to be chronicled, in part cause and in part also consequence, of the changes just noted. The question of travel, of transporting merchandise and the produce of the soil, became a serious one, in proportion as the pioneers pushed westward from the coast into the interior; and at length, when the Appalachians had been crossed, dire necessity compelled search for facilities vastly improved, sharpened inventive skill, and led to the construction of a vast and varied system of public works ("internal improvements"). Recourse was first had to turnpikes, chief among which was the National, or Cumberland Road, which, starting from the Potomac, reached Wheeling in 1821, Columbus in 1835, was laid out and cut through the forests to the Indiana line and planned to St. Louis. Next, canals were resorted to, New York leading the way with her Erie,

completed in 1825, the marvel of the time, and other Atlantic states following in quick succession. Besides, every western state also caught the fever for "internal improvements," and borrowed vast sums for their construction. Ohio's first canal was commenced in 1825 and finished about ten years later. During the same stirring period Fulton's application of Watt's invention was working wonders of advance in methods of navigation. The first steamboat to descend the Mississippi was built at Pittsburg in 1811; by 1830 not less than 200 were ploughing the rivers of the West, with 729 in 1840 and 1,300 in 1848. "Walk-in-the-Water," the first of her kind to traverse the Upper Lakes, steamed out of Buffalo harbor in 1818, ten more were added by 1830, when daily trips to Detroit began to be made, while two years later Chicago was reached by steam. In the meantime yet another attempt to apply Watt's idea to travel had proved successful and was rapidly crowding itself into high favor. It was in 1830 that the locomotive made its trial trip. In that same year Baltimore concluded to substitute steam for horses *and sails* in propelling coaches over her few miles of suburban track. The next year, with pine knots for fuel, and with great peril from smoke and sparks, a train was hauled west from Albany. In 1835 three railroads were opened out from Boston, one of which was extended to the Erie Canal at Albany in 1842. In 1851 Cleveland was joined to Pittsburg by an iron track, to Cincinnati the next year, while in 1853 the Baltimore and Ohio reached Wheeling, and Chicago was entered by two rival roads, the Lake Shore and the Michigan Central.

Nor was the industrial development, contemporaneous and corresponding, much less marvelous. In 1812 a few loads of anthracite coal hauled to Philadelphia

failed to find a market, and the would-be seller of stone for fuel was denounced as a swindler. But by 1836 locomotives had proved its virtues, and by the next year it began to take the place of charcoal in the manufacture of iron. The first cotton mill was erected in Lowell in 1822, and, in an incredibly short time, New England was transformed into a "congeries of workshops." McCormick's reaper saw the light in 1834; the sewing-machine, the telegraph, the daguerreotype, anesthetics, and a hundred other ministers to human welfare soon followed in the wondrous train. The statement is abundantly justified: "No similar period in American history is so extraordinary for material development as the decade 1830-40. At its beginning the country was an overgrown type of colonial life; at its end American life had shifted to entirely new lines, which it has since followed. Modern American history had burst in with the explosiveness of an arctic summer."

Notice next the momentous changes in progress in realms civil and political. We are by no means to suppose that independence of Great Britain was achieved in 1783. That was but the first step towards independence. The relations were much too numerous and too intimate to be sundered suddenly and all at once. Of the great parties, for an entire generation and more, neither one was truly American in principle. The bitter disputes and strifes of those days were almost wholly over European affairs, were the product of Anglomania and Anglophobia, of extravagant admiration or hatred for France. The enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine, in 1823, marks the beginning of a new era, indicates clearly that at length the Republic is coming to self-consciousness and self-respect, and has

assumed, with dignity, a place among the great powers of the world. Nearly a half century was required to interpret and apply the constitution, as well as to test its excellencies. A long time, too, was required for the several states to adjust themselves to each other and to the federal government. Out of all these manifold uncertainties issued necessarily endless and acrimonious debate, even division to the verge of armed strife. It had, however, come to pass, by the advent of the thirties, that the states were no longer in mere juxtaposition and nominal union, but were well fused and had been metamorphosed into a nation indeed.

The general quickening was not a whit less marked in intellectual realms. Through all the earlier years of the century there was next to no genuine American literature. A small group of pioneers had appeared in Irving, Cooper, and Bryant; Webster's oration at Plymouth was delivered in 1820, at Bunker Hill five years later, and Everett's Phi Beta Kappa oration in 1824; but it was not until the opening of the fourth decade that poets, essayists, and historians appeared, a glorious company, who in spirit and style and theme were thoroughly of the New World type. It is enough simply to present in part their names: Bancroft and Emerson, Hawthorne, Hildreth and Holmes, Lowell and Longfellow, Prescott, Sparks and Whittier. To a remarkable extent it was in the thirties that this illustrious galaxy began to shine. It was in 1828 that Webster's "American" Dictionary appeared. The modern newspaper, too, was born in that day, the *New York Sun* dating from 1833, the *Herald* from 1835, and the *Tribune* from 1841. It was in 1837 that Mann and Barnard began to agitate for radical educational reform, with normal schools, institutes, conventions, grading

of pupils, and better text-books as part of the fruit. Just then Mary Lyon opened the doors of her Mount Holyoke for the worthier training of girls. Between 1830 and 1850 nearly a hundred colleges were founded, which still survive, of which considerably more than half belong to the West. Music shared in the renaissance with such as Gould, Mason, and Hastings to lead. In 1824 the modern singing-school began to be; in 1833 the Boston Academy of Music was organized; in 1838 musical instruction was first given in the public schools of that city, nor until the year preceding had a pipe-organ ever been heard west of the Alleghanies. In 1825 the first Italian opera troupe appeared in New York. Of this widespread and most profound intellectual revival Oberlin was but one product of a multitude.

It is difficult in the extreme to set forth in few words the religious counterpart to all this revolution and readjustment. To understand it a glance backward will be necessary. The founders of this nation at their coming were set down in a world most emphatically new and utterly strange. Nor in fashioning the various institutions required was it at all possible to copy, to transplant, to reproduce from Europe. Thrown entirely upon their own resources, they must contrive and build anew from the very foundations. And it could not but be that their wits were sharpened, and their minds were enlarged and made original. And further, compelled to criticise, choose, reject, or modify, the habitude was formed, the fondness for judging all things. Self-reliance easily degenerated into self-assurance, while daring and venturesomeness developed into conceit, recklessness, and sheer presumption. The same tendency was further provoked by their Anglo-

Saxon constitution, composed of such sturdy stuff, bursting with ambition and indomitable resolution. For such as these difficulties and dangers possess an irresistible charm; and once uprooted they become confirmed wanderers, professional pioneers, unstable, uneasy, morbidly fond of novelties and change. To these disturbing influences the American Revolution was added, which, in the providence of God, meant vastly more than the wildest of the chief actors ever dreamed. Not only was political self-government involved, but intellectual independence as well. An unmatched opportunity was afforded to slough off mediæval ideas and institutions, and to become wholly modern; in things whether civil or ecclesiastical, social or religious, to cease to be merely British and to become truly American. Moreover, independence was not to stop short of democracy, equal rights, hope for the lowly, a chance for the least. From henceforth under God all things are to be by the people, of the people, and for the people. According to the starting principles now established, the sovereign is only chief minister, his only divine right is to be the servant of all, he for the people and not the people for him. No longer is any to be permitted to lord it over God's heritage. Prescription and compulsion must altogether cease. Let the mind be enfranchised, disenthralled from all artificial, man-made trammels. Let each soul investigate and conclude freely, responsible only to its Maker. Everything, whether high or low, must be able to give a rational account of itself, or else without mercy die the death. So, not strangely, it came to pass that the hunt for errors and abuses long endured as an evil inheritance from a past full of darkness and violence, was everywhere eager and persistent.

Millions in the rising Republic were filled with great expectations in behalf of humanity.

The realm even of theology was invaded. New meanings were discovered in old texts which had long done yeoman's service to kingcraft and priestcraft, and many others, long dishonored and forgotten, were brought to the front. A republicanized church and creed were demanded, republican conceptions of God and man, of privilege and duty and destiny. The Lord of all was no longer to be imaged as merely a divine Augustus, Henry VIII, or Louis XIV, but instead as a royal father, a paternal king. There can be no doubt that in the main these wholesale and fear-inspiring overturnings in realms ethical and theological are to be thought of as occurring under the inspiration of the Almighty, and as a part of his marvelous way of carrying forward to glorious victory his kingdom among men. "An enthusiasm of humanity truly Christian in its sources and tendencies was a most potent factor in the entire movement." A widespread effort, honest, earnest, and irresistible, had set in, not to destroy the Gospel, but to fulfil it, to readjust truth to its new environments, to modernize and Americanize statements of doctrine, to change the emphasis, to improve the perspective. Or, a liberalizing and rationalizing process had set in, a larger infusion was introduced of common sense to check the philosophers and logicians. Creeds must be shortened and simplified. Practical truth, truth which could be reduced to practice, must be held relatively in higher honor. From henceforth theologians were bound at all hazards to be reasonable, also to be not wiser than the Word, no more orthodox than Jesus and Paul. But, with so much that was genuine and most valuable was mingled

also much that was counterfeit and worse than worthless. Too many, finding themselves possessed of unlimited freedom, abusing the boon, fell into follies and excesses, "in searching for the better threw the good away," and took revenge for past restraint by rejecting all religion. Not a little of the "thinking" was truly fearful and wonderful. Numbers of the schemes then concocted were nothing less than quixotic and utopian, and this land became "the Mecca to which every religious or social charlatan turned."

The fact thus becomes patent that during the thirties, and just when Oberlin was born and cradled, the old ship of Zion in her voyage, always tempestuous and full of peril, came upon a place where two seas met. The conjunction of disturbing forces was almost without a parallel. And, if any further and even mightier tendencies towards a new and more beneficent order of things were needed, these were found in the phenomenally widespread and overwhelming revivals of religion which pervaded the first forty years of the century. These seasons of refreshing first made their appearance in 1798-1803, were of frequent recurrence for two decades throughout the Eastern and Middle states, in 1825-45 were well-nigh continuous and extended to the West and South. In 1826-30 some two hundred thousand converts joined the leading denominations, sixty thousand of whom were young men. It is estimated that in the five months following February 1, 1831, as many as fifteen hundred towns were profoundly stirred by the Spirit of God and as many more were spiritually aroused in a good degree, with more than fifty thousand renewed in heart and life, over three hundred of them in the colleges. The last years of this decade were also notable for revival

fervor. In the judgment of a well-informed author, as a result followed "the grandest advance of Christ's kingdom since the apostles' age." In 1800-30 not far from 1,100,000 were added to four churches, thus increasing the Congregational membership twofold, the Baptist threefold, the Presbyterian fourfold, and the Methodist sevenfold. This marvel is explained in some measure by recalling that those were the days in which flourished such noted evangelists as Summerfield, Nettleton and Finney, Burchard, Beecher and Kirk, Payson and Harlan Page, with many more of lesser fame; and when troops of fervid Methodist circuit riders of the rude stamp of Cartwright and Lorenzo Dow were stirring multitudes by their vociferous exhortations to flee from the wrath to come. As a result of these extraordinary means of grace the sway was effectually broken of French infidelity, the deep demoralization resulting from the Revolution was removed, as well as the spiritual deadness prevalent for several generations preceding; while the vast western frontier was largely redeemed from gross materialism and vice, and everywhere the churches were greatly quickened, enlarged, encouraged, and thoroughly equipped for a long and brilliant and unprecedented campaign of aggressive work. Oberlin was the direct fruit of these revivals. Mr. Shipherd was an evangelist of no mean degree, Asa Mahan and others of the leading spirits were also gifted in the same direction, while Mr. Finney, for forty years Oberlin's central spiritual force and most eminent representative, had no equal between the oceans in calling men to repentance and leading them into newness of life.

Naturally this was the beginning-time of missions at home and abroad. The birthday was indeed some-

what earlier, but the period of feeble infancy was protracted, the swaddling-clothes were long retained. The happy hour was now at hand when the churches were no longer to expend their energies chiefly upon abstruse theological disquisitions, or matters merely formal or ecclesiastical, but more and more in cheering burdened human hearts, resisting unrighteousness, seeking with the sweetness and light of the Gospel to banish the darkness of ignorance and sin. And, as in everything of moment thrust upon the rising nation to be achieved, the instrumentalities were not furnished, and hence must needs be contrived and fashioned. And further, since neither Church nor State could take the great matter in hand with infallible wisdom and authority, the people must hold counsel and plan as best they could. The result appeared presently in a remarkable array of voluntary societies formed to meet the urgent necessities of the hour. With thousands, reaching the destitute and perishing with the bread of life came to be a ruling passion. It must suffice to mention a few names from scores. The American Board was pioneer among the organizations. The American Home Missionary Society followed in 1826, whose field was emphatically the Great West, a phrase which just then was beginning to take on a tremendous significance. Canals and steamboats were helping forward a prodigious emigration, a task in which the railroad was soon to assist and later to lead, and a cry went eastward for material aid in planting and fostering Christian institutions, which became trumpet-tongued and could not be disregarded. The two founders of Oberlin, one a home missionary and the other an appointee of the American Board, both having the Mississippi Valley for their field, were among those

who heard the divine call and sought to meet it to the utmost of their ability. The American Sunday-school Union was formed in 1824, but six years afterward its income had only reached the meager sum of \$2,500. Then was voted the famous "Mississippi Valley scheme," or the project to "open a Sunday-school in every practicable place within two years." Such zeal and courage had never before been heard of, and immense was the enthusiasm excited in all the East and even in distant Britain. At a single meeting in Philadelphia \$12,000 were subscribed, with pledges added to start one hundred and fifty schools scattered over thirty-two counties. Within a twelvemonth \$25,000 came into the treasury, increased to \$60,000 by the end of two years. The American Bible Society, though dating from 1816, was not possessed of sufficient vigor until 1829 to attempt to supply every family in the land with a copy of the Scriptures. It was in 1825 that the American Tract Society began its evangelizing work. It is estimated that while for the period 1820-29 the total of contributions for missions both home and foreign was only \$233,826, during 1830-39 it increased tenfold, or rose to \$2,342,712.

The appalling religious destitution so prevalent at the time in all the newer regions was largely owing to the lack of ministers and teachers, especially of such as were intelligent and well trained for their task. When in northeastern New York the population had reached 100,000, only a dozen fit to teach were to be found. In 1816 only one hundred and sixteen could be named in all the southwestern States and Territories, though the inhabitants numbered 1,100,000. It was affirmed by one who apparently gloried in the fact, that, in 1821, in certain western conferences con-

taining two hundred and eighty preachers, there was "not a single literary man among them." As late as 1834 an observing traveler reported concerning the denomination most numerous in Kentucky that, while "educated religious teachers were few, unlettered and self-constituted preachers were surprisingly numerous." It was to meet this most serious emergency that several organizations were formed to aid young men to enter the ministry, with the American Education Society among the first, in 1815. In 1830-50 the list of theological seminaries grew from twenty-one to thirty-eight. Colleges, too, were wondrously multiplied, (thirty-eight were started in the thirties alone, with Oberlin among them), the product mainly of Christian faith and zeal, and designed to advance an intelligent Christianity. Religious literature felt the same grand impulse forward and upward. The quantity hitherto had been slight, and the quality indifferent, but now tract and Sunday-school societies and private publishers began to furnish fairly good books for the millions. It was now also that the modern religious newspaper began its career as a most worthy coadjutor to the pulpit. *The Boston Recorder* was started in 1816, the *New York Observer* in 1823, the *Evangelist* in 1830, the *Oberlin Evangelist* in 1839, the *Independent* in 1848, with others of similar character in other denominations.

Perhaps no two words will better represent the characteristic features of the period than these, Agitation, and Reform. Discussion and dispute, controversy and collision, charge and countercharge, were as good as universal in every realm, were in the air, in the blood of an entire generation; and these meant

fiercest strife for mastery between the old and the new, between radical opinions and conservative. Society was a seething and chaotic mass. Political passions were never so envenomed in this land as during the "reign" of Andrew Jackson, 1829-37. Nullification came to an issue in 1832, just as abolitionism began to thrust itself upon the public notice, with frequent mobs and murder ensuing. As Schouler judges: "Never was there a time short of civil war when lawlessness gained so nearly the upper hand in the community." Furious assaults were made upon the Catholics as well as the antislavery apostles. Antimasonry, Antirent and Know-nothingism stand for as many occasions of general disturbance. The "Patriot War" broke out in 1838. The nation went wild with excitement over the admission of Texas, the Mexican war, and the Oregon question. The cholera wrought its desolations year after year. An astounding financial craze and business boom struck the whole country, leading to the launching of ten thousand preposterous schemes, and giving to multitudes lying promise of fabulous riches; in the midst of which befell the great fire in New York in 1835, with the financial crash to follow in 1837, by far the most disastrous in our national history. The annual land sales had seldom risen above \$2,000,000, but rose to \$5,000,000 in 1834, to \$15,000,000 in 1835, and to \$25,000,000 in 1836. And then the bubble burst. In the collapse failures occurred amounting to \$27,000,000 in New Orleans, and in New York to \$100,000,000. This catastrophe it was that blasted forever early Oberlin's bright hopes of material comfort and prosperity.

The spiritual counterpart of all this upheaval and overturning took largely the form of theological and

ecclesiastical strife. Here as elsewhere the "shock," though rude and not without grave peril, "was of the wave, and not the rock." The struggle, too often displaying human infirmity and worse, was yet "the legitimate fruit of true militant work, and came from the breath of God, from the quickened life of the churches." The impulse was derived in part from the revivals which preceded and attended the period, in no inconsiderable part also from the radical changes intellectual and social, political and industrial, now in full tide of progress. Let a few specimen cases, culled from scores, set forth the universal commotion and convulsion which so sorely tried the souls of the saints. Almost every denomination experienced its full share of excited feelings and opposing convictions to the point of schism or beyond. The conflict of orthodoxy with Unitarianism and Universalism was scarcely past the crisis. Methodist Arminianism was making impetuous charges upon certain tenets most dear to Calvinists. The churches were rent over "new measures" in the conduct of revivals, and more by the rising tide of debate concerning slavery. In the Presbyterian body the divers differences between Old School and New School came to their sad conclusion in the excising act of 1837, by which that church was rent in twain. The contemporaneous and acrimonious debate of Tyler and Taylor, the general uproar over Oberlin ideas and ways, sanctification included, may properly be considered the Congregational counterpart. The Free-will Baptists set up fully for themselves in 1827, and in the same year the Hicksite Quakers separated from their Orthodox brethren. The Methodist Protestants came out from the main body in 1830, the True Wesleyans in 1843, and the Methodist

Church South the year following, the Southern Baptists taking a similar step within a few months of the same date. Such as these were some of the fruits of the over-numerous and not always virtuous or praiseworthy "wars of the Lord."

Nor was this by any means all. Probably never, except during the Reformation period, did so many sects come to the birth in so brief a space of time. This was emphatically the day of isms and ologies, in the religious as in every other realm. Agitators of all kinds were in painful excess, "reformers" were inconveniently active. Hence it came to pass that with some worthy additions to the sisterhood of churches, a hideous crop of heresies appeared. By the score and hundred, improving their privileges to the utmost, the unaccustomed and untaught fell to exercising themselves in great matters and in things too high for their capacity. The public pulse was at fever heat. Old notions seemed to savor overmuch of the ox-cart, the stage-coach, the canal, all now nearly defunct and about to give place to the steamboat and the locomotive. With stunning novelties on every hand, what more natural than to essay to manufacture a new gospel also? The Christian Connection took on fresh vigor in 1819 and grew rapidly till 1844. Alexander Campbell organized his followers in 1828 and for years hurled far and wide the hot shot of controversy. In 1820-25 Winebrenner received great light, and as the thirties were dawning set up The Church of God. Just "about these days," verily, the Jews were to return to Palestine. William Miller, having long since discovered things most marvelous in Daniel and the Revelation, proceeded for half a generation to turn the world upside down in preparation for the end of this

dispensation, which this farmer-prophet fixed for 1843. But, without controversy, the worst of all the achievements of all the theologasters of the period was the movement inaugurated by Joseph Smith, in 1830, by the organization of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Within a twelvemonth it was transplanted to Kirtland on the Ohio Western Reserve (only fifty miles from Elyria, where Mr. Shipherd was just breaking ground). Here it was taken in hand and shaped as to creed and polity by Sidney Rigdon, an apt disciple of Campbell, and who altogether outstripped his master in foisting numerous "improvements" upon the gospel. In 1838 the Mormons exchanged Ohio and Missouri for Nauvoo, in 1844 the "prophet" was slain for his manifold offences, and in 1847 his followers set forth over the Great Plains in search of a home beyond the mountains.

Attempts at reform were by no means confined to matters of doctrine and church order. Thus temperance agitation had its beginning in this period. The sin and woe resulting from the use of strong drink were felt as never before, because hearts and consciences had been aroused and made sensitive by the Spirit of God. The organization of temperance societies on a large scale commenced in 1824, and within five years the number had risen to 1,000. In 1826 the American Temperance Society was formed, though not until 1835 was the first "teetotal" pledge signed, all signatures before only binding to abstain from distilled liquors. In 1840 the famous Washingtonian movement swept over the land, while, two years after, John B. Gough entered upon his career. The work of Father Mathew in Ireland began in 1838. At just about the same time the iniquities of American slavery

began to disturb the moral sense of the nation. The demand for immediate abolition was uttered in 1831 by Garrison in his *Liberator*. Great stimulus came to this movement three years later from the emancipation by Great Britain of eight hundred thousand blacks in the West Indies. The American Antislavery Society dates from 1833, but for yet two years Oberlin was satisfied with the mild Colonization doctrine. Lovejoy's life was taken by a mob in 1837. In 1828-45 there was widespread agitation for the abolition of war, with Elihu Burritt, "the learned blacksmith," as one of its chief advocates. Perhaps this name may well stand for the typical reformer of the time. He edited the *Christian Citizen*, which sought to abolish war, slavery, intemperance and all unrighteousness, and to hasten the dawn of universal brotherhood, *and* cheap postage. Come-outerism, dating from 1840, with Abby Kelly and Stephen Foster as its noisiest propagators, was one of the most malignant and pestiferous among the numerous attempts to regenerate society. Legislation against lotteries became quite general soon after 1833, in 1839 Congress passed an act for the prevention of dueling, and by 1847 spelling reform was taken in hand.

During these same exciting years advocates of modern socialism became suddenly numerous, as well as exceedingly active and hopeful. European society having been found too conservative and full of *vis inertiae*, resort was had to America as supplying a more favorable field for experiments. The Shakers had already established their communistic settlements, in 1815 George Rapp had fixed his followers in Indiana, but 1825-45 was the golden age for all who held that through the social overhauls of Owen and Fourier

the millennium was about to be ushered in. Groups by the score were gathered, both East and West, of amiable and expectant souls, certain that poverty, selfishness, vice, crime, with the entire brood of kindred evils, were soon to disappear. J. R. Noyes attained to "perfection" in 1834, brought together a coterie of like-hearted men and women at Putney in 1846, and in two years more was ready to launch his Oneida Community. Transcendentalism, flourishing especially in eastern Massachusetts, filling divers gifted minds with optimistic beliefs, crystallized at length in *The Dial* and Brook Farm. Moreover, just then occurred a "grand incursion of naturalism and materialism" under the forms of phrenology, mesmerism, and the like, with the Rochester Rappings following in due season. Combe's *Constitution of Man*, published in 1828, produced a profound and widespread impression, and in 1834 Fowler, already an ardent disciple of Spurzheim, began in public lectures to magnify the importance of the bumps in the human economy. In like manner "improvements" without number were made in the science of medicine, with homeopathy, hydropathy, orthopathy and the Thomsonian practice among them. From the latter a waiting world learned that, "as all minerals are from the earth, their tendency is to carry men into their graves, whereas the tendency of herbs, from their growing upward, is to keep men out of their graves!" Yes, and even Alcott and Graham are to be named among the seers and saviours, for mighty is the mission of dietetics under the sun. There is no hope for humanity until a regimen purely vegetable is universally adopted, or until fish, flesh and fowl are outlawed and banished from our tables. So, at least, Oberlin concluded in 1835, when Mr. Shipherd re-

turned from New York, and soon after Mr. Finney made his advent upon the scene. Finally, manual labor was one of the current fads. Without its potent assistance sound bodies, sound minds, sound morals, were impossible, while democracy itself was seriously jeopardized. In 1831, in New York City, a national organization was formed, including a large number of eminent clergymen and business men, to further its introduction into all institutions of learning. And so it came to pass that when the founders of the Colony and the College began to plan, desiring to incorporate all good things within reach (and somehow, not being so very much wiser at all points than their contemporaries), they set manual labor among the substructions.*

It would be no easy task to name all the forms taken

* Beautifully does Schouler scourge with his sarcasm the troop of pretenders and ranters who were let loose upon that much-afflicted generation: "Foolish enough were some of the amateur philosophers who now began to paddle about infinity in their cock-boats, and cast out their plummets to sound the bottom of things. Earnest triflers they were on subjects too vast for them: atheists on the edge showing off their bravado, talkers but not doers; social chatterers, each critical of his fellows, and all inclined to patronize the incomprehensible, as a visitor pats the chained house-dog. . . A few bold thinkers were tied up in the same bundle with shallow imitators, cranks, odd sticks and originals, having one crazy notion or another. Against organized society these asserted individualism; each demanded a pedestal of his own to stand upon. Here were men, unable to make a living, who preached that taxation was a grievance, spinsters inveterate who glowed with the wrongs that women endured in wedlock, sentimental friends of humanity who at home were the hardest of all persons to live with. The cracked bell, that listened to its own tongue, was not the unfit symbol of such a reformer. He affected some striking conceit; he lived in the woods to escape society: he wore green spectacles, or a white hat, or strange garments, or long hair, or a beard untrimmed for conscience sake, or he would part his hair in the middle so as to resemble the humanized Saviour," etc., etc.

by the rising spirit of philanthropy. The world, even within the pale of Christendom, had been stony-hearted to the verge of the barbarous, especially in its treatment of all for any reason held in durance. Wholesale arrest and incarceration followed upon the commission of the slightest offences. No sympathy was felt for criminals of any class. The object of the sentence was not in the least to reform, but only to punish, to take vengeance upon wrong-doers. Imprisonment for debt excited no animadversion. As late as 1829 in the jails of Massachusetts lay 3,000 debtors and as many more in those of Maryland, while Pennsylvania could "boast" of 7,000 and New York of 10,000. Four-fifths of this hapless company owed sums varying from one to five dollars and were wholly innocent of dishonest intent. Ohio ended such abominations in 1828, New York in 1831, Connecticut in 1837, etc. Prisoners of both sexes and of all grades of depravity were herded together in the same room. Until 1827 a deserted copper mine constituted the Connecticut penitentiary, which was thus safely located one hundred feet under ground, and to it the descent was by a ladder!

But now attention was called to the entire list of horrible inhumanities, and the beneficent deeds of John Howard and Catherine Fry began to provoke to similar good deeds on this side of the sea. An outcry against capital punishment arose early in the thirties. Neither did the extant Good Samaritans forget to minister to such unfortunates as the blind, the deaf and dumb, and the insane. For the first time kind and rational treatment was meted out to "lunatics," who hitherto had been consigned to cells in almshouses and jails, if violent, with shackles and flogging and other brutalities added not seldom. The Hartford Asylum for deaf-mutes

was opened in 1817, and later state after state provided similar means of instruction. In 1832 Dr. Howe founded his institution for the blind in Boston, New York set on foot a kindred movement the same year, Pennsylvania a year later, Ohio in 1837, and Virginia in 1839. Girard's bequest of \$2,000,000 for the shelter and education of orphans was made in 1831, and in 1835 Smithson set apart his whole fortune for the "diffusion of useful knowledge among mankind." In 1830-4 McDowall undertook a well-meant but unwisely conducted work in behalf of fallen women in New York, which soon ended in failure and bitter sorrow to himself, but also out of which grew a widespread and lasting movement for "moral reform," whose equivalent is found in our day enfolded in the phrase, social purity. In heartiest sympathy with this, Oberlin possessed a maternal association, a paternal association likewise, and other similar instrumentalities. In 1833 were abolished in New England the last statutes meant to enable the church to lean upon the secular arm for support, and by Dorr's Rebellion in 1843 the last traces of Old World aristocracy were wiped from the statute-books in the United States.

Surely, facts sufficient have been set in array, though but a few scores gleaned easily from hundreds at hand, to demonstrate that the decade 1830-40, in which also the foundations of Oberlin were laid, was no ordinary period; and much more, that within the thirty years, 1820-1850, when the manifold forces were operating which made Oberlin possible, as well as wrought efficiently to fashion its phenomenal career, an astounding transition was made by Christianity and civilization in this land, in all departments of thought and activity, whether material or spiritual, civil or social, intellectual

or moral, industrial or religious. It may well be doubted if before or elsewhere changes so numerous and so varied, so radical and so momentous, have ever occurred at once in so brief a period, over such vast spaces, and affecting such multitudes. The universal and irresistible drift was from chaos to order, from dubious and painful experiments to settled institutions; or from the old to the new, from the medieval to the modern, from monarchy to democracy, from prescription to liberty, from the rule of force, dark and stern, towards the blessed region of reason and benevolence, of fraternity, sympathy and love. Evidently, from first to last, the movement had been under the guidance of the Hand Divine. The dominant forces wrought mightily together for the furtherance of human weal, and gave a sublime impulse forward to the kingdom of heaven upon earth. The harm attending the struggle and the overturning was by comparison but slight, was incidental also and transient, while the benefits resulting were direct, were manifold, were enduring.

It was upon such a sea, in the midst of such a rude gale, that Oberlin, a bark but tiny and frail, was launched. No wonder that more than once her frame was sorely wrenched and every timber was tested by a succession of fearful shocks. Had not she been built of soundest oak, with sturdy sailors on deck and aloft, and a skilled Master at the helm, like many another craft caught *en voyage* at the same tempestuous time among the surges, she certainly would have foundered and disappeared. Or, dropping the figure, such was the phenomenal environment into which the community and institution were cast at their birth, and in the midst of which they struggled forward towards

maturity. It is no occasion for surprise to find that questions which tremendously stirred the world without, received also abundant attention in that little world bounded by the limits of those nine square miles. At the head of Oberlin affairs were several men of marked characteristics and possessed of unusual vigor of thought and will, while at least one of the number takes rank among the intellectual and spiritual geniuses of the half-century in which he lived. By tongue and pen, these, and many more associated with them, made their influence felt far and wide, from West to East, and across the ocean; but, nevertheless, in no small degree they were limited, were impelled, were fashioned, were in a sense even created by their surroundings. The tasks they undertook, the problems with which they so resolutely wrestled, were suggested by others, in other regions, or in other lands. Introduced from the outside, they simply received a handling somewhat original, and thus modified and reinforced, were sent back again to those from whom they came. Or, Oberlin was fed upon such pabulum as the land and the period supplied. Digestion followed and assimilation, Oberlinization, if a word might be coined. Thus transformed, the thought, the conviction, was taken up and wielded by such remarkable cogencies as were massed upon the colonial tract. With this as the conclusion just now especially in mind, the men and women of the first generation were savagely dealt with, were blamed and ridiculed without measure, as though every erroneous idea and every practice which was not wholly according to reason was entirely the product of their wicked hearts, and their heads surcharged with folly. Whereas they did not originate, but borrowed extensively from their neighbors; and

unfortunately for their reputation, laid hold of a few matters from which they might much more wisely have held back their hands. To illustrate this fact is in some measure the object of the chapters which follow. Nevertheless, first, last and all along, it is to be fully understood that, giving to the early shortcomings and transgressions all the attention they justly deserve, they are found to be not many, or serious, or deep-seated, or chronic. They are to be accounted but spots upon the disc of the sun, and which have long since passed away. The Oberlin of to-day is but the legitimate child of the Oberlin of fifty years ago.

CHAPTER III

THE FOUNDERS AND THEIR SCHEME

OBERLIN was fortunate in having two founders. The plan upon which it was started was the outcome of a compromise or a combination. Each one had his wishes, ideas, convictions, for which he argued, and at length what seemed to be the best features were selected from both sides and put together as constitutive principles in the undertaking proposed. Nevertheless, it is proper and even necessary to speak of Mr. Shipherd as *the* founder, not only because of the importance of his contribution to the original project, but also because his subsequent connection with the work lasted much longer and was vastly more efficacious and vital. These worthy colaborers upon this momentous task were both of New England stock.

Of Mr. Shipherd's life almost nothing in the shape of written records has been preserved, and this largely because of a modesty on his part which urged him to the borders of the morbid and irrational. Not long before his death he destroyed his diary and a brief manuscript sketch of his public career. He was born in the second year of the century in West Granville, Washington County, New York. His father was a lawyer of repute, in his home a careful Christian nurture was bestowed, and in due season he was sent to Pawlet, Vermont, to prepare for college. While here a profound

religious experience was passed through, which, as the frequent fashion then was, beginning with conviction of sin, self-abasement, depression and severe struggle, issued at length in full assurance of pardon and consequent joy and peace. In his case this proved to be the beginning of a course of consecration, unselfish devotion and whole-hearted service which ended only with the last breath. Already the ministry had been chosen as offering the best field for Christian activity, but while at home on a vacation and just ready to enter Middlebury College, swallowing a poison instead of a medicine as a remedy for some slight ailment, his life was nearly destroyed; and as a result came an incurable irritation of the coats of the stomach, to which was also added such serious damage to eyesight as to make study impossible. In the face of these apparently insuperable obstacles preparation for the pulpit appeared to be out of the question, so, marrying Esther Raymond, of Ballston, New York, he removed to Vergennes in 1824, to engage in business. But a secular calling was not for him. Little by little, and in spite of stoutest resistance on his part, by numerous impressive providences he was forced to the conviction that he ought to return to his original life-plan. Therefore adopting a system of shorthand, and receiving assistance from fellow students, a year and a half was devoted to theological study under the supervision of a neighboring pastor. Then followed a year of toil in connection with the Sherburne church, and two years of general Sunday-school work throughout the state.

The course of preparation was now over, his powers had been tested, it was time to select a field upon which to bestow his best energies without stint,

to the end of his days. Like so many thousands in the East in the same period, his attention was attracted towards Ohio and the regions beyond, where such marvels of progress were to be seen and the spiritual needs were so exigent. It was in 1830, when the Erie Canal had been completed five years, or four years after the American Home Missionary Society had been organized to minister to the wants of the West, that Mr. Shipherd applied for a commission, received it, and reaching Cleveland (only a village then with a population of eleven hundred), by "accident" met a brother minister who had just closed a pastorate at Elyria, some twenty-five miles further on, proceeded thither, arriving in October, and was invited to remain, as pastor of a church only six years old, located in a region whose redemption from its wilderness condition had only just fairly begun. His advent was in the very nick of time. A decade sooner would have been premature for the notable task he had been chosen to undertake, while a decade later would have been too late. The Western Reserve, destined to supply the matchless theater for his splendid undertaking, was just escaping from its primitive and chaotic condition and making ready to play its part as civilizer and Christianizer on so vast a scale, while the great commonwealth was fairly leaping forward into gigantic strength. Canals and turnpikes were rapidly opening the interior, a million were already at work hewing down forests and opening farms, within a decade to be increased by a half million more, and everywhere society was in the formative period so plastic and so critical.

With no thought as yet of any broader sphere of service in store, at once with all his might Mr. Shipherd

gave himself to labors abundant in behalf of his own congregation, and also as an evangelist in all the needy region around. So passed a year and a half, when his copartner appeared upon the scene, as if to summon him to enter upon his high calling. Mr. Stewart was born four years before his associate, or in 1798, and had Sherman, Connecticut, for his birthplace. He was but a child when his father died ; at the age of ten was sent to live with relatives in Vermont, and, four years after, was apprenticed to an uncle in Pawlet to learn the trade of saddle and harness making, with the privilege of three months' schooling each year in the academy. By such a simple and "trifling" providence were these two lives thrown together, that by them in after time such mighty forces might be set in motion. With no liking for the trade which had been chosen for him, he made the most of the educational advantages afforded during those seven years. Best of all, while in the academy the Spirit of God entered his heart with transforming power, with a second visitation following not long after which well-nigh eradicated a deep-seated money-greed. Being now of age, the next question related to the choice of a calling suited to his tastes and abilities. After a term of school teaching his attention was turned towards a missionary career. In 1818 the American Board had opened work among the Choctaws in Northern Mississippi. In 1821 Mr. Stewart offered himself as a lay toiler, was accepted, and early in the autumn was off upon the journey of two thousand miles, alone, on horseback, a pair of saddle-bags holding all his belongings. The *Missionary Herald* reports that his economy was most rigid, his expenses were remarkably small, that he solicited donations while upon the way, and on his

arrival was able to pay more into the treasury than he had received at starting. The missionaries wrote back that a special welcome was accorded to this newcomer, because he could make shoes. Located at Mayhew, he is set down as a mechanic, and later as manager of secular concerns and teacher. In the spring of 1825, on account of ill health, young Stewart returned to New England, remaining two or three years, and then led back a reinforcement of four persons, traveling by wagon, and at an expense not much greater than attended his first trip. In 1828 he married Eliza Capen, one of the missionaries, whose health soon after giving way, both were finally compelled to bid adieu to the Indian work. What next? was the weighty question now on hand. After being in sore perplexity for the better part of a year, he bethought himself of his Pawlet schoolfellow who had removed to Northern Ohio not far from the date of his departure from Mayhew. A letter was sent to Elyria asking if there was for him a field of usefulness open in the West. Presently the answer came back, "There is: come on at once, and we will look about and find it. Throughout the new settlements of this whole region they are calling for help."

By the spring of 1832 the two missionaries were together, like-hearted, both dead in earnest to serve to the utmost God and their perishing fellow men. Daily and hourly for weeks and months they resorted to the throne of grace, asking importunately for heavenly guidance, seeking for some clear intimation of the divine will, watching for the pillar to rise and move forward. Meantime their own wits were taxed to the utmost in the effort to devise some definite good thing, some movement or institution upon which

their love and devotion might be expended, and which the Master of the vineyard might use to confer signal blessings upon the land and the world. What overweening ambition coupled with boundless conceit! What presumption of insanity! all the wise and prudent must have cried. Who are these that they should aim so high, that their desire and expectation should embrace the continent, yes, the whole round earth? But somehow it has come to pass that Oberlin, with all the term contains when taken in its broadest signification, all the beneficent influences which for six and sixty years have issued from this center, are the outcome of that same attempt which to most seemed irrational to the limits of lunacy.

What was it but a flash of light celestial which illumined the mind of Mr. Shipherd while they knelt in prayer and enabled him to take in at a glance the undertaking which at once they proceeded to push forward? As they arose from their knees he said: "Come, let us arise and build." Then descending from the study and meeting his wife he exclaimed, "Well, the child is born, and what shall its name be?" The next source of perplexity related to the all-important choice of a location for the enterprise. One authority states that "carefully and diligently they explored the region about them to find unoccupied lands sufficient for their purpose. After long search they found the only available parcel with enough in a single plot." Another states more definitely: "They started off on an exploring expedition, traveling the country some fifty miles in a southwestern direction, and subsequently visited Michigan. At length it was suggested to them," etc. It is known that "The Point," a beautiful spot now constituting a portion of Elyria, was offered, a site

also in Brownhelm, one in Berlin Heights, and a third in Medina County. The location finally fixed upon was no doubt chosen because best combining these features: it contained several thousand acres; was somewhat remote from other settlements; being unbroken forest it could be had at the lowest figure, and, besides, a considerable portion had been offered for the uses of a school. With these prime advantages it was a minor consideration that, the surface being level and the soil of clay and wet, the tract had been passed by for years as undesirable for occupation. It is most easy to demonstrate that they could scarcely have made a more wretched choice. The fact, however, is by no means to be forgotten that the task is not a whit more difficult to show conclusively that here as elsewhere they were guided by a wisdom higher than human, since a location almost forbidding in its physical aspects, and for years quite difficult of access, was a condition indispensable to the formation of the character and performance of the work to which Oberlin was clearly called. A similar paradox appears at various other points in the progress of the undertaking. Mistakes and failures were not hindrances but positive helps. By such strange auxiliaries some of the very best results were brought to pass.

It is time to proceed to scan somewhat carefully the plans which the founders had been pondering, and which were soon to take shape in movements and institutions. In spirit and aim these men were one. Neither during the weeks of that eventful summer, nor later, was their solicitude in behalf of self. They would bring the churches nearer to the New Testament pattern, and help to redeem the Great West from threatened secularism and animalism, as well as to

reach other lands with the Glad Tidings. But when it came to fixing upon the best instrumentalities for securing this result, their judgments began to diverge. Mr. Shipherd could appreciate most readily the potentialities resident in a colony constructed of choice spiritual material. From such a center of power he would work out upon the surrounding mass. To Mr. Stewart, who was far less imaginative and much more of a plodder, this was too tenuous and indefinite. He would lay supreme emphasis upon a Christian school which should train up generations of devoted toilers in behalf of the Kingdom. Nor could the task have been found difficult of constructing a harmonious and profitable union of the two lines of thinking, or to settle upon the scheme of an institution of learning set in the midst of a community thoroughly in sympathy with its objects, and overflowing with heartiest endeavors to aid in the accomplishment of its work. Let us first take up for investigation the part of the project which issued from the brain of Mr. Shipherd. And let him express his thought in his own language, as he does in a letter dated August 6, 1832:

I have been deeply impressed of late with the certainty that the world will never be converted till it receive from the Church a *better example, more gospel laborers, and more money*. We do not now keep pace with the increase of population in our own country. Something *must* be done or a millennium will never cheer our benighted world. The Church must be restored to gospel simplicity and devotion. As a means which I hope God would bless to the accomplishment of some part of this work, I propose through His assistance to plant a colony somewhere in this region, whose chief aim shall be to glorify God and do good to men to the utmost of their ability. They are to simplify food, dress, etc., to be industrious and economical, and to give all over their current or annual expense for the spread of the Gospel. They are to hoard up nothing for old age or for their children, but are mutually to covenant that they will provide for the widowed, orphan, and all the needy as for themselves and families.

Of course, the idea of a colony was not new. The Mayflower brought such a company of men and women across the Atlantic, and another starting from the vicinity of Boston laid the foundations of Connecticut. For fifty years similar groups of families acting in concert had migrated together from New England and settled together beyond the mountains in Ohio: as in Marietta, Granville, Tallmadge, Windham, etc. But all these were, primarily and beyond anything else, secular in their aims, for the material advancement of their members. The colony under view approaches far nearer than any of these to the immortal prototype fashioned by the Pilgrims in that the religious motive was dominant and all-pervading. Those who joined must all be Christian. Piety of a fervid, active and aggressive type was indispensable. Probably Mr. Shipherd was most original and daring in the method he devised for excluding ungodly and worldly men, and for holding the saints to his high ideal. He would bargain for several square miles of territory and parcel out the same into farms and village lots, nor should either leases or title-deeds be allowed to any but such as could supply credible evidence of genuine piety. No worldling, no devotee of pleasure, no worshiper of mammon should be tolerated as a fellow citizen with the elect. Such contamination should be barred out by the boundary line. And still further, a solemn covenant should be imposed upon all who would dwell within the sacred precincts, with terms so specific as to be plainly understood, as well as so comprehensive as to cover all fundamental obligations; while in addition, in some mysterious way not revealed, the potent instrument was to be self-executing, and inspire all under its sway always to be and do their very best.

Some hints may have been borrowed from the covenants adopted by all Congregational churches and imposed on whoso would become a member, or, more likely from the fashion, then coming in, of denouncing in church covenants certain specific forms of sin, slavery, intemperance, Sabbath-breaking, etc., and requiring a definite pledge to abstain therefrom.* At any rate, upon his departure for the East to secure land, colonists, funds and students, Mr. Shipherd drew up and carried with him for signature a document which is well worthy of careful examination. For it constitutes a most interesting and curious religious phenomenon, it opens to our view the intellectual and spiritual constitution of its author, and it takes rank among the great shaping forces in the history of the community and the college. This is the text of

THE OBERLIN COVENANT.

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 exert 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:

1. Providence permitting, we engage as soon as practicable to remove to the Oberlin Colony, in Russia, Lorain County, Ohio, and there fix our residence, for the express purpose of glorifying God in doing good to men to the extent of our ability.
2. We will hold and manage our estates personally, but pledge as

* Or, Mr. Shipherd may have borrowed the idea from the fashion in vogue in the churches of the Reserve and fostered by the presbyteries to which they all belonged, of adding to their confessions and covenants certain "Articles of Practice," which specified certain obligations to be regarded and certain offences to be shunned.

perfect a community of interest as though we held a community of property.

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

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

5. 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 and chewing of tobacco, unless it is 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 appetite.

6. 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.

7. 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.

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

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

10. 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.

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

12. 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 humble reliance on Divine grace, we hereunto affix our names.

As commentary upon these articles we have a statement made by Mr. Shipherd in April, 1840:

As one means to accomplish this object, a tract of land was purchased, and sold to those only who pledged themselves to hold and till

the land for the good of the Institution. The design was to establish a Christian colony which should furnish consumable articles at such rates as to bring the means of education within the reach of indigent students. . . . It was not originally intended to increase the price of lands above their first cost, and the cost of subsequent improvements, nor that they should be held by non-residents, nor that any resident should hold any more land than he could, and actually did, cultivate for the promotion of the common object. In a word, it was designed that all the lands should be most sacredly devoted to the glory of God in the building up of the Institution, and that they should as soon as possible be put and kept in that state in which their owners could do the most good with them to the Institution. . . . The land was originally devoted to God. . . . We have not a foot of land, at any price, for those who have not a single object to do good and glorify God. . . . We want those, and those only, who can heartily unite in the great work of furnishing facilities for the education of students for stations of usefulness, and especially for the ministry. We want those who will furnish as much of the avails of their land as the Institution needs, at the most reasonable prices, who will erect their buildings with a view to make as much room for students as can consistently be done, and who will do what they can to promote the piety of the students in all the departments of the Institution.

So much for the instrument itself, and as its meaning is explained at one or two points by its originator. But we are also able to read between the lines somewhat, or can resort to some collateral evidence which will help us to an understanding of certain quite enigmatical sentences. Some copies of the covenant read "lacing" for "dressing" in the sixth article, and it is worth noticing that just then in all the publications devoted to reform frequent and solemn protest was made against that extremely unhygienic fashion, with Dr. Mussey, of Dartmouth, and Mrs. Sigourney prominent among the protestants. There is some reason to conclude that chocolate was classed with tea and coffee among drinks gratifying to the palate, but unwholesome and too expensive. But the phraseology of articles two and eight, when closely scrutinized, is

found to cover a dangerous social and religious heresy. In other words, it can be shown that Mr. Shipherd had community of goods in his mind. Charmed by the spectacle presented by the church at Jerusalem in days just subsequent to Pentecost, he would reproduce it in his colony. When the covenant was fashioned caution had gained the mastery over inclination, and he did not dare to venture this radical innovation. A living witness testifies that on a certain occasion during the early days this dreamer was seen working upon a paper which contained arguments for and arguments against community of goods, in order to decide which were most weighty; and was heard to express the desire that by means of such an elimination of personal ownership in property human selfishness might be cut up root and branch so effectually as never to be able to live again. In the summer of 1837 several meetings of the colonists were held to resuscitate and reinforce the waning influence of the covenant, at which various resolutions were discussed, and this one in particular:

Resolved, That it is not only expedient, but the duty of this church, in order to become holy, to put all their property into a common stock fund, having all things common, and thus comply with the requisitions of the gospel and the example of the primitive Christians.

Mr. Shipherd was present at the meetings, and the indications are not wanting that this resolution proceeded from him. It is also established that he entered into communistic relations with one of the prominent Oberlin brethren, which continued several months, and terminated because the two could not walk in agreement. His partner afterwards affirmed that while Mr. Shipherd furnished the theory, he himself supplied the entire amount of cash required.

Taken as a whole, the earnest-hearted and appreciative can scarcely read this covenant without deep emotion. What Christlike compassion and solicitude for a lost world! What sublime faith in the power of the gospel, and in humanity renewed and inspired by the Spirit of God! How mighty, too, for human weal have its workings been from that day to this! Nevertheless, though wholly well meant, it was exceedingly ill-advised. It is a curious commingling of strength and weakness, of wisdom and unwisdom, of the weighty and the petty, and speaks far better for the heart than the head of its framer. Fortunately, within itself were contained the elements which were certain to work its destruction. Only let an earnest attempt be made to enforce its principles, and its fatal defects were certain to be revealed. As was most meet, at an early date the letter of the covenant was bound to die, but its beneficent and puissant spirit still survives, and all through the years has been making for the betterment of the Church and the regeneration of the world. Nor did the colony-covenant idea find favor in the eyes of all. Even Mr. Stewart called the wisdom of it in question. For in February of 1833 we find him writing as follows in the way of mild protest to his associate then in the East busy selecting families suited to his purpose:

I find that the circumstance of our inducing so many Christian families to locate together is made use of by those not very friendly to the object, as an objection to the plan. I would suggest for your consideration the question whether it would not do to dispose of some of the colonial lands to persons of a certain character who are not pious. The by-laws might be of such a character as to secure the interests of the Institution. This might be better than to have the colony very small, and surrounded by a corrupt and irreligious population. Perhaps we ought not to depend to any considerable extent upon the

colonists to sustain the Institution, because we should want to secure for it the sympathies and fostering care of all the churches in this region.

Then, when a year or two later a petition came before the Ohio legislature to incorporate Oberlin Colony covering nine square miles, danger was snuffed to freedom and to republican institutions, and violent opposition was excited. A "religious community," forsooth! What denomination was to be in absolute control? And what did the people contiguous to the colony think of the matter? Some of the more prominent residents gave no countenance to the covenant. Mr. Finney, for example, never put his signature to it, holding that such specific pledges to work righteousness were uncalled for and inexpedient, and that a genuine and thorough determination to do God's will covered adequately the whole ground. Still further, for various reasons not many names were added after 1835. By this early date that fundamental instrument had begun to wax old and was about to disappear. But many of the first comers took its requirements very seriously, made them the rule of their lives, set them in the very forefront of obligation, and adhered to them firmly till the last breath. According to their conviction, which nothing could shake, the covenant for Oberlin was *articulus vel stantis, vel cadentis*. Some essayed for a season to subsist upon bare bread and water. One brother occupied sermon-time counting the superfluous buttons on men's coats, and at the next prayer-meeting reported how many Bibles were thus wickedly withheld from the perishing heathen. Another on warm Sundays would frequent the sanctuary "barefoot, and sit in a conspicuous place, where his light might shine and his example

rebuke the extravagance of those who indulged in useless covering for the feet." Alas, that this same rebuker of sin afterwards fell so far from grace as to display a gold-headed cane and a gold ring! A third penned a prolix epistle to the trustees of the college warning them against being conformed to the world, and the wasting of consecrated funds, in particular upon useless architectural ornament. Quoth he: "In the house which is being built for Brother Mahan, I have found some forty or more dollars' worth of work in the two north rooms which I cannot for my life find any good reason for, except it be to please the taste of a vitiated world. An impenitent master-builder remarked to me the other day, that he thought this house might have been built three hundred dollars cheaper, taking size and style, and have it answer the object for which it ought to be built, especially when the public's money was employed for the work. There is a plain, neat, simple style of building, which commends itself to every man's enlightened good sense, and still will not be highly esteemed by the world, neither is it an abomination in the sight of the Lord." A fourth, who came in June of the first year and survived until a few months since, used often to call to repentance the community and college, the church included, for their measureless departures from Mr. Shipherd's Constitution. At length, finding them incorrigible, and he only left that had not bowed the knee to Baal, he ceased to attend upon public religious services and from fellowship with such apostates.

Corporate attempts were made, as well as individual, to keep the covenant alive and reinforce its waning energies. As early as 1834, when frame-houses began to appear among the log cabins, it became necessary to

settle the weighty question, What color best combines durability with Christian economy? The people were called together, a discussion was had, and by a clear majority it was voted that only *red* should pass muster here. Mr. Shipherd and two or three more straightway proceeded to walk obediently to this interpretation of article seven, but lo, also, presently one colonist so disregarded the convictions of the brethren as to paint his dwelling white. Then the next year it came to pass that the church, almost as soon as organized, undertook to lend a helping hand in the same laudable matter. A committee was appointed to explain the meaning and application of certain clauses, and another to circulate the covenant and secure a maximum of signatures. Not long after, a member was taken to task for breaking the commandment by the persistent use of tea. In 1837 something like half a score of meetings of colonists were held, to consider the perilous situation, to denounce divers practices as clearly in the teeth of this and that requirement, and to point out the path of rectitude. Land must not be sold at an advance above the original cost; all debts should be liquidated by mutual discounts (whatever that may mean); a recognition of debts should be made by all by giving notes; the price paid for teams and for all labor was too high, likewise salaries of the professors and others; "it is a gross violation of the Oberlin covenant as well of the Sacred Scriptures, to receive any increase of our poor brethren for moneys lent them;" while the faithful should patronize no inn-keeper or merchant in the settlement who vends tobacco, and should give their preference to such as will not vend coffee and tea, etc. In 1840 we find the college authorities granting certain financial favors,

in the shape of tuition remitted, to "families residing in Oberlin and sustaining the principles of the Oberlin covenant," and also enjoining upon the agent by no means to lease any college lots without embodying those principles, and binding the lessees to adherence to the same. And, finally, as late as 1843 the church chose assistant deacons "to aid in carrying out the principles of the Oberlin covenant in respect to the poor" (Article 8).

But all this was utterly in vain. It was fighting against fate. Notwithstanding the manifold and resolute attempts to medicate and nurse and galvanize into life, a mortal disease held the patient in its grip. Before the first generation had passed, so completely had the covenant been set aside that nobody was possessed of sufficient curiosity to inquire what had become of the original copy which held the signatures of the colonists and clinched their obligation, or even to care if any such ever existed. Nor was it many months ago that almost by accident a little yellow and well-worn blank book was brought to light, dating at least from 1835, containing Mr. Shipherd's *chef-d'œuvre*, and the pages following covered with the names of the pioneers and their children, together with the date of their arrival upon the colonial tract.

It may not be amiss to ask: Why did this ambitious scheme, this original device to fence Satan out of paradise, meet with such signal overthrow? Well, if the end itself was legitimate and desirable, the method chosen to accomplish it was a vicious one. It appears to be the divine plan to suffer the wheat and the tares to grow up together, the separation being postponed until "the time of harvest." At any rate, as President Fairchild well says, the covenant was "found to be

too specific to serve as a general pledge of Christian purpose, and too general to be a guide to specific duty. It was often more difficult in a particular case to decide what the covenant required, than what were the requirements of Christian benevolence." It was a capital omission also that no court was established with adequate and recognized jurisdiction, and able to enforce its sentences. The colony was not an organization, but an association, a mere mass-meeting, whose task was finished when the debate was over and the vote was taken. Still further, the colonists were not chosen with sufficient care. Mr. Shipherd was possessed of no skill for such an undertaking. Warmth of pious emotion was an all-sufficient qualification for admission into his confidence. The average of excellence was not particularly high, only the plain people were attracted by his project, farmers and artisans with a mere common school education. A limited number would rank quite high for qualities either intellectual or spiritual, but over against them were set as many who were weak, sentimental and unstable, representing "the Lord's silly people," while a few were extremists who easily lapsed into crankiness and fanaticism. A final suggestion is that the fundamental principles of the colonial scheme were against human nature, at least Anglo-Saxon human nature, in the nineteenth century, in this land of freedom. Certain of the articles undertook to meddle with individual rights, judgments, consciences, tastes,—a realm which at almost any cost must be kept secure from invasion. It is much to the praise of the community that when this fact was clearly seen and fully appreciated, the general decision was, Let the covenant go, peace to its ashes, reverence to its memory.

But, after all, did it really fail? Certainly, for neither was the wicked world completely excluded, nor was the church held at an unearthly level of attainment. Sinners and saints are strangely intermingled here very much as elsewhere, while the two classes eat and drink very much alike, nor are they at all to be distinguished by the color, architecture, or furnishing of their houses. On the colonial tract, which "was originally devoted to God," dwell some, who also hold titles to real estate, that seldom enter the sanctuary, that smoke, and chew, and even tipple. In the absence of any literal, physical, topographical sundering of the church and the world, a worthier and a loftier separation may yet have been achieved. So that the seeming failure may turn out to be a distinguished success. Let these two statements set forth the fact. The colony-covenant scheme availed to lift the forces of intelligence and righteousness to the place of power which ever since they have held. And it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find, either in this country or within the pale of Christendom, a community on the whole coming nearer to an ideal condition.

We may now turn to a consideration of Mr. Stewart's contribution to the Oberlin enterprise. As an auxiliary to missionary movements at home and abroad he would found a seminary which should train ministers and teachers for efficient labors, and fit all other pupils for worthy callings in life. In a letter of Mr. Shipherd from which a quotation has already been made, and which contains the earliest statement of the project in hand, he says, the pronoun referring to the colony :

They are to establish schools of the first order, from the infant-school up to an academic school, which shall afford a thorough education in English and the useful languages; and if Providence favor it, at

length instruction in theology—I mean *practical* theology. They are to connect workshops and a farm with the Institution, and so simplify diet and dress that, by *four* hours' labor per day, young men will defray their entire expense, and young women working at the spinning-wheel and loom will defray much of their expense. And all will thus save money, and what is more, promote muscular, mental, and moral vigor. In these schools all the children of the colony are to be well educated, whether destined to professional or manual labor; for those designing to be mechanics will learn their trades while in a course of study. These schools will also educate school-teachers for our desolate Valley, and many ministers for our dying world; also instruct the children and youth of the surrounding population.

There were to be schools then, it appears, of various grades and for both sexes, but at this early stage in the development of the idea nothing was thought of higher than “an academic school,” unless peradventure some day a theological department should be added.* But once in the East, and plunged into the task of gathering wherewith to lay foundations, Mr. Shipherd's imagination is kindled, his vision enlarges, he dreams vaster dreams. His associate back in Ohio, being matter-of-fact, cautious and mole-eyed, hearing of this is alarmed, and May 22, 1833, writes to Fayette Shipherd, in Troy:

Colonists who have come on say that Brother J. J. S. has given the pledge that young men who come on from the East shall receive as good

* How humble and modest were Mr. Shipherd's plans at this stage will appear from a letter written by him to the trustees recommending a man for president. Ten reasons are given for choosing him, among which are: His piety is more like the Divine Teacher's than usual; He labors with his might to do good in school and out; His education, although not collegiate, is sufficiently extensive, much more profound than is usual with graduates of our best colleges; He is a manual labor man; He does not teach for money but to do good; He is deeply interested in the West, etc. “I advise that you offer him \$400, with the use of a dwelling house and a few acres of land, his pasturage, hay for his horse and two cows, and his wood, and that we defray the expense of his removal with his family to Ohio.”

an education for a minister, as if they had been to college. The constitution says that the pupils of the Oberlin Institute shall receive a thorough academic course. This is all I have expected they would receive, and all I think that we ought to promise. After they shall have been at the Institute a suitable length of time to prepare for college, I have supposed they would go to Hudson, or to some other institution where they can enjoy the privileges of the manual labor system. Let students come to this Institution with the expectation of obtaining a collegiate education, or what is equivalent to it, and find the advantages far inferior to those which are to be enjoyed at other institutions, and the result would be disappointment and probable dissatisfaction. All who shall have been at this Institution will be criticized with great severity, and if their education shall fall short of the pledge that was given, bad consequences must follow. If we have in addition to a common manual labor school a female seminary, and a system of labor connected with that also, I think this is all that we ought to attempt at present. By attempting too much the whole work will be likely to come to nothing.

These premises appear to be well taken, the logic is without a flaw, and the conclusion is sound. Nevertheless, Oberlin as a mere "academic school" was not to be. Or put it this way: Mr. Shipherd was not to blame. He was helpless in the hands of circumstances. By fate, or providence, he was fairly driven onward from step to step. And let us hear what he has to say in reply, when writing about a week later:

You perceive in my recent communications that I have latterly enlarged our plans of operation, and it may seem to you unadvisedly, but I trust the following reasons will satisfy you, all: The manual labor system requires that the student be carried through his whole course. If the institution be a mere preparatory school for college, the students are always mere apprentices in manual labor, and the benefits of the system are realized but in a small degree. Should we fit them for college only, there is no institution to which we could send them where their manual labor facilities would be continued equal to Oberlin. Hudson, for want of land, can never render the manual labor of students extensively productive for their support. The Lane Seminary has and can have but little land, and is full and will be full without our students. Moreover, the principal of the Oneida Institute assured me that a large farm was indispensable to great success in extensive operations, and

that the student should be carried through his whole course. Again, the making of our seminary equal to an academy, college, and theological seminary, will not at all curtail the usefulness of Hudson and others; for if we will furnish such advantages as I propose, students will fill our seminary who would never enter those now in existence. The revivals of three years past have brought hundreds of youth into our churches who desire to be educated for the ministry and other useful services, who will not incur debt necessary in such a course as they must pursue at any institutions now in being in our country. This I know from actual conference with youth at the East. Hundreds of promising youth will doubtless be educated for God's service, or not educated, as we shall or shall not provide for them the means of complete education by their own industry and economy. Moreover, it is about as easy to obtain requisite funds, etc., for a complete education, as for one merely elementary. For the amount of the subscription usually corresponds with the character of the institution for which it is raised, and students would not go so far westward merely for an academic course. Let us therefore begin with the academic, and as Providence permit, grow into the collegiate and theological, which, I doubt not, will be as fast as our students shall advance in their studies. Had we to raise the ordinary permanent fund for president's and professors' salaries, we should fail, but the assurance of all the students we can accommodate is as good a pledge for their salaries as permanent funds. What enlargement I have made in our plans, the development of facts has made necessary.

An excellent reply; a complete vindication; an adequate array of reasons for the enlargement of his program. How could he help it? How irrational to have stubbornly held to his narrower first thought! And just so it was to be for several years to come. Having put his hand to the plow he could not look back, he could not even stand still. He had gone too far not to go yet further. At the bidding of the unseen One he must needs launch out, not knowing whither, and take the consequences. It must be confessed, however, that in at least two or three particulars his answer was insufficient, being based on assumptions which bitter experience was to prove to be without foundation in fact. No harm would come to Hudson

from his college only fifty miles distant, manual labor as he would manage it would make Oberlin so unique that in her case all precedents would fail, thus making her a law unto herself, and tuition would abundantly suffice to pay all salaries. Upon this last point his assurance was absolute, and it will be interesting to scan a quotation from a letter written to the trustees of the college in August of 1833. He had recommended the choice of a certain man for professor, and had in mind the amount needed for his salary. At least one point was settled forever:

The four hundred dollars must be raised by tuition. Forty scholars, at one half the tuition which the students of the Oneida Institute pay, will pay the four hundred dollars. The forty we can unquestionably have, if room can be made for them. If not, the smaller number must pay higher tuition. This must ever be our rule. Students must pay such tuition as will raise our teachers' salaries. This rule has worked well at the Oneida Institute for years. It is not safe except in manual labor schools.

Great, then, is manual labor! And what a strange compound was this schemer, of sagacity and incapacity, of sanity and hallucination! Before passing on to other matters, it may not be without interest and profit to single out for brief notice several features of the educational scheme, as these were outlined by the founders themselves in the days before the first opening had been made in the forest, in particular that we may perceive, in the light of history, how wide is the breach between their promise and their performance. To begin with, it is evident that liberal culture, the higher education, had no place in their plan. They would be satisfied to bestow, say, such measures of information and intellectual discipline as they had gained in Pawlet Academy, with the addition, perhaps,

of further helps for some equal to those enjoyed by Mr. Shipherd in the study of Rev. Josiah Hopkins. This question appears to be settled by their phrases, "academic school," "education in English and the useful languages," "practical theology," etc. When prepared for college "they would go to Hudson or some other institution." An institution like the Oberlin of to-day would have sorely grieved their righteous souls with its intellectualism and pride of learning. It is noteworthy also that in the school proposed manual labor was an element of which they were especially proud, and from which marvelous results were confidently expected. Not a step would have been taken had not this great and glorious auxiliary been relied upon to play its invaluable part. This is not the place in which to state from what source their delusion came, nor to tell the story of its workings and its fate. Such information will be given in another chapter. Let it suffice here to suggest that manual labor was held in highest esteem at the very first, that is, when it was held as a theory, before its virtues had been put to the test. When the students began to come, and the costly lessons of experience began to be learned, the burden steadily became more and more unendurable until at length, from sheer necessity, it was cast off. The college lands were disposed of, and now scarcely a visible trace can be found that manual labor was ever in vogue. Another "failure," then, is to be recorded, and also at a capital point. Of this there can be no doubt. But this paradox must not be omitted. Just here was achieved a stunning success. Manual labor was among the most indispensable elements of the Oberlin idea. Nothing did more for Oberlin's establishment and

enlargement. For half a generation multitudes of students were brought in from the whole land over, who otherwise would never have entered its halls ; and much more, in all probability, would never have gained an education. It only passed away when its mission was completed. Therefore, we are compelled to affirm of this as of the colony-covenant idea, that it was nothing less than a special providence that brought them into being.

It is necessary to say but little here or elsewhere concerning the "infant-school" project. This was one of the fads of the period, had just been introduced from the Old World, was found in nearly all considerable communities, and, after the craze was over, and after a season of decline, was resuscitated as the kindergarten of our time. A teacher was brought on from the East, but at the end of a year the little ones were turned over to the public schools. While Oberlin was thus offering toothsome pabulum to the babes, a scholarship was bargained for by a fond father for the benefit of a child scarcely fit to leave the cradle, and, applying for admission, when informed for substance that the meat furnished in the college was too strong for such, the promise of payment was repudiated. And a letter is extant, sent from far-off Mississippi (of course before abolitionism became rampant), petitioning in behalf of a son then but *fifteen months* of age, and asking how long time must elapse before he might matriculate !

The admission of colored students may be passed by because this question had not yet been raised, and was to slumber for yet three years. But mention must be made of coeducation, rather the admission of women, though a full treatment of this is to be ac-

corded further on. These words from the first circular ever issued by the Institution, under date of March 8, 1834, afford the fullest expression to be had of what was in the hearts and minds of the founders as touching this portion of their project :

Prominent objects of this seminary are, the thorough qualification of Christian teachers, both for the pulpit and for schools, and the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs.

Here is Oberlin's Magna Charta for womankind. It was with this thought, this longing, so eminently reasonable and Christian, that the doors of the Institution were thrown wide open in hearty welcome to the "submerged" half of humanity. That indignant protest sounds like the God-inspired utterances of one of the old Hebrew prophets. And it was penned, too, when most educators still deemed that more than a modicum of mental discipline and learning was of exigent importance only to men. However, in spite of that brave saying, we are not at liberty to suppose for a moment that these men designed to do for women anything near what has been accomplished in Oberlin in their behalf. There is no evidence that this subject was especially prominent in their plan. Instead, this appears to have been the fact. A school should be founded for all classes, and women were one of the classes. How their case was to be handled was left wholly undefined. They were needed in the teacher's calling and as well in other forms of Christian service, and hence should be helped to prepare themselves. In the "infant-school" of course nobody would object to their presence, nor in the other lower grades, while nothing above an "academic school" was in contem-

plation when it was fixed that in Oberlin a place should be prepared for "the misjudged and neglected sex." The conclusion is that for the feature which more than almost any other makes Oberlin's work unique and praiseworthy, the founders had no vision, and no very definite desire. If really great at this point, it was only "great in their unconsciousness."

CHAPTER IV

OTHER SCHEMES OF THE PERIOD

IN order that we may the better understand the founders and their scheme, it may be worth while to examine with somewhat of detail a few from a multitude of other undertakings, almost exactly contemporary, and possessing at various points striking resemblances to the one especially under view. For to a great extent one and all are the outcome of the same material, social and religious forces which just then were working wonders of revolution and reconstruction in this western world. It was a day of general resurrection, renaissance, in every realm. Throughout the nation there was prevalent a great swelling tide of enthusiasm, stirring in the hearts of the millions boundless longing and courage and venturesomeness. All blessed things were in store for America. In the New World at least the golden age was about to be ushered in. Probably more than others, the Christian portion of the population was tremendously wrought upon. The divine spirit of benevolence, philanthropy, was energizing multitudinous reforms and on a grand scale inaugurating mission work at home and abroad. Under the influence of unprecedented revivals the churches had been so strengthened and exalted that in the expectation of thousands the millennium was verily at the doors. Optimism was rampant, and nothing was any longer impossible.

In August of 1835 a New England clergyman, who had been invited to take a professorship in the college, wrote Mr. Shipherd that when he was just about to accept, a friend whose judgment he felt bound to respect had written him urging the greatest caution, since Oberlin was only an experiment, and further, because it was "the offspring of a projector, who is a son of a projector, whose projects have always failed." No doubt that allegation, though an exaggeration, contained large measures of truth. The Oberlin "experiment" seems to have attained to some fair degree of success, as also a later one tried at Olivet. But if the very worst charged against him were true, as a dreamer of dreams and a builder of air-castles, he was but one of a large and distinguished company. For example, Robert Owen and Fourier were full of brightest visions of a humanity regenerated and rescued from sin and wretchedness by the magic of a thorough social overhauling. The one put his theories to the test at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1824-7, with 2,000 persons brought together upon 30,000 acres, with only debts and disappointments to show for it at the end. Within a few years at least a dozen similar experiments were tried, in the West for the most part, and all with a like fatal termination. Next, between 1841 and 1853, about forty socialist communities or brotherhoods were established, all bearing more or less of a Fourierite cast. The most famous of these was the Brook Farm venture at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, "that romantic, religious, literary, socialistic, transcendental, Unitarian community." Emerson stood as a sort of godfather to the enterprise, while among those who were swept off their feet by a most amiable enthusiasm of humanity were such as Alcott, Hawthorne, Curtis, Ripley, Channing,

Brownson, and Margaret Fuller. Those were the days when Fanny Wright flourished, whose head was bursting with projects for reform. First she purchased a large tract of land at Neshoba (now Memphis), where she would colonize emancipated slaves and educate them, La Fayette holding the title in trust, but found that the laws of Tennessee forbade, and later went up and down the land lecturing for Robert Dale Owen's colony and against slavery and other social iniquities. And then lived, and ranted, Abbey Kelley, with Stephen Foster, her husband of later days, the apostles of Come-outerism, who fell into a frenzy and fury in their zeal for abolition.

As for real estate schemes, the whole Mississippi Valley fairly swarmed with them. Every county could boast of several centers where agricultural lands, it might be with the forest primeval still standing, were laid out in city lots, wearing on paper the look of a metropolis, and put on the eastern market with high-sounding words. Perhaps banks, hotels, and stores were erected, and quite a population was gathered, but all with excitement purely artificial and superficial, hence also short-lived, and with only financial loss to all investors. Happy was the township which did not exhibit for years some such costly monument of human folly. Moreover, the founding of academies and schools of higher grades was an every-day event in all the region west of the Alleghanies, often at the prompting of motives the purest, but probably oftener merely as a part of the business boom. Almost all the religious colleges started when the communities in which they were planted were in their feeble infancy, and that they might aid efficiently in laying the solid foundations for good society. In multitudes of cases the matter was

largely overdone, while the early management of affairs was in such un wisdom that where one ambitious enterprise survived to adult years, a dozen or a score perished miserably after a brief and troubled career. Usually at the first it was impossible to foretell what the population was to be in the region surrounding, and what locality would prove suitable for an institution. Evangelizers and educators were as liable to err as speculators in real estate and merchants. And yet in all the older portions of the country during the last sixty years circumstances have so changed, that, after all the illustrations and explanations possible have been given, it is past belief that our fathers could have been so blind, could have gone so far daft as to have undertaken so many wild-goose chases, as to have most confidently expected distinguished successes, where we, with our soberer minds and larger wisdom, are able to perceive that only disappointment and final catastrophe were in the least likely to ensue. Let us take a half-dozen specimen cases where a half-hundred, each one every whit as incredible, could with ease be cited. And we may as well begin with one in which the founder of Oberlin was chief actor.

In the letter of Mr. Shipherd, in which he resigned the pastorate of the Oberlin church, among other reasons for taking that step he named this one: "The great Head of the Church is opening before me a door of usefulness wide and effectual in the work of Christian education, and distinctly calling me into that great and blessed work. So that while I can do but little in the plenteous harvests by personal ministry, I can do much to supply it with effective laborers, and thus preach Christ still through the Oberlin Institute, and kindred seminaries which under God I may aid in

building." What boundless ambition ! As if a single Oberlin were not sufficient to satisfy one heart, or to crown one earthly career ! So he is still lured onward by visions. And, unfortunately, this time it proved to be but a will-o'-the-wisp. It was in June of 1836 that he resigned, and in September we find him embarked upon a new enterprise similar to the one he had set on foot only four years before, and which now appeared to be handsomely established. Having had large experience, he makes this venture alone, though agents are employed in the East in gathering money and colonists. Instead of Ohio, this time he searches in Southern Michigan for a location. Statehood was not gained there until the year following, the entire population was but 31,639 in 1830, and the rush of settlers had but just set in. Grand River City is named, but the site of the proposed "Grand River Seminary" cannot be ascertained, except that it was probably on some of the head streams of that river, that is, in one of the counties adjacent to Jackson, and it may be not very remote from Olivet, which he founded eight years later. Various documents establish the fact that three years were consumed by Mr. Shipherd and an agent in selecting and securing a title to unoccupied lands sufficiently large for the uses of a manual labor school, and in a canvass for funds and settlers with which the foundations could be laid. All things went swimmingly for a happy twelvemonth. By this time \$9,000 had been subscribed, but he intended to keep on till \$30,000 were promised and fifty families were ready to go as pioneers to occupy the 10,000 acres already secured. Moreover, an indebtedness of \$3,000 had been incurred, "money advanced by friends to buy a part of Grand River City," when, alas, the crash of

1837 befell, a cataclysm which put a period to the exuberant hopes of how many thousands. No more money could be had, though for a year longer subscriptions, that is, promises to pay at some time, were increased. But by May, 1839, all prospect of pushing the undertaking to success vanished. A circular was therefore published and sent to all subscribers reporting what had been done, and setting forth the current situation. It bore the signatures of J. J. Shipherd, Isaac Jennings, and E. P. Ingersoll, "Executive Committee of Grand River Seminary." The total amount pledged was \$10,488.91, the amount collected, \$3,779.77. "Expended to pay our loan, \$1,448.97," traveling expenses, \$480.10; agent's salary for three years, \$726.08, and expended in improvements, \$1,123.62; a total expenditure exactly equal to the receipts. "We wish our patrons distinctly to understand that we intend to resume operations just as soon as their ability and willingness will permit us to do so." Thus exit Grand River Seminary. Somewhat curiously, the principal business agent in this enterprise was the self-same clergyman who heard that the "projects" of the Shipherds "always failed."

As a second example of how, in those exciting days, airy nothings by the magic of the imagination were transformed into substantial structures, take a communication, somewhat condensed, which was sent to Mr. Shipherd from New York City by George Whipple, in April, 1836, or only about two months before he resigned his Oberlin pastorate. Indeed, it is more than likely that this letter was one of the influences which impelled Mr. Shipherd to take that step, and that the colony and college referred to were in his mind's eye when he spoke of "kindred seminaries," which he might

aid in building. With the letter is sent "a plat on a plan drawn up by Brother Green." This was one of Arthur Tappan's wealthy friends who had subscribed to the \$80,000 Oberlin professorships. The scheme primarily, or at the beginning, related only to the founding and support of a college in Illinois. The outline remaining to us increases steadily in interest as we read through that remarkable epistle:

Three or four of the brethren will furnish the money needed to purchase a township six miles square, containing 23,040 acres, whenever a suitable location can be selected. This tract will be divided into 36 sections, of which the central one with its 640 acres will be reserved for the college, to be used for buildings, houses for the professors, etc., as well as for the production of vegetables, small fruits, etc. Two roads crossing each other at right angles will cut this section into quarters, and at the point of meeting a park will be laid out, within which the colonial chapel will stand. Also further away, to the north, south, east and west, the college will possess four additional sections, upon which grass and the larger grains will be grown, making a total of 3,200 acres. The charge for village lots will be \$75.00 to \$800.00, and for farms, \$4.00 to \$10.00 an acre, according to location. The total cash value of the township is figured at \$185,035. Of this sum they are ready to donate \$10,000 to Oberlin, of the first money received, to help her out of her financial troubles, and \$80,000 for the endowment of the Illinois institution. Cannot you [Mr. Shipherd] or somebody else go soon to Illinois and make choice of an eligible tract, or at least come here to get the details of the undertaking proposed? After that some one should proceed to sell the lots, either to such as will remove to the township, or to those who are willing by making a purchase to aid in founding a seminary in the far West. A profit of two hundred per cent will accrue to the investors. The New York brethren do not propose to put a dollar in their own pockets, but as soon as this township is sold will purchase another and another, continuing *until the whole western country* is supplied with the means of obtaining a good Christian education. Is not this feasible? Is not this the way to secure a right influence in that great valley? Is not this the way in which God means to keep it out of the hands of The Man of Sin, and to convert it to the true faith? Will not this hope warrant you in coming here to mature the plan, and then at once set about pushing it forward? The location should be fixed immediately, for the most desirable sections will soon be appropriated.

Spiritual sensibilities far duller than those of Mr. Shipherd would be thrilled by such a limitless prospect of mighty achievements made for the Kingdom. Think of it! "Another, and another," to the Rockies, yes, and to the remotest borders of the Union! It seems altogether too bad that a project so neat in every particular, so automatic in its operation, and so wholly inexpensive to everybody, should have been fated never to emerge from the ignoble pen-ink-and-paper stage (for such was doubtless the fact), and that the children of light should have been left to "save that valley" by the slow, painful, and most unsatisfactory methods everywhere in vogue from that day to this. There is comfort, however, in the reflection that divers merchant princes, hard-headed Knickerbocker men of business that they were, actually designed and expected by such boom methods to save the West.

Another enterprise, though of a much soberer sort, was the one which eventuated in Knox College, Illinois. Of this Rev. George W. Gale was the originator. Of Connecticut descent, his first pastorate was in Adams, Jefferson County, New York, with Mr. Finney as chorister in his church. It was here that the future evangelist found the way of salvation, and in Mr. Gale's library that he began to read theology. His health failing, as he always held because of the too sudden change from farming to a sedentary life, he removed to Western to cultivate a few acres for exercise, and for occupation took some students to prepare for the ministry. In 1826 another removal was made, this time to a farm in the Mohawk Valley and not far from Whitesboro. By personal solicitation from the benevolently disposed, money enough was collected to buy a hundred acres and to construct the buildings required for a manual labor

school, to which he gave the name, Oneida Institute. Here for six years under his guidance several scores of earnest young men were helped into the ministry, paying their own way by three hours' daily toil in the shops or in the fields. Theodore D. Weld and quite a large number of the Lane Seminary students were under his tuition. But, like many another of his contemporaries, his eyes were upon the West as the land of promise. After considering the oak openings of Michigan for months, the prairies of Northern Illinois were finally preferred for his supreme attempt. He would secure settlers moving in a body, a township of government land, to be bought for \$1.25 an acre and parceled out to colonists at \$5.00, and with the profits establish a manual labor college. By the end of 1834 (just when Mr. Shipherd was in Cincinnati planning with Mr. Mahan and the Lane boys) the canvass for subscriptions was begun, early the next summer a managing committee was chosen with Mr. Gale as general agent, and an exploring party of three was sent to search through "Indiana and Illinois between the 40th and 42nd degrees of latitude." Not able to find a full township, it was decided to be content with half that amount of land, and by the end of 1835 the purchase was made, a town was platted in the center, and lands adjoining were reserved for the college. The portion of the soil not taken by the first settlers was conveyed to the institution as soon as a charter was obtained, and was held and finally sold with such prudence and sagacity as to bring a return of more than \$500,000. Who can explain why this broken-down clergyman was able to make such a shining achievement in the same year, 1836, in which that coterie of business men in Gotham, though possessing abundant resources and wielding an

extensive influence, were unable to impart to their design the least vitality?

Let Missouri supply the next shining example of brightest hopes blossoming only to be blighted, and with her once famous Marion College. In most of the cases hitherto mentioned Congregationalists were prominent, but this one was purely Presbyterian in conception and management. It will appear therefore that no one denomination in that time held a monopoly either of the wisdom or the folly then extant. Moreover, several of the chief actors in the tragedy now to be set forth were Southerners, so that the Yankees were not alone in that period in running wild in the chase for pots of gold at the rainbow's end. A start was made in 1832 with Dr. David Nelson, the author of "The Cause and Cure of Infidelity," as president. Born in Tennessee, he inherited slaves, but later, largely through the influence of Theodore D. Weld, he came to hate slavery. The immediate impulse which led to the enterprise was found in the conviction that unless something signal and far-reaching was undertaken at once, the energetic and determined operations of the Roman Catholics would certainly avail to capture and hold all the new states upon the western frontier. A crusade against the Papacy should be entered upon, and in Marion College leaders by the thousand should be trained for the Lord's host. The site chosen was a few miles below Quincy and something more than ten miles back from the Mississippi. The chief institution was located twelve miles northwest of Palmyra, the county seat, and the preparatory department six miles to the west of the court house. To each of these a section of rich prairie land was attached. Funds for the outfit were

secured in the East and elsewhere by collections in the churches and by the sale of scholarships. Manual labor was to hold the place of honor. To each professor fifty acres were to be allotted, and to each student ten. The students were to work their own land and also a certain part of that of their teachers, in the latter case receiving two-thirds of the crop. Three hours of toil each day would pay all expenses. Hay would be raised extensively and shipped to Memphis at a profit of \$10.00 per ton. The vacation would be in haying-time. It was advertised abroad that at the soonest some fifteen thousand young men would be put into the ministry for missionary service (hearing which a most considerate clergyman in Genesee County, New York, determined immediately to start a female manual labor seminary in which to train some fifteen thousand young women to be missionaries' wives, which he could easily do with the potent aid of a farm covered with mulberry trees, and silk worms by the million to feed upon them !!).

In 1835 the institution was reorganized with a faculty of six in the collegiate and preparatory departments, and four in the school of theology. Among the clergymen engaged were some eminent names, like E. S. Ely of Philadelphia, W. S. Potts of St. Louis, James Gallaher of Cincinnati, and Dr. Herron of Pittsburgh. As an important part of the same enterprise, Marion City was founded upon the bank of the Mississippi where a steamboat landing had been. No finer city ever existed—on paper. Lots in great numbers were sold West and East, not many for cash, but mostly upon promissory notes. A costly stone wharf was constructed, and by the autumn of 1836 quite a town was in existence. By this time the solid men of

six of our largest cities had made investments in this astonishing enterprise. Marion College was the world's wonder. From it other similar schools of theology would spring, fountains all which soon would avail to change the western desert into a paradise. The Vatican would shake to its foundations under the blows of the enginery which Marion College was fashioning. All which might have been, had not "bad luck" befallen, and from various quarters almost at once. First, this was a slave state, and so many from the East had come to the school as to excite the suspicion that this might prove a hotbed of abolition. Dr. Nelson was known to be an uncompromising opponent of slavery. One thing led to another until passions were hot, mobs and shootings were the order of the day, and finally Mr. Nelson was driven from the state. This was in 1836. Then in the early summer of the next year the great river overflowed its banks, covered the town site, swept away the costly levee, purchasers of real estate refused, or were unable, to pay their notes, investors lost every dollar they had paid; and in a few months a visitor found but two inhabitants left, "one a poor emaciated man suffering with ague, the other a Good Samaritan who ministered to his wants." In due season followed the panic of 1837, and after a year or two more Marion College closed its doors forever.

One more example may well suffice, and let this be the very wildest scheme of all that came into existence. It was plainly an irrational attempt at hotbed intellectual development, a case of economy in education gone stark mad. Or, as an editor of the day declared, "the most visionary of projects aiming at cheap education we have ever seen, partaking of the

marvelous." Pity 't is, too, that it is inseparable from the name of David Nelson. When driven from Missouri he crossed the Mississippi and fixed himself on a quarter section of prairie, or openings, five miles back from Quincy, and gave half of it as the site of Mission Institute. The blacks whom he had freed had refused to leave him, and formed a part of his household. In the autumn of 1837 the school was opened. Text books were supplied without cost, no charge was made for tuition, and the teachers supported themselves by the labor of their hands, except as the students donated their labor. As for the latter, they were expected to join in couples in hauling logs and building cabins for shelter, as well as to produce from the soil the food needed. Some came in from Missouri, others from the East, nor was there any lack of candidates for missionary service. As the institution grew, Number Two and Number Three were opened on land purchased two or three miles away, and finally Number Four, or Theopolis. Of this last Reverend Moses Hunter was the founder, a Presbyterian from Alleghany County, New York, who, though in general in perfect accord with Dr. Nelson, was yet so much more radical on certain points that it seemed best to separate their work in some measure. Mr. Hunter believed in coeducation, which Dr. Nelson did not think the proper thing. Upon economy in dress Mr. Hunter held such extreme views as to eschew broadcloth and tailors together, therefore cut and made his own garments, and confined himself conscientiously to such cheap and durable stuff as blue jean. Nay, more, but one button was tolerated, that upon his coat, while his waistcoat was held in place by a belt. The students were counselled, though

not commanded, to go and do likewise, which thing some of them also did. Dr. Nelson allowed more liberty in dress. Oberlin sent a contingent thither, one of whom, George Thompson, ere long found himself in a Missouri state's prison for attempting to run off slaves. Having a grudge against Dr. Nelson, a party crossed to Illinois one night and burned the chapel of the Institute. Mr. Hunter died in 1842, and Mr. Nelson about two years later. Nor was it long before dissensions began to spring up. It had been the practice for the sexes to take regular turns in conducting chapel exercises, thus putting women and men upon an equality, but some thought it not good for women to be so prominent. Then, for the teachers in particular the self-denial required soon became intolerable. One died, others grew faint-hearted and withdrew, and one held on three or four years, but then felt compelled to leave in order to find support for his family. One student, who passed six years in study at Theopolis, after fifty years testifies that life there seemed like a foretaste of heaven.

It would be inexcusable to omit to mention one other scheme of the period, which, though differing world-wide from the rest in most particulars, had also various points in common. The reference is to the astounding undertaking of Joseph Smith, the organization and upbuilding of the "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints." Without question this was by far the most crazy, most daring, most ambitious, and most comprehensive of all the multitudinous devices concocted in that generation for the beatification of humanity. It is historically interesting as a reflection of a dozen or a score of current movements, reforms, isms. Eminently eclectic in its composition, it is an

unconscionable hodgepodge of ambition, animalism, Campbellism, communism, democracy, hierarchy, Judaism, Masonry, monarchy, money-greed, necromancy, politics, theocracy, etc., etc., with a slight spice of Christianity. Smith is to be taken as a caricature of Shipherd, Ripley, Owen, Nelson, and divers of their contemporaries, all in one. In him were embodied the grossest type of Americanism and the most earthy and irrational impulses resulting from the intense revival fervor then prevalent. The time in which Mormonism was born was propitious for its development, and just as much the region in which it was cradled. The church dates from April 6, 1830, and within a year its headquarters were transferred from New York to the stirring West, Smith tarrying for six years in Kirtland, Ohio, though the bulk of his dupes passed on at once to Missouri, locating in Jackson County but a few miles from where Kansas City now stands, and a year before the founding of Marion College. The business boom was also universal, filling the multitude with intense excitement, and hopes sanguine in the extreme. The "prophet" was transported with the rest, and to this fact in no inconsiderable part is to be traced the exuberance of his visions and dreams. Though all was said and done "in the name of the Lord," and the phraseology of his "revelations" was eminently Scriptural, the moulding force of his environment is everywhere apparent. No system, either ecclesiastical or theological, had been put together when Sidney Rigdon cast in his lot with the finder of the Golden Plates. Then all at once comes a blossoming out in all directions. Rigdon was an "advanced" thinker with his head overstocked with novelties in both doctrine and practice. Sitting for several years

at the feet of Alexander Campbell, he proved himself an apt scholar. Already for a decade or two that brilliant, plucky, and pugnacious Scotchman had been breaking idols and cleansing temples. From Presbyterianism he had attained to immersion, the rejection of all "man-made" creeds as a test of fellowship, the celebration of the Lord's Supper every Sunday, and in general to the "restoration" of all things in religion to the simplicity of apostolic times. All this Rigdon took over with him to Smith's synagogue. But much more. That word, "restore," was sweeter than honey to his taste. He remembered that the early Church was blessed with apostles, bishops, evangelists, and the like; also with gifts of tongues, prophecy, healing, etc.; moreover, practiced washing of feet, anointing the sick with oil, laying on of hands for the reception of the Holy Ghost, etc. Yes, and did not the primitive saints set up a community of goods, and have all things common? Why, then, not restore all these? And besides, the Old Testament, was not that given by inspiration? Does the Lord change that he should command that to-day as a duty which to-morrow he forbids as a sin? Nay, verily; therefore we will bring back the priesthood, both Aaronic and Melchisedec. Also, who are we that we should be wiser than God? Polygamy obtained among the Chosen People, and we will resurrect it (in order to fulfil all righteousness), cost what it may, only calling it "celestial marriage."

Two determined attempts were made to inaugurate community of goods, one in Kirtland and the other in Salt Lake. Kirtland, too, was one of the boom cities of that day. An entire square mile was laid out in streets, thirty-two of them, all broad and straight, named

for the prophet's favorite elders, and enclosing 225 blocks and 4,500 lots. In the center was reared a \$40,000 temple. To be in keeping with the Gentile world, a wildcat bank was started, with \$4,000,000 as the nominal capital, and a modest \$5,000 as the actual capital! In all directions around about, farms were purchased, wholly upon credit, etc. In spite of scores of elegant revelations relating to these matters, the cruel crash of 1837 brought ruin utter and irretrievable. Meantime in Western Missouri similar thrilling events were in progress. The Zion of Jackson County was to outshine all other terrestrial cities, in short, was to be the earth's hub. A plot was forwarded from Kirtland in 1833, by which it appears that presently at least 20,000 were to dwell therein, in houses either of stone or brick, each back from the street twenty-five feet; no barns or stables were to be allowed, but twelve temples were to tower towards heaven, with twelve other public buildings for schools; etc. As late as August "it is to be built immediately," but by some serious oversight, by the end of November the rascally Missourians, fearing that these Yankees were abolition emissaries in disguise, and for other more substantial reasons, had driven the last saint out of the county and across the Missouri, never to return.

With one more illustration of the fact that Smith's communications to the Latter-day brethren were not super-terrestrial in origin, as alleged, but quite mundane, we need bestow upon him no further attention. The Graham dietetic craze was on the whole land, and the cute revelator fell a victim. That is to say, in 1833, February 27, was issued his famous "Word of Wisdom." Frequent circumlocutions obscure his meaning, and his grammar as usual is very faulty, but something like this

is "the order and will of God in the temporal salvation of all saints in the last days." Wine and strong drink are not to be drunk "save in assembling yourselves together to offer up your sacraments before him." In that case, "behold, this should be wine, yea, pure wine, of your own make." He continues, "strong drinks are not for the belly, but for the washing of your bodies. And again, tobacco is not for the body, neither for the belly, and is not good for man, but is an herb for bruises and all sick cattle. And again, hot drinks [thus tabooing tea and coffee] are not for the body or belly. Yea, flesh also of beasts and of the fowls of the air, I, the Lord, have ordained for the use of man with thanksgiving; nevertheless they are to be used sparingly; and it is pleasing unto me that they should not be used only in times of winter, or of cold, or famine." Sad it is to know that this "Word of Wisdom" is a dead letter in the Great Basin.

As the schemes of the period have passed in review, in various particulars striking resemblances have appeared. Thus they clearly center in the thirties, their numbers falling off materially in the years just preceding and following. Almost all belong to the crude, chaotic, and rapidly developing West, the Mississippi Valley, the frontier remote from communities long established. Much the greater number were based upon the fact that extensive tracts of fertile soil were obtainable at an insignificant cost. A mighty religious impulse, a constraining missionary motive, was back of many. An academy, a college, a theological seminary, was quite certain to be involved. And faith in the limitless virtues of manual labor for all students played a most prominent part. The question is both interesting and pertinent, but cannot be answered here at any

considerable length : Why did a few projects like Shipherd's in relation to Oberlin survive and also attain to distinguished success, while a host were short-lived, or never came to any tangible or visible results? Well, many were founded upon nothing more substantial than speculations in real estate. Selfishness was at the bottom, deception and falsehood were soon unearthed, or business prudence found no place in the management. The financial catastrophe of 1837, followed by the extremely hard times lasting a decade, was doubtless responsible for the blasting of multitudes of brightest expectations, though in many cases probably this only hastened the final crash and made it more complete, since such monstrous bubbles must sooner or later collapse. Oberlin had advanced so far, had gained so many friends and so wide a reputation as to be able to outride the storm. Mr. Shipherd was fortunate also in the choice of a location, in Northern Ohio, upon the Western Reserve, on the great highway between the East and the West, thus combining the advantages of both sections ; sufficiently far into the Great Valley to feel the impulse of enterprise and rapid growth, and yet not so far as to be entirely sundered from the settled conditions of the Eastern and Middle States. And, finally, it is well to recall the weighty fact, which may be stated with all due reverence and praise for the founders, after the colonists had come and the school had been started, almost immediately the management of affairs passed into other and better hands. Surely it was honor enough to blaze the way and play the pioneer. But dreams and visions had now done their work, and on the whole had done it fairly well. The future demand is rather for cooler heads, calmer judgments, and a larger sweep of

intelligence. With Cowles, Dascomb, Finney, Mahan, and Morgan in charge, and a score or two of men of similar mould as coadjutors, there was abundance to inspire confidence. New School doctrines, for which Oberlin heroically stood, rapidly grew in favor, while leading reforms like antislavery, in which Oberlin was eminent, in a few years gained thousands of fervid advocates. And thus it was that the mightiest destructive forces which were abroad were impotent either to slay or even to inflict serious harm.

CHAPTER V

THE GENESIS OF THE THEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

THOUGH almost every passage in the early history of Oberlin reads like a romance, of a truth this one is stranger than fiction. If the "pattern shown in the mount" contained any suggestion relating to a future school of the prophets, it must have been only in obscure hints. In August of 1832 the founder has in his mind's eye "schools of the first order, from the infant-school up to an academic school, which shall afford a thorough education in English and the useful languages; and if Providence favor it, at length instruction in theology—I mean in *practical* theology." The curriculum thus outlined was, at the best, of a very limited character, whose major fraction most likely consisted of Bible study. By May of the next year his "plans of operation" were enlarged so considerably as to embrace "academy, college, and theological seminary," the last two to materialize "as Providence permit, which I doubt not will be as fast as our students shall advance in their studies," that is, by the end of four or five years. In the autumn of 1834 the first college class was formed, and in October following a trip to the East was undertaken to gather much-needed funds and to search out a president, but evidently with not the least idea of taking any steps towards establishing a department of theology. Much

less did this dreamer dream that within six months teachers and a large company of students would actually be upon the ground, with buildings and endowments abundantly provided for. This coming great event had not cast the faintest shadow before. Four or five features of this notable change should be particularly borne in mind. It was sudden and unexpected in its coming, the ruling forces were wholly outside of human planning or volition, it was brought to pass by the cooperation of various movements which were national in their scope, the chief actors were brought together from widely separated localities, and the results to Oberlin at several points were tremendous.

Not less than seven men, most of them eminent for gifts and station, and as many important movements, in realms both material and spiritual, were providentially commissioned to play an essential part. Among the latter these are included : 1. The peopling of the Great West, or the Mississippi Valley, the two phrases being then synonymous, involving a prodigious transfer of population across broad forest spaces, which became phenomenal in the twenties and the thirties. 2. A remarkable material development attending and resulting, such as turnpikes, with the National or Cumberland Road as by far the most considerable ; canals with Erie Canal as the earliest and chiefest ; steamboats with railroads following not far behind ; the opening of farms by the million, the founding of villages by the thousand, cities by the hundred, and giant commonwealths by the score. 3. A wide-spread intellectual quickening, including radical reforms in educational methods, and the opening in astonishing numbers of schools of the higher grades both East and West.

4. For twenty years a general craze for manual labor, which by the very wisest was religiously believed to be invaluable and indispensable for students. 5. The prevalence of powerful revivals at the end of the third and opening of the fourth decade, in which evangelists figured largely. 6. An unprecedented missionary activity, with especial reference to the appalling destitution of the remote western frontier. 7. The opening of the modern era of reform, with antislavery of a sudden thrust upon the attention of all good men. The forces of all these movements were conjoined in a wonderful way in the production of Oberlin seminary.

The seven men who played each an essential part were born between 1775 and 1803, were curiously all of New England origin, and all but one also of New England birth. It will be profitable to speak as briefly as possible of each one, excepting the two founders, of whose antecedent career enough has already been given. After the first "commencement," and as the winter of 1834-5 was at hand, Mr. Shipherd had taken his departure from the infant settlement on an errand vastly greater than he imagined. He had Pittsburg in mind, and a journey over the Alleghanies to the East *via* the National Road. Reaching Columbus he "accidentally" met a young man of his acquaintance just returning from Cincinnati, who named a man of that city in his judgment exactly suited for the presidency of Oberlin, and almost certainly told him also of some startling events of recent occurrence in the same locality. Not particularly impressed by what he had heard, Mr. S. was about to proceed, as he had planned, but somehow an inner voice kept saying, "Go to Cincinnati." Not unaccustomed to such

mysterious monitions, though having no acquaintances and not the least idea of what the conviction might mean, he finally felt compelled to turn to the south-westward. The roads were in a dreadful condition, the only vehicle available was a two-wheeled cart which carried the mail, and this ride of two or three days was most exhausting to one in his enfeebled condition, and, according to one who met him upon his arrival, the end of the journey found him completely worn out and compelled at once to take to his bed and to receive a vigorous course of medical treatment. It was in the house of Asa Mahan that he was nursed to recovery. This future president of Oberlin was born and educated in New York, and after a ministry of several years in the western portion of that state, in August of 1831 had come to this city to be pastor of the Sixth Presbyterian Church (now Vine Street Congregational Church). He was also a trustee of Lane Theological Seminary, as well as an early and most zealous and aggressive convert to abolition principles. These two men have thus met in readiness to act the parts assigned them.

Lyman Beecher was the oldest of the seven. In 1826 he had been called from a notable ministerial career in Litchfield, Connecticut, to a Boston pastorate in which he had risen to a place among the foremost of American clergymen. In the meantime, in 1829, Lane Seminary had been founded in one of the suburbs of Cincinnati to be a source of supply for the thousands of Christian ministers needed in the West. This city was thought to be the coming mighty metropolis of the Mississippi Valley. Such a school in such a center of power of course must have as its head one of the greatest minds the country could produce, and so Dr.

Beecher was invited to the presidency, and, accepting, was ready to enter upon his duties a few weeks before the end of 1832, or about the time Mr. Shipherd was bargaining with Street & Hughes for the colonial tract. His advent produced a great sensation in the student world, and the eyes of scores of young men with the ministry in view were turned with deep longing towards this now already famous seminary on Walnut Hills.

The scene changes once more, this time to New York City, and centers in the career of a business man who, for the better part of a decade, had rapidly been accumulating wealth and learning to employ it for the advancement of every worthy cause. Northampton, Massachusetts, was the birthplace of Arthur Tappan. When about thirty he had joined the Murray Street Presbyterian Church, and had already begun to ponder earnestly upon his duties as a steward of the Lord. Among the earliest to change from colonization ideas to those of immediate abolition, he took at once a radical stand in behalf of the rights of black men. Under the inspiration of Dr. Beecher's removal thither he had subscribed \$10,000 towards the endowment of Lane. So that he also was ready and biding his time.

A glance towards the early career of Mr. Finney is next in order. In 1818 he had begun to study law, without godliness and with the spirit of a sceptic and scoffer. Three years afterwards came his wondrous conversion; in two years more he had entered upon evangelistic work; in 1831-2 was abundant in toils and successes in New York City, with Arthur Tappan as one of his most efficient helpers. By this time the wear and tear of constant religious services, together with an attack of cholera, had seriously undermined his health, which a protracted sea voyage failed to restore. In 1834 he

became pastor of the newly-organized Broadway Tabernacle Church, where it was possible for him to devote a considerable portion of each year to a form of gospel work less exhausting in its character. When a new sanctuary was built, one room was planned with reference to giving theological lectures to a class of young men converted under his preaching and desirous of entering the ministry. Mr. Finney, too, had become an abolitionist, though not of such an ultra type as was Mr. Tappan.

The seventh man required to make possible the advent of Oberlin seminary in the time and way it was to come into being was Theodore D. Weld, whose part, for importance, was second to none. He was the youngest of the company, and to this generation is also the least known. Multitudes of well-informed persons have never even heard his name, though he died as recently as February of 1895, at the age of ninety-two; and, perhaps, for the sufficient reason that, for much more than a generation, he lived so secluded from the world that his name was seldom seen in the public prints. Born in Connecticut in 1803, we find him at the age of seventeen in Phillips Academy. Then, his eyes failing on account of trying to do two years' work in one, he lectured and gave lessons upon a system of mnemonics in the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States. It was now that slavery first came under his eye, and an undying hate began to spring up in his breast. In 1826 he appears in Hamilton College, though unable to study, and raging fiercely against the revival measures of Mr. Finney, who was holding services only a few miles off, in Utica. But not long after, caught by guile in the congregation, the great evangelist for an hour poured the hot shot of New Testament truth straight

at the head and heart of this rebel, from the text, "One sinner destroyeth much good." Weld was now furious, sought out the preacher, abused and reviled him to his face, and then a day or two afterwards was so soundly converted as to become for weeks a devoted helper of Mr. Finney, until, his health giving way, he was compelled to take rest and so made a journey to Labrador. On his return several weeks were spent in Boston, where he made the acquaintance of Dr. Beecher. His next sojourn was made in Oneida Institute, a manual labor school located a few miles west of Utica, where he figures as student, manager of the labor department, and financial agent. In 1831 was formed in New York with nearly a score of eminent names among its officers, the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions, with Weld as general agent. Under instructions from this society, he took a most extensive tour through the West and Southwest, visiting leading cities and literary institutions in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama. His report was made in January of 1833, and when published produced one of the sensations of the time, exciting admiration and receiving praise which now appear ridiculous in the extreme. By the end of this second visit to the South his abolition convictions had saturated his whole being. Then he had on hand a colossal scheme for a manual labor institution, with Rochester, New York, as a probable location. But Lane Seminary in Cincinnati had a manual labor department and was to be the chief school of the prophets, in the Union, at least. Therefore, Weld was written to and besought by all means to come and cast in his lot with Lane. Such a man, in such an institution, in such a city, in such a region,

surely would make a superb and unapproachable combination ! It was delicately hinted that he could have about anything he wanted, the Professorship of Sacred Rhetoric and Oratory being named as perhaps agreeable to his tastes. He came later, as we shall see, but coming, the authorities soon found that they had caught a Tartar.

A few words on the rise of abolition doctrine just in time to contribute its efficacy towards producing Oberlin's theological department, and the preliminaries attending its birth are completed. In January of 1831 Garrison's *Liberator* was launched, denouncing slavery as a damnable sin, and demanding the immediate breaking of every yoke. The Colonization scheme was hollow and hypocritical, was worthless as a means of emancipation, while a positive source of benefit to the slave power. The year before, Garrison had been thrown into jail in Baltimore for his sentiments, because of his inability to pay a fine and costs of prosecution, and Tappan had secured his release by forwarding the sum required. The American Antislavery Society was formed in December of 1833, with Tappan as president and Weld among the delegates present. By this time the leaven of this startling doctrine had been diffused far and wide ; the friends of slavery were filled with alarm, and the next year was marked by the prevalence of mobs directed against the hated agitators.

We may now return to Cincinnati, where we left Mr. Shipherd in the home of Rev. Asa Mahan, and take up again the thread of the story. His uppermost desire being just now to find a president for his nascent institution, diligent inquiry was made for the right man, with the result that several, in whose judgment he felt justified in placing confidence, united in expressing the

conviction that he could scarcely find one more fit than his host to fill such a position. Then, venturing to broach the matter to Mr. Mahan, he was found more than ready to bestow a favorable hearing. But, meanwhile, the stirring details of a much more significant matter had come to his knowledge, to wit, the famous Lane Seminary "rebellion" and its outcome. Of this it will be necessary to give in brief the salient points.

The seminary had opened about two years before with Dr. Beecher as president and everything most encouraging in the outlook. In remarkably large numbers students came flocking in from north and south, from west and east. Among them, in particular, had made their advent, in the spring of 1833, a goodly company from Oneida Institute, with Weld among them. Some had worked their way as raftsmen from Olean down the Alleghany and Ohio, thus not only saving traveling expenses but receiving good wages while *en route*; but Weld and three others bought a boat for six dollars and floated down French Creek and the Alleghany to Pittsburg, thence taking a deck passage to Cincinnati. Of strength of character these men certainly possessed an unusually high average. With their own muscle they were working their way into the ministry. Most were of comparatively mature years, while some were past thirty. This was the conviction of one who knew them: "It was a noble class of young men, uncommonly strong, a little uncivilized, entirely radical, and terribly in earnest." Weld was most gifted, his powers had been most thoroughly tested and developed, and he was their leader, trusted and admired. "Penetrated as they were with admiration and love for their brilliant leader, they constituted a kind of *imperium in imperio*, to govern which, by ordinary college

law, might prove difficult." Dr. Beecher reached this conclusion: "Weld was a genius. First-rate natural capacity, but uneducated. Would have made a first-rate man in the Church of God if his education had been thorough. In the estimation of the class, he was president. The young men had, many of them, been under his care, and they thought he was a god."

Weld was also a born general, and had become a consummate strategist. For some reason by this time he had given up his Model Manual Labor Institution, and descended the Ohio with a troop which he had helped to collect, not to be Professor of Sacred Rhetoric and Oratory, nor even to take the humbler role of student. Let him state the fact in his own language: "While in New York in 1833 I had several conversations with the Tappans and others interested in anti-slavery. I told them I knew of a number who were coming from the Southern States to Lane, besides many of the Oneida Institute boys. When I went through the West and South and saw the situation of Lane Seminary, I was satisfied that was the place for us. I developed in conversation with the Tappans my views on slavery, and my intention to improve the excellent opportunity to introduce antislavery sentiments and have the whole subject thoroughly discussed." His mission, then, in Southern Ohio was that of an anti-slavery propagandist. Such was the situation upon Walnut Hills, but in the city adjoining another set of facts existed which need to be considered. The location was far south; across the river was a slave state; a large portion of the population was of Southern birth or ideas, while business interests with the same region were large and important. Bitter prejudice existed towards the numerous free black residents. As far

back as 1829 the authorities had set up certain oppressive regulations designed to drive them out, ending in a riot lasting three days and the final flight of nearly a thousand to Canada. And public sentiment was now even worse since abolition doctrines were finding so many advocates.

Not many weeks elapsed after the arrival of the Oneida contingent before a debate was arranged for upon Colonization *vs.* Abolition, and at least one man was determined that nothing should be left undone to make the decision certain even before the public arguments commenced. Says Weld: "A great work was to be done in preparing the way for an open discussion. We early began to inculcate our views, by conversation, upon our fellow students. Those of us who sympathized together in our abhorrence of slavery selected each his man to instruct, convince, and enlist in the cause. Thus we carried one after another,* and before we came to public debate knew pretty well where

* As showing what great thoughts were swelling within, these words from their "Statement" will be instructive: "The circumstances of our matriculation were peculiarly impressive. We were connected with an institution freighted with the spiritual interests of the West. We were numerous without a precedent in the beginnings of similar institutions. The Valley was our expected field; and we assembled here that we might the more accurately learn its character, catch the spirit of its gigantic enterprise, grow up into its genius, appreciate its peculiar wants, and be thus qualified by practical skill, no less than by theological erudition, to wield the weapons of truth. But the responsibility of the post we providentially held, as the first class in a theological seminary, outweighed all other considerations in our estimate of duty. The friends of the new institution expected of us that we should be letters of commendation to the western churches, and that our scholarship, piety, and practical usefulness would be the earnest of its future success. Our probable influence over succeeding classes was also matter of deep solicitude. God, the church, the ministry, the wants of a sinking world, summoned us to such a course of holy living and self-denying action as our successors

we stood." Though the trustees through the faculty, knowing the probable results upon the community, strongly urged postponement, the eventful debate came off as planned, lasting eighteen nights. The first nine were given to abolition, with a vote at the close unanimous for immediate emancipation. Then followed nine concerning the mild and soothing colonization *régime*, which also was rejected, with but a solitary vote in its favor. And this was the most marked feature of that discussion. "Those young men sought not the victory in argument, but to determine the course of their future lives. They knew that scorn, contempt, slander, persecution, disinheritance, awaited them if they espoused the cause of the slave ; but with them it was question of duty, not of profit." For several of the number were the sons of slaveholders. A quotation from a "Statement" issued a few months later will reveal the spirit and motive which impelled them in this hour of momentous decision :

We were led to adopt this principle, that free discussion, with correspondent effort, is a duty, and of course a right. We proceeded upon this principle. We applied it to missions, and we acted immediately through liberal contributions. We took up temperance, and we acted. With the Sunday-school cause we proceeded in like manner, and next, moral reform came up. We examined it in a series of adjourned meetings, light was elicited, principles were fixed, and action followed. With the same spirit of free inquiry we discussed the question of slavery. We prayed much, heard facts, weighed arguments, kept our temper, and after the most patient pondering we decided that slavery was a sin, and as such ought to be immediately renounced. In this case, too, we acted.

might with safety imitate ; to breathe a spirit which might well inspire them ; and to leave behind us mantles which they might fitly wear. We aimed, therefore, to make such a disposal of our influence as would contribute to place Lane Seminary upon high moral ground, and thus greatly elevate the standard and augment the resources of ministerial efficiency."

And it was their action, far more than their debate and decision, that soon stirred a veritable tempest of excited feeling. If only these fervid theologues had been prudent and cautious, if they could have persuaded themselves to hold emancipation as a mere theory to be argued for and against, Oberlin Seminary might never have seen the light. But, behold, their hearts overflowed with sympathy for the despised and degraded blacks in their vicinity. They proceeded to open day and night schools, and Sunday-schools, and preaching services, "lyceums, a circulating library, etc., choosing rather to employ our leisure hours in offices of brotherhood to the 'lame, the halt, and the blind,' than to devote them to fashionable calls and ceremonial salutations." Most odious of all was their principle of "social intercourse according to character, irrespective of color," impelled by which they scrupled not to visit the blacks in their homes and receive calls from them in return. Such "social equality" was not to be tolerated in a city so civilized as Cincinnati.

While all these dreadful doings were in progress, the long seminary vacation began, the faculty took their departure for the East, not dreaming in the least of the explosion near at hand which was to shake the institution to its foundations, while the only authorities left upon the ground were the trustees, with an executive committee acting for the entire board. These were mainly conservatives from principle, as also from financial interest, some of them having Southern customers for their wares. Mr. Mahan was a pronounced exception, whose feelings were deeply enlisted with the students. Studying the situation, during the early summer, noting the excitement prevalent throughout the city, it was decided that something vigorous should

be done to restrain the humanitarian folly of the young men. And without the least appreciation of the kind of material upon which they proposed to work, the trustees passed a rule "prohibiting any societies or associations in the Seminary, any public meetings or discussions among the students, any public addresses by the students in the Seminary or elsewhere, or communications to the students at their meals, or when assembled on other ordinary occasions, without the approbation of the faculty; and requiring that the anti-slavery society and colonization society be abolished; and that students not complying with these as with other rules should be dismissed." Later, by the faculty on their return, and by the trustees, the worst elements of tyranny were eliminated from that frantic manifesto, or else were softened down, but the catastrophe had fallen. The students protested vigorously, withdrew in a body to the number of nearly eighty, and demanded honorable dismissions.

Mr. Mahan had protested against these extreme measures, and when they passed overwhelmingly, by resignation took his departure from the board. Mr. Tappan, being advised of the situation in Cincinnati, at once dispatched \$1,000 to these theologues exiled and destitute for conscience' sake. Mr. Ludlow, a man of wealth coupled with philanthropy, offered them the free use of a commodious building in Cummingsville, a few miles out of the city, and presently a seminary was improvised, the young men teaching each other and making progress as best they could. Their New York benefactor went further, and began to urge Mr. Finney to resort thither and help them to complete a course of preparation, offering to meet the entire expense. And it was just when matters were in this decidedly

interesting condition that, impelled by the inner voice and well-nigh against his will, Mr. Shipherd had appeared upon the scene towards the end of November, 1834. A few days sufficed to explain for substance what the heavenly monition meant. Here was a royal body of students, of moral fiber exactly after this dreamer's heart, with only temporary provision made for their future, while across the state in that little clearing on the Western Reserve was abundance of room for a theological seminary. The thing to do was evident at a glance. No long conference was required to settle it that they would betake themselves to Oberlin, if Mahan would go as president, if Professor Morgan of Lane, just dropped by the trustees for his abolition sentiments, should be chosen to some suitable position, and if, in addition, equal educational rights should be accorded to blacks. All this Mr. Shipherd undertook at once to do, writing to his trustees to take all needed action.

But this was not the end of the great business. Having made almost without effort this unexpected and marvelous gain, another step forward was indispensable, for a theological teacher must be had. So, asking leave of absence from his church, Mr. Mahan starts up the Ohio with Mr. Shipherd in quest of one. A halt is made at Ripley, and a trip is taken thirty miles north to Hillsborough where Weld is now lecturing, for he is the unanimous and enthusiastic choice of the ex-Lane boys. Would he accept that position? Nothing could be wiser than his reply: "No, I am not the man for that place, but Mr. Finney is, and Providence has just prepared him to occupy such a position. He is in a state of too great physical prostration to labor as an evangelist, or to sustain the responsibilities

of a pastor, while teaching theology, for which he is preeminently fitted, would be needful rest to him." Thus, in more senses than one, Weld gave Finney to Oberlin. Taking this suggestion as the voice of the Lord, the two were soon again steaming up the river, bound now for New York. The first interview with the man they desired was not wholly encouraging. He evidently failed to perceive aught very attractive or substantial in connection with that crude and rough beginning in the Ohio woods. What promise was there of permanence? More especially, for that pretentious undertaking had any solid financial foundations been laid? This was a man of super-eminent faith, but in such a case he counted it simple duty and good sense, rather than unbelief, to demand something visible and tangible. The sentences which follow are taken from the narrative of Mr. Mahan :

On our arrival, we first of all called together for consultation some twenty or thirty of the special friends of Mr. Finney, he being present at the meeting. Before this body we laid our cause, and fully convinced every one of his friends present that he should accept the position tendered him. He now took the matter into serious consideration. When thus pondering the subject, he asked me one day the question, "What are you doing for the endowment of your college?" "We are doing nothing," was my reply, "nor shall we do anything until you decide the question whether you will go there, provided the means to sustain the college are secured." After a short consultation, "I will go with you," he said, "on the conditions you have named." We then went to work with a will, and in less than three months from the time when we had left Cincinnati all the appointments were made, and finally accepted, and upwards of \$80,000 were secured for the institution, and a donation of \$10,000 from Arthur Tappan for incidental expenses.

Relating to the same transaction, of such supreme moment to Oberlin, Mr. Finney makes these additional statements :

While in New York I had many applications from young men, to take them as students in theology. I, however, had too much on my hands

to undertake such a work. But the brethren who built the Tabernacle had this in view, and prepared a room under the choir which we expected to use for prayer-meetings, but more especially for a theological lecture-room. The number of applications had been so large that I had made up my mind to deliver a course of theological lectures in that room each year, and let such students as chose attend them gratuitously. But about this time the breaking up of Lane Seminary took place. When this took place, Mr. Tappan proposed to me that, if I would go to some point in Ohio, and take rooms where I could gather those young men, and give them my views in theology, and prepare them for the work of preaching throughout the West, he would be at the entire expense of the undertaking. He was very earnest in this proposal. But I did not see how I could accomplish his wishes, although I strongly sympathized with those young men. While this subject was under consideration Messrs. Shipherd and Mahan arrived in New York to persuade me to go to Oberlin as professor of theology. These students themselves had proposed to go in case I would accept the call. The brethren in New York who were interested in the question offered, if I would go and spend half of each year in Oberlin, to endow the institution so far as the professorships were concerned, and do it immediately. I had understood that the trustees of Lane had acted over the heads of the faculty, and in the absence of several of them had passed the obnoxious resolution that had caused the students to leave. I said therefore to Mr. Shipherd that I would not go at any rate, unless two points were conceded by the trustees. One was that they should never interfere with the internal regulation of the school. The other was that we should be allowed to receive colored people on the same conditions that we did white people ; that there should be no discrimination made on account of color. . . . But after this endowment fund was subscribed, I told Mr. Tappan that my mind did not feel at rest on the subject ; that we should meet with great opposition because of our antislavery principles ; and that we could expect to get but very scanty funds to put up our buildings, and to procure all the requisite apparatus of a college ; that therefore I did not see my way clear after all to commit myself, unless something could be done that should guarantee us the funds that were indispensable. Tappan's heart was as large as all New York, and, I might say, as large as the world. When I laid the case thus before him, he said, "My own income averages about \$100,000 a year. Now, if you will go to Oberlin, take hold of that work, and go on and see that the buildings are put up, and a library and everything provided, I will pledge you my entire income, except what I need to provide for my family, till you are beyond pecuniary want." Having perfect confidence in Brother Tappan I said, "That will do."

Well might he have been satisfied by such assurances from such a source. And though, as we shall see, through no fault of the promiser, next to nothing came of that magnificent pledge, in the shape of hard cash, something far more substantial resulted, for the seminary was brought into existence at once, with Mr. Finney as the head.

It will be necessary to pause just here to recall how perilously near Oberlin came, after all, to losing professorships, professors, students, buildings, and all, for lack of moral courage, or rather of a fully developed spiritual intelligence, on the part of her highest authorities. By a strange fatality (most beneficent providence), the Lane "rebels," Mr. Mahan, Mr. Finney, Mr. Tappan and his friends, had made the same condition to the performance of their part, that is, that no discrimination should be made against colored students. Under date of December 15, 1834, Mr. Shipherd had written from Cincinnati to the trustees: "I desire you at the first meeting of the trustees to secure the passage of the following resolution, to wit: *Resolved*, that students shall be received into this Institution irrespective of color. Brothers Mahan and Morgan will not accept our invitation unless this principle rule," etc. In due course of time this unheard-of and startling proposition was made known in Oberlin, and great was the consternation which ensued. The question was absolutely new. Antislavery sentiments of a moderate type were dominant here, but, as shown by a recent debate, the multitude were satisfied with colonization, while only a very few had advanced as far as immediate abolition. The general feeling was one of repugnance at the thought of studying, reciting, walking, boarding with people of African descent,

not to mention the unknown and evil possibilities lying concealed behind "social equality," and vastly worse!* At least two of the young women students from New England declared that if negroes were admitted, they would return to their homes if they "had to wade Lake Erie" to accomplish it. But happily also the desire was as general to know exactly what duty required in this most trying emergency, coupled with a settled determination to go promptly to the full length of obligation. Therefore, when the trustees were called together to take action, but in Elyria, in order to escape from the intense excitement abroad in the neighborhood of the college, the principal colonists joined in a petition that the meeting might be held in Oberlin, with this as the closing sentence: "We feel for our black brethren; we want your counsels and instructions; we want to know what is duty, and, God assisting us, we will lay aside every prejudice, and do as we shall be led to believe that God would have us do." The poor trustees were in a sore strait, and by their votes showed themselves not to be lifted above human limitations as to wisdom and courage. After electing Messrs. Mahan and Morgan to the places proposed, they put their ultimatum into these words:

Whereas, information has been received from Rev. J. J. Shipherd expressing a wish that students may be received into this institution irre-

* Every citizen of the place, every professor and student, claimed a right to a voice in determining the fundamental character of the school. They had sacrificed much in coming here, and had come for the sake of the school. Could they consent that the college and this place should be made the hotbed of abolitionism? For several weeks this was the sole topic of discussion in public meetings and private circles, at the tables and by the way; and constantly the conviction was settling down upon the people that He who made of one blood all the children of men would not be offended to see them enjoying the privileges of education in the same school.—E. H. Fairchild, in *Historical Sketch*.

spective of color; therefore, *Resolved*, that this Board do not feel prepared, till they have more definite information on the subject, to give a pledge respecting the course they will pursue in regard to the education of the people of color, wishing that this institution should be on the same ground, in respect to the admission of students, with other similar institutions of our land.

Have patience with these good brethren. They are foreordained, every one, to be zealous abolitionists with the full courage of their convictions, they are in the Lord's hands, and under his tuition they will soon become so illumined as nevermore to shape their conduct by the example of other "institutions," other communities, or other saints even of high degree. Intelligence of this unheroic and weak-kneed proceeding reached Mr. Shipherd while in New York negotiating with Mr. Finney and the capitalists for a faculty and an endowment, and the entire splendid scheme, which up to this point had moved rapidly onward from strength to strength, almost without hindrance until a marvellous consummation seemed to have been reached, was threatened with utter overthrow. Hence the trustees were written to again and urged to take the indispensable step. A lengthy and most solemn "pastoral letter" was also dispatched to the colonists to bring them to a glad willingness to welcome the black man to their hospitality. After a prolix exhortation to a high-toned godliness in general, he comes to the matter in hand, and proceeds to enumerate *twenty* weighty reasons why no distinction of color should be made. They were such as these: They are needed as ministers and will be elevated much more rapidly if taught with whites. The Golden Rule requires it. Intermarriage is not asked and need not be feared. Other institutions will admit them by and by. It is only the pride of a wicked heart that refuses.

Otherwise we cannot hope for the smile of God. If they are rejected I cannot labor for the enlargement of Oberlin. Last, but not least, these three men, eight professorships and \$10,000 hang trembling in the balance.

The first meeting of the trustees had been held January 1, 1835, and a second was called for February 9. That was Oberlin's day of decision. Let President Fairchild tell what occurred: "The trustees convened in the morning, nine members being present, and the discussion was warm and long. Mrs. Shipherd was occupied with her household duties, but in her anxiety she often passed the door, which was ajar, and at length stood before it. Father Keep comprehended the case, and stepped out to inform her that the result of the deliberation was very doubtful. He greatly feared that the opposition would prevail. Mrs. Shipherd dropped her work at once, gathered her praying sisters in the neighborhood, and spent the time with them in prayer until the decision was announced. When the question was finally taken, the division of the board was equal, and Father Keep, as the presiding officer, gave the casting vote in favor of the admission of colored students." Even Mr. Stewart argued and voted against such a result to the very last. The exceeding perturbation and dubiety of the body are almost amusingly revealed in the staggering and inconsequent conclusion they put on record for the reading of remotest posterity:

Whereas, there does exist in our country an excitement in respect to our colored population, and fears are entertained that on the one hand they will be left unprovided for as to the means of a proper education, and on the other that they will, in unsuitable numbers, be introduced into our schools, and thus in effect forced into the society of the whites, and the state of public sentiment is such as to require from the Board

some definite expression on the subject; therefore, *Resolved*, that the education of the people of color is a matter of great interest, and should be encouraged by this Institution.

As a literary product this immortal document might be improved, nor is it at all remarkable for directness of statement or lucidity of meaning, but the weighty result at which it really aimed could not have been more perfectly secured by the faultless phrases of any master of rhetoric. The black man came ere long and has continued to come, though not in swarms or floods as feared, has always received considerate treatment, no harm has ensued to anybody, while benefit in abundance has accrued to all concerned. And what a shining achievement this was to have been wrought within the limits of three months! In the spring or early summer of 1835 the new members of the faculty and some thirty theologues were present for duty, the latter increased to fifty-eight in the register of the next year. Well might the colonists conclude that the smile of the Lord rested upon their humble undertaking, and almost that the age of miracles had returned! There were no houses in the clearing to receive the honored newcomers. Dwellings for the President and Professor of Theology soon began to rise, but a rude shelter for the Lane contingent was speedily improvised, in one story, covered with rough boards and battened with slabs, the bark still upon them, its proportions twelve feet by one hundred and forty-four, and affording "accommodations" for forty students, two rooming together.

As may well be imagined, these notable events did not occur without producing a profound sensation throughout Northern Ohio. Some eyes there also were which looked on with deep regret and apprehension. For

over in Hudson, in a neighboring county, was an infant college with a seminary conjoined, to which Oberlin was becoming a dangerous rival. When it was learned what great things Mr. Shipherd was scheming for in Cincinnati and New York, the friends of Hudson straightway began to bestir themselves to prevent what looked like an unjustifiable multiplication of institutions. An influential committee was appointed to meet Mr. Finney in Cleveland upon his arrival from the East, to turn him aside and secure him as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Sacred Rhetoric, to which position the trustees had unanimously elected him May 14. But lake navigation was uncertain, and they failed to intercept the object of their desire. The prize went to Oberlin, nor did a later attempt to secure a transfer meet with success. It is here again that we come upon apparent error of judgment on the part of Mr. Shipherd, of unwisdom so serious as to scarcely come short of grievous transgression. And yet he was innocent, nor could he or Hudson withstand the "force of circumstances." Neither human wisdom nor human might can stem Niagara. A higher power was behind the founder of Oberlin.*

Though the extraordinary story of beginnings has been followed to the opening of classes for theological study, the narrative can scarcely stop here, since the sequel, the remoter outcome, is fully as remarkable as the events which have already passed under view. It

*Reading in the light of history it approaches the humorous to find Rev. Henry Cowles, then of Austinburg, penning a letter to Mr. Shipherd, arguing with great earnestness and with cogency overwhelming in favor of giving up the seminary scheme and suffering it to go to Hudson, Mr. Finney included, since before the year ended he himself is found in Oberlin, and as a professor, and a year later in the theological department.

might well be expected that such a phenomenal birth would lead on to a career to match. And such was the fact, at least for a generation. Seven general movements were alluded to, of significance not less than national, which conspired to bring the seminary into being, and seven personal factors as well whose cooperation was indispensable. Somewhat curiously, too, seven conspicuous features of Oberlin history can be traced as consequent upon the advent of Mr. Finney and his coadjutors and the inauguration of their work. How big with meaning, then, was the journey of Mr. Shipherd late in the autumn of 1834, and how fortunate for his enterprise that he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision which bade him turn aside to Cincinnati!

1. First of all, of course, the Institution was substantially enlarged by the opening of a new department. The pattern shown in the mount revealed only an "infant-school," with studies of higher grades up to an "academic school," and "practical theology" taught later, "if Providence permit." But behold, now already college classes are formed containing thirty-eight students, with a theological school above them numbering about two score, half of whom are nearly ready to graduate. Hence a real university is under way. Not far from three hundred young people have been gathered for study from East, West and South alike, considerably more than half from outside of Ohio, and a remarkably large proportion from New England and New York. This was not growth after the usual fashion with new enterprises, but a leaping into fullness of stature and strength. Not long since Oberlin was unknown, but now it is suddenly lifted to fame. This impecunious venture of yesterday is able to-day

to reckon up its resources by the hundred thousand dollars, name among its devoted friends men of national reputation for wealth, and tell of divers buildings rising for its uses, in the forest. Finney in Oberlin, as a magnet, was, at least, a match for Beecher at Lane.

2. With the seminary came abolitionism of an ultra and vigorous type, and this community and institution without this characteristic would be but the play of Hamlet without Hamlet's part. After stoutest resistance on the part of colonists and students, the admission of blacks had been secured only by a casting vote. But notwithstanding this step most grudgingly taken, colonization principles, not Garrison's radical remedy, best satisfied the general reason and moral sense. And such was the situation when the long winter vacation of 1835-6 drew near. Theodore D. Weld appears upon the scene once more, for he was the instrument providentially chosen for Oberlin's conversion. The service assigned to him was eminent, and was at least threefold. It was this leading spirit who had planned and engineered the discussion in Lane which led straight on to the "rebellion" and secession. It was also he who, when asked to take the chair of theology in the proposed seminary, both prevented a more than probable disaster to the scheme by resolutely declining, and besides conferred a pre-eminent benefit by naming and urging Mr. Finney for the place. And now he paid a visit to give the crowning stroke to his performance. The year had been passed by him in speaking and organizing for anti-slavery in the state, and his special mission now was to train a corps of lecturers upon the same theme for a winter's campaign, the ex-Lane theologues of course

prominent among them. The marked sagacity of the man is seen in the program adopted, which more than once, both before and after, was followed for substance elsewhere. No improvement can be made upon President Fairchild's setting forth of what occurred: "A few weeks before the close of the fall term Weld came to the place, and gave a series of twenty-one lectures on slavery, its nature and relations and bearings, personal, social, political, and moral; lectures of marvelous power, all charged with facts, with logic, and with fervid eloquence. To listen to such an exhibition of the system of slavery was an experience to be remembered for a lifetime. It is doubtful whether any community was ever more profoundly moved by the eloquence of a single man. From first to last, through the evenings of three full weeks, the whole body of citizens and students hung upon his lips. Studies naturally suffered some interruption, but the opportunity was itself an education. Oberlin was abolitionized in every thought and feeling and purpose, and has been working out those convictions during the fifty years which have since elapsed."

3. Oberlin was brought into evil report, and bitterest hatred and opposition were excited, which required a quarter of a century fully to dissipate, whose remains, indeed, exist in some quarters even until to-day. In no inconsiderable part this came from its uncompromising anti-slavery principles, proclaimed far and wide in pulpit and on platform, as well as acted out at the ballot-box and in furthering, with greatest enthusiasm, the operations of the underground railroad. But also very soon "Oberlin perfection," or "sanctification," excited widespread alarm in circles theological, with Finney, Mahan, Cowles, and quite a host of lesser lights as its

exceedingly zealous advocates with tongue and pen. Still further, Oberlin was made to appear as a troubler of Israel, an Ishmaelite, its hand against every man. Its neighbors, Lane and Hudson, had a grievance too great to be borne with equanimity. To begin with, here was a shameless trespasser, a poacher upon their preserves. Then, both had suffered seriously from internal dissension and wholesale exodus of students, who had flocked straight to Mr. Shipherd's colony, and had been received and lionized. In all things, while Oberlin was radical, they were conservative. Yes, and Oberlin was overrun with students. Finally, from the days of the fathers, the Plan of Union had bound Presbyterians and Congregationalists together in the same ecclesiastical bundle until that instrument had come to be considered sacred ; and lo, Oberlin wrought with all her might to restore to the churches the purely democratic polity of New England. Therefore, by a multitude of the good she was abhorred and cast out as vile.

4. Added to this was the sore and prolonged affliction of poverty. Lest the saints upon the colonial tract should be exalted above measure, such a thorn in the flesh was sent. The faculty had been greatly enlarged, students had come in swarms, with increased expenditure compelled for buildings, etc., and all upon mere promises to pay. When too late to turn back or halt, and within a few months of the advent of Mr. Finney and the rest, the New York money-magnates were all bankrupt, the times became so desperately hard that no financial assistance could be obtained from any source, with the greatest embarrassment and struggle ensuing for years to secure the bare means of subsistence. No doubt for Oberlin, with its peculiar

mission, this experience was indispensable, was vastly better in its results than the promised comfort and affluence would have been. But, nevertheless, the discipline was severe.

5. After the long night, the day began to dawn at length. The providential mode of deliverance from the almost fatal financial stringency was every whit as remarkable as the way in which it befell. When bankruptcy seemed as good as inevitable and no relief was possible from this side of the Atlantic, it occurred to William Dawes, one of the trustees, that British Christians might be appealed to with hope. Though slight encouragement was found at first for this scheme,—for, in 1839, the passions of the Revolution still survived,—yet at length he made the venture, attended by Rev. John Keep. It “happened” that just then antislavery men in England were overflowing with enthusiasm over emancipation recently decreed for all the colonies. To these, many Quakers included, the plea was urged that Oberlin also was radical for antislavery, was in deepest distress, was suffering obloquy and persecution for conscience’ sake. Besides, to the Friends it was suggested that Oberlin opened her doors to women. From this canvass \$30,000 resulted, sufficient to meet the bulk of the indebtedness, with generous gifts, in addition, of apparatus and books for the library.

6. With the seminary came Finney, Mahan, Morgan, and Cowles, who rank high as builders of Oberlin. The last named wrought most efficiently to spread the ideas and spirit dominant here, through his Bible commentaries, but most of all through the Oberlin *Evangelist*, over which from first to last he was the presiding genius. But most significant for the Kingdom, Mr. Finney, becoming identified thus with the institution

and community, entered the very best field, both for the development of his powers and for the accomplishment of his life-work. If to him Oberlin owes an incalculable debt, as she does, his indebtedness to her is also great beyond expression.

7. For forty years the theological seminary was the chief seat of intellectual stimulus and of spiritual power. Who can measure the influence which went forth from the theological class-room and the pulpit of the First Church? Hundreds of ministers were trained into the conceptions of truth, and duty, and character, cherished by this fiery evangelist, while by the ten thousand young men and women came under his potent spell, gained godly ideals and motives and ambitions and inspirations, and then scattered all the world over to live what they had learned, to impart to others what they themselves had received. Had everything been omitted which flowed directly and indirectly from Mr. Shipherd's trip to New York *via* Cincinnati in the winter of 1834-5, how vastly different would have been Oberlin's history, and how comparatively insignificant its impression upon the land and the world!

CHAPTER VI

BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF COEDUCATION

THE idea of bringing the sexes together in an institution of higher learning was unheard of by the fathers and mothers of sixty-five years ago, and when propounded by the founders of Oberlin appeared to most irrational in the extreme, and, for various reasons, an innovation not in the least to be considered. Such intimate association as would necessarily ensue would certainly be destructive to the morals of both, if not also to their intellectual progress, while the educational requirements and capacities of men and women are so unlike that to pursue anything like the same course of study, or to press towards the same goal, would be an offence against nature and bring chaos, if not also widespread catastrophe. Just how such a daring innovation came to be made will be best understood by a glance at some of the educational movements which had preceded or were contemporaneous with this. It was an important phase of the general trend in that period towards democracy, equality, the sanctity of human rights. Women, as well as men, had certain inalienable rights, and among them was the right to an education. Or, woman's sphere was enlarging on every side and she must be furnished for the new tasks. Again, the spirit of humanity, philanthropy, was rising and swelling every-

where, impelling to the reform of all manner of abuses, the removal of all manner of disabilities, and hitherto women had not received their fair share of opportunities to rise in the scale of intelligence. But, more particularly, in that generation, a mighty quickening had come to the entire educational realm. The influence of Pestalozzi, Frœbel, and Basedow had been widely felt in the New World, and not a few of the stamp of Woodbridge, Barnard, and Mann were toiling with greatest energy and zeal to improve the system of public instruction in every department, from the infant-school to the college. In the midst of such a universal overturning and demand for better things it was not possible that the startling defects of female education should not be brought to light and resolute attempts be made to set on foot effective measures for putting the choicest treasures of knowledge within reach of every girl who would win them for herself.

Though to New England is properly accorded the praise of having given origin, in this country, to public schools, free schools, schools within reach of the humblest, yet even the founders and builders of Massachusetts and Connecticut were derelict at certain vital points. Their principles were Christian and liberal and far in advance of the time, but in the application of these a narrowness, a partiality, is easily discerned. There was a sad falling off in their high appreciation of the need of popular intelligence when one half of the population had been reached by the labors of the pedagogue. The Harvards and Yales were designed for men exclusively (from whose ranks the ministry was to be taken), nor was the need imagined of similar institutions for the benefit of their daughters. Academies were required to prepare boys

for college. And even in the common schools it not seldom happened that the girls were conspicuous by their absence, except during the summer months, when the nascent lords of creation were absent on account of the pressure of outdoor work, and hence somebody was wanted to fill the seats. Even writing was not deemed necessary for the weaker sex. It would well suffice if they could read and cipher, were good house-keepers, and besides were possessed of certain accomplishments. Not being themselves taught, of course they could have no part or lot in the teacher's profession.

Such for substance was the situation a hundred years ago. But in the early decades of this century various signs of improvement began to appear. Select schools for girls were opened, and even academies, notably by Catherine Fiske at Keene, New Hampshire, and by Rev. Joseph Emerson in Eastern Massachusetts. In this momentous campaign for the full establishment of girls' rights to a thorough intellectual training, the names of four women stand preeminent. In 1822 Catherine Beecher opened a seminary in Hartford, Connecticut, which continued for ten years, started a similar institution in Cincinnati, upon her removal to that city in 1832, and thus moulded the lives of hundreds of young women who, from nearly every state in the Union, put themselves under her tuition. As far back as 1807 Mrs. Emma Willard took charge of an academy in Middlebury, Vermont, and seven years later founded there a boarding-school for girls, which was located not far from the college. It was now that she took note with deep regret how vastly superior the educational advantages accorded to young men were to any within reach of her own sex, and determined to offer, if pos-

sible, a course of study and methods of instruction not unworthy to be compared with what the ordinary college curriculum would afford. Changing the scene of her labors to Waterford, New York, and two years later to Troy, for twenty years longer she continued to teach, and, with tongue and pen, to plead in behalf of womankind for the best opportunities obtainable to become their largest and truest selves. It was in one of her examinations that the visitors listened with admiration mingled with wonder while a young miss went successfully through the demonstration of a tough problem in the higher mathematics. Who would have thought that the feminine mind was possessed of such great capacities!

The scene changes next to the school of Mr. Emerson in Byfield, where Zilpah P. Grant and Mary Lyon gained no small part of their preparation for their life-tasks, or rather to their schools for girls, first at Derry, New Hampshire, and afterward at Ipswich, Massachusetts, where, 1823-34, they toiled together with wonderful ability and consecration for the intellectual and spiritual development of their pupils. It was really in Ipswich that Mount Holyoke was born, at least in idea, in longing, and in settled purpose. The essential feature of the scheme these two women fashioned related to the ownership of real estate and funds for endowment, all in the hands of a board of trustees to secure wise management and an existence long after the founders of the school had passed away. It was the mind of Miss Grant that fixed upon this as indispensable, while to her associate for some time it savored too much of "brick and mortar." But later she also was convinced, and rested not till the idea materialized in grounds, buildings, and a great gathering of girls on the spot since become

famous all the world over. But Ipswich has a further claim to notice here. Both Mrs. Dascomb and Mrs. Cowles, who were at the head of the Ladies' Department in Oberlin, were pupils there. And more than this, February 10, 1834, Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, financial agent of Oberlin, wrote Mr. Shipherd from Andover:

January 17 I went to Ipswich and presented the claims of Oberlin to the female seminary under the principals, Misses Grant and Lyon. In the evening following sixty-five of the scholars met at Miss Grant's room to ascertain the practicability of young ladies going to the West as teachers of primary schools. On the next day arrangements were made for a collection in behalf of Oberlin. Miss Mary Lyon founded one scholarship, Miss Grant's teachers and scholars one and one-third, giving me in all \$350. They like the plan of Oberlin much, but are much afraid that the female department will be neglected. Dear Brother, you will see to this. Do not let the female character suffer for the want of proper house, teachers, instruction, etc. A school on the model of Miss Grant's, I think, would be the thing. Write Miss Grant acknowledging the \$200. She will name two beneficiaries and pay the remaining \$100 next spring. Also write Mary Lyon and thank her for *her full heart in your course*.*

This connection of Mary Lyon with Oberlin is so interesting in so many ways that generous quotations are in order from a letter of hers to Mr. Shipherd under date of July 28 of the same year, and so was penned not long before her departure from Ipswich to enter upon the severe task of bringing Mount Holyoke into being. How movingly her consecrated soul speaks through these lines:

At the time I contributed \$150 to Oberlin Institute last winter Mr. Woodbury said I could secure a situation for any one I might name. I

* It is exceedingly pleasant to record that, when a few months since Mount Holyoke was seriously smitten by fire, the faculty and students of Oberlin undertook with greatest enthusiasm to raise \$450 and return it as an affectionate memorial of that self-denying and munificent deed of two generations ago.

would like to send a nephew. He expects to depend upon himself. I should be glad to help him directly if I could and meet other claims on my limited resources. I am under the necessity generally of saying, Silver and gold have I none, or nearly none. I can only with care secure from year to year that remittance which I owe to the treasury of the Lord. My principles are that at the present time the Lord requires comparatively a large tithe for his treasury. According to these principles would I act. In making the Oberlin Institute an object of my religious charity the last year the query arose whether it would not do as much good to bestow this sum on this nephew directly to aid him in his education. But considering the fact that we are ever in danger of substituting for real Christian benevolence an enlarged selfishness, extending only to children or family friends, I thought it safest to bestow it directly on the Institute. . . . Oberlin will of course be remembered by me with very lively interest. And as the improvement of this nephew is very dear to my heart, I have a great desire that two objects so interesting to me should be so nearly connected.

X It was no accident, then, which befell, no isolated incident in the movement for the better education of woman, no project wholly without analogy, when, in 1832, the founders of Oberlin determined to provide an institution where girls could be trained to intelligence and fitness for the duties of life. It was rather but one of the signs of the times. Joseph Emerson had trained and inspired not less than a thousand, Catherine Fiske was nearing the end of her teaching career, during which careful instruction had been given to more than twenty-five hundred, Mrs. Willard had yet six years of heroic and efficient service in Troy, while Catherine Beecher was changing her work-field from Hartford to Cincinnati. Two or three years later it could be reported that from Ipswich and the marvelously quickening presence of Misses Grant and Lyon, had gone forth, among others, thirteen missionaries of the American Board, fifty-three teachers to the West and South, and three hundred teachers to New England, New York, and New Jersey. It is a fact, too, most sig-

nificant that Oberlin and Mount Holyoke, having so much in common, being almost identical in spirit and aim, located, the one in a seaboard state, and the other in the Mississippi Valley, had their origin almost in the same year. In September of 1834, Mary Lyon made known her plans to a few men of influence, appointed a committee to act until a board of trustees could be appointed, and within three years had secured \$27,000, a charter, a site and building, and had opened with an attendance of eighty. We wonder and admire when we read that so early as 1636 the first college in New England was started. We also wonder, but do not admire, when we read that not until 1837, or after two full centuries had passed, was opened the first college for women.

By this time the idea was quite well established in the minds of many of the intelligent, that girls should no longer be debarred from the best opportunities for intellectual discipline and enlargement. But already the question had arisen: What kind of schools should be supplied for their benefit, and who should give instruction? Since the sexes had always been kept separate, and whatever the girls had learned had usually been taught them by their mothers at home, it seemed natural to found schools for girls exclusively, to be also wholly in the hands of women. This was the conservative way. Doing thus would be to conform to ancient precedent, and no prejudice would be excited; whereas it would shock the feelings of many, would appear to be running a mortal risk, for girls to recite with boys and behold the world of science and literature mainly through the eyes of men. And at once there set in a process of differentiation in educational ideas and methods. Mount

Holyoke began as an institution of women, by women and for women, with others following for substance in its path in later years like Vassar, Wellesley, Smith, Bryn Mawr, Rockford and Painesville. To those who patronize such schools, the risks and drawbacks of co-education seem to outnumber or outweigh its advantages. Then at the other extreme are such slight compromises under the popular demand as are found in the Radcliffe College, which is something supplementary, a kind of appendix attached to, but not an integral part of the real body. A further compromise to public sentiment is seen in Cornell and Michigan Universities, which were designed for men only, but now admit women to all departments, though with but the slightest modifications made as the result of their presence. But Oberlin has from the first been an advocate and example of a coeducation which is based upon wholly different principles.

It is a most curious and interesting part of the Oberlin story which, starting from the crude designs of the founders as touching the intellectual betterment of womankind, traces their operation and development through the two generations which have since elapsed. The facts in the case do not at all require that we attribute to Mr. Shipherd any peculiar gifts of prescience at this point, or any remarkable breadth of view concerning women's rights, or capacities, or calling in life. It will not be amiss to quote again a few sentences which have come to us from the earliest days of his undertaking. In August of 1832 he wrote concerning the members of the proposed colony: "They are to establish schools of the first order from the infant-school up to an academic school, which shall afford a thorough education in English and the useful lan-

guages. The young women, working at the spinning wheel and loom, will defray much of their expense. In these schools all the children of the colony are to be well educated, also the children and youth of the surrounding population, and school-teachers for our desolate Valley." In the first circular issued in March of 1834, this statement is made: "The grand objects of the Oberlin Institute are, to give the most *useful* education at the least expense of health, time and money; to extend the benefit of such education to both sexes and to all classes of the community. Prominent objects are the thorough qualification of Christian teachers both for the pulpit and for schools; and the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." In the first catalogue, published in November of the same year, the "grand object" is said to be "the diffusion of useful science, sound morality, and pure religion among the growing multitudes of the Mississippi Valley, and to the destitute millions which overspread the world," through ministers and "pious school-teachers. As a secondary object, the elevation of female character." In 1833 Mr. Shipherd stated, in the columns of the *Boston Recorder*, that a "female department" would be established, "on the manual labor plan, including housekeeping, manufacture of wool, culture of silk, appropriate parts of gardening, particularly the raising of seeds for market, making of clothes, etc." *

Beyond these quotations we have no knowledge con-

* We get further glimpses of Mr. Shipherd's ideas in a letter written in May, 1833, recommending the appointment of a teacher for the "female department" of "our manual labor school." "As our female school

cerning the purposes of the founders, if they had any, as touching the course of study to be pursued by such young women as should resort to the institute, what special provision should be made for their supervision and instruction, and what relations, social and otherwise, should be established between the sexes. The evidence seems to be conclusive that they failed altogether to plan so far ahead, that to such matters of detail they gave little thought, or even none at all. The intelligence was spread abroad that women would be more than welcome, that a place would be prepared for them, and that their needs would be met. The invitation was accepted and they came, nearly forty the first year. A part of the second floor of the only college building was set apart for their use, with the young men in possession of the story above. Teachers and recitation rooms alike were few. The studies at first pursued were mainly elementary, and hence, as a matter of course as well as a matter of necessity, men and women studied and recited together, with few rules or none to regulate their association. In the midst of such primitive and chaotic conditions as for two or three years must have existed, there was scarcely a possibility of classifying the students carefully by departments.

will be small for a season, I propose that we offer her \$100 a year and her board," etc.

How thoroughly Mr. Stewart believed in "female education" appears in a letter written in 1837. "I do not know about the wisdom of starting a separate department for them. I think, however, it will be well to be making arrangements with regard to mulberry trees, etc., for future operations. For the work of female education must be carried on in some form, and in a much more efficient manner than has been done hitherto, or our country will go to destruction. For I believe that there is no other way to secure success to our great moral enterprises than to make prevalent the right kind of education for women."

The first catalogue speaks of various subdivisions, and of the "Female Department," among the rest, but also of the "Female Seminary," which "pupils may enter for one term only," and which "may be entered at any age above eight." "The female department, under the supervision of a lady, will furnish instruction in the useful branches taught in the best female seminaries; and its higher classes will be permitted to enjoy the privileges of such professorships in the teachers', collegiate and theological departments as shall best suit their sex and prospective employment." A few months before, Mrs. Dascomb, one of the first teachers, had written: "The females are very interesting; most of them are from other states and many from a distance. That department is not yet distinct from the other." From the first, not a few friends of the colonial experiment had cherished serious misgivings about the propriety of the coeducation feature, and these were increased tenfold when it was learned in the winter of 1834-5 that colored students were to be received. We have heard the solemn protest and warning which Mr. Woodbury, speaking in behalf of New England parents, sounded out. The women would not endure it, the school would "change color." We have heard the women themselves vowing that they would "wade Lake Erie," to avoid associating with blacks. And the great outcry appears to have first surprised those who had the work in charge, and then filled them with so much solicitude as to set them to pondering if a mistake had not been made at this point. Coeducation was not with them a matter of conscience, like other portions of the scheme. It might be as well, or better, to educate women in a separate institution. Letters are in existence which make it

evident that the question was canvassed by some in authority whether it would not be wisdom to entirely sunder the male and female departments, giving each a different location upon the colonial tract, or by founding a new Oberlin for one of them in some neighboring community or elsewhere in the state, or perhaps even to the east of the Alleghanies. The conclusion is perhaps justified that only years of poverty prevented some such change being made. We are permitted to suppose that if the crash of 1837 had not brought such severe financial distress, that if Mr. Tappan's munificent plans for endowment had been carried out, the splendid story of coeducation in Oberlin could never have been written. The institution was not fully established until 1835, when a president and four professors entered upon their duties. Hitherto all rules and regulations had been but tentative and provisional, but now certain principles and lines of policy begin to appear.

It has commonly been supposed that from the beginning Oberlin was radical at all points beyond all limits of reason, was exceedingly fond of novelties and innovations, and felt bound to carry out its ideas to their logical results with no consideration for the opinions or scruples prevalent in the world without. But the history of coeducation alone is sufficient to prove the contrary, to demonstrate that the early builders were truly conservative and cautious, were constantly studying their environment, intellectual, social, religious, and diligently sought to adjust themselves to circumstances, to do just what, all things considered, was wisest and best. In the catalogue of 1835, the Female Department appears, with Mrs. Marianne Dascomb as principal, and these statements concerning those com-

mitted especially to her charge: "Young ladies of good minds, unblemished morals, and respectable attainments are received into this department and placed under the superintendence of a judicious lady whose duty it is to correct their habits and mould the female character. They board at the public table and perform the labor of the steward's department, together with the washing, ironing, and much of the sewing for the students. They attend recitations with young gentlemen in all the departments. Their rooms are entirely separate from those of the other sex, and no calls or visits in their respective apartments are at all permitted." For obvious reasons this rule, made so early, has never been repealed. In the Preparatory Department the annual charge for tuition was twelve dollars for women, and fifteen for men. Three hours daily of manual labor were required of all students, but since "young ladies" received only three cents per hour for this instead of five, the weekly charge to them for board was not a dollar, but seventy-five cents rather.

By this time a question fundamental and of supreme importance had been thrust upon the attention of the faculty. Who should frame rules for the department of the feminine half of the student population, and by whom should discipline be administered in cases of dereliction or transgression? The faculty was composed wholly of men, and was it meet for them to undertake so delicate a task? The solution hit upon was most happy, and the method then adopted has worked with so little friction and with such excellent results that with but the slightest modifications it has continued to the present day. The plan was purely original, and so far as known has been copied by no

other similar institution. In February of 1836, the trustees took this action :

Resolved, that Mrs. Mahan, Mrs. Cowles, Mrs. Shipherd, Mrs. Stewart, and Mrs. Dascomb be a committee to be denominated the Female Board of Managers of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, with power to regulate and control the internal affairs of the Female Department, agreeable to a code of by-laws to be recommended by them and recognized by this Board.

The name of Mrs. Finney was added soon after. This board is self-perpetuating in the sense that it nominates all new members, to be appointed by the trustees. In choosing these a selection is made from the wives of the faculty, or from others connected with the institution. In their sphere they are independent of the faculty, and from their decisions there is no appeal except to the trustees from whom their authority is derived. There is a tacit understanding that no radical changes shall be made in rules and methods of administration until after a joint meeting for discussion has been held with the faculty. But so thoroughly wise-hearted, judicious, and discreet have these women been in their decisions, that seldom has occasion arisen for serious protest. When discipline is called for, the wrong-doer is called before the board for examination, the penalty is announced to her only, and if dismissal is decided upon the professors concerned are informed that Miss So-and-so will no longer appear for recitation. In recent years the board has been composed of nine members, divided into three classes chosen each for three years, and the Dean of the Woman's Department as *ex-officio* chairman. The general rules are framed to avoid certain moral risks incident to social intercourse between the sexes, and to secure such deportment as in the best

Christian society would be deemed becoming in young women.

Aside from the setting up and management of the "Ladies' Board" and a few other general arrangements, nothing pertaining to coeducation appears to have been settled in the early years. And in the catalogues, circulars, and other documents of the institution continual evidence is afforded that the wise and good men in charge were in frequent embarrassment and perplexity over various phases of the situation resulting from the presence of scores and hundreds of young women. Hardly seeming to know their own minds, they vacillate, they go here and there, and try this and that in the way of makeshift, and sometimes drift. Not that they regret what Mr. Shipherd did when he undertook to confer such substantial benefits upon the misjudged and neglected sex, though they long for far greater wisdom than they possess to fitly carry out the plans which he instituted. To begin with, it took some sixty years to settle upon certain terms now made necessary and brought into frequent use. At first it is "male" and "female" that everywhere abound; in this simply following current usage common in literature and every-day speech. But presently a change begins to creep in, and students are classified as "young ladies" and "young gentlemen," though with frequent recurrence to the original designations or with the omission of the adjective. Chaos now reigns, and an amusing interchange of terms is seen upon the same page, within the same paragraph or even sentence. However, steadily do males and females fade away until they disappear, while ladies and gentlemen are numerous and omnipresent. Thus the case continues for the better part of a half-century,

when another innovation is thrust upon us. Democracy genuine and pure is now triumphant in the land, and words born of aristocracy are falling into deserved disrepute and desuetude. Plain Anglo-Saxon "men" and "women" fill the Oberlin classes, for a decade or two to be thrust aside, though more and more seldom, by "ladies" and "gentlemen," until now nobody else is seen or heard of. The "Woman's Board of Managers" deals only with young women to-day, who constitute a "Woman's Department," enjoy the benefits of two "Women's Literary Societies," while for certain of their sex a "Normal Course in Physical Training for Women" is provided, etc.

As we have seen, Mr. Shipherd would set up a "Female Seminary," or "Female Department," on the colonial tract, but neither he nor his successors ever appear to have defined those phrases, so that how much or how little they might mean was left for the future to decide. In the first catalogue they stand as distinct as the teachers', the collegiate, or the theological departments, with only the information added that none can enter until more than eight years of age, or for more than one term. The next year imparts scarcely any additional knowledge as to the contents of the Female Department. The phrase occurs, but only to be followed by a list of seventy-three names of women; we are informed that a lady principal has been appointed, and in an appendix two or three regulations are published. In 1836 we have under the heading, "Young Ladies," a list of members of the senior, middle, and junior classes, as well as of a preparatory department, but not a word as to their studies. Not until 1838, four or five years after the beginning, does the light begin to shine. The names of the Ladies' Board, of a

principal and assistant teacher, of three assistant pupils, and four superintendents of sections, have a place. Further on we read: "The following is the course of studies for young ladies," and then follows a four years' curriculum, the first being preparatory. Excepting "Greek of the New Testament" no foreign languages were included. It was explained that "when- ever the course admits of it, the young ladies attend the regular recitations of the college department," evidently in the main for the sake of economy. Beginning with this year and repeated annually until 1854-5 this notice was sent forth: "Young ladies desiring to enter the Institute must make previous application in writing, certifying their present attainments, character, and promise of usefulness, their health and disposition in regard to domestic labor, and unless much advanced in our course, their intention to pursue their studies here for at least two years." Thus was inaugurated the Ladies' Course, which, with a few modifications, continued for about forty years, or until 1877, when in its place came the "Literary Course," open to both sexes. Greek was made optional in 1839 and was frequently studied, and Latin and Hebrew as well. After 1849 Latin was required, and French after 1852. Along in the sixties this information was imparted through the catalogue: "The course of study is designed to give young ladies facilities for thorough mental discipline, and the special training which will qualify them for teaching and the other duties of their sphere. The advanced classes are taught by the professors, and recite with the college classes where their studies are the same. The lower classes are taught as the classes in the college Preparatory Department, with which they usually recite." Aside from the instruction im-

parted during the preparatory year by certain students of their own sex employed for the purpose by the hour, almost all teaching was done by men. Although the "Ladies' Course" ceased to be, twenty years since, a paragraph appeared regularly devoted to the "Ladies' Department" (with the heading changed to "Woman's Department" in 1889-90) stating that "ladies in all the departments of study are under the supervision of the principal of the Ladies' Department, and the management of the Ladies' Board," and naming a few rules. But beginning with 1895-6 the opening sentence informs us that "this is a department, not of instruction, but of supervision." By 1891 the Literary Course failed to meet the rising educational standard, and so in place of it the Scientific Course was substituted of a grade considerably higher.

Still other weighty matters pertaining to coeducation remained to cause solicitude, and lead to a timid but steady course of departure from all precedents. Evidently, at the first it was not supposed that the sexes would to any considerable extent pursue the same studies. Though they might begin together, after a few terms, at the furthest, their educational paths would diverge. Women were to be but heads of families or teachers of common schools, and hence would desire nothing more than "instruction in the *useful* branches taught in the best female seminaries." Or if, now and then, one should determine to drink deeper in the fountain of knowledge, she would choose such branches "as shall best suit their sex, and prospective employment." English studies would suffice for females, and only males would climb to the heights of classical and scientific lore. Very different from this was the speedy event. Little did the founders

apprehend the vast significance of their deed. Had they foreseen the outcome of the innovation they introduced in this particular, very likely they would have been staggered at the prospect. When, six years later, the Ladies' Course was proposed, though strong on the religious side, in mathematics nothing beyond algebra and Legendre's geometry was required, and only enough of Greek, for those who proposed to remain through the entire four years, to become familiar with the New Testament in the original. In preparation for this course it was only necessary to master such rudimental branches as "reading, spelling, writing; arithmetic, Colburn's and Adam's; geography, grammar, and composition." Thus, at length, had the aspirations and needs of womankind in the intellectual sphere been canvassed and provided for. Any reasonable representative of the sex would be well content with having such liberal measures of attainment put within her reach, even though in daily contact with scores of young men who are pressing eagerly forward into realms of knowledge lying far beyond. But already the feminine mind, as if ungrateful for unwonted favors just offered, was growing restive under any such mere man-made restraints, for within a twelvemonth of the publication of the Ladies' Course, or, "in 1837," four young women came forward with a full preparation for college, having pursued Latin and Greek in the various classes of the Preparatory Department, and asked admission to the freshman class as candidates for graduation. Young women had already been reciting with all the college classes, and more or less in all the studies; still the idea of their taking the full college course, instead of the course designed for them, raised a new question. There was a little hesitation, but the

application was granted," with how much of timidity, and hesitation, and indecision, abundantly appears in the years immediately following. We look in vain for their names among the college students, also among those taking the Ladies' Course, the Preparatory Department included; and finally on the last page before the summary of attendance, standing all alone, as if irregular and nondescript, under the heading, "College Course," and "Freshman Class," stand the four names, and let them be remembered with honor: Mary Hosford, Mary F. Kellogg (afterwards the wife of President Fairchild), Elizabeth S. Prall, and Caroline M. Rudd. Three more are named as preparing for college. The next year the treatment accorded is precisely the same, nor is their case much improved in the catalogue of 1840-1, though now their names lead the Female Department under the heading, "College Course." Three are seniors, three are sophomores, and, as showing how the tide is rising, thirteen are nearly ready to enter the freshman class. The year following, having taken five years to ponder and to screw their courage up, the college authorities fix the names of nineteen women where they rightfully belong in connection with their classes, only setting them after the names of their masculine classmates, a position which they have held from that day to this. In all, down to 1895 out of 1,471 students who had completed the classical course, 277 were women. The three who graduated in 1841 were "the first young women in this country to receive a degree in the arts." Until 1855, year by year the notification was repeated: "Young ladies in college are required to conform to the general regulations of the Female Department." But coeducation brought yet another source of per-

plexity of which its inventors had never dreamed. In 1847, two women who had completed their literary course applied for admission to the theological seminary. Though not rejected, for three years they were only registered as "resident graduates pursuing the theological course." And when one of the number requested a license to preach, she was informed that she was not a member of the seminary, and must take upon herself the entire responsibility for proclaiming the Gospel.

Let the pen of President Fairchild state some minor sources of embarrassment, at which we smile, but which were matters of very serious import a half century since: "When the first young women came to graduate, having completed the full college course, they naturally felt some anxiety as to the place that should be given them at Commencement. It was proposed to them that they should read their essays on the preceding day with the young women of the Ladies' Course, it being announced that they had taken the college course, and should come forward the following day with the class to receive the degree. This was not thought to provide a suitable discrimination, and, to avoid the impropriety of having young women read from a platform arranged for the speaking of young men, and filled with trustees, and professors, and distinguished visitors, their essays were read by the professor of rhetoric, the young women coming upon the platform with their class at the close to receive their diplomas. This arrangement was continued eighteen years, but became less and less satisfactory, and in 1859 women were permitted to read their own essays; and in 1874 a graduate who desired it was permitted to speak instead of reading, and this liberty is still ac-

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corded." Thus it appears that so sensitive was Oberlin to outside public opinion, so exceedingly careful not to offend against social prejudices or customs, that more than forty years' experience of coeducation was required before it was deemed prudent to grant to women as much freedom of utterance as to men in the exercises of Commencement day.

Though at various points a tendency, both persistent and controlling, can be traced all along to put the sexes upon an equality of estimation and of treatment in educational matters, yet in two or three particulars distinctions which were recognized in early days continue to exist. Thus, in the literary societies, the lines have always been sharply drawn, men and women each meeting only in rooms of their own, and wholly by themselves. Also, though at first from the necessities of the case and only for a comparatively short time, the sexes occupied rooms on different floors of the same building. Ladies' Hall was soon built and also Tappan Hall, and a final separation was made. When the latter edifice was demolished as being out of date and unfit for further use, Council Hall remained for the accommodation of theological students. With this exception, dormitories for men are no longer provided. But for women, in the sixties a new and greatly enlarged Ladies' Hall was provided, which, destroyed by fire in 1886, soon reappeared as Talcott Hall, reduced in size, but with Baldwin Cottage to supply the deficiency. Including Lord Cottage, Stewart Hall, and Keep Home, no less than five buildings are furnished for the housing of women, a fact which might seem upon the surface like undue partiality. However, as if to equalize favors as much as possible, in four of these buildings the arrangements for boarding

are designedly on such a scale that, at the tables, seats are provided for an equal number of either sex. And finally, perhaps at no point does Oberlin conservatism manifest itself more strikingly than in connection with its traditions as touching the composition of its teaching force. Coeducation has been advocated and maintained from the first; so far as possible sex distinctions have been ignored; so far as possible all who came were thought of simply as sharers in a common humanity; womanhood has been held in highest honor, but in all the higher departments the work of instruction has been almost wholly in the hands of men. Until since 1870 no woman was appointed to teach a college class, or even a class in the Ladies' Course of a grade above the preparatory, and only since 1890 has the faculty contained a woman professor. This fact is certainly surprising, especially when we recall that the attendance upon the institution has always been quite evenly divided between the sexes, and that, of the more than 3,000 graduates, more than 1,400 have been women. The apparent anomaly is to be accounted for by remembering that until within recent times, few, if any, women were to be found whose intellectual training had been carried sufficiently far to fit them for the tasks required in imparting the higher education. Nor would public sentiment have given the least countenance to any attempt to put college men under their tuition. Even now it would be deemed an ill-advised and wholly uncalled-for proceeding, to fill many chairs with women. Besides, there is the ever-present and most serious possibility that marriage will bring their connection with the institution to an untimely end.

Something such, then, was the crude beginning of

coeducation in Oberlin (as also in the land at large), and such its development during the two generations which have since elapsed. It originated by merest accident, rather by wisest and best providential ordering. The praise is not to men but to God. The founders planted the feeble seed with not the slightest conception of the character or magnitude of the harvest which the future was to gather. Only these two considerations were present in their thought: "The elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs," and, "the thorough qualification of Christian teachers for schools" in the West. There is no reason whatever for supposing that they considered coeducation to be in the least necessary to the accomplishment of those ends. Neither they nor those who two or three years afterwards took up the task of managing their schemes and carrying them on to success had a distant goal in full vision, or held from first to last with stubborn tenacity to a plan definitely laid down at the start and based upon radical convictions concerning "woman's sphere," or "woman's rights." Day by day they studied the situation with open minds and hearts, and when compelled to settle a knotty question, endeavored to carry themselves according to righteousness and true wisdom. They were led forward from step to step by circumstances, by the progress of public sentiment about them, only careful not to keep too far behind or too far ahead. And both the place and the time were favorable for bringing the sexes together in a school of college grade. Interest in popular education had become profound and widespread, especially in the edu-

cation of women. In the Mississippi Valley society was yet in fluid condition, ideas and customs were not yet fixed, and so experiments could be wisely entered upon which in the East would be doomed from the instant of birth. Further and most fortunately, this experiment fell into skilful hands, was committed to the management of men (and at a most important point also to the Ladies' Board of Managers) who had knowledge of the times and were able to hold the mean between the ultra-conservative and ultra-radical. The rare religious earnestness of early Oberlin no doubt made easily possible what without it would have been difficult indeed.

At this late day no word of defence for coeducation is called for, and scarcely a word of explanation even. Its success has been so pronounced and unqualified, has been demonstrated so thoroughly, that those whose acquaintance is most intimate and extended hold its fundamental principles in highest esteem, and prefer to any other this method of educating boys and girls. Not one of all the appalling train of evils predicted has resulted, while the benefits accruing to both sexes are greater and more numerous than anybody anticipated. The morals of all concerned have not been marred in the least ; on the contrary have been mended. Of what other social circle of like extent in Christendom can it be affirmed that after five-and-sixty years, during which nearly thirty thousand students have come and gone, only two or three cases of serious offence have come to light. A few rigid rules as to method, and place, and time of association, together with a dominating religious influence, have sufficed to keep intimacy of intercourse within proper bounds. As elsewhere, occasionally on either side some weak

heart has lapsed into a state of hopeless sentimentality and mushiness, but over against every one of these were scores who by public sentiment and other ruling forces have been held to a sensible frame. No doubt by the hundred and thousand matches have been made between the date of matriculation and graduation which also culminated in marriage. But in the non-student world such entanglements are not unheard of, nor is any effectual safeguard against them known to humanity. The fact can quite easily be established that the cases of mating which resulted from coeducation have on the average been attended with much larger measures of judgment and reason, and so have paved the way to the founding of far happier homes. But what is more to the purpose, it is a well-established fact that nowhere else is the real self so accurately and infallibly revealed as under the searching tests afforded daily during student life. The best and the worst within is exposed to the general gaze. Every fault or foible, every serious defect of habit or temper, is made known to the entire class, at least. Only what is really respectable is likely to be held in esteem. Though it probably never happens that by such close intellectual contact as the recitation room necessitates, the man is made effeminate or the woman becomes in the least bold, rude, or mannish, the tendency is controlling towards the very opposite, certain it is that all deceitful glamour of mere sentiment which originates mainly in ignorance, can scarcely fail to be effectually dispelled. Through all coming life the sexes are likely to understand each other better, to cherish towards each other a juster judgment, and thus be able to maintain relations far more rational and profitable. Once Oberlin stood alone in

the whole world for coeducation; but to-day she is but one of scores East and West, North and South, which one after another have been encouraged by her example and her success to set forward in the same path.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY ANNALS OF THE OBERLIN CHURCH

WHILE phenomenal features abound at almost every point in the early history of this community and this institution, perhaps nowhere else are the characteristic outlines more strange and out of all analogy than in connection with the religious or ecclesiastical side of things. Thus, at the very outset, facts like these present themselves. The society antedated the church by several months, and also for nearly a decade led a career well-nigh separate and distinct from its sister organization, with next to no cooperation or even conjunction between them. Besides it had the greatest difficulty in getting itself satisfactorily organized and its machinery in running order. But, most of all, startling idiosyncrasies appear in the fact that immediately, and for several years, by the irresistible force of circumstances its energies were mainly expended upon tasks commonly considered wholly un-ecclesiastical and secular. For various reasons the terms of the phrase which stands at the head of this chapter might well be changed so as to read, Society and Church. It is also plainly proper to keep the history of the two distinct through the first years, and to present first the doings of the business body.

It was late in February of 1834 that Mr. Shipherd secured from the legislature an act incorporating the

Oberlin Society as "a body politic and corporate," upon the petition of twenty-nine of the colonists, among other things authorizing it "to acquire, hold, and convey property real and personal, provided that the annual income of said property shall not exceed \$2,000." A preliminary meeting was held in March, and April 2 a constitution was adopted. Of this nothing need be quoted except the opening sentences, so preposterous and utterly sophomoric, which augur ill for the infant enterprise, but happily stand all alone in Oberlin history : "Whereas we, the members of the Oberlin Presbyterian Society, for the glory of God, by holding up the light of Heaven before the eyes of the millions inhabiting this extensive region: as individuals and as a religious and corporate body, for the better attainment of this great object, for our mutual benefit (the reasons for our locating in this vally) do adopt the following rules or constitution." Then of a sudden dropping to the earth, certain articles follow which are of the regulation kind and entirely harmless. The first act performed after thus completing the organization was taken by instructing the trustees, to "call Fayette Shipherd as a candidate for settlement over this society," when as yet for nearly six months there was no church. This was a brother of the founder, and who for some reason declined the call. The next business transacted was as follows : "Resolution presented and lost by unanimous vote, That money be raised by levying a tax upon land for the support of a minister." It was then voted "to raise \$35.00 for securing a title and chopping the parsonage village lot," and that "Pringle Hamilton clear aforesaid village lot, being $2\frac{3}{4}$ acres." We are soon startled to find that at a meeting held in early June a resolution was

offered, discussed, "suspended," and laid over several times and finally negatived, "That the charter of this society be considered null." Just what the trouble was cannot now be ascertained, but evidently some radical defect had been discovered. For, the next March a committee was appointed "to take into consideration the extent to which the charter of this society may be with propriety, and can be with safety, used under which to transact business." Some months before it had been voted, "That business relative to a minister be indefinitely postponed." Voted also, "That the sincere and grateful thanks of this society be tendered to our worthy brother, J. J. Shipherd, for his indefatigable labors in procuring a location for this Colony, a bill of incorporation, and the spirit of accommodation always exhibited by him in all his intercourse with this society," etc. At the same meeting it was: "*Resolved*, That P. P. Stewart be, and hereby is, appointed to collect all the materials of information in regard to the early history of Oberlin, particularly noticing the progenitors, time of location, yearly progress, names of colonists, births and deaths, public buildings, private dwellings, mechanics, etc., and continue the same until further orders from the society." In a few months two men were chosen to assist him; afterwards "it was moved and lost: That the committee appointed to collect the history of Oberlin be excused"; next Mr. Shipherd was added to the corps of historians; then they were all dismissed and others chosen to fill their places; several reports of progress were made, and finally all these disappear forever with the fruit of their toil.

In the meantime other urgent matters were thrust upon their notice and called for action. October 30,



TALCOTT HALL.



MRS. A. A. F. JOHNSTON.

1834, it was "*Resolved*, that a petition be forwarded to the legislature for a village incorporation, that the three miles square called Oberlin be the territory embraced," and a committee was directed to draft and forward a suitable bill. "The Democrats" in Columbus opposed the petition, not knowing what was back of it, what sort of creatures these Oberlinites might be, or what the dwellers outside the colonial tract would think, so the petition was rejected. Another somewhat similar attempt was made with the same result, nor was a village charter secured until 1846. And it is in this fact that we find an explanation for the various doings of this ecclesiastical body which were purely of a civil character. Here was a community covering nine square miles, surrounded by miles of forest containing but a few inhabitants, everything to be done in the way of laying foundations, and no constituted civil authority at hand to act. It was not possible to wait, and necessity knows no law. The society representing the colony, though without any legal authority, undertook the onerous task. November 27, the fall rains having begun to put in their effectual work of turning the entire region into an ocean of ooze, the brethren proceeded to take in hand what proved to be a "burning" question indeed. Then and there it was, "*Resolved*, that J. B. Hall be a committee to oversee the makeing and repairing of roads in this place." Nor did that at all suffice, for January 29 a committee of three was directed "to consider the subject of improving our roads," and a second one to "consider the subject of laying out roads." A chapter on roads in Oberlin at that date would be a brief one, for there were no roads. When the first settlers came, for miles about not a tree had

been cut, except that the surveyors several years before had opened a passageway with their axes for a north and south road along the route of what is now Main Street, but having left the trees as they fell, this track for purposes of travel was far worse than the virgin woods. Whoever would reach Oberlin must follow or make a trail winding about among the trees, and, for several years, with painfully frequent alternations between floundering through bottomless mud and bumping over roots innumerable. There was no other alternative than that this church-society should often expend itself in making and mending the public ways. Therefore, in March of 1835, having heard the report of a committee on roads, a committee was appointed to "petition for roads to be laid out in this village according to a plan," etc. At the same meeting (what sweet foretaste of blessed days to come!), having had the subject before them at some previous time, a committee was appointed "to explore the route from this place to the mouth of Black River, and ascertain if possible whether it will be practicable to petition for a railroad from here to that place." * In July five men were commissioned "to attend to the proposed manner of running streets through the various parts of this village," and the next month various individuals were ordered "to expend the remainder of money appropriated to making roads, for that object"; "to repair roads where they consider it necessary"; "to petition the county commissioners to lay out roads"; and, more definitely, it was "*Resolved*, that the road

* In order to appreciate the enterprise of these colonists we must recall that this action was taken two years before the first railroad was begun west of the Alleghanies (the Mad River railroad extending south from Sandusky), and seventeen years before the first train pulled up at Oberlin Station.



BALDWIN COTTAGE.

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north of the center of Oberlin be completed through to the colony line." In June of the next year the road committee was "directed to appropriate the money that can be raised, and that which is now in their hands, for further improvement of roads, north especially, also other places as they deem necessary." A month later a meeting is called "to ascertain what society will do about repairing the road between Oberlin and Elyria, also to conclude whether the society will or will not raise money for road purposes." At the said meeting it was voted to raise said money by tax, and, further, a committee was instructed to "visit Pittsfield, Wellington, Huntington, and Sullivan to raise funds to improve the road from this place south." Yes, and in addition it was voted "to raise \$325 by subscription for roads this season." Later on a proposition was made to Pittsfield "that if they will make a road through from the north line of that town, commencing at our center road, to the state road from Elyria to Wellington in a south course, this society will raise the amount of \$200 towards defraying the expense." Here endeth the road matter so far as the society is concerned.

But meantime many other equally weighty matters were wrestled with. A parsonage farm had been given by Street & Hughes, former owners of the entire colonial tract, and it was voted to lay out a "proportion" of this, not exceeding twenty-five acres, into village lots, and sell them for the benefit of the society. At the same meeting a committee was appointed to consider the subject of building a schoolhouse. Also, "the conduct of Mr. Townly in disposing of land in Oberlin Colony, with the obvious intention of speculation, is unjust and contrary to the spirit and intention of the

colonists who have settled at Oberlin, that we mark such conduct with our entire disapprobation." As early as May, 1835, the doings of certain domestic animals began to be called in question, and it was voted, "that we disapprove of permitting swine to run at large." The beasts alluded to not taking the hint, the next spring a resolution was "presented concerning controlling swine, or keeping them from running at large." It was also in May of 1835, turning to loftier themes, that not being able to find a college room sufficiently large for meetings of the colonists, a committee was chosen "to confer with the trustees of the Institution, with regard to building a house which can at present be occupied as a meeting and schoolhouse." In August it was decided to be "inexpedient to sell land to students, and that any one selling land to others should do it with the proviso that they become actual settlers, or residents." In November a committee was chosen "to prepare a draft for the village of Oberlin and have it recorded or deposited in the county clerk's office according to law," and another "to procure a physician." Dr. Dascomb had come as both professor and physician, but finding that the former occupation consumed all his time, had withdrawn from practice. It had come to pass in those days of beginnings that one Fay Hopkins, colonist, had been wronged in the matter of some land. Therefore the society undertook to plead his cause, and arranged that seven acres belonging to the institution should be turned over to him. In December, of 1835, a movement was started to open a burying-place, and after considerable difficulty and delay, college and colony cooperating, a parcel of ground was set apart in the southern portion of the village, including the lot on which the Episcopal church

now stands. In May of the next year a "committee of four was appointed to act as managers in assemblies on funeral occasions," and this resolution was adopted: "Persons hereafter buried in Oberlin shall be laid in a line; running from south to north, beginning at the southeast corner of the ground appropriated for this purpose, thence running north, the heads of the graves being on a line parallel with east line of lot six feet from line of road running north and south."* Resolved further, "That the chapel for the present to be used as a meeting-house be occupied upon free church principles." During the year in which Mr. Shipherd was the undershepherd of this flock it was "moved, seconded, and lost, that our pastor be exhonarated from paying land tax." But soon after, as if to soften the asperity of that vote, it was decided "that efforts be made to clear ten acres of the parsonage farm." May 4, 1836, notice was given of a meeting "to consider the expediency of taking the home branch of the Preparatory Department of this institution into the hands of this society." This was by request of the trustees of the college, who had found that an infant school which the founders had planned could to advantage be dispensed with. In July preliminary action was taken looking to "measures to secure our buildings against fire," nor was it long before an order was made for the manufacture of "four ladders, two hooks, and two axes," these to be kept on deposit "in some public place for fire purposes."

In this very peculiar fashion things had gone along

* Translating this obscure statement into intelligible English, it appears that the dead were to be buried, not by families at all, but in rows, and in the order of their decease. It was not until 1844 that any action was taken looking to "appropriating lots in certain portions of the burying-ground to families upon request."

year after year. The society was a truly democratic mass meeting, in which equal rights prevailed and nothing pertaining to the social or civil needs of the community appears to have been deemed foreign to its province. Once the attempt had been made to confine business to affairs strictly ecclesiastical, but the common judgment evidently was that such action would be premature. This factotum set up by statute could not yet be dispensed with. Meetings were held frequently, sometimes as often as once a week for several weeks together, and once it was voted to hold regular sessions once a month. But presently it was perceived that a better system could be secured by a change of method, and as well a great economy of time. Already once or twice the constitution and by-laws had been revised, the first time only a few months after the organization, with but this enigmatical explanation to set forth the reason: "*Whereas*, the former resolution of this society, having been adopted and entered in record from time to time before the society had become fully settled, and the record having become too complicated to be referred to with convenience, and as most of them have become no longer useful to regulate the society, therefore *Resolved*, that all former by-laws be and the same are hereby repealed," etc., and a new set of rules were given. But March 7, 1837, a committee was instructed to bring in some revised articles which proved to be of a radical nature, practically doing away with all assemblies of the entire body of members except at the annual meeting, and consigning the entire management to a board of directors. When a few weeks afterward this change was effected, the queer things which hitherto marked the records on well-nigh every page disappear at once and completely.

No further change of importance occurs until early in the forties, when an organic connection was formed with the church, and the society ceased to exist in its state of bald independence and isolation.* One of the last acts under the ancient regime is seen in the appointment of a committee "to consider the expediency of establishing a bank in Oberlin under our present charter."

Turning now to the spiritual side of things, the origin and early development of the Oberlin Church will pass under view. Nor will the phenomenon in this particular be found at all less striking. For more than twenty years this was the only religious organization upon the colonial tract; for nearly twice that length of time the pulpit was filled by one of the most remarkable preachers the land contained; for eight years the church was destitute of a sanctuary; and then entered the largest one to be found west of the Alleghanies; until 1873 had always been without a teacher-pastor whose time and energies were wholly devoted to its upbuilding; in spite of all hindrances soon came to rank with the largest churches in the land; and to-day, though Oberlin contains seven other churches, this one has a membership of upwards of thirteen hundred members, making it for size the fourth in all our Congregational sisterhood. It was in the services connected with this organization that through all the first quarter of a century the religious life of the entire community centered, including also the thousands of students.

The colonists were almost all from New England,

* All these multitudinous and manifold public acts were performed, be it remembered, within the brief space of three years. And who shall say that the society did not magnify its calling?

were wholly Christian by profession, started various religious services at once and maintained them regularly, and also undertook to supply their destitute neighbors with the means of grace. Therefore it seems strange that a year and a half was suffered to pass before steps were taken to organize themselves into a Christian body. But during the first year only a few families were upon the ground, while confusion reigned everywhere. An adequate explanation for this apparent neglect, however, is to be found in the fact that since all had come with their signatures recently affixed to a solemn covenant, by which they were bound together and held to the performance of duty, a *quasi* church organization was already in existence. Then, in March of 1834, the ecclesiastical society had entered upon its eventful career of doing with its might whatever its hands found to do, even to the choice and calling of a pastor. It was September 3 of that year before an assembly was held in the little "college" chapel to hear a sermon from Rev. J. H. Eells, Mr. Shipherd's successor in Elyria, and to talk over matters. It was decided to go forward and organize; later sixty-one persons gave their names, a confession of faith was adopted and a covenant, and September 13 it was, "*Resolved*, that those who are examined and accepted do now consider themselves as members, and that the church is legally and completely organized." It was voted that, "Brother J. J. Shipherd preside as chairman and leader in social and religious meetings;" and also that application be made "to the Presbytery of Cleveland for admittance and membership." In those ancient and benighted days this was the proper thing for all Congregational churches to do "out west," in order to be well reg-

ulated and safe from heresy and all kindred plagues. Five ministers had been present at the preliminary meeting to give their countenance and help, Messrs. Shipherd and Eells, pastor John Keyes of Dover, Oliver Eastman, a colonist, and Mr. Waldo, principal of the school. Truly a very simple, informal, unpretentious but effectual process of setting up one of the most influential of Christian organisms. It is more than doubtful if a Presbytery, or even a dozen Bishops, could have done better. Mr. Shipherd who was invited to become pastor, felt compelled to decline on account of so many public duties of a general and very urgent character, but about a year later found himself able to accept. In the meantime Mr. Waldo and other ministers in the neighborhood supplied the pulpit. For a year or two Sunday services were held in the chapel of Oberlin Hall, upon the second floor, and only eighteen feet by thirty-five. In 1836 Colonial Hall was completed and contained a room large enough to seat a congregation of eight hundred, when closely packed. This was occupied for six or seven years, or until a house of worship was built. When, as often happened, would-be hearers were compelled to stand outside for lack of space, overflow meetings were held elsewhere. And finally during the summer the Big Tent* would be set up on Saturday to hold the multitude, and be removed on Monday.

Within two months of its organization the church

* The Big Tent had been procured and sent on by Mr. Finney's friends in the East for use in evangelistic services where rooms sufficiently large were not to be found. During the first years it was set up in several of the neighboring communities, such as Wakeman and Dover. After the First Church had completed their sanctuary, being no longer needed, it was sold to the Quakers for use in antislavery work.

entered upon its work of rebuking sin and honoring righteousness by taking the following action: "*Resolved*, To accept the report of committee on the Oberlin Covenant." This subject does not appear previously in the records. *Resolved* further, "That the first article of the report be confirmed," "that the second article be accepted as explained by the writer," and "that the roll of the church be called for an opportunity of those who are against the third article of the report to explain, or give their objections." Four men are named as in opposition. Evidently we have here a movement relating to Mr. Shepherd's famous articles, designed to call attention to their requirements, and to secure an authoritative interpretation, in order that the brethren might be kept from trespass and dereliction. It seems certain that the objections of the four were with reference to article five, which taboos tea and coffee.* At any rate, at a later date we find the church instituting disciplinary measures against one of these because of his stubborn determination not to keep this rule. Moreover, at this same session a committee was elected with a commission "to present the Oberlin Covenant to the colonists who are not subscribers and obtain their signatures." As the year was closing an investigation was made into "the state of this vicinity as regards religious feeling and unity." It was reported, "that it is expedient and that immediate protracted efforts should be

* The fifth article of the Oberlin Covenant declares: "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 and chewing of tobacco, unless it is 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."

made in the towns around us." Two men were appointed to minister to Amherst, and two more to "visit La Grange and promote revivals of religion." About the same time the question arose whether "females shall vote in the choice of church officers," was deferred till the next meeting, was laid on the table once or twice, and then was postponed without day. In September of 1835, the church began to show its abolition principles by passing the resolution, "That as slavery is a sin, no person shall be invited to preach or minister to this church, or any brother be invited to commune, who is a slaveholder." Also, at that very early date, advanced temperance ideas were held, for it was, "*Resolved*, That sweetened water shall be used at the communion service, unless the pure juice of the grape can be obtained, until further order of the church." In December the pastor and two of the brethren were deputed to prepare a revision of the articles of faith, and especially to "take under consideration the subject of baptism of infants, as also the fifth article of faith." The passage referred to declares that "in consequence of the apostasy of Adam all his posterity are born destitute of holiness and by nature children of wrath." There were some then in Oberlin who held this dogma to be unscriptural and untrue.

As showing the phenomenal growth of this church planted in the wilderness it is sufficient to give these figures : Starting as we have seen with a membership of 61, by the end of the next year the number had increased to 232, a year later to 443, and by the middle of June, 1839, a period of five years lacking three months, to 656, or at the average rate of about 140 additions annually. The population on the farms and

in the village was rapidly advancing. By the date last given the student element had reached upwards of 400, and these were the years of sweeping revivals in college and community. Mr. Shipherd had accepted the pastorate over such a numerous and important congregation with great hesitation and reluctance, nor was it long before he found the task too arduous for his bodily strength, if not also for his intellectual ability. In 1835 had come such stalwarts for intellectual culture and preaching ability as Finney, Mahan, Morgan, and Cowles, nor was it meet that they should stand aside or keep silence in the sanctuary. It is not strange, therefore, that in June of the next year, we find him sending in his resignation. The communication he presented is a long and eminently characteristic one, but the most pertinent portion is contained in this quotation :

1. I have not been profitable to you in the ministry. I have longed to feed the sheep, and feed the lambs, and reconcile the rebellious to God ; but ill-health and the draughts of the Institute upon my health and time have rendered it impossible for me to accomplish this work. I merely pass it off in an ordinary way, which will no more answer for Oberlin than it will for you to be an ordinary church. 2. The great Head of the Church is opening before me a door of usefulness wide and effectual in the work of Christian education, and distinctly calling me into that great and blessed work. So that while I can do but little in the plenteous harvests by personal ministry, I can do much to supply it with effective laborers, and thus preach Christ still, through the Oberlin Institute, and kindred seminaries, which under God I may aid in building. 3. . . . Permit me, brethren, however, to add a brief expression of my strong desire that you elect as my successor none but a man after God's own heart, thoroughly furnished for the peculiar work of Oberlin. You must not only have a preacher in power, but a pastor in practice, who will be in every home and every heart, whose soul is imbued with the principle of the Oberlin covenant. Unless you can get such a man, my advice is that you settle no one, but rely under God upon your own labors, aided by our dear brethren of the Faculty. Considering the plenteousness of the harvests, the fewness of the laborers, and the

number of the ministers connected with the Institution, I have sometimes doubted whether you ought to take from another field such a man as would fill the pastoral office here. But considering the peculiar and the immense bearings of this church upon others, and the world, for their sakes as well as yours, and for the glory of God abroad as well as here, I advise that you invite the best man you can find on Zion's walls, whose peculiar circumstances do not forbid his leaving his present post. I have thought that you and the trustees might elect jointly a pastor and professor of pastoral theology, if a man possessing the requisite qualifications could be found. But, looking abroad, in the extensive circle of my ministerial acquaintances, and considering the amount of parochial labors required in this large and growing church, I do not believe the man lives who could finish the work of both offices. Nevertheless, if the Colony and the Institute cannot be bound together thus in one fold under one shepherd, be sure you settle a man who will encircle the Colony in one arm and the Institute in another, holding them as a church in inseparable Christian union.

Certainly, that document does honor both to the head and the heart of its author, nor did many churches ever receive wiser counsel from a retiring pastor. As a loyal Presbyterian body the church chose a committee to "present the doings of the pastor and church for the recognition of the Presbytery," and then proceeded to request "Brother Charles G. Finney to take the temporary charge of this church." It was not until May, of 1837, that he was called to the pastorate, with a salary offered of \$400. About six months before an unsuccessful attempt had been made to secure Rev. Theodore Spencer for this position. As we have seen, the hyper-Calvinistic creed of the church failed to give general satisfaction, and no doubt because, with the advent of Finney, Mahan, and Cowles, New School doctrines had found convincing advocates. In addition to this, President Mahan had been laying down the then novel principle in the pulpit that the gate of entrance into the Christian Church ought not to be made any narrower than the gate of entrance into the kingdom

of heaven. And still further, it was esteemed every way desirable to make this mother church of Oberlin so catholic and unsectarian in every particular that any true disciple of Christ could feel at home in it, and thus the desire for sectarian organizations would be reduced to a minimum. Might not this always remain the one church of Christ in Oberlin? It happened that while this creed matter was under discussion, another ecclesiastical project had been set on foot of much wider scope, and of the greatest importance to Congregationalism. Since 1801, the Plan of Union had been in operation, whereby churches of New England faith and practice had been brought into closest conjunction with the Presbyterian polity. As a not unnatural result it had come to pass that such bodies as conferences and associations were next to unknown, while presbyteries and synods were in vigorous operation, and proceeded to bestow upon the local organizations a thorough discipline and drill. So effectual was this influence that Congregational principles were put in greatest jeopardy. On the part of many, both of ministers and laymen, great uneasiness had long been felt. Various abortive or feeble attempts had been made to organize in a purely Congregational way. But in 1836, largely under inspiration received from Oberlin, a meeting was held at Hudson to plan for better things. August 14, six delegates were chosen by the church "to associate with others who should assemble at Hudson for the purpose of forming a Congregational Union." Gathering there with others, preliminary steps were taken to bring into being, The General Association of the Western Reserve, and an adjournment was made to meet in Oberlin the month following. Sabbath evening, September 12, it was

voted to "assent to the constitution of the Congregational Association on the Western Reserve, and that delegates be appointed to the convention advertised to be holden at Oberlin on the fifteenth instant for the purpose of organizing the Association." Before the end of the month the articles of faith of the Association had been adopted, with the revision of one relating to baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the Sabbath, and thus were eliminated all doctrines upon which all orthodox churches do not agree. At the next meeting, as if frightened at its hitherto unheard-of catholicity, though no doubt in deference to the theological scruples of such members as were of an ultra-Calvinistic make, the Association added an article asserting absolute foreknowledge, but the church saw no sufficient reason to adopt the amendment. Thus the Oberlin creed, adopted more than sixty years ago, which simplified the phraseology and omitted points over which for generations Calvinists and Arminians had fiercely fought, held aloft a noble ideal to which practically the entire denomination has since attained by accepting the Confession of 1883. Thus, too, almost from the first, Oberlin has stood boldly for the utmost of Christian liberty, breadth, inclusion, toleration, charity.

It was indeed a capital event for the church, the community, the college, yes, and even for Christianity, when Mr. Finney accepted his call to the pastorate, a relation destined to continue for five-and-thirty years; his audience one of the very largest in the land, and composed of a multitude of impressible youth coming and going, who, by the thousand and ten thousand were moulded for godliness and eminent Christian service. They without him would have suffered irreparable loss, and in like manner without them

the outcome of his life would have been far less. The longing of Mr. Shipherd's heart as touching his successor was more than fulfilled. And yet in many respects the choice of the church was a strange one. Among others he was an evangelist both by taste and long experience. In the midst of stirring revival scenes he was at his very best. He came to Oberlin with the express understanding that during a considerable portion of each year he might absent himself to stir up the churches and call sinners to repentance. The call to the pastorate was accepted with the same condition; every winter for three or four months he was away, while twice a year or more was spent abroad in Great Britain. At such times arrangements were made with some member of the faculty to supply the pulpit, oftenest with Professor Morgan. When at home he seldom preached more than once a Sunday. Nor is it scarcely conceivable that one so overflowing with idiosyncrasies could have approached very near to the estate of an ideal pastor. Nevertheless, taking the largest view of things, the choice was eminently and remarkably wise. It was a blessed providence that such a peerless preacher was at hand. Who else, East or West, could have filled the Oberlin pulpit to such splendid purpose? There, as nowhere else, he swayed the scepter of spiritual power.

The records of this church for the first twenty years are sadly cumbered and defaced by the multitude of cases of discipline. Had we only such documentary evidence, we might conclude that the type of piety in those days was lamentably low, and that the enemies of Oberlin had good cause for their charges of grievous transgression. But these facts are to be carefully considered. The worst is certain to appear in such vol-

umes, while no mention is made of virtues and good deeds by the thousand. The records of all churches during the same generation present the same phenomenon. And this in part because the fathers were perhaps more sensitive and careful than we in regard to "breach of covenant"; were more formal and legal in their spirit, and expected to cure transgression by inflicting penalties. It is to be noted further that not a few of the subjects of church discipline were students, of whom from five hundred to a thousand were in attendance during these years, the bulk of them also in the Preparatory Department, and therefore intellectually and spiritually in a condition most crude and unformed. Nor, in view of all the evidence, can one resist the conviction that the average of morals both outside of and within the churches was lower fifty years ago than to-day, and that an epidemic of flagrant evil-doing prevailed far and wide. At any rate, however we may account for it, the fact remains that over sixty cases of discipline are recorded during the first two decades, of which quite a proportion are for scandalous offences, though perhaps a majority take punitive cognizance of derelictions now deemed too trivial for notice. Our risibles are excited as we read the grave citation in 1837, and the trial after trial, of a brother who indulged without conscience in the use of tea! He had argued for it three years before, but vengeance slumbered. Now, however, in October, Mr. Shipherd sitting as a corresponding member, a citation is made on the charge of "violating the Oberlin covenant which he signed in regard to the use of tea,*" and

* To one of several committees who waited upon this brother to labor with him and bring him to repentance he protested that he had made a thorough trial to dispense with the article and had found it essential to

of "trifling with that covenant." It is learned from outside sources that he really brought the trouble upon his own head by his defiant and provoking behavior. Once and again the case was under consideration, nor was it finally disposed of until late in January of 1839, when, he making a mild confession, by a vote of nine to six a letter of dismissal was granted. A certain sister delighted in the dance, was stubborn and refused to desist, but later confessed her fault. Another was charged with being "a busybody in other persons' matters, a tattler, a slanderer and speaker of falsehoods." Two more were so infatuated with Second Adventism that the one left her husband and children and affirmed that the step was final, assigning as the reason that "she was in the resurrection state," and hence to return to him would be wrong; while the other, having taken a similar step, "asserted that she was married to Christ, and that she would be an adulteress" should she return. These were both cut off, but afterward mercy so far prevailed over judgment that full restoration was granted on the ground of temporary insanity. A Come-outer student was excommunicated because he denounced the church as pro-slavery and would have nothing to do with it. Another student met the same fate for renouncing "the religion of Jesus Christ, apostatizing from this church and is now an open and avowed infidel." Nothing but a confession saved a man who drove a loaded
his health. He intended seriously to investigate the subject, and if he found anything which he could use as a substitute and secure his health, he would abandon the use of tea. But still, he thinks the use of tea a little thing, that the church has made this part of the covenant too prominent, that too much time has been spent in discussing it, and that the resolutions which have been passed relating to it are very improper.

team from Ridgeville on the Sabbath. These cases are a few from many. Human infirmity comes to light in trials which reflect janglings among neighbors and business complications. The church was sometimes asked to give counsel to its members. For example, a couple had thoughts of going to the Rocky Mountains as missionaries ("mechanic laborer and teacher"), and seeking wisdom, were instructed, "that under present circumstances the church cannot feel justified in recommending them to embark in their proposed expedition." A member not feeling satisfied with his baptism, it having been administered "by a sect called Disciples," a committee was appointed to enlighten his conscience, and were able to dissipate the trouble.

But the church found ample time to attend to other matters. In 1846 a committee, consisting of J. A. Thome, John Morgan, James Dascomb, James H. Fairchild, and T. B. Hudson, was instructed to report upon "our relations to slaveholding," and obeyed by suggesting for substance that, while it is not consistent to give or receive church letters, which would imply Christian fellowship with slaveholders, it would be going too far to withhold "fellowship from local churches on the ground of their sustaining ecclesiastical relations to bodies that do not bear open and faithful testimony against slavery, the local churches giving at the same time very suitable evidence of their own hostility to slavery." * This reasonable discrimination was meant for the benefit of a little knot of Come-outers, who, like all their ilk, went wild in their zeal for abolition. The subject of church finances was

* About the same time the church directed that the following clause be appended to all letters of dismissal: "This does not apply to any church which sanctions or tolerates slaveholding."

a troublesome one, partly from circumstances, and partly through the fault of the brethren. Prompt payment of salaries, made possible by business methods in collecting funds, appears all along as a grace conspicuous only by its absence. To Mr. Finney a salary of \$400 was voted. But he had abundant financial resources elsewhere and did not care for this, and a year after declined to receive it. He did not wish to be under obligation to the church in any such way, etc. In his absence other members of the faculty filled his place, who also were receiving salaries from the institution, and the feeling began to prevail, "Since the church and the college are all one, why should such extra services be paid for?" This shiftless and slipshod manner of proceeding continued until 1842, when we find the college trustees putting on record the fact that "hitherto the pastor of the church has been a professor and his salary has been paid by the college. We think the colonists should help hereafter." The latter are asked to fix the proportion justly due from them and to make provision for paying it. An improvement presently appears, but evidently progress toward perfection was very slow. Perhaps one reason for financial dereliction may be discovered in the endeavor to raise money by methods unwise because to minds of a certain make they savored of tyranny and force. Thus repeatedly we find both the church and society insisting by resolution upon the right to tax the members for funds sufficient to meet all necessary expenses, and tax each according to his ability. This was reiterated as late as November 6, 1846, with the threat appended, "We will discipline any man who refuses to pay such tax." Several persons of prominence were labored with for recalcitrancy, but in vain.

Not wishing to proceed to extremities with some of the best, two or three years afterwards the statute was repealed. Once, in lieu of cash, for months of preaching long due, a farm was voted. March 30, 1838, the church "*Resolved*, That so much of the above subscription as relates to produce and labor be made over to the agent of the Oberlin Institute for collection, and that he also be a receiver of the salary of the pastor." October 22, 1843, President Mahan was elected associate pastor upon a salary of \$500, with the recommendation added, "that the colonists pay their proportion of this, according to their numbers compared with the numbers of the Institution."

The year 1841 was a memorable one for the Oberlin church, and because it saw the taking up of the too long delayed task of building a house of worship. For the better part of a decade this large company of worshipers had "dwelt in tabernacles," had depended for audience rooms upon the college. Evidently something must be done soon, but just what, and how, and when, was difficult to decide. Not only must the religious wants of the community be met, but those of the institution. Provision must be made for commencement and other similar occasions. The congregations were already large, but were certain greatly to increase, and future requirements must be forestalled. But from what quarter were the necessary funds to come? Not a man of wealth was to be found upon the colonial tract, nor many possessed of a competence even. The college was almost crushed under a burden of debt, and the meager salaries of the teachers were paid only in part. Worst of all, the times were exceedingly hard. The fearful crash of 1837 was still working its disastrous consequences, so that of avail-

able money there was next to none. In addition to the resident population there were now five hundred and sixty students upon the ground, of themselves enough nearly to fill the chapel, then the largest room in the village. As far back as September 27, 1839, a committee of five had been chosen "to confer with the trustees on ways and means of building a meeting-house, including plan, cost, material, and how to meet the expense." December 6, a report was presented, but nothing more appears until October of the next year, when a brother "presented some outlines of a plan for building a meeting-house." Finally, in February of 1841, decisive action was taken. The *Oberlin Evangelist* of February 17, thus portrays the emergency which spurred to immediate effort:

The first Sabbath after the opening of the spring term the students, with the congregation usually worshipping here, more than filled the very large chapel. Numbers had to go home because they could not enter, and some stayed outside the doors, though the ground was covered with snow. This we believe never occurred so early in the season before. "The place is too strait for us." Cannot some of our friends abroad help us, *if we help ourselves*, "to make us a place where we may dwell?"

But February 9 and 10 were the days of decision, with Mr. Finney as the leader and source of inspiration. Referring to the same Sunday an eyewitness thus describes what occurred then, and on the day following:

One scene I shall never forget. It was the Sabbath before we began to build. We had gathered in the chapel, which was packed, the doors on either side opening on the walks were thronged by an eager multitude, and the ushers were trying to squeeze in others. Mr. Finney sat on the low platform surveying the scene. At length he arose and said; "Brethren, the Lord's work in this place demands of us a house of worship that will accommodate the people, and whatever the Lord's

work requires of us *we can do*. We must build a church. Now come together to-morrow at one o'clock, all of you, and we will talk this over and lay our plans, for it can be done." There was a great gathering next day of old and young, men and women. After a characteristic prayer, he gave his views of the size and kind of building needed, and they entered upon the task at once, no one pleading inability or for delay, though until yesterday such a thing had scarcely been thought of. Mr. Finney gave more than anybody else.

The professors subscribed \$200 each, and before the end most of them were obliged to double the amount. The *Evangelist* of March 3 makes this mention of the general features of the plan decided upon :

Since our last the congregation after much deliberation have voted to make an effort to build a church. It is to be plain and substantial, but to meet the increasing wants of the place must be large. They have agreed to build a house, if possible, seventy feet by one hundred and ten, with a circular gallery twenty feet wide all the way around, the stand being towards the center. This will seat comfortably 2,500 people, and 800 or 1,000 more may get into it. It will be considerably larger than the tent. At one end will be moveable partitions cutting off six recitation rooms, three above and three below, leaving the body of the house of suitable size for the ordinary weekly congregations. By this arrangement rooms will be obtained for the Institution, which are greatly needed, and room also for our friends when they come in to visit us. But we are a poor people, and cannot build such a house as is really needed alone. Brethren, will you help us to build?

So far all was comparatively easy; a building committee was appointed and went vigorously to work, but so many and so stubborn were the hindrances that nearly three years of painful embarrassment and exhausting effort were destined to pass by before the task was completed. So capacious a structure had never been seen in these parts, and how should so vast a roof be supported? A Boston architect was called upon for aid, a Boston friend also meeting that expense. The first year was consumed in gathering

material, brick, stone and lumber, and in letting various contracts. Stone quarries had not been opened, and how dreadful were the highways for hauling heavy loads! But, to go back a little: as we saw, the church and society had been separate and independent bodies, each doing its own work in its own fashion. And when the former embarked in the building project the question arose, who should own the lot and how could a title to real estate be held, for the church had no legal existence. Just then the happy suggestion was hit upon that "the charter of the Oberlin Society is just the thing needed." The next step was to request that body so to amend its by-laws as to constitute members of this church, who are in good standing, members of that society." The petition was granted, and then, March 2, the church voted, "that henceforth the business of building the meeting-house be conducted by the Oberlin Society." After this date the records of the church take no more cognizance of secular affairs, and for the further story of church building we are compelled to resort to the records of the society.

January 20, 1842, it was voted "that we try to build this year." In March, they will "break ground next week," but soon call an assembly to inquire if "the monetary embarrassments should prevent building this year." Ten feet are taken from the length of the structure. In June the committee decides that it "cannot proceed without new counsel and aid," but later in the month the corner-stone is laid, with an original hymn. In July it is decided that live stock cannot be taken on subscriptions, and the month following, as had been done the year before, an appeal for money is made at commencement time. The

walls are now rising, but money is so scarce that a committee is instructed to ascertain if students cannot be made available to 'tend mason, and that by classes, each taking its turn. In October "we will proceed forthwith to get the shingles, therefore let all who have teams be on hand to help haul them from Black River." In March of 1843 a vote is taken "to try and finish this year." Ere long Brother Appleby receives the contract for making the "large sash, and is to take his pay in produce, *and collect it.*" The women are appealed to to procure black walnut lumber wherewith to construct the pews and pulpit. In April the society is called together to give council and to provide the sinews of war, and votes to send out an agent to collect funds. Apparently the inside work was completed this year except as to paint and varnish. But the financial tug was scarcely on as yet; was to continue and increase for months and years. In March of 1844 a committee is chosen "to ask for ready money here and abroad to finish the house." A vote is also passed "to borrow \$500 or \$1,000 to pay debts and to carry on the building, to mortgage the property for security, and as collateral to ask twenty-three persons to give their notes each for \$25. In August, at their wits' end, a committee is instructed to raise \$500, but fails. It was then concluded to rent the pews for four years, with one year's payment in advance.* August 10 it was decided to have the building "ready for use next Sunday." August 16 Brother Whipple was commissioned "to confer with the pastor

* Later the financial stress was so exceeding sore that it was voted to send a solicitor to England for help, as the college had done not long before with such signal success. For some reason, however, no appointment of such an agent seems ever to have been made.

respecting dedication." As late as March of 1848 steps were taken "to ascertain the expense of oiling and varnishing the slips, and of painting the window frames and sashes." In 1850 blinds are to be procured as soon as possible, carpets are first heard of in 1851,* and an organ in 1855. In the same year a cry is raised of financial distress, and the holders are to be requested to give up their pews and rent them over again at higher rates, though in 1848 a "perpetual" lease had been given.

The cost had been more than \$12,000, an amount as large for the ability of that early day as ten times the sum would for the Oberlin of our time. No formal dedicatory services were ever held, and mainly because it would have been difficult to fix the date of completion. But now, at length, the church was at least comfortably housed in a sanctuary of its own. Mr. Finney was spared yet thirty years to proclaim from that pulpit the way of salvation with power, to audiences often filling the room to the utmost of its capacity. And how many memorable scenes those walls have witnessed! However, after about a decade the organization in possession was to cease to be *the* Oberlin church. Sectarian divisions had been prevented for a period wonderfully long, but this condition of unbroken unity was too good and too Christian to last. Early in the fifties the Episcopalians, stirred up from without,

* There are those who well remember the carpets of the first years. The aisles were long left bare and only in the pews was the floor covered. Moreover, since the whole matter was left to the taste or ability of the individual, as to cost, quality, figure, color, etc., every pewholder did what was right in his own eyes. All shades were intermingled of rag carpet, Brussels and three-ply, with the greatest variety resulting, but fearful to behold when one from the gallery took in the whole at a glance.

began to fall away and worship by themselves, organized in 1855, and four years later consecrated a sanctuary. By this time the Methodists were ready to follow their example by the purchase of a lot and the sending of a preacher. Later, however, the work was abandoned, to be restarted in 1868, and with a church completed in 1873. During these same years, or a little later, the colored Methodists organized and built. The Baptists also formed a church in 1866, and in 1871 were able to complete a house of worship. But in spite of all these secessions the mother church went on increasing until it became inconveniently large. In 1854 the number on the rolls stood at 1,100, and in 1860 had risen to 1,545. So a second Congregational church was found to be needed, and was formed in the year last named with a hundred members, commenced holding services at once in the college chapel, and presently called a pastor. The war of the Rebellion coming on, ten years elapsed before this body was able to worship in a building of its own, nor was the original Sunday-school divided until 1868. The relations between these sister churches have always been harmonious and most delightful. When the Second began to build the members of the First subscribed \$5,240 as a love token. The First Church has never regained the maximum of former years, though including the absentees its membership now stands at 1,300. The Second Church is smaller, having only 877 names on its roll, but the two together contain 2,177 members, which is nearly one-half the population of the village according to the census of 1890.

The Spirit of all grace visited the church and college with power at various times after the new building

was completed ; notably in 1850 while Mr. Finney was absent in Europe. He had sent home a request for earnest prayer in his own behalf, and while the people were making supplication for their pastor, their own souls were wondrously quickened, and some three hundred were converted. A year or two after his return another revival was vouchsafed, which added one hundred and five members at one time. In the winter of 1866-7 came "the great revival" which reached an unusually large number of business men, and brought in one hundred and eight members the March following. Soon after this and for several years the church was much disturbed by a discussion over Free Masonry. Mr. Finney preached upon the subject, lectured, and wrote a book. Many meetings were held, and a large committee was chosen to meet one from the Second Church, to agree upon a report if possible, and to formulate a wise course of action. The joint committee could not see eye to eye, and finally by a vote of one hundred and eighty to ninety-seven the First Church concluded that in receiving members "if any candidate be connected with the Masonic order, in the spirit of Christ we will try to convince him of his error, and if he decides to continue an active connection, we cannot bid him God-speed by giving him the right hand of fellowship."

By 1869 it had become evident that the pastorate of Mr. Finney must soon terminate, on account of his years and failing strength. For a long period already, year after year, Professor Morgan had been regularly employed as associate pastor at a salary of \$600. The matter of a change was evidently most painful to all concerned, and the records show abundant signs of doubt and hesitation on the part of the church. At

length in September of 1871 the pastor sent in his resignation, but the church declined to accept it. The next May urgent request was again made to be relieved "from all further pastoral responsibility and care, as the burden even in thought is too much for my prostrate nerves." His wish was now granted, and a committee appointed to express the appreciation felt by all for his services, presently reported, naming these particulars for which his work had been eminent :

1. Your consistent and blameless Christian life, a delightful and ever-shining example of the grace of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ.

2. Your tender sympathy with every individual member of the church, especially with the sick and the afflicted, and your intense interest in the welfare of us all.

3. Your ceaseless, zealous, and effectual efforts for the salvation of sinners, your wise conversation with inquirers after Christ, and your thorough organization of the church for the prosecution of this work.

4. Your fervid and pungent sermons, wrought out through much believing prayer and faithful intelligent study of God's Word, and most truly accepted of God, as the marvelous accompanying power of his Spirit, so frequently witnessed by us, clearly proves.

5. Your labors and prayers for the Church universal, your revival efforts abroad, your published letters and books, all breathing the same spirit of love and power which has characterized your Christian activity at home.

For more than a year all efforts to secure a successor were ineffectual. Several calls were declined, and well might anybody hesitate to take the place filled so long by Mr. Finney. At length, in the autumn of 1873, choice was made of Rev. James Brand, then of Danvers, Massachusetts, whose ministerial experience had covered only four years, but who, having endured hardness and faced perils in the Rebellion, was not appalled by the task and risks of an Oberlin pastorate. It is enough to say, as the end of his first quarter century draws nigh, that he has done his work with unswerving

faithfulness and distinguished ability. The long succession of good things in the pulpit and community has been maintained. Some changes were soon inaugurated which look as though the advent of Dr. Brand occurred in ancient times. He informs us that the second Sunday preaching service was still held in the afternoon. And that the general church prayer-meeting had been held on Friday afternoon, in the room under the organ, for a season, with migrations to Number 10, French Hall, and the chapel of Council Hall. No wonder it was deemed high time to build a chapel, though the times were hard, and it cost \$6,000. Neither had any general social gathering ever been held by the church until Thanksgiving evening in 1873. When the chapel was paid for, the conclusion was reached that the old church organ was not sufficiently large for the audience room, therefore \$6,000 more were raised to procure one which should match the congregation and the chorus choir. And from that day to this the First Church has gone vigorously on endeavoring to convert sinners, and to help saints to larger attainments in faith and love and Christian activity. After the lapse of sixty-one years from the date of Mr. Shipherd's resignation of the pastorate, no signs yet appear that his ardent wishes in behalf of this organization are to fail for generations to come.

CHAPTER VIII

FOIBLES OF EARLY OBERLIN

So many peculiar circumstances attended the founding and early growth of this community as to make it much more than probable that various idiosyncrasies would presently appear. The times were eminently favorable, for every realm, whether of thought or action, was populous with novelties and innovations. The location chosen was in the new and rapidly-developing West where originality and daring experiments found an unmatched field for exercise. Most of the early comers were of sturdy New England stock, as such were possessed of large measures of independence, while among their leaders were several men of unusual force of intellect and will, combined with a personality so marked as to approach singularity and eccentricity. The population was to a remarkable extent homogeneous, as well as swayed by a common purpose. They were deeply religious, they came with hearts overflowing with fervid missionary zeal, their one aim was to establish and maintain an institution of learning from which streams of blessing should flow to the bounds of the nation and the world. The indications are not wanting that sometimes the importance of their special calling was so magnified as to minister to self-esteem and conceit. While the general conscience was sensitive, the general judgment was not always so

well instructed as to distinguish between great things and small, with the result that scruples were liable to degenerate into scrupulosity. The first years of Oberlin life also present various indications of such impetuosity and rashness as are natural to youth and inexperience. To all these causes was unfortunately added another potent one, namely, this community was frowned upon, ridiculed, slandered and bitterly opposed, so generally and for so long a time, as to be really crowded on to further departures from moderation and sound judgment. But it must never be forgotten that early Oberlin was never nearly so black as it was commonly painted in the imaginations of multitudes. The facts in the case were grossly distorted and grievously exaggerated. The occasional and incidental were spoken of as though they were the rule, while the whole body of colonists was held responsible for the derelictions of a few individuals.

Dietetics.—From the very first, the attention of the settlers was called to the weighty matter of meat and drink. In Article 5 of the covenant it was put among the fundamentals: "That we may have time and health for the Lord's service, we will eat only plain and healthy food, renouncing all bad habits, and especially the smoking and chewing of tobacco, unless it is 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 appetite." To save time and secure good health are the objects sought, and not to emulate the old-time ascetics by mortifying the flesh. These were all plain people, reared upon farms, unaccustomed to luxury, so that no radical changes in diet were de-

manded. Dwelling in the forest, with no markets near at hand, and with but the most meager supply of money with which to buy, the danger of extravagance as touching edibles and potables would seem to be so remote as to make a pledge of that sort purely gratuitous. A few came the first year who had attained to more "advanced" ideas. Thus one brother of a consumptive make, hearing of the proposed settlement while at Saratoga partaking of the healing waters, hastened home to New Haven, gathered his belongings, took the Erie Canal, halted at Buffalo long enough to secure a barrel of Graham crackers made from flour mixed with water brought from Congress Spring, and subsisted upon the same until the next year, towards the end cracking some of the hardest with a hatchet. A few others were somewhat in sympathy with similar vegetarian principles. The two founders held pronounced opinions adverse to coffee and tea, and did what they could to convert others to their way of thinking. The wife of one wrote thus from Elyria where she tarried through the summer of 1833: "Have just fixed off brother and sister James in good health and spirits, though I think she knows nothing about retrenchment. She drinks warm drinks, but is not attached to tea nor coffee. Sister Munger also drinks weak tea once a day. They both are trying to do without and live temperately. Brother Hall drinks tea and coffee. I am afraid that it will be practicable for every colonist to drink tea and coffee, and follow other habits and customs which Brother Shipherd hoped they would leave in the East, though Sister Pease has given up tea! and perhaps they all will when they get on that consecrated ground, but it should be from principle."

These expensive and unwholesome drinks were soon

banished from a large proportion of the tables in the new settlement. One early visitor tells of bringing his mother over miles of corduroy and through other miles of mud, so that arriving she was nearly exhausted and afflicted besides with a severe headache. Woman-like she wanted a cup of tea. The hotel was resorted to but mine host did not feel at liberty to supply it to guests. Next several homes of prominent citizens were visited, but all were tealess. At Father Keep's they had a "leetle" and used it once in a great while, but did not feel at liberty to deal it out to others. As we have seen, in 1837, at a meeting of the colonists an attempt was made to pledge everybody not to trade with any storekeeper who should vend tobacco, coffee, or tea, which succeeded as to the first, but was modified with regard to the others, so that only the preference should be given to those who refused to deal in the noxious articles. For some three years Mr. Stewart kept the college boarding-house, and here economy ruled with a high hand. During these first years meat was not excluded nor regarded with disfavor, though one table was supplied with food purely vegetable at a reduced price. From all accounts the living was indisputably and exceedingly plain. While variety was reduced to a minimum, and excellence of quality was not much thought of, the cuisine also was more than likely to be wretchedly defective. What was cheapest was best, and let every stomach be disciplined to rigid frugality. If the palate rebelled, then so much the worse for the palate. It is even related that on one occasion when a barrel of flour had been made into bread so sour and solid that no boarder could swallow it, the loaves were dried and broken and returned to the mill to be

ground over. Then mixed half-and-half with fresh flour a second baking was bestowed with a mottled aspect resulting, and an indescribable taste. The same thing was attempted a second time, when the miller refused to do his part, saying his business was to grind wheat and not bread. The conscience of this thrifty purveyor was inflexible; no luxuries should be allowed while he was in charge. The complaints of the students were loud and long, and finally the trouble ended with Mr. Stewart's resignation. Then for two or three years the boarding department was turned over to the boarders, one of their number being put in charge. But in 1839 the executive committee of the trustees found that "gross errors are manifest in the diatetic department of the Institution's boarding hall, and continue because no one feels the responsibility for correcting them," so they appointed a steward, who declined to serve. It was in this emergency that a radical new departure was made in the dietetical realm.

Before explaining what this was, it will be well to look outside of Oberlin and take note of a certain foible which just then was exceedingly popular. In the thirties among the multitude of panaceas for all human ills, the reforms which would bring redemption swift and sure, an "improved," a "natural," a "scientific" regimen held high place. The health of humanity was going to wreck, and nothing would save it but the use or disuse of this or that particular article of solid or liquid food. These were among the most noted reformers:—Dr. Mussey of Dartmouth, Edward Hitchcock, then professor and afterwards president of Amherst, W. A. Alcott and Sylvester Graham, both physicians, and Combe, author of "The Constitution of Man." In most essential points these were in agree-

ment. In 1830 Professor Hitchcock published his "Dyspepsy Forestalled and Resisted," addressed more particularly to students and literary men, which soon with many became an infallible guide to health. Nine rules were laid down, with these among them:

The quantity of food taken at any one meal should be very moderate: the less variety of food and drink at any one meal the better, that is, say bread or meat and such others as go with it; sedentary persons should not use animal food more than once a day. Cold water is the only suitable drink. He concludes that the proper quantity of food daily is, according to occupation and constitution, from twelve to sixteen ounces of solid and from fourteen to twenty-four of liquid (water). By careful experiment the exact

amount required should be ascertained, and then appetite should be compelled to conform to the scales. Some conclude from the relative number of teeth in the human species adapted to animal and vegetable food, that men ought to use twenty parts of the latter to twelve parts of the former, but our author thinks the premises too narrow for the conclusion. About the same time with Professor Hitchcock, Dr. Alcott began to lecture and publish abundantly upon the same theme, commencing soon the issue of his magazine the "Library of Health." But the chiefest apostle of this

evangel of redemption through reform in the kitchen was Mr. Graham, whose influence was so widespread and profound that soon and ever since by common consent the general movement has been called by his name. It was in 1832 that he began to call men to repent of sins of the table. According to this classical authority vegetables and fruit should constitute the substance of every meal, and should be eaten as nearly

as may be in their natural state. Bread should be made of unbolted wheat flour (that being the natural condition), though rye and Indian are allowable if unbolted, likewise rice and sago if plainly cooked. Good cream may be used instead of butter, though milk and honey are somewhat better. Flesh meat and fish in all forms had better be banished from the table. No fat or gravies are to be tasted, nor any liquid foods like soup and broth. Pastry is an abomination, and cakes in which any fat or butter has been used. Bread should be at least twelve hours from the oven, and twenty-four hours are better. And as for condiments, pepper, mustard, oil, vinegar, etc., and stimulants like tea and coffee, they are to be by all means eschewed as deadly foes to health. Soft water is the only hygienic drink.

By the time Oberlin was founded such ideas and convictions had taken a strong hold upon thousands of the wise and good. Professor Dascomb had been a pupil of Dr. Mussey. While Mr. Finney was laboring in New York early in the thirties his health had given way, and among the means employed for recovery he had resorted to the Graham diet, and with such results that he came to believe in it with all his might. And further, the digestion of Mr. Shipherd had been hopelessly ruined years before, so that what to eat and drink without causing pain and debility was for every day a weighty question. When in New York, in 1835, getting together professors and professorships in order to open a theological department, he too was permitted to taste the blessedness made possible by the Great Discovery, so that he could write to the Oberlin church: "I have here been some four weeks upon the Graham system of diet, which is nature's system, and

my health is essentially improved. Last Sabbath morning I preached in the Old Chatham theater, which is immensely large, and more than an hour, and to the Fourth Free Church as long in the afternoon, and yet felt well on Monday morning. I now indulge sanguine hope that through this system of diet and the blessing of God I shall be able to reengage in pastoral labor." Returning soon to his flock in the forest, and Mr. Finney following a few weeks later, these two neophytes, with other influential ones presently added, began in public and private with boundless energy and perseverance to push this all-important reform. The Oberlin pulpit became aggressively Grahamite. While there was no compulsion, and only occasional slight approaches to intolerance, and each colonist supplied his table with such viands as he pleased, yet for several years vegetarianism found quite general acceptance among both residents and students. It came to pass also that when, in 1839, the boarding department of the college was found to be in a chaotic condition, as a last resort it was determined to seek relief by calling in a trained disciple of Graham. One was found in David Campbell of Boston, who for years had kept a reformed boarding-house, was now editor of the Graham Journal, and whose soul was fairly overflowing with enthusiasm in pushing the campaign against spices, butter, pastries, and the whole brood of dietetic monsters. His work was inaugurated in the spring of 1840. Together with his good wife he brought a sensitive conscience and the full courage of his convictions. No weak compromises with a debauched public sentiment should be tolerated, but strict conformity to the laws of health should be required of all. When some students ventured to ask for a

taste of pork, beef, mutton, or their equivalents, an emphatic negative was returned. He would not touch the unclean thing, nor should the odor thereof be allowed in his kitchen. Therefore the executive committee felt compelled to take the following action: "Whereas Mr. Campbell cannot conscientiously furnish flesh meat, and some at present boarding in the hall desire it, voted that for a time arrangements be made by the agent for allowing occasional dishes of lean flesh meat plainly cooked to be supplied upon a portion of the tables, under such regulations as shall relieve Brother and Sister Campbell from all responsibility or care of the same, and that the additional expense be on those who are furnished, or on all if that is more agreeable to all." It was on all hands agreed that the cooking was excellent, that the food was toothsome and in great variety; but this Boston steward more and more was found too opinionated and unyielding to make a prolonged stay at all desirable. Before the end of the year he reached this conclusion and offered his resignation.*

Grahamism had no regard for economy, but aimed simply at hygienic ends. In spite of Mr. Campbell's recognized ability in his department, after his departure a reaction naturally set in against the dietetic

* This document, dated March 15, 1841, and signed by fifteen of the more substantial of the colonists, gives an insight into the current public sentiment: "Believing the experiment has now been fairly tried, and the merits of a vegetable diet been sufficiently tested in the boarding-house of the institution, and that the health of many of those who board there is seriously injured and suffering, not only in consequence of a sudden change of diet, but also by the use of diet which is inadequate to the demands of the human system as at present developed: We, the undersigned, invite those who believe with us to meet in the chapel on — evening next to express our views on this important subject."

system of which he was such an unflinching advocate. Besides, the foible, the fad, had had its day. The effectual *coup de grâce* was given not many months later when the claims of Grahamism were publicly debated with great thoroughness, by Professor Dascomb in favor and Professor Hudson and Mr. Cochran against, with the decision of the auditors almost unanimously with the latter. A few years afterwards Mr. Finney had so far come to himself as to make the following confession: "When I first read Graham's Physiology and Dietetics I was deeply interested, and as it was at the time the best light, as I supposed, that I had, I became very scrupulous in my conformity to his views. After awhile I found myself in complete bondage to what is called Grahamism." These are a few of the incidents of the days in which the craze was at its height. One testifies that he went for weeks with nothing upon the table "greasier than skim-milk." Another that he "boarded sixteen weeks with Dr. Dascomb, with no meat, pepper, salt, grease or condiment for seasoning. Once green peas were served which had been boiled in filtered rain-water, and Dr. Dascomb, tasting, admitted that they *were a little flashy*." One member of the faculty, taking compassion on the students, supplied the tables with well-filled pepper boxes, but these ere long were removed by the college authorities. These further statements will show what similar thoughts were working in other colleges and in the world at large. In Williams College an association was formed in 1831 comprising a majority of the students, with board based upon the "principle of abstinence from tea and coffee and the use only of food the simplest in every respect." In Oneida Institute a "plain farmer's diet prevailed.

For supper the students ate milk for the most part. For breakfast tea without sugar had been in vogue, but of late by unanimous vote it was discarded and in its place was put such coffee as the farm produced." In Hudson College for economy's sake many abstained from tea and coffee. In Lane Seminary, in 1833, it was "the wish of the students to dispense with tea, coffee, and all luxuries, and to live on the principles of Christian simplicity and economy." In Danville, Kentucky, the students used no tea or coffee. In Marysville, Tennessee, it was the same, and because "we wish our ministers free from dyspepsy and liver complaint." The company was large of those who, like Angelina Grimké, "used neither flesh nor fish, neither butter nor milk, neither tea nor coffee: nor any sugar, syrup, rice, nor any other products of slave labor." In those last phrases we have the ground given for another set of scruples. A girl, and would-be Oberlin student, wrote Mrs. Finney in 1841: "I can take no animal food except cream, milk, and a little sour-milk cheese. I make no use of salt or spices. I believe I could live comfortably on bread and water, if necessary to promote health or advance the cause of righteousness."

Manual Labor.—This phrase was one to conjure with in the educational world of the early thirties, and stands for the corner-stone of the Oberlin which its founders beheld in vision. Of no one feature of their scheme were they so ready to boast, and concerning its feasibility and perfect success the most unbounded assurance was cherished. But for the assumed manifold and unspeakable benefits to flow from this potent instrumentality the college and colony had never

begun to be. Honest toil would be honored, the richest and poorest would meet daily on a common level, the health of all would be secured, a magic stimulus would be imparted to both mind and morals ; but best of all and most certain of all, whoever of either sex would gain an education could easily pay his way with the labor of his own hands. Though mechanical activities might answer and would be furnished, yet since agricultural occupations were the best, five hundred acres were sought as a donation and three hundred more were soon purchased. The theory was most beautiful, but when reduced to practice a few months sufficed to detract seriously from the charm, and after a few years not a trace of comeliness remained. In December of 1833, Mr. Shipherd wrote jubilantly: "The scholars study and work well. Five minutes after the manual-labor bell strikes the hammers, saws, etc., of the mechanical students wake all around us, and the ax-men in the woods, 'breaking the ribs of nature,' make all crack." The first annual report published in November of 1834, declares that "the manual labor department is considered indispensable to a complete education." After naming five shining excellences, "in a word, it meets the wants of man as a compound being, and prevents the common and amazing waste of money, time, health and life. This department is furnished with a steam engine which propels a sawmill, grist-mill, shingle and lath saw and turning-lathe, to which other machinery will be added. One workshop is now erected and supplied with tools and others are to be added. The earnings of the students have varied from one cent an hour to twelve and a half cents, but usually from four to seven. Healthy and industrious females understanding domestic economy receive

their board with its appendages for four hours' labor." Four hours of toil daily were to be required of all, but a year later "students, both male and female, are *expected* to labor *three* hours daily," * while "young ladies perform the labor of the steward's department, together with the washing, ironing and much of the sewing for the students." In 1837 "nearly all of the young ladies and a majority of the young gentlemen have paid their board by manual labor. While the funds of the Institute remain in the state in which they now are, no pledge can be given that labor will be furnished to all," so, of course, labor was no longer "required." The hard facts of experience were fast proving themselves to be more than a match for theory.

The insuperable difficulties were mainly two, one relating to a sufficient supply for such a company, and the other to making what could be furnished remunerative to the institution. By 1838 nearly four hundred were in attendance. While the forests lasted, or land was to be subdued, or new buildings were rising on every hand, the task was sufficiently onerous. But as the clearing enlarged and the colonists were provided with shelter, labor became a drug. And much more when a thousand were crowding the halls. Heroic were the efforts made to meet the emergency, but all in vain. In particular, the fingers of the girls could not be kept busy. In 1834 Mr. Shipherd announced: "The female department also will be on the manual labor plan, with housekeeping, manufacture of wool, culture of silk, appropriate parts of gardening, espe-

* In 1836 it was arranged by the faculty that the students of the Preparatory Department should labor from seven to ten, A. M., and the freshmen from nine to twelve, the sophomores and juniors from one to four P. M., and the seniors and theological students from three to six.

cially raising seeds for market, making of clothes, etc." None of these industries, however, ever advanced beyond the point of his pen. A year or two later, in his extremity looking about, lo, a mighty silkworm craze was on all the land, and feeding the worms was counted just the thing for womankind. It was both easy and astonishingly profitable to all concerned. In 1836 he got into communication with a Rev. E. B. Coleman who beheld prodigious possibilities in this matter, and had it in his ardent desire and purpose, aided effectually by the incomparable white mulberry (*morus multicaulis*) to educate fifteen thousand young women to match the fifteen thousand missionaries to be sent out by Marion College. As a result something over \$2,000 were invested in some 60,000 mulberry trees wherewith to feed from 500,000 to 1,000,000 worms, with the assurance that at the least \$2,000 would be the return for the first year, and far more every year thereafter. Recitations were suspended for a week that the students might hasten the planting of the saplings; the campus and every acre of cleared land were covered. But alas, thanks to the clay soil, and the dry summer, and the cold winter, and the collapse of the mulberry boom, no leaves were ever picked and no silk was ever manufactured in Oberlin. Then the institution was in greatest straits for money, while the outlay for student labor was soon found to continually exceed the income. Too many were hopelessly lacking in manual skill, as well as in disposition to engage in such rough forms of toil as were offered. The crops produced by the college farm cost more than the same amount of grain and vegetables could be purchased for in the markets. By 1841 the trustees are evidently at their wits' end. The year before they had

asked the faculty "to co-operate with the farmer by lectures, etc., to create and stimulate a healthy public sentiment in favor of not less than three hours of manual labor, and see that no student fails of his appropriate physical exercise, whether he makes that labor available at the highest price or not." Later the colonists are appealed to for aid. But now, while they "see no reason to lease the real estate of the Institution," and affirm that "the manual labor department is an essential and indispensable part of the arrangements," they are convinced that the farm must be so managed as to sustain itself." This is to be done by "bringing the land to such a condition that it shall be of no expense to the Institution." But exactly there was the rub. In 1849 they discuss the question, shall the farm be rented, and in 1852, after consulting the best legal authorities (for the five hundred acres were donated to a manual labor school), it was decided to lease the land perpetually, with a clause inserted requiring the lessees to furnish a certain amount of labor, if the same should be called for.* It approaches the amusing to note that the sacred phrase

* The following is the substance of the instrument by which "leases" are given: Whereas the Board of Trustees of Oberlin College, formerly called "Oberlin Collegiate Institute," have resolved, as they are advised by counsel they have right and power to do, to give Permanent Leases, renewable Forever, on certain conditions, of the real estate belonging to said College, known as its "Inalienable Lands" for the purpose of more efficiently, and to a greater extent than they have been able to do by any other plan, "supporting and sustaining" the said College, being a Literary Manual Labor Institution: Therefore, Know all Men by these Presents, that the said Board of Trustees of Oberlin College, for the above mentioned purpose, and in consideration of the sum of — dollars, received of — as rent in advance, and of the covenants herein after contained, have demised, granted and leased, and do hereby demise, grant, lease, and to farm let unto said." etc., etc., "To have and

holds its place in the catalogue until 1867-8, (though only to state that the college has none) when it finally disappears and in its place stands "Facilities for Self-support." Among the incidental disappointments attending the course of this attempt this one befell: Four hours of daily toil was to be adequate for self-support, but that the expectation was a mistaken one soon appeared, and in the spring of 1835 some candidates for the ministry applied to the American Education Society for aid. The trustees, hearing of this, resolved that such action "would not be in accordance with the spirit and regulations of this Institution," but under the cogent pressure of circumstances, within a year are found permitting, though most grudgingly, what they had refused, in this language: "Not committing ourselves to the loan system, or the system of permanent funds, we recognize the Education Society as a coadjutor in the great cause of educating young men for the ministry, and are willing to hold said demised premises, for and during the term of Ninety-nine-years."

The lessee covenants to pay all taxes; also "yearly, during said term, to employ students of said College, in some department of manual labor (when applied for) and pay them for their labor the current market price, to an amount each year of at least two dollars for each acre of land hereby demised." Further," the said Board undertake and covenant to devote and appropriate the said rents to the support and sustaining of said Literary Manual Labor Institution." And "Provided, nevertheless, and it is understood that in case any part of this lease shall be found and adjudged to be beyond the powers of said Board, this demise is to become void, and the money now received in advance for rent is to be returned to the then tenant under the lease, and the tenant is to be paid the value of all the then existing permanent improvements on the premises made after this date." And yet more," "the said Board covenant that they and their successors shall and will at the end of said term renew this lease, the same covenants being inserted therein as are herein contained, without any further pecuniary consideration."

that students should enjoy the patronage of that society."

But, in the main, in all this Oberlin was not in the least original, but merely copied with slight modifications what was to be found in numerous institutions throughout the Eastern, Middle, and Western States. In 1830, ten could be named having manual labor attachments, while during the next decade several scores were added to the number. Maine Wesleyan was famous in its day, and was among the earliest, while Bowdoin, Waterville, and Bangor Seminary possessed these advantages. In Dexter, Maine, not only all students, but teachers also were required to labor at least four hours each day. Massachusetts had at least half a dozen, with Worcester, Shelburne Falls, Lexington, Amherst, and Andover Seminary and Phillips Academy among them; * New York was favored with several, Oneida Institute being prominent; and the Rochester Institute of Practical Education, in which "students of ordinary mechanical skill while learning a trade can nearly pay their board, and it is calculated that when certain intended facilities are furnished they will pay all their expenses." Pennsylvania, too, was well supplied. At Lafayette College, Easton, President Junkin and the students "performed the labor of erecting a two-story building thirty-one feet square, excepting eight days in the quarry, and the masonry and plastering." But in the West where people were

* In Andover Theological Seminary divers gravel walks were constructed by the students and a building was erected for the use of such as would ply the mechanic arts, with the manufacture of boxes as a specialty. For several years the cost of tools and material and all expenses were met by the sale of products. And the precious life of Professor Park was believed to have been saved by the manual labor which he performed.

poorer and land was cheaper, manual labor was most popular. Hudson had shops and a farm, Marietta and Lane Seminary the same, with at least as many more. Michigan moved in the great matter while yet a territory, nor were Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky or Tennessee in the least degree backward in ministering to the muscle of the student class. The education societies of all the leading denominations were active participants whether Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, or Presbyterian, and most of the leading educators were full of enthusiasm and zeal. The secretary of the American Education Society could tell of at least sixty precious lives of students or young ministers lost, and at least \$5,000, by mere lack of exercise, while the Episcopalian secretary could exclaim: "We almost envy our successors in the academic course when something of the vigor of the fathers shall be found in the intellectual laborers of the day, and the sallow tinge of dyspepsia shall cease to be the uniform testimonial of a life of study."*

A tremendous impulse was given to the movement by the publication, in 1833, of Theodore D. Weld's famous pamphlet upon manual labor under the auspices of the "Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions." It contained the testimony of hundreds of noted men, all to the effect that this panacea without question was mighty to heal. Probably never before or since was anything so completely proved in theory to be practicable, delightful, and absolutely necessary, and yet, within a decade by experiment to be found so beset with difficulties as to cost far more

* In 1831 a certain philanthropist and ardent lover of the maltreated African, devised a scheme for a manual labor institution in far-off and tropical Liberia!

than it was worth. Mr. Weld was convinced in later years that he was wholly mistaken in his conclusions, and wrote as follows: "I have modified my opinions as to the pecuniary profit to be expected under the most favorable circumstances. Labor, to be profitable, must be more continuous than the best conditions for study allow. To secure the best results to body and mind, the three hours should be divided into half a dozen portions. Exercise, too, should be more diversified than is practicable to touch every part of the body, for we would have to try too many kinds of work." And a sharp critic well suggests that his pamphlet was "a valuable digest of opinions and experiments, with a complete and lamentable omission of all facts and statistics respecting the history and experience of the many institutions visited, with the degree of success and causes of failure." After the beginning of the forties we hear little of manual labor. With the general increase of wealth, there was less need of whatever pecuniary value it possessed, the consciences of the good were less scrupulous about seeking exercise outside of "useful labor," and the modern gymnasium and athletics soon began to make all-sufficient provision for the physical well-being of the student world.

✓ *Heathen Classics.*—These two words stand for another of the burning questions of sixty years ago. Though Oberlin's agitation of it was well-meant and on the whole was inspired by worthy motives, yet to no inconsiderable extent the discussion as carried on was ill-advised, while many unwise words were spoken and much harm was done. As we shall see, the subject was under debate everywhere abroad. When President Mahan came, in 1835, his sentiments were soon

asked for, and without taking due thought, as he afterwards admitted, he uttered himself with the greatest emphasis and assurance, criticising severely in this particular the ordinary college curriculum. As one intelligent hearer informs us: "He objected to the present plan in relation to Greek and Latin, especially the latter. It was better to educate heathens than Christians. We can discipline the mind with the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and these can purify the mind. This is the opinion of the best men and the best scholars. Let us have less classics and more natural science, American law, history, and of men and things. Give us truth, facts, practical, available knowledge." In the first catalogue issued about six months before, this announcement had been made: "The collegiate department will afford as extensive and thorough a course of instruction as other colleges: varying from some by substituting Hebrew and sacred classics for the most objectionable pagan authors." Quite a number of the students had no fondness for the severe drill required to master the classics and much preferred the short and easy road to knowledge. Under the operation of various impulses, but on the whole as a mere boyish freak, just for the fun of the thing, it came to pass that a score or so of the students the evening after the President's tirade burned divers Latin authors on the campus; but, nevertheless, the next day and all along thereafter mastered their lessons and recited exactly as hitherto. But, behold, from that address and this hilarious burning, it went out to the literary world and for years was most "religiously" believed that Oberlin was but a mongrel institution, its course of study was so seriously defective. Probably the name, Collegiate Institute, had something to do in spreading that con-

viction, as well as the known educational ideas of some members of the board of trustees. But, certainly, the faculty never cherished any narrow or shallow opinions upon this point. The hesitation for a few years about conforming exactly to the courses pursued in other colleges, and the modifications they attempted to make resulted mainly from an intense religious feeling. It was not that they loved the classics less, so much as that they loved the Bible more. With other and eminent educators they cherished two convictions: first, that the Scriptures both in the English version and in the original tongues were possessed of the highest educational value, and as such they should be studied first, last, and everywhere between; and second, that certain classical authors were so abominably unclean that it was nothing less than criminal to put them into the hands of our youth.

We find the trustees in 1840 asking the faculty "to consider with much prayer and deliberation whether the time devoted to heathen classics ought not to be improved by the study of the Hebrew Scriptures and natural science." In 1843, "Should not the theological students read the entire Bible in Hebrew and Greek?" And two years later this governing body resolved, "that no student should be denied the approbation of the college at the end of his course by reason of any want of knowledge of heathen classics, provided he sustains well an examination in other branches needful to prepare him for preaching Christ." In 1845, after the death of Mr. Shipherd, the board adopted certain resolutions in which this is named as one of the objects he had in mind: "To expunge from the list of books studied such portions of the heathen classics as debase and pollute the mind, and restore the Bible to its place as

a permanent text book in the whole course." As substitutes for the vilest of the ancient poets the *De Veritate* of Grotius was introduced, and George Buchanan's Latin translation of the Psalms, though no copies of the latter could be procured and the college was too poor to publish an edition. The following statements may be added from the pen of President Fairchild (who himself mastered the entire Old Testament in the original):

One result of the discussion upon classical study was to awaken a temporary interest in the study of the Hebrew language which it was proposed to substitute for a portion of the Latin of the course. To meet this demand, Prof. J. Seixas, a Jew, was employed the latter half of the year.* He was an enthusiastic and successful teacher, and stirred up such an interest that his classes numbered at one time a hundred and twenty-seven pupils. This interest soon subsided, and the study of Hebrew was begun at first in the last term of the junior year, then in the first term of the senior year, and finally was limited to the theological course. . . . It was the purpose of the founders, and of the men who joined the enterprise in 1835, that Biblical study should be a prominent feature of the course; and the early deviation was in this direction. The Greek and Hebrew Scriptures were to take the place of some of the classic authors. This arrangement was earnestly adopted, and there was no division of feeling on the subject. It was a very common thing for the trustees at their meetings in the earlier years to propose to the faculty the inquiry whether this idea had been fully and thoroughly maintained. The first difficulty encountered was, that it placed the college in misadjustment with other colleges. Oberlin graduates entering the theological department would have had more than a year of Hebrew, while those from other colleges had none. In going to other seminaries a similar difficulty was encountered. Then it was not clear that those who were not to enter the ministry could wisely devote a year or more to the study of Hebrew. Similar difficulties were felt in regard to the New Testament Greek. The result was that the Hebrew was committed wholly to the theological department, and the New Testament Greek was limited to a term or two, and more recently has been mostly discontinued.

* During the same months Prof. Seixas gave instruction to the Hudson students, and also to the Mormon elders in Kirtland in the third story of their temple then just completed.

Thus in this case also it fell out that the idealists and theorizers of the period were brought effectually to book by the rude but needful test of actual experiment. A glance will next be in order at outside opinion upon the same subject. By not a few of the most noted teachers and clergymen the principle was most earnestly contended for that the "Bible is fit to be and ought to be at least upon a par with the classics, and should have a place in every scheme of education from the primary school to the university." This was the conviction frequently set forth with tongue and pen by T. S. Grimké, a lawyer of great eminence, especially in his Phi Beta Kappa address at Yale in 1830, which was a "Plea for Sacred Literature *vs.* Heathen Classics." Presidents Humphrey of Amherst (where a majority of the senior class were studying Hebrew) and Nott of Union, with Professor Stowe, then of Dartmouth, were in full sympathy with him in his desire to see relatively less honor bestowed upon the literature of ancient Greece and Rome, and relatively greater honor upon the literature of ancient Palestine. Professor Moses Stuart well sums up the conclusions of a large class of scholarly men in words like these :

It need not be thought strange that the Greek and Roman classics are decried or spoken of with coldness or disrespect. Everything which has been abused will have its good overlooked, and its evils greatly magnified. In the Dark Ages the classics were first despised, and then over-exalted and the Scriptures belittled. Now again we see that the Bible is good for style and taste. And we recall that to be educated one must "wade through the polluted sink of heathen mythology, be drilled day and night so as deeply to impress a full knowledge of it upon the mind ; must be so familiar with it as to make it a constant theme for meditation and delight ;" while at the same time the Bible is overlooked and neglected in education. I do not wonder that men rise up in indignation against it. Let the Bible have its place. Matters like these are not to be decided by the custom of the schools, which are yet

replete with many a usage which has come from the age of Cardinal Bembo. But we must have Greek and Latin, because the Bible was written in the one, and the Fathers in the other. So I protest against expunging them from the list of our studies. I would not have our youth study the amatory poetry of Anacreon and Tibullus, nor the smut of Horace and Juvenal, nor the atheism of Lucian. I would have expurgated editions, a *Cursus Classicus* something like what Jacobs has made for the schools of Germany. I would have some portions of the Latin and Greek fathers studied as well as heathen writers; e.g., Minutius Felix, Lactantius, Cyprian and Augustine in Latin, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen and others in Greek. I would fain see the Bible claim some humble place at least among books of education. Christian education without the Bible! A monstrosity in the religious world! A stumbling-block to unbelievers!

In 1834 a committee appointed by the trustees of Hudson College reported upon the "Study of the Bible and Christian Authors as Classics in College," recommending Hebrew as a part of the college course, an increase of Septuagint Greek, and the principles of sacred interpretation. "Hebrew ought to be studied at an early age, and there are strong reasons for making it the first language studied. It is a simple language and the oldest. If put in at first the youth would get the Word of God at a time when he needs it. If not the first, it should come early, and form a part of the college course." The board accepted the report.

"*Perfection.*"—In order that the epithet, foible, as applied to this famous phase of religious life in early Oberlin may not seem uncharitable and unchristian to the borders of the profane, a definition, or rather an explanation is required at the very outset. The phenomenon referred to did not turn out to be exactly what those who witnessed its beginning supposed it to be. Not only were its essential character and import different from what they imagined, but its



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spiritual import was far less significant, whether to the individual or the kingdom of God. What was really only an accident, or incident, was mistaken for an indispensable quality. The reference now is only to that grave misapprehension which for years was clung to with greatest tenacity and fervor. The phenomenon under view cannot be understood without a glance at the peculiar circumstances out of which it sprung. Certainly the combination of forces was most remarkable and unusual.

1. New School theology was in its infancy, and had not been thought through as yet calmly and thoroughly to its logical results. The emphasis had been taken from divine sovereignty, election, and human inability, and had been transferred to freedom of the will, ability to obey, and the consequent guilt of disobedience. The Oberlin men were all enthusiastically New School in their teaching, and during the first years, almost literally night and day, with tremendous energy sinners were exhorted to repentance, and saints to be wholly conformed in heart and life to the exalted standard of the Gospel.
2. Here was a community which had been gathered for the express purpose of better learning the will of God, and under solemn covenant to walk in obedience so far as His will was made known. Therefore, to an extent seldom seen ears were open and eager, and hearts were impressible. Of the appeals of Finney and Mahan the auditors made a most solemn application each to his own case.
3. For months together both church and college had been wrought upon by revival influences of unusual prevalence and power. Religious services were frequent, sermon, prayer, and song overflowed with emotion, and as a result came exhilaration, a general exaltation of thought, feeling and purpose.

4. Though the Oberlin spirit has seldom exhibited a trace of the ascetic, has been aggressive rather than introspective, yet now for a season the case was different. As the revival progressed it came to pass at length that well-nigh every soul had been touched by the Spirit of God and constrained to enter upon a consecrated life. The saints found themselves with nothing to do but to look within, to examine their spiritual pulse, to dwell upon their moods and frames, to magnify the importance of particular experiences and emotions.

Such was the religious situation which made the perfection episode possible. The fact should be borne in mind that with its origin, mere theories, matters of doctrine, had directly next to nothing to do. First came overwhelming desire, leading to appropriate volition, and not until later did philosophizing and argument undertake their task. It was in 1836 that a number of students who had consecrated themselves to a missionary career, in the fulness of their longing to be wholly the Lord's, that they might serve him most effectually and with all their might, in a gathering for communion and prayer had finally knelt to renew their consecration, to make it complete and absolute, had besought the Master to accept the offering, and then one after another had promised not to grieve him any more by sin. This solemn meeting had lasted two hours, and had been preceded by a discussion upon the same matter of four hours. As one of the number states: "They left the meeting feeling that they were pledged to a life of entire obedience, chiefly from the side of duty—the obligation and the possibility of it." The next day the report went out that the missionary society had all become Perfectionists. It had hap-

pened that about the same time in New England a teaching of perfection of an antinomian sort had begun, according to which a Christian cannot sin, since Christ dwelling within controls all his powers, and is responsible for all he does; and he is above law since the indwelling Spirit is the author of law. Some numbers of *The Perfectionist* had been read in Oberlin, but that doctrine both then and afterwards met with general rejection and abhorrence. The second stage was reached a few months later when, in the midst of daily revival services, after a pungent sermon by President Mahan on the duty of taking Jesus as a Saviour from all sin, a student arose and asked the question, How large were the measures of grace which might reasonably be expected by a Christian? Was it sufficient to keep him entirely free from sin? The inquiry was at once seen to be big with far-reaching significance, and the immediate answer was quite indefinite and non-committal. But more than one was set at once to pondering, Bible in hand, in search of a proper reply. Nor was it long before the President in his wrestling lighted upon an experience to him entirely new, which seemed to partake of the supernatural in its origin, was most ravishing to his soul, and was believed to have brought a radical transition from darkness to light, even from sin to holiness. When this fact became known similar exercises of mind and heart were passed through by others, including several of the faculty and various students and citizens, and for a season these were held in high esteem and were much sought after as being the blessed and only gate of entrance into the higher Christian life. To this all-important desideratum various names were given, like "the blessing," "perfect love," "sanctification," "per-

fection," "gift of the Holy Ghost," etc., and presently on the part of a score or so a tendency was developed to assemble by themselves in "band meetings," and to distinguish between those who had experienced sanctification and those who were merely "justified." In exceptional cases the claim was set up of having attained to perfect obedience, of being free from consciousness of sin; now and then one was able to name the date of his last transgression, and even assert the knowledge, the full consciousness, that he should never sin again. But as for the majority, they went on as before, confessing sin and asking for pardon and cleansing. In these first days Mr. Finney stated publicly that he would go a hundred miles on his hands and knees to see a man who lived without sin. The fact, however, appears to be well established that quite a large proportion of those who had felt the thrill of "the blessing" for at least a few years rated its value altogether too high—gave to it so great prominence in their thought and speech as really to make of it a hobby to the neglect of other weighty matters. The discovery was so wonderful, the enlargement of soul was so intoxicating, that, like Peter, they would fain set up tabernacles and abide in the holy mount. As for Finney, Mahan, Cowles, Morgan and others, their tongues and pens were long kept busy declaring, expounding, and defending the momentous doctrine. It was for this more than for all other purposes combined that the Oberlin *Evangelist* was started in January of 1839. And there was abundant need of all their enginery, for soon they had arrayed against their teaching almost the entire religious press and well-nigh every "orthodox" pulpit in the land. Something of great value was learned from their an-

tagonists. In Oberlin, also, by the formulation of the doctrine of the simplicity of moral action a distinction was made and emphasized which went far to help out of a sore dilemma those whose conviction was invincible that perfection ought to be possible in this life if the Bible is verily the word of God. It was made clear that while a Christian life cannot begin without perfect consecration, which is an act, sanctification or a perfect Christian character may come, and is more likely to come, as the end of a process continuing for months and years. Time, too, came in as a corrector and an instructor. It was noticed that somehow it was by no means the case that those who had the blessing were the best, the truest-hearted, the most reliable and useful disciples; but, on the contrary, might be the weak-minded, the shallow, the merely sentimental. And further, while some who had a marked experience such as was sought might receive a benefit, an impulse forward and upward, which wrought a thorough transformation and lasted for life, others who seemed in like manner to have been caught up into the third heaven, ere long wholly lost the vision and became earthy as ever. Thus, for various reasons, it has come about that though Oberlin is by no means apostate, nor has lost in any considerable degree, if at all, the exalted ideals of character and life set at first, it is doubtful if a sermon upon perfection in the old-time sense has been heard therein for more than a generation.

CHAPTER IX

OBERLIN'S BAPTISM OF FIRE

IT may well be doubted if another community can be named on the whole so intelligent and morally so sound, so eager to know and to do the right, but which was also so widely and persistently misunderstood, slandered, charged with the commission of all manner of evil deeds, and cast out as utterly unworthy of the confidence and fellowship of patriots or Christians. The causes were many and various; some of which have already been suggested, and others will appear as we proceed with the narrative. For some of the odium and abuse Oberlin was responsible, had only herself to thank, for her works were not always wrought in perfect wisdom and righteousness. But the evils which befell were vastly more her misfortune than her fault. The explanation which covers far more ground than any other is found in the fact that she was the victim of circumstances, or fell upon evil times, days of universal bitterness and strife. A foretaste of what was in store for the colony and college was given early. From the very day the "pattern" was seen in the "mount," the founders were bold and venturesome, were aggressive and very confident. They had no fear of novelties or innovations, and naturally minds of a conservative make were soon thrown into perturba-

tion by some features of their schemes which failed to conform to what was customary. Manual labor, for example, had many friends and admirers, but a larger number looked askance at the idea. The student did not need and could not afford four hours daily for toil upon the farm or in the shop, nor was the financial result likely to be of any considerable value either to him or the institution to which he belonged. Thus heads in New England and elsewhere began to shake. Next as to coeducation. It was a thing unheard of and dreadful for boys and girls to be thrown together during their school-days. As early as 1834, Rev. Benjamin Woodbury, a friend of Mr. Shipherd, and who was in his employ as agent in the canvass for funds, speaks of the protests raised against these two fundamental features. And of course the colony covenant matter was a startling departure from all precedent. But more. As if all this was not enough to frighten away and disgust all sensible people, behold, within a few months, by express resolution on the part of the trustees negroes are admitted to an educational equality with whites, which in that day was tantamount to "social equality" and "amalgamation (*horresco referens*)."

And finally, almost upon the same day, Mr. Finney, arch-patron, if not also inventor of the "new measures" in revivals, and to many also arch-heretic as touching certain doctrines vital to the Christian system, is actually chosen as teacher of theology in the seminary! No wonder the faith of some began to stagger, and friends began to draw back. Let Mr. Woodbury, evidently a man of intelligence and of excellent spirit, tell us in two letters written in the spring of 1835, one from Boston, and the other from New

Hampshire, how divers of the judicious were made to grieve:

You urge haste in soliciting and forwarding aid. I fear the appointment of Mr. Finney has an influence on subscriptions. I was told of one who had collected \$100.00 and was withholding it until it was known who would be theological professor. I do think this appointment is exceedingly impolitic. He cannot be a suitable man. He has had no systematic course in preparation for it. New England is full of men well qualified, and men not committed in any way to their own injury or that of the Institution. I do intreat the Board not to appoint him. It will make, too, more than half the difference in my subscriptions. My movements are nearly paralyzed. I can only plead by considering the amazing wants of the West as paramount to all other considerations. The name of Finney is nearly destructive to Oberlin in New England. I feel grieved and hurt beyond telling, and lose confidence in the judgment of Mr. Shipherd. I know his heart is good, is first-rate, but what influences can be upon him to do so I cannot imagine. I must say that Oberlin is not and will not be committed to abolition or any party. It must be open and free, or it will be good for nothing. The theology of New England is not Finneyism, nor is it right to place Finneyism at the head of that institution. It is not tested, is too immature, crude, and denunciatory. Let him preach the gospel and not undertake to transform the theology of the churches, or to lead our youth over the ground which he himself has not trodden. Oberlin had enemies enough before, but now they will increase tenfold, and it is unnecessary. Mrs. Woodbury says she likes Mr. Finney for professor, or some one like him, better than some of another stamp. I do not much object to him, only as all the prejudices of the community against him will be transferred to Oberlin, when another man even of his theology would have been acceptable. But may God direct, and save Oberlin and save our country.

A few weeks later his woes, already almost crushing, have increased beyond measure, and we find him opening his heart to Mr. Shipherd in expostulation and solemn warning:

I sympathize with you in all your plans to train the best quality of ministers for the onset now to be made on a dark and ungodly world. That is, in every feasible plan for this, and will go with you to the *ne plus* in attaining it. But, can you bring into one seminary blacks and

whites, male and female? I mean where they must mingle in recitation, boarding and study? I do not believe it. If the time ever comes, it has not come now. Can we pray for it? Will I put my children in such a school? I think not. Though I might not greatly object to it, a slight preference even would send them to some other place. New England will scarcely bear to have young ladies at seminaries with white young gentlemen. This point however might be gained, but to put black and white on precisely the same standing will most certainly not be allowed; whatever the right may be, in New England even, and if not here, then not in this country. And in trying to do this you lose the other object, nay, you lose Oberlin. For as soon as your darkies begin to come in any considerable numbers, unless they are completely separated (this is the most that can be endured, I think), the whites will begin to leave; and at length your institution will change color! Why not have a black institute, "dyed in the wool," and let Oberlin be? Will it not be better to avoid the collision if possible? The people and the scholars at Oberlin will say nothing about two, or even half a dozen, but when numerous the subject assumes a different shape. In my humble opinion, if you do not keep the blacks entirely separate, so as to veto the notion of amalgamation, the Collegiate Institute, embracing every interest, will be blown sky-high, and you will have a black establishment. I beseech you, look at this business well, and in the fear of God.

These lengthy quotations have been made because they seem to reflect the convictions and prejudices of the average intelligent and Christian American of five-and-sixty years ago, and so help us to understand the attitude taken by multitudes towards Mr. Shipherd's experiments. But other critics arose nearer home, whose fault-finding and hostility were prompted largely by such impulses as jealousy and envy. As was most natural, and not without abundant reason, Oberlin was regarded as seizing and appropriating for its own uses what by a prior claim rightfully belonged to its neighbors. Western Reserve College, centrally located at Hudson, and designed for the especial benefit of Congregationalists and Presbyterians in northeastern Ohio, had opened its doors only six years before. A theological department had been designed from the

first, but as yet had not been organized. Students were not numerous, while even necessary funds were exceedingly hard to get. But now a competitor appears in an institution with similar aims and depending upon the same constituency, located in the western half of the Reserve. It was not in human nature not to be disturbed and even provoked by a sense of wrong. Our founders, however, were wholly innocent of any intention of committing any wrong to any person or corporation. The files of the *Ohio Observer*, published in that village, inform us how the enterprise soon to be launched looked to Hudson eyes. In the issue of September 28th, 1833 we read :

We assure the friends of the institution that we have no feelings of hostility or rivalry. We shall always rejoice in all the good it may do. We have entertained doubts whether on the whole its location was the most judicious. Its contiguity to other schools seems rather an obstacle to its success. Western Reserve is less than fifty miles distant. The Elyria high school is flourishing and less than ten miles off. And Milan has its Huron Institute, very flourishing and conducted on the manual labor plan, less than twenty miles to the west. Had Oberlin been located in a region more destitute of literary institutions, we should have anticipated greater prosperity. We wish it success. Though located so near, we understand it to be in some respects very different from them. We suppose its worthy founders rely chiefly for success on the peculiarity of its inner structure as connected with a purely religious society, and sustained by it with the common property of all concerned.

Either the editor failed to perceive the gravity of the situation, or else he was whistling to keep his courage up. But before long the fact began to appear that not Oberlin but Hudson was to suffer. In June of the next year a radical change of tone is detected from the patronizing to the deprecatory, and in an article by "Scrutator." The second term is now in progress, and the first college class is soon to be formed

among the stumps and brush heaps. According to this writer these are some points worthy of notice :

I think all of our benevolent projects ought to be open to discussion and investigation. I have some doubts about a project lately started in this region, and which makes no small demands on our regard as an enterprise of benevolence. I refer to Oberlin, for which large funds have been received and are collecting. What need is there of another university, or college, or collegiate institute in the woods of Ohio, in a thinly settled part of the country, surrounded by other institutions but a short distance off still struggling for existence, and in a state which has five or six half-starved colleges, one of them within forty miles? Why not go to India or the Sandwich Islands to start them? It is said to have manual labor, but so has Hudson. It is said that students come from the East. But why should they come away from the excellent, long-tried, richly endowed and well-officered institutions in the older states to get an education in a meagre and poorly furnished institute in the wilds of Ohio? Why should students be importuned to leave institutions where they are, to go to Oberlin, as I understand has been extensively the case in this region? Why seek to build up one by the spoils of others? But the most striking feature of an exceptional character that appears in Oberlin is, that while it builds its claims to patronage on its benevolent character, it makes the unheard-of requisition that every student on his entrance shall pay \$150.00 for the mere privilege of going to school there and using the tools. For there is not another institution in the land, if in the literary world, where an outfit of this amount is required on entrance. There is not another manual labor, or mental labor school which students cannot enter by paying bills for board and tuition. These are some of the difficulties which rise in my mind.

The editor remarks that he has been perplexed in much the same fashion. Sharp rejoinders and re-rejoinders follow between Mr. Shipherd and the paper, without much progress, since neither appears to understand the other. In March of 1835, Mr. Finney's Revival Lectures begin to appear, with the announcement that though they will occupy much space, they cannot be omitted and will run through most of the year. In April "A Friend of Abolition" hears that

the Oberlin trustees have passed a resolution to prevent colored persons boarding in the Hall with whites, if the founder of a single scholarship shall object. Is it true? The editor also would be glad to know the facts. "One of the Trustees" replies the next week, but curiously fails either to confess or deny, but declares instead, that "the color of the skin has nothing to do with receiving or rejecting. Oberlin is against slavery, though the flag of no party will wave over it, and when the teachers [Finney, Mahan, etc.] come, the details of the arrangements will be made." One name just mentioned in brackets suggests another great stone of stumbling and rock of offence on Oberlin's part, in setting up a rival theological seminary and securing the famed evangelist as its chief professor. It is to be recalled that Shipherd and Mahan had spent the early weeks of this year in New York with Tappan and the others, making all needed arrangements for a speedy opening of a school of the prophets. Intelligence of what was going on, reaching Hudson, produced a profound impression. Here was a dire emergency; it was now or never; something must be done at once, and if possible Oberlin must be forestalled. The Hudson trustees met May 6th, to receive a memorial signed by fifty-three ministers of the region which deprecated division among brethren and suggested the "complete organization of the theological department of Western Reserve College." The board acted at once by choosing Mr. Finney as Professor of Pastoral Theology and Sacred Rhetoric, and Laurens P. Hickok as Professor of Didactic Theology, and appointed a committee of four to confer with Mr. Finney and the Oberlin board to prevent the establishment of two seminaries, and of course to fix the one at Hudson.

But it was already too late for such a movement, and the overwhelming tide of events was sweeping in another direction. The editor of the *Observer* did his best to make Hudson the theological center of the Reserve, and Rev. Henry Cowles (who was a professor in Oberlin before the summer was over) wrote a letter to Mr. Shipherd filled with convincing arguments looking to the same end. Three other happenings filled Hudson's cup of woe to the brim. Within a few months, for reasons quite similar to those which impelled the Lane students, a large exodus occurred from the halls of Western Reserve and a transfer of the "rebels" to Oberlin. To the latter also came a wonderful influx of seekers after knowledge from all quarters. And, finally, during a period when the *Observer* had suspended for several weeks, the Oberlin *Evangelist* began to make a bi-monthly appearance. The editor of the Hudson paper "cannot appreciate the necessity of starting it. If it was desired to get doctrine and duty before the public, the *Observer* could have been used. Though it says it will not interfere with its neighbors, it must, for it will get our subscribers. We cannot wish it success." Yet other grievances will be mentioned further on.

Not many months passed by after the advent of Mr. Finney and the opening of the seminary before Oberlin entered into an unfortunate and prolonged tilt with the American Education Society, of which the provoking cause was contained in certain pet ideas of the founders, notably the one with regard to self-support to be made easily possible through the sovereign virtues of manual labor. When this fondly looked-for result failed to materialize, some of the candidates for the ministry made application to that organization for

financial help, which step, as we have seen, the trustees refused to countenance, but afterwards, though grudgingly and unhandsomely, allowed. Here was too good an opportunity for Hudson to miss. So in January of 1837 we find the editor making reference to the facts in the case as follows :

When Oberlin started it was said that students would support themselves and thus not need help. It operated against the Education Society, and many refused to contribute. So when Oberlin became convinced that its scheme was visionary and sought aid for students, the Board asked them to say frankly that Oberlin was not self-supporting, in order to disabuse the public of the notion. This has not been done, as was suggested in the catalogue just published.

When one of the faculty essayed to explain, but in an indefinite and quite meaningless way, the editor thrust in the sting deeper by remarking : " We are sorry they do not say right out, ' We are not self-supporting.' So now it seems that Oberlin students cannot earn any more than others, and need as much help. Thus Oberlin manual labor is no better than it is elsewhere." This difficulty was increased by the current discussion concerning the study of the " heathen classics." When the hilarious students burned their Latin books and the curriculum was modified at points deemed vital to a thorough education, it went out to the world that the course here was viciously incomplete and superficial. Though the faculty protested vigorously, and a committee made a commendable showing in a comparison with the studies pursued at Yale, before the end of 1838 the Education Society in New York voted that " the college and theological training at Oberlin is such that it is inconsistent with our rules to aid students there." Whereupon the Hudson editor remarks : " Mr. Mahan said when

matters were strained, 'We do not feel called upon to say or do anything. We do not much care whether the society aids our students or not. If we want help we can get it.'" Thus stigmatized and cast out, what could Oberlin and her friends do but organize an education society of their own?

This uncalled-for and unfraternal proceeding, however, was but the beginning of sorrows. This ambitious community planted in the woods of Russia township was charged far and wide with the sin of schism, with being a foe to Christian union, with tugging with might and main to overturn the ecclesiastical *status quo*, the precious Plan of Union which, lo! these forty years had bound Congregationalists and Presbyterians together in one bundle. The first overt act was performed in the summer of 1836, when, after a preliminary meeting at Hudson, the Western Reserve Association was formed at Oberlin. Hitherto presbyteries, synods, and the like had had things all their own way, while Congregationalism existed only in the individual church. September 29 a Lorain correspondent makes bold to declare in the *Observer* that the Association is to be laid at Oberlin's door. "Two professors evidently brought the plan with them, and it appeared that the notice calling it was prepared at Oberlin and sent to Hudson to be signed. So men almost entire strangers on the Reserve, strike a blow at existing ecclesiastical organizations which will divide ministers and churches. Some of these men are distressed at dissension, but start this movement! And one who is at the head of a literary institution, and a Presbyterian, made a fierce attack upon Presbyterianism. The worst article in the constitution is the one which any Baptist or Methodist can sign. When

existing ecclesiastical affairs are to be remodelled, let not strangers take it in hand." To this well did "Be Will" soon reply that "before Oberlin was born ministers and churches had desired such an organization, had tried to fashion several, and had petitioned presbytery to aid in the matter." The fact is now patent to all that whatever may have been the benefits flowing from the Plan in the early years, its work for the Kingdom had now been performed, it was exciting rather than preventing trouble, more and more it was jeopardizing the existence of Congregationalism, and the sooner the unnatural bonds were broken the better. And further, as we shall see, it was presently to be Oberlin's lot to be cast out as vile, and but for the existence of the Association and other subordinate bodies affiliated with it, Oberlin students would have been unable to secure either license or ordination, nor would any fellowship have been possible. Though among the first results were greatly increased confusion and strife, the dawn of vastly better days was hastened.

But, in the judgment of multitudes of Christian people both West and East, especially in Presbyterian and Congregational circles, beyond comparison the worst article in the count against Oberlin was found in her teaching as touching Christian perfection; and never in this country was *odium theologicum* more rampant and insane than in that decade. The epidemic of suspicion, horror, and hurling of hard words can be traced as far back as November of 1837, when Professor Henry Cowles writes to the *Observer* to state: "The report is not true that we in Oberlin have such perfectionism that we do not ordain ministers. There are no perfection errors among the students. We repudiate the idea

that we cannot sin because Christ acts in us. I am sure that none of our faculty or students entertain any such ideas." The next August "B. C." opens the long and sanguinary campaign by publishing the first of a series of articles in refutation of the nascent heresy. In September, President Mahan gave his famous perfection address before the Oberlin Society of Inquiry, which was printed the next month in the *Observer*, filling ten columns, and a month later still appeared in the first issue of the Oberlin *Evangelist*, about the same time also in the leading eastern papers. The Hudson "organ" invites its readers to peruse the same and send on the results of their thinking. Which thing they do so abundantly that for a long period well-nigh every number is redolent of reviews and refutations. As for the *Evangelist*, for three-and-twenty long years most sturdily it keeps up the fight. Nor was it many months before the warfare of truth against error spread from the press and and pulpit to the ecclesiastical bodies, with resolutions and excommunications as the weapons. It is necessary to recall that in this same period the combat was deepening between Old School and New, in New England with Taylor and Tyler as the chief combatants, with the Excision Act of 1837 as the most thrilling Presbyterian incident, and the heresy trials of Beman, Barnes, and Lyman Beecher as skirmishes. According to the Old School the Synod of Western Reserve was theologically among the rottenest of the excised bodies, which fact was most unfortunate for Oberlin. For Satan's seat was located within its territorial limits, and being itself under grave accusation, with all its presbyteries, this synod must convince the world at any cost that no part nor lot was had in the Oberlin perfection business.

The little Frederickstown Presbyterian church was among the first to take decisive action. In 1839 the session resolved that "we cannot conscientiously recognize the so-called church of Oberlin as a part of the visible Church of Christ, on account of the exceedingly corrupt doctrines which we believe are taught there, nor can we consistently give a member of our church a certificate of dismission without recommending him or her to a church of Christ. Miss Frances Cochran is no longer considered a member, and we do hereby certify that since she has been a member her moral character has been good so far as known. For some time past, however, she has been at Oberlin. Of her conduct there we cannot certify. But we regret to say she disavows some of the doctrines of the standards of our church." About the same time the *Observer* prints a long article of "Defence against the Errors of Oberlin," in which these three momentous queries are propounded: "Shall young men go there expecting to get a thorough classical and theological education? Will such be received by the churches as pastors or missionaries? Is there any obligation to aid Oberlin as now constituted?"

As was most meet, the voice of Huron Presbytery is heard in authoritative declaration, and its judicial decision goes forth, for the center of the Oberlin defilement lies within its bounds. Meeting in Monroeville in 1840, two students, Edward H. Fairchild and James H., his brother, asked to be licensed, and their case was referred to a committee, which, without the least questioning, simply asked if they "believed in the doctrines taught in Oberlin and in their way of doing things." Declining to answer such an inquiry, it was finally changed to this, "Do you believe that

on the whole Oberlin is a good institution, or is it a curse to the world?" They then confessed that they thought it was good, and also believed the committee would think so too if they would spend a week there! The report was adverse to a public examination, and after a vigorous discussion was adopted. In April of the next year this same body put its views concerning the Oberlin heresy upon record and published them all abroad. The preamble explains that since "the impression exists somewhat extensively that the presbyteries of the Western Reserve, and this presbytery in particular, approve the peculiar doctrines inculcated in the Oberlin Institute, we deem it our duty to make known our sentiments in regard to them." Then follow no less than thirteen quite lengthy resolutions, which for substance set forth that the doctrine of perfect holiness is a dangerous error and contrary to the Word of God; that its legitimate effect is to lower the standard of holiness; that one of the most deplorable tendencies thereof is to fritter down and practically annul the law of God as a rule of duty; that the views held respecting the carnal nature of man are calculated to greatly diminish a sense of the evil nature of sin and lead men to place undue reliance on mere bodily austerities for its removal; that the evils resulting are seen in divisions and strifes in the churches, in breaking the established and wholesome rules of church order and destroying pastoral relations; that it is inconsistent for any one holding these sentiments to call himself a Presbyterian or Congregationalist of the New England stamp, and it is inexpedient for this body to receive such into its connection; that members of our churches and ministers of this body holding those doctrines ought peacefully to leave; and that we deem it inexpedient for our

churches to employ ministers known to cherish Oberlin ideas. However, three ministers and six elders protested against this action. Thus did these good brethren clear their skirts of responsibility. The same year Grand River Presbytery, in the same synod, denounced heresy and warned the churches to beware. But Richland Presbytery, just off the Reserve to the southwest, far surpassed all others in jealousy for truth and righteousness, also in 1841, by memorializing the Synod of Ohio and asking for a deliverance upon this question, "Will baptism pass muster as valid, if administered by an Oberlin man?" The overture was graciously received and gravely turned over to a committee to consider. When sat upon sufficiently it was reported back with the suggestion that the efficacy of ordinances does not depend on the character of the administrator; nevertheless Oberlin errors are exceedingly dangerous and corrupting, and "these preachers should not be received by the churches as orthodox ministers, nor should their members be admitted to communion." The synod, after discussing the report, finally fixed it that "Oberlinism is not yet sufficiently developed to justify a decision on this important question," and so the report was laid on the table.

But outside the Reserve and all around the ecclesiastical sky, similar thunder peals were heard. As specimens, in 1841 both Troy Presbytery and Newark Presbytery reiterated, "Beware of perfection," the latter also asking one Fitch to withdraw from their fellowship and betake himself where he belonged, and the General Association of Connecticut took a like stand. The next year Chenango Presbytery does likewise. The year after, the North River Presbytery, and upon appeal the Synod of New York and New Jersey,

cut off two men for holding sanctification views, and when Rochester Presbytery dismissed one for the same offence and the Synod of Genesee upheld the action, the church affected withdrew. In 1844 the General Association of New York condemned the heresy and censured Genesee Consociation for winking at it, whereupon the latter voted itself independent. In 1845 Fox River Congregational Union, Illinois, refused to receive a minister because he held Oberlin doctrines, while in 1848 the American Board discharged two noble missionaries, Bradley and Caswell, in Siam, for the same reason. In 1844 the Cleveland Convention was held, composed of delegates representing Congregational and Presbyterian churches, but the conference with which the Oberlin church was connected was not invited to a share in the deliberations. Mr. Finney and President Mahan were present, but a motion that they be invited to sit as corresponding members was voted down by a considerable majority. As one delegate testifies: "Much of the time was spent in denouncing Oberlin, and the chief object of the convention seemed to be to destroy its influence and exclude it from the pale of orthodoxy." In 1846 the Michigan City Convention was held, a Congregational body representing the churches of both East and West. This too was anti-Oberlin in spirit, and sought to establish the fact that in spite of Oberlin heresies, western lovers of the Puritan polity were theologically sound. When Oberlin men would go as missionaries to the Indians of the northwest, it became necessary to bring into being the Western Evangelical Missionary Society to send and support them; and when they undertook work in behalf of negroes, whether in Ohio, Canada, the West Indies, or Africa, other organizations

were required which, in 1846, were united in the American Missionary Association, which also for years with its operations covered the home as well as the foreign field and commissioned scores of Oberlin men for work in the Western States. The evil feeling, which was very prevalent and widely extended, found frequent expression in language like this: At the Cleveland Convention a delegate declared upon the floor that "the influence of Oberlin was worse than that of Roman Catholicism." The president of Michigan University publicly avowed the belief that "Oberlin theology was almost devilish." Rev. Everton Judson of Milan, a man most godly and full of evangelistic zeal, was yet so beside himself with prejudice as to say, "I have no doubt that Oberlin is just as bad as the Five Points of New York," while a stanch Calvinist of Western Pennsylvania put it in this fashion: "Brethren, I hate Oberlin almost as bad as I hate slavery, and you know I hate slavery as I hate the devil." Once Mr. Finney was traveling in his carriage not many miles from home, and meeting a woman on foot asked her to ride, and later inquiring where he was from, being told, she seemed to be greatly frightened and manifested a desire to escape immediately from such perilous proximity to a monster. And a student from the same pestiferous spot, calling at a house to rest and seek refreshment at the well, mentioning the abhorred name, was bidden with great emphasis to leave the premises instantan and to expect no favors.*

* Except in rare cases no Oberlin student received assistance from the American Education Society until after the Albany Convention held in 1852, and knowing the almost certainty of being rejected, few applied. When the first students were going to labor among the Indians in the extreme northwest, the American Board was asked to send them, but the reply was: "We cannot. You are good men, and we

Oberlin's political transgressions excited animosity in many minds, including thousands of the baser sort. Being abolitionist to the backbone was enough to destroy the confidence of all conservatives and friends of compromise. This community was constantly sending out its emissaries to denounce slavery in unmeasured terms, admitted Africans to "social equality" with Caucasians, was a favorite hiding-place for black runaways, and was unsurpassed for determination, enthusiasm, and skill in furthering the operations of the Underground Railroad. It was just such persistent "unconstitutional" proceedings which stirred up the Ohio legislature, four times in succession, the last time in 1842, to introduce and almost pass bills to take away the charter of the college as being a daring and shameless violator of law. Oberlin's sensitive conscience, too, and independence of party considerations, was a great offence in the eyes of the politicians. The Whigs had usually carried the elections upon the colonial tract, but once in 1837, when they nominated a candidate whose ways were too worldly, and at the

wish you well, but it will not do." And the Board instructed one of its missionaries upon Lake Superior, Rev. Mr. Ayer, to be careful how he associated with them on terms of too great intimacy, lest he be poisoned by their influence.

President Mahan states that at a council held in South Boston to ordain and install the younger Patton the candidate was asked: "If installed, will you allow President Mahan or Professor Finney to preach in your pulpit?" And as he replied that he would, a half-day was consumed considering if they should proceed with the examination. When one spoke of the Oberlin brethren, another said, "They are not brethren, they are aliens," and almost the entire body was in open sympathy with this statement.

When the strife was hottest over Oberlin ideas and Oberlin men, a fond father in a neighboring community named a male infant, "Finney Reform," thus materializing and perpetuating his deep convictions by adding works to faith.

county seat a crowd gathered after the polls closed to hear the returns, it was found that the "Finneyites" had scratched the ticket almost to a man. Thereupon curses were loud and deep, mobs and burning were freely talked of, nor except for the nine miles of forest and mud intervening is it at all unlikely that fiery words would have been matched by violent deeds. It was doubtless a political animus that prompted the setting up of divers guide-boards to point literally the finger of scorn Oberlinward. One a few miles to the north displayed a negro running with all his might to reach that place of refuge. In another direction a tavern sign pictured a colored fugitive bound for the same haven, hastening at the top of his speed and pursued by a tiger.

It cannot be denied that a considerable portion of this odium, whether political or "religious" was occasioned, if not also caused, by the indiscretions of some who bore the Oberlin name. Such, for example, as George Thompson, and Calvin Fairbanks, whose anti-slavery zeal altogether got the better of their judgment, so that both while attempting to entice slaves to leave their masters, though against the earnest counsel of their wiser friends, found themselves serving long terms in the penitentiary, one in Missouri and the other in Kentucky.* It is related, also though by a prejudiced pen, that J. A. Thome speaking upon foreign missions declared that "no more men should be sent to heathen lands until slavery was destroyed at home. God was not blessing missions as he once

* It is not altogether proper to call Mr. Fairbanks an Oberlin product, since he came a full-fledged abolitionist from a Methodist school in New York and was only for a few months a member of the institution.

did, and was showing his anger and sending a curse. As evidence see how frequent are the deaths of missionaries abroad and of secretaries at home." To the same lamentable category belong such happenings as these: The publication in 1837 of that infamous pamphlet, "Oberlin Unmasked," written by a student expelled for various grave moral offences, which with a few mole-hills of fact mingled mountains of exaggeration and falsehood, but which had a wide circulation and the credit of telling the truth. Put into the hands of the Columbus law-makers, it was largely this wicked screed which so nearly persuaded them to repeal the college charter. Next, in 1839, well-nigh every week for five or six months there appeared in the *Ohio Observer* savage criticisms written by J. P. Cowles, who had been a professor, but whose views were at so many points so opposed to those of his associates, and who felt constrained to speak and act just as he felt, that his resignation was requested. It was before taking his departure, and so almost under the very eaves of the institution, that he put on paper and sent to Hudson a score or more of the most caustic animadversions against prominent individuals and matters of public policy. Next, in 1840, the famous "Oberlin Lynching" was perpetrated, that is, a vile scoundrel who had sent infamous missives to several of the young women, was taken to the woods by a party of young men and (after being prayed with) flogged as he richly deserved, but which was a rash and unwise and illegal thing to do. Of this also the details, both real and imaginary, were scattered broadcast from the Mississippi to the Atlantic. Finally came, in 1842, the shocking fall from virtue of H. C. Taylor, who had held prominent stations in both church and business affairs, had

been a leader in "moral reform (social purity)," and had also been numbered among the "sanctified." Who that belonged to the ranks of the enemy could not now see and be certain that Oberlin was a cage of unclean birds? This was the legitimate outcome of the current teaching as touching holiness! And surely it was high time for her friends to speak out if they had aught to offer in her defence. In spite of the serious case, however, we smile when we read a "card" containing the signatures of seven men good and true, representing Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Ohio, which was promulgated at commencement time in 1841, in which they certify:

The undersigned having attended the annual commencement of the Oberlin Institute, and having had other means of informing themselves wish to say to their friends abroad who may not have had such opportunities, and who may have heard much said to its prejudice, that many reports of this tendency are grossly unjust; and that we are acquainted with no evils, either in its plans of education or its theories of philosophy or theology, which ought seriously to alarm the Christian public. Every institution has its peculiar theories about which there will be diversity of opinion. But if these theories do not affect the essence of religion or morality, while the substantial elements of education are successfully inculcated, we think that those who are laboring in such an enterprise ought to be sustained and patronized; and that by lending them a helping hand we take the best means of influencing them to a right course. We take pleasure in saying that the performances of the young men and young women have been of a highly meritorious character, furnishing satisfactory evidence that both they and their teachers deserve very high commendation for industry and indefatigable inquiry, and exhibiting a spirit of pure and elevated morality and piety.*

* In 1846 another visitor to Oberlin at commencement, understood to be an associate editor of the *Cleveland Herald*, testified to her advantage in these words: "I must confess that I have seen nothing to shock the tender and delicate sensibilities of the most fastidious, but on the contrary have seen much to approve, admire and commend. That Oberlin in its earliest infancy was ultra I have no doubt, and that it now stands

Such a testimonial ought to have satisfied even Everton Judson or the *New York Observer*. And these days of tribulation were not to last forever, were even now nearing their end. The time was out of joint, and Oberlin, which had never counted it cursed spite, but privilege instead, that ever she was born to bear a noble and important part in setting it right, was about to begin to receive her reward in a much wider appreciation and commendation for the shining excellences she had all along possessed. For the most part little pains had been taken to forge or wield weapons of defence. She had gone forward patiently and persistently minding her own business and doing her own work in her own way, assured that full vindication would eventually come. For one thing, all along she had the comfort of knowing that devoted and admiring friends were not wanting, and could see that a phenomenal success at many points had been achieved. With students of both sexes she was fairly flooded. This same surprising and unprecedented growth in spite of extreme poverty, in spite of some serious errors and blunders, and in spite of hosts of foes whose united strength seemed overwhelming, constituted a mystery which the most sapient of her calumniators was unable

as a school upon the broad platform of Right Principles I have as little doubt. I have had deep, strong, bitter prejudices against this school and of course against all those who were in any manner connected with it. Common fame had borne to my ears a thousand reports, and they had gained a local habitation in my mind, until I believed that Oberlin should be Anathema Maranatha. . . . There are many who have prejudices against Oberlin. Let them go there and hear and see for themselves, and if their prejudices are not removed and they do not leave with the full belief that the school is an excellent one—that it is a place where the mind and heart are properly educated, where the social feelings, sympathies and affections are properly cultivated—then I am no prophet.”

to solve. One of these expressed the perplexing fact to Mr. Finney something like this: "It has always been understood that no institution could prosper or achieve success without having the sympathy and cooperation of both churches and ministers. In your case the multitude of these have either stood aloof or else have been actively hostile; and yet you secure students, teachers, buildings and endowments far beyond the most fortunate of your neighbors. We cannot understand it at all." The opposition began to melt away and was wholly dissolved at length, in part because the times presently began to change for the better. The militant spirit exhausted itself and the spirit of love and fraternity took its place more and more. The new ideas and new movements had been tested, the worthless had been cast away, while what was worthy and useful had won a place for itself and proved its right to live. In particular, New School doctrines had been thought through, had been defined, had also increased immensely in popularity, so that their friends were no longer timid and morbidly sensitive to criticism; so that orthodox Congregationalists and Presbyterians no longer cared if the Old School theologians charged that their system pointed straight towards Oberlin perfection. Moreover, when once the novelty, the excitement, the intoxication of the early thinking and spiritual experiences were past, the advocates of perfection gradually became more calm and reasonable, while after a decade or two it was established beyond a doubt that the doctrine was at least harmless, so that no antinomian license need in the least be feared. Students of color did not rush in, in overwhelming numbers, neither did amalgamation befall. Coeducation, moreover, was attended with no scandals

whatsoever ; on the contrary had turned out to be really profitable to both sexes and in many ways. As for abolition, it was fast becoming popular among millions as the desperation of the slave power steadily increased.*

Therefore it came to pass that early in the fifties the signs began rapidly to appear that the baptism of fire had wrought its work. Oberlin had not been killed but *had* been chastened. On the whole the severe discipline had been healthful. Throughout Ohio the desire among Congregationalists had been growing for years to come together, to unite for fellow-

* This is how Oberlin appeared to a Democratic editor (*The Pennsylvanian*, Philadelphia) as late as December of 1859 : This year's catalogue shows a total of 1258 students, of whom 480 are females. Oberlin is located in the very heart of what might be called " John Brown's tract," where people are born abolitionists, and where abolition is taught as the chief end of man and often put in practice. As the social equality of race is one of the chief dogmas inculcated there, it is not a matter of surprise that many of the students are negroes and that between them and their white companions no distinction is made. Children and youth are sent to this institution as a duty, just as in all Christian communities they are sent to Sabbath-school to acquire the first principles of religious truth ; hence the extraordinary number of pupils. Oberlin is the nursery of just such men as John Brown and his followers. With arithmetic is taught the computation of the number of slaves and their value per head ; with geography, territorial lines and those localities of slave territory supposed to be favorable to emancipation ; with history, the chronicles of the peculiar institution ; with ethics and philosophy, the higher law and resistance to Federal enactments. Hence the graduates of Oberlin are Masters of Art in abolitionism, and with the acquirement of their degrees are prepared to go a degree or two further, if occasion requires. Here is where the younger " Browns " obtain their conscientiousness in ultraism, taught from their cradle up, so that while they rob slaveholders of their property, or commit murder for the cause of freedom, they imagine that they are doing God service. There may be excuse for them, but there is none for their instructors. We doubt if there is for either. So long as Oberlin flourishes, and educates 1250 students per annum, male and female abolitionists will continue to multiply.

ship and for all manner of good works. But suspicion against Mr. Finney and his associates had by no means been removed. As a step towards something better, because more comprehensive in its scope, the Western Reserve Association was ready to dissolve, and appointed a committee to confer with other bodies. When the convention met in Mansfield in 1852 to organize a state association, if possible, Oberlin was on hand to aid in counsel and planning, but was, notwithstanding, an object of quite general fear. But when the creed was drawn up, and being presented to Professor Cowles he declared that it contained not a phrase which he could not most heartily accept, with greatest joy it was discovered that peace was possible, that from henceforth brethren long alienated could dwell together in unity. At Albany the same year Oberlin was received into the fellowship of the denomination as a national body. In 1855 the *Evangelist* could say: "Divisive influences have mainly subsided. It becomes us to touch this subject gently. But the important facts are that for several years the *Ohio Observer* and *Oberlin Evangelist* have sought harmoniously the things that make for peace; that an overruling Providence has mainly quieted all antagonism between the rival interests of Western Reserve and Oberlin Colleges; and that Oberlin graduates are now admitted to Congregational churches without prejudice or opposition, and are doing a noble work for the peace, purity and strength of the churches." No doubt also this blessed consummation had been reached in some measure because Hudson had thoroughly learned to endure with equanimity what she could not in the least help. When the first triennial National Council assembled in Oberlin in 1871, assisted in laying the corner-stone

of Council Hall to be the future home of the Theological Department, gave to Mr. Finney such a magnificent ovation, and the moderator declared with as much truth as beauty, "We stand to-day on the grave of buried prejudices," Oberlin was finally and fully initiated into the fellowship of all the wise and good. After the long darkness and tempest there succeeded a great calm.

CHAPTER X

OBERLIN'S BUILDERS

PRECEDING chapters have given with somewhat of detail the story of the growth of a community and an institution which have come to fame, and made themselves widely felt in the realms of education, morals, and religion. And the question is pertinent, How happened it that from such humble and feeble beginnings such remarkable results have flowed? An adequate reply is contained in the suggestion that from first to last the presence of a wonder-working Providence can be traced. Or, such statements as these are to the point: The times were propitious, and the founders were fortunate, or else sagacious, in choosing a location in northern Ohio upon the Western Reserve. They were fortunate also in incorporating certain ideas or principles which just then were rising to power. But whatever else may be alleged in explanation of the phenomenon, it must not be forgotten that almost immediately after the colony was gathered and the school was opened, the task of developing the movement, of pushing the infant enterprise on to success, fell into the hands of a group of men who were exceptionally well fitted for the difficult undertaking, were of one spirit and inspired by a common aim, and were spared to plan together, to fix wise lines of policy, and then to cooperate for the better part of a half-

century to accomplish the end desired. With these leading spirits were associated a score or two of other men, like-hearted and sufficiently like-minded, who played each a valuable part. It is well worth while, therefore, to bring together upon a few pages the names of at least some of the more prominent of the actors in the Oberlin drama, and, and to state as briefly as possible the especial form of service performed by each one.

But first a few more words are in order concerning the founders and what befell them after they retired from the management of affairs. These unselfish and self-denying souls offered their services to the institution without salary for five years, stipulating only that their living should be provided in return. Mr. Shipherd was general manager and financial agent, while Mr. Stewart was treasurer and head of the boarding department. All moneys appear to have passed through their hands, they taking out what seemed to be needed for personal and family expenses. But presently this method of proceeding began to be criticized as unbusinesslike and injudicious. And who should define how much was to be included in "a living"? A cow, a horse, house, traveling expenses? Not long after the advent of the president and corps of professors in the spring of 1835 order began to emerge from confusion, and a rational system was inaugurated. Nor was it long before it became evident that at various points the original scheme was unworkable, and the plans of its fashioners were out of harmony with the judgment of the faculty and the foremost colonists. Mr. Stewart was the first one to conclude that his longer stay was uncalled for, and took his departure for the East in the autumn of 1836,

not angered or in the least soured, but disappointed and deeply grieved. To the last he insisted that, though Oberlin was far from being what he had longed for and expected, nowhere else was his ideal half so well realized. Though he never returned to the spot which for three years had constantly been in his thoughts, yet he was always ready for any possible act of service, and when, towards the close of his life, he became possessed of more than enough for his own needs, the pressing wants of the college were generously remembered. At first in New York City an attempt was made to perfect a planing-machine which had been invented while tarrying in Elyria, but the crash of 1837 brought hopeless failure to his attempt, and for months, together with his wife, he was reduced to straits, even knowing what it was to lack daily bread. Later he returned to a stove project, which also he had begun work upon while in Ohio. Here at length, after a long period of discouraging struggle, such success crowned his efforts that in the space of about thirty years some ninety thousand were sold. Characteristically, he rejoiced most of all that for quality of work his stove was among the very best in the market, and especially that no other was nearly so economical in the matter of consumption of fuel. While in poverty, at his wits' end for money with which to put his invention upon the market, he proposed to the college to advance what sums were required, to be remunerated by receiving the patents and the proceeds of sales, nor did he seem quite able to perceive just why such a proceeding was not legitimate. An attempt was made to found a school in Troy, New York, which ended in failure; as did also a water-cure establishment to which was attached an original system of gymnastics. Mr. Stewart

died in 1869, but his wife lived long enough to attend the Oberlin semicentennial in 1883. When Stewart Hall was purchased by the college for the benefit of indigent students, Mrs. Stewart offered to give \$2000 on condition that meat should never be allowed upon the table, which offer was declined with thanks.

As for Mr. Shipherd, unfortunately no sufficient materials remain from which a record of his later years may be constructed. So excessive were his modesty and self-abnegation that he would never sit for a portrait. Though he kept a diary and wrote out a brief biographical sketch, before his death these were both committed to the flames. In 1836-7 he was pushing a scheme for a colony-college in Michigan, which, like so many others at the time, went under without possibility of recovery. In 1838 we find him in a Newark, New Jersey, pastorate, from which his radical abolition sentiments appear presently to have led to his removal. It was counted a serious offence that a colored servant kept in his house was thought fit to sit in the house of God in the same pew with his family. Four years later he appears in Buffalo in the midst of a revival, and afterwards organizing "The Church of God." But, alas, here the heresy hunter is ere long upon his track, and while absent from the city he is denounced in his own pulpit for his alleged serious departures from orthodoxy. And finally he comes to view once more in another attempt to found a second Oberlin. Still a trustee of the college, in 1843 he was commissioned to look after some lands lying in the valley of the upper Grand river, Michigan. With his darling dream of years also in mind he had tarried one night not far from a certain hilltop in the midst of a forest opening which

attracted his attention. The next day, pursuing his journey, twice over he lost his bearings and found himself in the same locality. This fact was taken as a providential hint that he was to look no further for a college site. By February of the next year a tract of land had been purchased, colonists to the number of about forty, old and young, had been selected and were on their way in wagons bound for Olivet. A beginning was made in due season for a settlement, and a school was opened, of course with manual labor in the plan. But sore trials were in store. Much sickness befell during the summer. In September Mr. Shipherd was quite suddenly cut down, and within a few weeks after one-half the settlers, discouraged, took their departure. But the residue heroically maintained the struggle, until, finally, after a long night, the day began to dawn. Mr. Shipherd was but forty-two when he died, leaving behind him an Oberlin and an Olivet. A wife and six boys remained to sorrow and struggle. Mrs. Shipherd was a saintly woman, and in every way a worthy helpmeet.* Oberlin was her home for years. She was able to attend the dedication of Council Hall in 1874, passed the closing years of her life in Cleveland, and survived until 1879.

Mr. Shipherd's service to Oberlin was strangely limited to the brief period of five years, but yet included

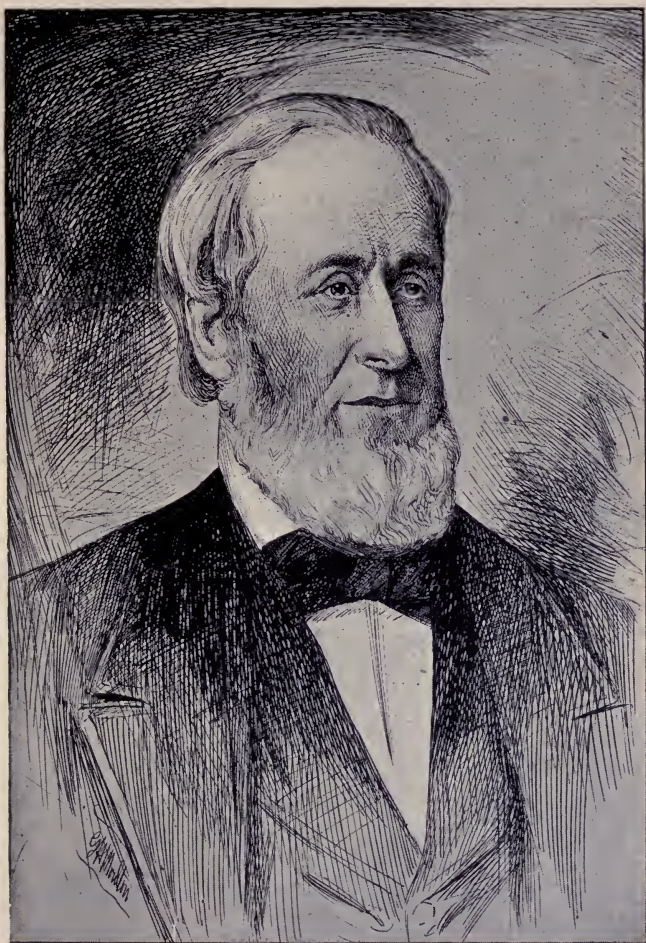
* Her heroic mold appears in these incidents. Reaching Elyria in 1830 she was disappointed at finding frame houses instead of log cabins as she had expected. Two or three years later, after tramping through the mud to Oberlin before a road had been made, and carrying in her arms a babe of seven months, she rejoiced that now at length her ideal of missionary life had become real. During the first season the milk and butter were badly tainted with the flavor of wild garlic, whereupon she remarked that it could not be charged that they longed for the leeks and onions of Egypt!

these capital elements: He conceived the idea and wrought out the plan, at least in outline; he selected the location; he secured the colonial tract embracing 6,000 acres and \$15,000 for a beginning; and he gathered the colonists in numbers sufficient for laying foundations. But all this would not have availed if he had not been successful in taking a further step. The teachers are also to be chosen, upon whom must devolve the critical task of organization, of launching the institution upon whose prosperity everything depends. Thus far wholly upon his faith, zeal and discretion success or failure hangs. But with a faculty gathered and installed he can be spared without fatal results, and perhaps with advantage. And here again, as so often elsewhere in the history of early Oberlin, the plainly providential aspect of things is far more evident than the merely human. He seems to have been less working than wrought upon by a higher power. The men secured were not sought out and selected so much as thrust upon him by circumstances over which he had no control. The president was fairly stumbled upon, and almost as much the two professors by whose coming the Theological Department was brought into being. Thus strangely came together a half-dozen associates possessed of unusual measures of solidity, substance and strength, true to all high ideals, faithful to the trust committed to their care, content to endure long years of severe trial without flinching or bating a jot of heart or hope. And what but a special providence was the phenomenally long term of their united service? Mahan remained but fifteen years, but Allen held his place for three and thirty years, Finney for forty, Dascomb for forty-four and Morgan and Cowles each forty-six. The aggregate for the six is two hun-

dred and twenty-four years, and an average of more than thirty-seven. The further fact is noteworthy that of the early teaching force in Oberlin all but one or two were of New England birth or descent, as well as also of New England education.

Asa Mahan was not far from thirty-five when he undertook to organize an institution of learning in the midst of stumps and brush heaps, with a temporary residence in the first log cabin built in the clearing. After graduation at Hamilton College and Andover Seminary he had pastorates in Western New York and in the Sixth Presbyterian Church, Cincinnati. His sympathies were wholly with the Lane "rebels," whose removal to Oberlin was closely connected with his acceptance of the offered presidency. With boundless enthusiasm and energy he took up the herculean task, hesitating at nothing in the shape of needed toil, even leading companies of students into the forests with ax and shovel to open roads. As teacher, preacher and debater he excelled, usually divided with Mr. Finney the pulpit duties of the Sabbath during term time, and during the long vacation was an acceptable supply in the cities of the East. His spirit was radical, positive and aggressive, and while he made many warm friends and admirers, others not a few were stirred to dislike and antagonism. He appears to have brought with him the fashion of applying to every important public question the searching test of a full and free discussion. It was he that led in the crusade against "heathen classics." * On the whole his administration was suc-

* It was he who first in Oberlin advanced the then novel idea that the gate into the church ought to be made no narrower than the gate into the kingdom of heaven. Mr. M. took up sanctification both as a doc-



ASA MAHAN.

cessful, was conducted with credit to himself and lasting benefit to the institution. Certain serious defects, however, attended his career, which in particular his associates in the faculty found it increasingly difficult to endure. After long forbearance and as a last resort it was determined to draw up a paper setting forth the facts in the case, to be signed by all and presented to the trustees. This step was taken, but when the president after listening to the reading of the arraignment admitted that it was perhaps well grounded, and expressed the belief that he could so carry himself that the future would be without offence, no action seemed to be called for. But within a few months a particular friend of Mr. Mahan formed a scheme for a "National University" in Cleveland and offered him the presidency, which he accepted, but only disappointment followed to all concerned. The next fifteen years were passed in Michigan, at first as a pastor and later as president of Adrian College. In 1871 England became his home, where, surviving all his Oberlin associates, he recently died at the advanced age of ninety-three. His name will always rank high among the builders.

Charles G. Finney was about forty-three when he exchanged evangelistic labors for a theological chair.

trine and an experience with great ardor, preached and wrote upon it abundantly, and retained his deep convictions to the end of his life.

President Mahan was much disturbed over the conduct of the war of the Rebellion, especially after the battles of the Wilderness, and called on Mr. Lincoln to set forth a more excellent way and urge its adoption. The latter gravely listened and then asked, "If I adopt this plan will you command the army?" "Oh, no! I'm no soldier!" And the interview was concluded with the remark: "I do n't see what I can do then. My generals have their own notions about fighting, and I shall be obliged to let them do it in their own way."

Of Connecticut birth, his early life was passed in the rude frontier settlements of central New York with but the most meager advantages for schooling or religious instruction. A few terms in an academy finished his education, and down to the date of his conversion he says he was "almost as ignorant of religion as a heathen." Before almighty grace touched his heart he had studied law and had been admitted to the bar. Through a wonderful religious experience he entered the kingdom, and almost at once displayed an insatiable hunger both for truth and for the salvation of souls. Nor was it long before, though without any formal theological training, he began to call men to repentance. Surely no human eye can discern here any indications of fitness for filling a college pulpit for more than forty years, much less for presiding over an institution of learning, and least of all for filling the most important professorship in a school of the prophets. And when he came to Oberlin his relations to the work were peculiar in almost every respect. He was at liberty to be absent three or four months every year to engage in revival labors, thus interfering with his duties both as teacher and pastor, and twice over eighteen months were so occupied in Great Britain. But for all this his services to Oberlin were manifold and most important. His advent upon the scene, his lifelong identification with the community, possessed a significance which it would be difficult to overestimate. His fame lent luster to the institution. Those who had been converted in his meetings, or their children, were coming every year to gain an education where his influence now centered. And money as well as students was derived from this source. Beyond comparison his was the chief personal

force upon the colonial tract. The pulpit was the throne from which Sunday after Sunday, for more than a generation, he swayed vast audiences. As a teacher, too, he helped to mold multitudes.* For forty years his lectures upon theology were given, and in addition, 1851-1858, he filled the chair of intellectual and moral philosophy. For fifteen years, 1851-1865, he was Oberlin's executive head, attending to public duties, though free from the burden of details and routine. Through his sermons, lectures and letters published in the *Evangelist* and elsewhere a vast influence was wielded. Some of his books sold literally by the hundred thousand. Surely, Oberlin with Finney omitted had not been the Oberlin the world has known.

Arthur Tappan and Theodore D. Weld are names which, though it be in *quasi* parenthesis, are entitled to a place among the builders. And the part they were called to play, though brief, was dramatic in the extreme. Curiously it is certain, humanly speaking, that without Mr. Finney neither of them would have been heard of in connection with the first years of the enterprise, and also equally certain that without their

*"Some may have thought that when he left the metropolis and came to this place, then in the woods, he was throwing away his prospects and burying his abilities, but it was probably a great providential advantage to his influence that he left New York and entered upon the struggles and self-denials of Oberlin. This field, combining church, college, and theological seminary, was peculiarly fitted to the bent of his mind and the development of his powers, and to be the medium of his life forces to the world. Probably through no other channel could he have wielded a greater power. As teacher, preacher, and pastor to an immense number of plastic minds, he had an advantage which but few ever possessed. So far as he was influential in molding Oberlin, to that extent he has left his mark on a score or more of higher institutions of learning in the South and West which in principle and spirit are the children of Oberlin."—Rev. James Brand, *Memorial Address*.

instrumentality neither would he have appeared upon the Oberlin scene. As far back as 1826 Weld was converted in one of Finney's meetings, and then for months was colaborer with him. Later, by anti-slavery sentiments held in common, Weld and Tappan met and planned to abolitionize Lane Seminary. In the meantime, and for several years, Finney had been turning New York City upside down with his revivals, with Tappan among the most ardent and energetic of his supporters. When the explosion came in Cincinnati and the students left in a body, Tappan was urgent that Finney should proceed thither and take them through a theological course. When the idea was broached of a seminary in Oberlin they were ready to emigrate to the clearing in the forest if the brilliant Weld would go as their teacher, and he, declining, named Finney as the man, so starting Shipherd and Mahan for New York to make arrangements with the great evangelist and his wealthy friends. It was only the lavish promises of those merchant princes that prevailed upon the sagacious and cautious Finney to make the tremendous venture. And thus it came to pass that by Tappan and Weld the seminary was started, buildings and a munificent endowment were (in expectation) secured, colored students were admitted, and Oberlin was thoroughly converted to abolition. Six months sufficed to complete the substance of their mission, but during that brief period they wrought mightily to rear the walls of the noble structure.*

* The name of Lewis Tappan must not be left without a mention among the valuable friends of early Oberlin. His service was rendered in every possible way, and according to the measure of his ability he also was a generous giver.

Let Henry Cowles stand next, of Connecticut birth, a Yale graduate, and at his coming, after seven years of pastorates in Northern Ohio, not far from thirty-two. President Fairchild says: "He found himself in full sympathy with all the leading objects and aims of the work; and from the first day until the day of his death, a period of forty-six years, he gave himself without reserve to these objects. There seemed to be no thought of himself or his personal interests, no anxiety in reference to position. His heart was in the work, and all he asked was a place in which to lay out his strength." Perhaps, all things considered, during the first generation his influence was second only to that of Mr. Finney. Chosen to fill the chair of Latin and Greek made vacant by the resignation of Mr. Waldo, he held that position 1835-38, to be then transferred to the department of church history in the Seminary, with Hebrew added two years later. In 1848, for financial reasons, it was thought necessary to reduce the teaching force, and so his work was turned over to Professor Morgan. But meantime the *Evangelist* had been started as an exponent of Oberlin ideas, with which he had held intimate connection from the first, and from henceforth until its suspension in 1863 to this paper his time and strength were devoted. In addition, chosen a trustee of the college in 1850, he held the position till his death, as well as a place upon the prudential committee, to which he was appointed as far back as 1844. Moreover, on various occasions he rendered most valuable assistance in raising funds. When his editorial labors ceased the ripe age of sixty had been reached, but instead of considering his life task accomplished he now undertook the preparation of a commentary upon

the entire Bible, and tugged away with all patience and resolution for seventeen years until the last volume, the sixteenth, was finished.* Besides his toil he invested \$10,000 in the stereotype plates, and then executed a deed of gift of the copyrights to the following societies: the American Board, the Congregational Home Missionary Society, and the American Missionary Association. In his character was a remarkable combination of strength with sweetness. Though sometimes called the "gladiator," yet peacemaker is the term which far better fitted his spirit and temper. For the sake of truth and righteousness he wrote much in all plainness and cogency of speech, wielding words which smote like a sledge-hammer, but always with calmness and perfect charity. In particular, for more than two decades his pen seemed never to weary in setting forth the Oberlin doctrine of sanctification, protesting that this grace is so certainly attainable in this life that its eager pursuit is not in the least irrational, and hurling scorn at the idea that death is the only efficient sanctifier. When, in 1881, the last proofs

* President Fairchild relates this incident: At length the work of writing commentaries came upon him as an inspiration or a divine commission. No man was less likely to be carried away by his own fancies or dreams; but in familiar intercourse with members of his family during the last few months he gave his experiences in connection with this undertaking. He was riding with horse and buggy one day in Huron county revolving the question of his future work, when it seemed to be borne in upon him as from the Lord that he should write commentaries for the common people. He seemed to himself to have replied, "Lord, I cannot undertake this work without the constant supervision, help, and light of the Spirit upon Thy Word," and the answer was immediate and decided, "Let this be the understanding." And he added, "Through all the following years while engaged in this work I trustfully asked Him each morning for light and it always came, giving me the feeling that I had had an interview with the Almighty and had received my commission."

of his commentary were revised, he seemed to feel that the end of life was at hand, and a few months after passed quietly away. With him had also wrought as worthily, 1836-40, Mrs. Alice W. Cowles as principal of the Ladies' Department, and also Mrs. Minerva D. P. Cowles, 1844-79, as a member of the Ladies' Board of Managers.

James Dascomb and John Morgan may well be mentioned in the same paragraph, whose traits were substantial and useful rather than showy, who wrote little for the press and whose excellent gifts of heart and brain were mainly expended at home in the classroom and the community. Dr. Dascomb was of New Hampshire birth, was not college bred, but had graduated from the Medical Department at Dartmouth. When found by Mr. Shipherd on his first trip to the East in 1833 he had already offered himself to the American Board as medical missionary, but just then no opening for his services existed in the foreign field. His age was not far from twenty-six when, in the spring of the next year, with his wife, he emerged from the woods upon the little clearing to take up his duties as teacher of chemistry, botany, and physiology, and to play the part of community physician.* Such a combination of call-

* In a letter to the trustees under date of May, 1833, in which Dr. Dascomb was nominated, we see what multifarious duties were in store according to Mr. Shipherd's plan. He writes: "I recommend that you elect him lecturer, and professor of chemistry, botany, physical education or anatomy, and natural philosophy. He is highly recommended as a Christian, a physician and lecturer. I think that the physician of the colony should be a lecturer in the seminary, because we can't afford a full salary to such a lecturer, or full employment to a physician. I propose that we offer him two hundred and fifty dollars salary. His practice as physician and duties as a lecturer will no more interfere with each other than those of Dr. Mussey and others who not unfrequently practice as physicians and serve as professors in colleges.

ings was soon found to be impracticable, and he ceased to be responsible for the public health. As an instructor he was conscientious, thorough, successful, and was active in matters pertaining to church and village. As President Fairchild has written: "In temperament he was naturally cautious and conservative. Novelties had no attraction, and no enthusiasm ever took him off his feet. The radicalisms which were soon developed at Oberlin he at first regarded with some apprehension, and there were times when he felt inclined to retire from the position. The value of such a conservative force in the midst of the fervid and plastic mass was unquestionable." Mrs. Dascomb, too, "was wonderfully fitted for the work she had to do," the first year as teacher and the second as principal of the Ladies' Department, a position from which she was released at her own request, to resume it, however, 1852-70. As a member of the Ladies' Board of Managers she served 1836-79, or three and forty years. Professor Morgan came with Mr. Finney in 1835, was born in Ireland, was valedictorian at Williams, studied theology in New York City; teaching in Lane Seminary, he had been dropped without ceremony on account of his abolition sentiments, and began to teach the "rebels" and other theologues in Oberlin at the age of thirty-two. To quote again from a prime authority: "His broad and thorough scholarship enabled him to fill many a gap, upon emergency, in the new college. There was not a study in the entire curriculum in which he could not give instruction at an hour's warning as successfully as if it were his own specialty. But the New Testament was his chosen field. The influence of Professor Morgan in the enterprise was conservative in the best sense. His enthusiasm in

any well-considered movement was always prompt, but his breadth of nature and thought and knowledge gave him a view of all sides of every question, and he could not hold an extreme position." For many years he filled the position of assistant pastor of the Oberlin church, dividing the Sunday services with Mr. Finney, in his frequent and protracted absences taking his place, and always to acceptance and profit. His life was spared until a year after Oberlin had celebrated her semicentennial.

From this point onward the names are of those who received their training, at least in part, in the institution which they also served as instructors. As before, with but one exception, they are of Pilgrim stock. No falling off in ability or intellectual culture is discernible. In every particular they compare favorably with the first five, enter fully into their ideas and plans and enlarge the scope of their work. Of course, in this company George N. Allen stands prominent, whose career as student and professor covers the long period 1837-70 thus giving him legitimate rank among the fathers. Though for a few years at the head of the Preparatory Department, and afterwards giving instruction in geology and natural history, yet music was his true realm and in this was performed his most valuable work. It was he who trained the early choirs and the children of the colonists, and thus greatly enriched the services in the house of God. It is he also who prepared the way for the piano and organ, who toiled wisely and persistently to elevate the musical taste of the community and so made easily possible the Conservatory of Music of later years. And his hymn-books, which passed through so many editions, though long since out of date and well-

nigh forgotten, yet performed a blessed and abundant service by feeding the religious emotion of thousands.

John Keep and William Dawes are to be remembered and held in honor, though the rôle providentially assigned to them related only to the financial or business side of Oberlin affairs. Mr. Keep had become a Congregational pastor in Cleveland in 1833, the next year was chosen a member of the board of trustees as well as the president of that body, as such within a few months by a casting vote settled it that a black skin should be no bar to an education, and was faithful and zealous in the performance of his office until his death in 1870 at the age of ninety years. During the last two decades his home was in the neighborhood of the institution which he did so much to nourish and strengthen. His time and energy were frequently in demand to secure money for endowment and current expenses during the days of extreme poverty, but it was in 1839-40 that, associated with Mr. Dawes, his supreme service of this kind was undertaken, when almost as a forlorn hope they set forth upon their mission to Great Britain. At their departure bankruptcy and utter ruin were imminent, but so splendidly did they plead their cause that on their return they brought sufficient hard cash to meet the bulk of the indebtedness, with a goodly stock of books and apparatus in addition. By thus saving Oberlin in a dire emergency they played the part of builders. This scheme, so daring and venturesome, originated in the mind of Mr. Dawes, who while living in Hudson had paid a visit to Mr. Shipherd's Institute and was so much delighted with what he found of religious fervor and democratic simplicity that not long after he cast in his lot with the colonists,

bringing several thousand dollars taken from his own purse or gained by solicitation from his friends. Elected a trustee, he was abundant in financial labors until after the resignation of Mr. Mahan, whom he greatly admired, and then before many months elapsed took his departure for the West. All along he had carried certain idiosyncrasies which failed to commend themselves as rational to his associates. Among them was the conviction which nothing could shake that the faculty ought to go "by faith" in the matter of salary; that is, should not insist upon any legal obligation to pay them any definite sum, but be content to receive whatever happened to be forthcoming from the treasury. But after all he will be remembered by the fact that Oberlin was indebted mainly to his faith and courage for \$30,000 when in financial straits almost desperate.

Four other builders may be conveniently grouped together, Thome, Whipple, Hudson, and E. H. Fairchild, whose career, though briefer and less prominent, was yet well worthy of note. James A. Thome was of Scotch-Irish descent, Kentucky born, the son of a slaveholder, but a Lane student, and a red-hot abolitionist, who, to avoid arrest on suspicion of aiding and abetting runaway slaves, was once compelled to remain for months in hiding. After graduating from the seminary in 1836, he was sent to the West Indies by the American Antislavery Society to investigate and report upon the results of emancipation then recently accomplished. Next for ten years, 1838-48, he occupied the chair of rhetoric and belles-lettres and resigned to take a pastorate in Cleveland which lasted until 1871, meantime serving also as college trustee and visiting Oberlin often to lecture and in other ways exercise his superior rhetori-

cal gifts. "He was a man eloquent in speech, pleasing and impressive in personal presence, fearless as a soldier in duty, gentle and sensitive as a woman in his respect for the feelings of others—a true Christian man." George Whipple was one of those who migrated with Weld from Oneida Institute to Lane Seminary, and organized an earthquake which sorely shook up the conservatives thereabouts. When the recalcitrant students took their exodus and retired to Cummingsville, Whipple taught them as best he could, and also with the rest crossed the state to become an inhabitant of "Cincinnati Hall." Finishing his theological course in 1836, for two years he was principal of the Preparatory Department, filled the chair of mathematics, 1838-47, showing himself exceedingly capable in business as a member of the prudential committee and the church building committee, and resigned to become secretary of the American Missionary Association, then in its infancy, to hold the office thirty years, or till his death in 1876. He is a son of whom Oberlin has good reason to be proud.* Timothy B. Hudson exchanged Western Reserve College for Oberlin in 1835, soon attained to a tutorship, was promoted to the chair of Latin and Greek, 1838-41, then resigned to take the platform in the interests of antislavery, doing effective work, and returned to the same professorship, 1847-58. Both as instructor and public speaker he was held in high esteem. His career was cut short suddenly and in a way for which no explanation can be given. Leaving home to fill an appointment not far from Cleveland, a

* It is a fact worth recalling that Rev. Henry B. Whipple, so long Bishop of Minnesota, and such a devoted friend of the Indian, is a nephew of George, and in 1838-9 was an Oberlin student in the Preparatory Department.

few hours later his lifeless and mangled body was found lying beside the railway track. Edward H. Fairchild was a brother of President Fairchild. The two were fellow students in Elyria, belonged to the same class both in college and seminary, graduated in 1841, and because they refused to condemn their *Alma Mater* and all her works were refused licensure by Huron Presbytery. Until 1853 the elder brother was absent filling various pastorates, but then returned to take the headship of the Preparatory Department, holding the position for some sixteen years and then exchanging it for the presidency of Berea College. More than once it fell to his lot to make a canvas for funds. His life was prolonged until 1889.

Brief mention must be made of Hamilton Hill, of London, England, whose coming resulted from the visit of Keep and Dawes. It was thought that further financial aid would be secured if among its officials Oberlin kept an Englishman well known in his own country. The hope was delusive, but under its inspiration Mr. Hill was invited to become treasurer, an office which he filled, 1841-64.

Two trustees attained to the estate of veterans, Francis D. Parish 1839-78, and Michael E. Strieby, 1845 to a date yet future, the latter an alumnus of both college and seminary (1838 and 1841). Thus for fifty and two years has he been a fosterer of Oberlin. Henry E. Peck served as professor of sacred rhetoric, 1852-65, was then appointed minister to Haiti, where after two years he died of yellow fever. Charles H. Penfield made a good record as tutor and professor of Latin and Greek, 1840-70. And finally, if the entire story of Oberlin's growth were to be told, the invaluable sympathy and cooperation of a score or two

of prominent colonists would receive appreciative notice.

Another career remains to be mentioned, that of James H. Fairchild, whose place in Oberlin history is altogether unique. Taking rank among the early builders, he also represents most fittingly the toilers of the second generation. His connection with the institution, beginning almost with the first term, has continued unbroken to the present. No less than sixty-four years have passed by since as a freshman he first set foot on Oberlin soil. The list of positions held by him is phenomenal. Omitting his work as professor and president, as trustee he has served for thirty-one years, and upon the prudential committee for a full half century. But in numerous other ways his gifts have been made profitable. Nothing can ever displace his "Oberlin, the Colony and the College," as a classic upon that theme, while his Moral Philosophy well deserves the high repute it has gained. Various addresses and articles from his pen have been widely circulated. All things considered, few ever connected with such an institution could say with so much of truth, *quorum magna pars fui*, and yet in writing his history at the end of fifty years, and when for fifteen years he had been president, from first to last his name does not appear, nor would the reader suspect that such a person had ever lived. The task would be difficult indeed, and will not be undertaken here, to portray fittingly the character of President Fairchild, and to estimate the value of his life labors to the community upon which his energies have been so long and so lavishly expended. Suffice it to say that as an Oberlin product, or as an exponent of its spirit and work, he has no peer. No matter how well he



PROF. JAMES H. FAIRCHILD.

may have *done*, it was always sure to be that what he *was* in doing it was possessed of even greater worth ; a happier combination of the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual is not often seen. What symmetry and balance, and at every point how fully rounded out ! His presence, his very face, a benediction. It were at least half an education, and besides a mighty influence towards a heavenly life, for years together to have had the privilege of intimate and frequent contact. It was only after repeated and urgent solicitation that the following characteristic and highly valued autobiographical sketch was secured :

At the author's earnest request I venture to present at greater length than my own judgment would dictate the leading events of my life as student and teacher, and the opportunity I have had to know the Oberlin movement without having to any considerable extent the responsibility of modifying it. The place of my birth was Stockbridge, Mass., and the date November 25, 1817. The year following my parents removed to Brownhelm, at that time known as Township Six, the Nineteenth Range of the Western Reserve, the extreme north-western township of the tract. Northern Ohio as a whole was then but a wilderness with here and there a hamlet or incipient settlement. Our journey by team to Buffalo and to Cleveland by the Walk-in-the-Water the first steamboat on Lake Erie, occupied four weeks. We found our home in a log cabin just built, parents and three boys, of whom I was the youngest. The only cleared portion of our farm was that from which the logs for the house were taken. My first opportunity for intellectual training was supplied in a log schoolhouse in the woods about eighty rods from my home, under my father's instruction, the winter after I was two years of age. I distinctly remember trying to convince him, as I stood by his knee with the copy of the alphabet before us, that G was P. When I was twelve a classical school was opened within half a mile of my home, and as I had already been encouraged to look forward to a college course I was one of the first to enter. And when sufficient time had elapsed to procure books from Union College, Schenectady, where my preceptor, Rev. Hervey Lyon, had graduated, I entered upon the study of the ancient languages, and signalized the occasion by the record made with a bit of charcoal on a beam in my father's cellar : "Began Latin this day, July 12, 1830." Two years later,

July 4, 1832, I entered the "High School" just established at Elyria, under Rev. John Monteith, and two years later still, May 6, 1834, my Oberlin life began.

A very obvious reason for choosing this institution was my financial limitations. My parents could spare me from the farm, but could not furnish money even for tuition. Oberlin was a manual-labor school, and my brother and myself, taking the course together, were manual-labor students. On our first arrival we were put in charge of the lath-sawing in the mill, four hours a day at five cents an hour. This provided for our expenses the first year. The next and following years we worked as carpenters and joiners on the college buildings and the homes of the colony. By such labor, reinforced by the wages of teaching in vacations, we earned our way through the entire course without any sense of want or weariness, or any hindrance to our studies or to our general preparation for the work of life. The first freshman class was organized in October of 1834, and was composed of four young men, my brother Henry, myself and two others, of whom I was the youngest. Four years afterwards I graduated in a class then numbering twenty, of whom as I write six are still living. I had been brought up with the idea that the proper aim for the young man favored with a higher education was the gospel ministry, and to this the Oberlin Theological Seminary presented the open door. My college class, with two or three exceptions, and a like number of additions, made a class in theology which completed the course in 1841. Our instructors were three, the usual number in those days, Professors Finney, Morgan and Cowles. There were no better men. Like many, perhaps most students at that time, partly for experience and partly for self-support, I had given three winters to teaching, first in a district school on the lake shore in Brownhelm, next in my own home district, and then in a family school in Chautauqua County, N. Y. Besides, in a rapidly growing institution like Oberlin there was always opportunity to fill a gap in the absence of an instructor, or to take a preparatory class for a term. Thus the thought of a life-work in teaching grew upon me, and at the time of my graduation from college, such a career seemed to me more inviting than any other. I had made no effort to find an opportunity, and never had occasion to do so. In the summer of 1840 and when a senior in the seminary, with my brother I made application to Huron Presbytery for license to preach, as the church in which we were reared was a member of that body; but on the mere general ground that we were not ready to repudiate Oberlin ideas we were refused even an examination with reference to licensure. However, the approbation sought was soon after secured from Lorain Association. When the vacation of 1840-1 came, with several others I visited southeastern Michigan in search of a preaching place for three months, and found one upon the River Raisin, offering to serve the church for board, washing, postage and transportation back to Oberlin.

My first appointment as a member of the college faculty came at the close of my first year of theological study, when I was made tutor in charge of the freshman class in Latin and Greek five days of the week and of rhetorical exercises on Monday. The salary was four dollars a week and seemed ample to me. I held this position until the end of my seminary course. At that time our professor of languages resigned on account of ill health and my appointment was continued, with the addition of Hebrew, instruction in which, in those early days, was given to the college seniors. Fortunately I had received training for this under a Jew named Seixas, in 1835, and later under Prof. J. P. Cowles, one of the most brilliant scholars produced at Yale in that generation. In class or in private study, I had read the entire Old Testament in the original, and it used to be supposed that a very ordinary scholar could keep up with any class he might take. It was this thought that made it possible, not only here but elsewhere, to transfer a teacher from one department to another on short notice. This might appear to be hard on the student, but was good for the instructor, since it favored broad scholarship rather than specialization. The next year, 1842, I was appointed to the chair of languages, and held it till 1847, when a vacancy occurred in the chair of mathematics. This was offered to Prof. T. B. Hudson, who had formerly taught Latin and Greek, but he proposed that instead he should return to his old position and that mathematics should be assigned to me. This change was made with some distrust on the part of my friends, and more on my part. During the winter following this appointment I spent three months in the East, six weeks in Easton, Pa., in special study, and then visiting Philadelphia, New York, Boston, as well as Yale, Harvard, Amherst and Williams. For the expenses of this trip, \$100 had been granted by the institution, but the task of raising that amount fell upon my shoulders, and was accomplished by taking along divers accounts held against students who had left with tuition bills unpaid and as I had opportunity collecting the same. In this department I continued eleven years, or till 1858, and then left it with as much reluctance as I had felt on entering it. The year after, and during Mr. Finney's second absence in England, to meet a pressing need I was chosen associate professor of theology and moral philosophy, in which department my work has continued nearly forty years, and until the present day.

For some years before Mr. Finney's resignation from the presidency, and indeed from the time of his acceptance of that position, he did not find his strength sufficient for the minute administrative duties of the office, and the faculty appointed a chairman to whom these duties were assigned. For some years this form of service fell to me. In 1865 the president sent in his resignation, and in June of the next year, at a special meeting of the trustees I was asked to accept the place. It was not an ideal appointment, but no other seemed available. My whole life as student and professor had been passed here, the history

and work of Oberlin were well known from an unbroken residence of thirty-two years since the beginning, I was then forty-eight years of age, and every department of the institution, the chemical laboratory excepted, was familiar to me. I knew Oberlin and a little of the outside world, but beyond the Oberlin circle I was myself essentially unknown. Making me president scarcely changed these conditions. Mr. Finney was always cordial to me, but I do not think he approved of my appointment. He met me the next day and recommended that I should have my work lightened so that I could furnish the students a great sermon every Sunday. I told him that it was not in my thought to be his successor in the sense of taking his place and doing his work, that if I were to be in any degree useful to the college it would be by finding my own place and doing my own work. He seemed to assent and always accorded me his counsel and help. I held the position twenty-three years, until 1889. I continued also my work of instruction in ethics and theology. At the age of seventy, in 1888, I notified the trustees of my purpose to retire from presidential duties. I have, however, retained the work in theology and ethics. My teaching in the college has thus been continuous since 1839, a period of fifty-eight years.

The life, from an outside view, may have a monotonous and even wearisome aspect, but to myself it has been more enjoyable than I could reasonably ask or hope for. It has not been of my own planning. I have never had occasion to seek for work more abundant or satisfactory, or better remuneration. Beginning with \$160, the salary at length advanced to \$2,000, which through the kindness of the alumni and others is to continue during my life. It is one of the privileges of a lifelong teacher to have such friends. If a blank had been given me at the outset to fill with a program of my life, so far as pertains to personal advantages for improvement or opportunities for usefulness, the satisfaction in friends and home, I could not have done so well for myself. I speak of the opportunities which life has brought me, not of any special results. During the sixty years that have passed a great work has been accomplished here, greater than human thought can estimate or express. So far as human effort has been involved, it is the outcome of many earnest lives. Even those builders who have been most conspicuous can never look upon it as specially their own, and have never been disposed to do so. My own share in the common enterprise has by no means been conspicuous. I can only see that every day of the sixty years some one has been needed in the place which Providence has graciously assigned to me. Many another would have done my work better, and many others have done work which I could never have done, and which was more necessary than mine. No man living or dead has ever dreamed of writing his name on Oberlin.

As these pages have taken a somewhat autobiographical turn, it may

not be greatly out of place to add a few words in regard to the family life which has fallen to my lot. Like the other appointments of Providence to me, this has come in its time with comparatively little personal intervention. My first premonition in this direction was in the appearance here of Mary Fletcher Kellogg, from Jamestown, N. Y., in the autumn of 1835. She was a pupil in the academy at home, and in her sixteenth year had begun the study of Latin, and a strong desire had taken possession of her to study Greek. Some circular from Oberlin had reached her father's house and brought information of the only place in the land where at that time girls were studying Greek. Her father had no prospect of rest until he harnessed his horse and brought her in his single, uncovered wagon over the two hundred miles, mostly through the woods. She first came into my field of vision in my recitation as a sophomore in advanced algebra. I was then nearly eighteen. So far as the vision was concerned I was entirely satisfied. I was diffident and even bashful, and said nothing. We were very young and there was no known occasion to say anything. Once we walked with other young people out to the Crosby garden, a mile through the woods to the east. There was no other intimacy between us, and in the spring of 1836 she went with fifty other volunteers out to the Burrell school, in Sheffield, provided for the overflow at Oberlin. Returning in the autumn of the next year, with three other girls she was admitted to the freshman class. In the summer of 1838, Mary was called home, her family having determined to remove to the far Southwest for the sake of her father's health. I was then a senior and to a great extent the sense of youthfulness had left me and things seemed possible and proper which earlier were impossible. Therefore at her departure she had taken my proposal to join our lives, which a few weeks later by her assent was transformed into an engagement. Her plan for herself then was to accompany her family to their distant home and to return to her studies the next year. But the road to the northwestern parish of Louisiana seemed too long, after seven weeks travel from Cincinnati to reach the end, for a young girl to think of returning alone. I saw her at Jamestown, and again at Cincinnati as she was about to leave for the farther journey. For two years and a half we contented ourselves with such means of communication as the mails afforded. That is, we indulged in monthly letters, though the shortest time for the mail between Minden and Oberlin was six weeks. To an impecunious student the expense of postage was formidable. The first mention of a definite time for our meeting was made in a letter written on her birthday, November 22, 1840, when I promised to call upon her just a year later. Several weeks before the time appointed I entered upon the journey. One week took me to Cincinnati by way of Cleveland, the canal to Portsmouth, and the Ohio River. Here occurred a delay of two weeks on account of yellow fever on the lower Mississippi, and then followed the twenty-five hun-

dred miles of further travel to my journey's end. On the day appointed, November 22, at 2 P. M., I reached my destination. After a week we were married, and after three weeks of waiting for a steamboat we set forth for the North, arriving in Oberlin, January 12, 1842. There had been some anxiety here because my friends had heard nothing from me for twelve weeks after my departure from Cincinnati. Those were the days of slavery, and the region which I had traversed was a realm of violence. The thought of many was that an Oberlin boy had about as good a prospect of a safe return as Daniel from the den of lions. Our family life began in a house on South Professor street, nearly opposite my present home. Eight children were born to us, of whom five, with their mother, have passed on to the better land.

The names of other builders which remain to be mentioned belong to modern Oberlin, though of a few the work began in days which antedate the present generation. For obvious reasons not much will be said except of those whose connection with the institution was unusually long and who have already ceased from their labors. John M. Ellis was born in New Hampshire, but by the age of ten had become a resident of the village in which he was to pass his days. Entering college in 1847, after graduating and teaching for a few years, he took a course in theology, but then instead of the pulpit he entered the chair of Greek, 1858-66, to be transferred to the department of mental philosophy and rhetoric in 1866, with moral philosophy added in 1890, which he held until his death in 1894. Being thus a member of the faculty about thirty-six years, he was absent from duty only two terms. In 1867-74 he served the Second Church as acting pastor, and with its life was always most intimately connected. He served the public also as mayor, member of the village council and chief of the fire department. During the war of the Rebellion his activity was unceasing in securing volunteers, raising money to avoid a draft, visiting soldiers at the front,

etc. Moreover, having had some mechanical training in his youth, when for the college the modern building era began, his labors were invaluable upon the prudential committee in planning and superintending construction. And of course this was in addition to his able and conscientious toil as instructor. For varied and vigorous activity, self-forgetfulness, and readiness to serve, Professor Ellis has well been called "the embodiment of the Oberlin spirit."

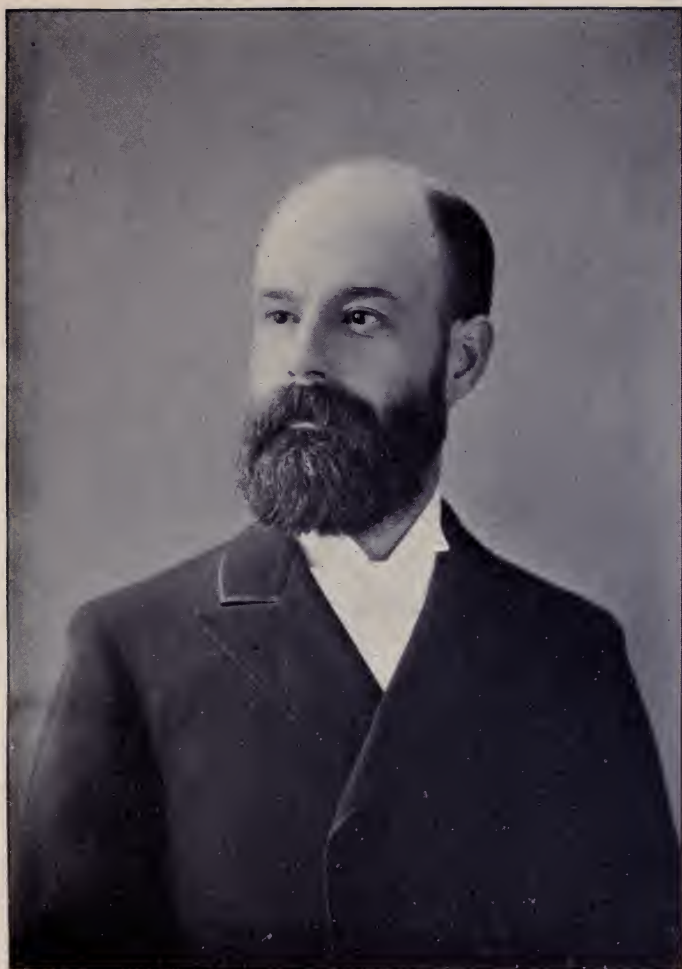
Born of Quaker parents, James Monroe at the age of ten was a pupil in the school of Prudence Crandall when it was effectually closed by a Connecticut mob, and twelve years later came to Oberlin to take a full course in college and seminary, though his metal as an orator and reformer had already been tested in the antislavery field. From a two years' tutorship he rose to the chair of rhetoric and belles-lettres, 1848-65. In 1856 he was elected to the legislature, beginning in the lower house, ending in the upper, and continuing in all six years. Next, 1863-9, he was consul in Rio Janeiro, and then for ten years, 1870-80, represented Ohio in the House of Representatives at Washington. Finally in 1883 his *Alma Mater* called him back as professor of history and political economy, his friends subscribing \$30,000 to endow the chair, to resign in 1896, when a full half-century had elapsed from his graduation.

Charles H. Churchill is a son of New Hampshire and a Dartmouth-graduate, but after a few years of teaching entered upon a theological course in Oberlin, 1849-52. From a Michigan professorship he was invited to the chair of mathematics and physics, 1859-97, when he resigned. Endowed with a genius quite marked and versatile he was able to do many things

unusually well both in and outside of his special calling. In particular, musical gifts and training were employed for the general good in drilling choirs and preparing concerts for commencements and other occasions. With only a set of pipes as a basis, Oberlin's first organ was constructed by his hands.

Mrs. Adelia A. F. Johnston graduated from the Ladies' Course in 1856, and from a teaching career elsewhere was elected principal of the Ladies' Department in 1870, with title changed to dean in 1894. To her first of women came the honor of sitting as a member of the faculty or of teaching Oberlin college classes. Appointed instructor of history in 1878, in 1890 she was promoted to the chair of mediæval history. Of course, upon her shoulders rests the care of the hundreds of young women in the Institution.

Judson Smith was tutor, 1862-4; professor of Latin, 1866-7; of ecclesiastical history, 1870-84; and then resigned to become a secretary of the American Board. George H. White was Principal of the Preparatory Department (Academy) from 1881 until his lamented death in 1893. William G. Ballantine filled the chair of Hebrew, 1878-91, a portion of the time with Greek of the New Testament added, was elected president of the institution in 1891 and resigned in 1896.



W. G. BALLANTINE.

CHAPTER XI

OBERLIN AND REFORM

THE term "reform" is employed in its broadest signification, being made to cover any attempt to better the condition of humankind, whether in realms material, political, social, intellectual, or spiritual. The general fact to be presented is well expressed in the pithy sentences of Rev. Dr. Peabody of Harvard University, uttered at the dedication of Council Hall, August 1, 1874: "Our institution with those more nearly its coevals, represents the statics; yours with its progeny, the dynamics of the educational forces. The establishment of Oberlin college marks an era. It was the first seminary of learning expressly designed to be a focus of moral, social and religious propagandism. Other colleges prepared men for subsequent Christian work; yours trained them to the work by setting them to do it." As we have seen again and again, reform was the watchword, the war cry, of the time. Evils of all sorts, wrongs, abuses, defects, transgressions, shortcomings, were sought out and exhibited to the public gaze, denounced in phrases most forcible, with due suggestion of remedies, a pointing out of the better way. This community, too, was fitted for its weighty task by its location in the new and exuberant and rapidly growing West, where the force of use and wont were at a minimum, while faith and hope and cour-

age were well-nigh rampant. Then it was composed wholly of elect persons, who came on a mission; with a burden, a definite purpose. By their lives so godly, so earnest, so consecrated, so full of self-denial, they would set up an ideal; while through their school an army of Christian crusaders should be trained to rescue the great Valley from the dominion of Satan, to carry the standard of the Cross to the ends of the earth. Verily, something of the utmost importance needed to be done which even they must undertake to do at once and with all their might. One of the early graduates used to tell how when he had completed his course at an Eastern academy, the principal, as he bade the class good-bye, commiserated them upon the fact that they had been born so late in history that all the really important tasks had been performed, so that nothing remained for them but the ignoble work of helping to keep the wheels of progress moving along in the old ruts! But entering the little clearing in the forest he soon discovered that the universal conviction there was that a multitude of mighty questions were yet calling for solution, that the world's redemption was only just fairly begun. Among Oberlin's leaders were men of remarkable power who uttered their convictions in such a masterful fashion as to make them deeply felt, far and wide. Moreover these men were of an intensely practical make. Thought, investigation, opinion, found their fitting goal only in volition and action. Their definition of Christianity was broad enough to include every matter connected with human welfare. Every year they aroused and inspired hundreds of most impressible minds and hearts. And all this energy so potent and so varied was applied in a period when something like three-fourths of this

country was yet but chaotic frontier, and so all manner of ideas and institutions were in the formative condition.

It should be borne in mind all along that in Oberlin the forces which wrought for reform were in the best sense religious, Christian in origin and spirit, were but a phase of downright loyalty to Christ and his commands. The various movements against injustice and unrighteousness were not something apart, or for their own sake, were not mere hobbies or fads, but an integral part of the conduct which was becoming to a follower of Jesus. Too many of the "reformers" of the day in the excess and narrow intensity of their zeal turned their backs upon the Bible and the churches, fell to cursing Christendom and lapsed into unbelief. But Oberlin was first Christian and then reformatory, or rather was reformatory because Christian. The part was never held to be greater than the whole. Therefore Garrison never made many disciples upon the colonial tract, nor were many charmed by the beauties of Come-outerism as represented in Stephen Foster and Abby Kelly.* For substantially the same reason not many professional reformers were here produced. During the first years a score or two went out to lecture against slavery through the long winter vacations, but even this theme, so absorbing, was not the all in all of their existence. It might be their avocation, but their life-calling was to preach or live the Gospel as a whole. Though the very opposite was commonly held by the multitudes who distrusted and disliked

* Garrison once paid a visit to Oberlin to convert the people to his ultra views. A respectful hearing was accorded, but then he must needs listen while one after another proceeded to tear his logic to tatters and scatter his allegation of facts to the winds.

them, it is yet true that the bulk of the men and women who were molded by Finney, Mahan and their associates were not ultra-radical but truly conservative. Though the ideal was always lofty, what was practicable, within present reach, was never rejected with scorn. Zeal was tempered by knowledge, sound judgment, good sense. The Constitution in Oberlin was never accounted "a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell." Not many felt compelled by their logic to absolutely abstain from the use of all articles produced by slave labor, or to disfellowship as unchristian whoso in any way, shape or manner, direct or indirect, was connected with the sin of holding men in bondage, nor was any countenance given to attempts to enter the slave states to encourage slaves to escape. The general judgment was that the attempt of John Brown was ill-advised. And when the Republican party was formed, which sought at least as a first step not the destruction but only the limitation of slavery to the states in which it already had an existence, this was heartily accepted as the wisest policy for the time being. Though abominating the Fugitive Slave Law, in opposing it by helping fugitives on the road to freedom, Oberlin was most careful to keep within the forms of law. It was in the same spirit that, except for a brief period, the community continued to hold Republican principles rather than enlist under the banner of the extreme Third Party, with its "prohibition or nothing."

Oberlin has always stood for a theology which was practical, workable, good to use to call sinners to repentance, and to call saints to fruitfulness in virtues and graces of the Spirit. The tree was judged by its fruits. Divine sovereignty as taught had been con-

joined with human inability, so that men excused themselves for continuing in a godless life. Theological reform was called for therefore, and these perfervid souls were irresistibly drawn to New School doctrine with its self-determining will and consequent ability to repent. For the most logical of all fine-spun theories

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,

they cherished but slight affection. But a system which could be preached to profit, with revivals resulting, with churches growing and Christian activity on the increase, this was Biblical and orthodox. They would reform the creed of the churches by making it both simpler and shorter. To these catholic and sympathetic spirits it seemed to be too bad, almost an offence against the Cross, to make the gate of entrance into the church a whit narrower than the gate of entrance into the kingdom of heaven ; therefore the conditions of membership must be reduced to a minimum. Congregationalism was better than Presbyterianism because nearer to the New Testament, more in accord with the principles of Christianity, bestowing larger measures of liberty upon the individual as well as larger measures of responsibility. Lamenting the multiplicity of sects, with the consequent division of even the smallest communities into several feeble and belligerent organizations, they prayed and toiled for Christian union. To make this the more feasible, they moved to strike out from the confession of faith all articles relating to speculative differences between Calvinists and Arminians. And from first to last Oberlin has never been a hunter of heresy, has had generous confidence in human nature redeemed and

renewed. Even in the Theological Seminary no pledge either written or spoken is required of the teacher of doctrine to bind him to impart only the faith once delivered unto the saints. Well does President Fairchild say: "While holding fast the form of sound words, they have been taught to maintain a Christian independence in the formation and utterance of their opinions, which is equally removed from bigotry and latitudinarianism. They have believed with John Robinson the pastor of the Pilgrims, 'that the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of His holy word,' than was revealed to the leaders of the Reformation, or than the Westminster divines were able to express. A somewhat stern discipline has taught them to discriminate between words and things. Ready to give a reason for the faith that is in them, we would hope with meekness and fear, they are not disconcerted because their expressions of truth are said not to be found in the 'standards,' or because Pelagius or Arminius is supposed to have once used a similar phrase. It is the fact of heresy, and not the name, which has significance with them."

Sixty years ago the modern assault upon the Christian Sabbath had already begun, and the earnest-hearted had begun to cry out in solemn protest. The whole vast frontier held its godless and reckless thousands. An immense emigration was pushing westward by canal, and stage, and "prairie schooner." In particular, Sunday mails were a source of scandal to the good. Oberlin was born with Puritan scruples concerning the keeping of the Lord's day, so that both preaching and practice were scrupulous at this point. Sabbath societies and conventions were in vogue. The *Evangelist* was a stanch defender of this bulwark of

Christian civilization. The church took its members to task for profaning the day by putting it to secular uses. For fifteen years in succession the college catalogue bore witness to the sensitiveness of the public conscience by giving notice to the public that; "No student could be admitted who while on his way journeyed upon the Sabbath," nor was the rule suffered to remain a dead letter. When Mr. Finney was coming by boat in 1835, having been delayed by ice or storms until he could reach Cleveland only by a Sunday passage at the close, he went ashore at Erie and passed the day of rest, and on Monday proceeded by stage. Steamboats and canal boats which honored the Lord's day were widely advertised and were patronized by the conscientious.

Societies for the promotion of peace and of moral reform were numerous in the thirties and forties, and, as we scarcely need to be told, Oberlin did what she could to push forward these important reforms. Being loyal subjects of the Prince of Peace, war was abhorred except where unrighteousness, which was worse than war, was the alternative. But probably not many of the colonists, not even Elihu Burritt, the great peace orator and organizer, shared the unswerving faith in the irresistible potency of weapons purely spiritual possessed by one of the Oberlin deacons, who when the Rebellion burst forth would not have a soldier sent to the front, but instead would enlist whole legions of praying men and women, and transporting them down to Mason and Dixon's Line, would kneel and make mighty supplication until the entire rebel host should lay down their arms! As for moral reform, the social purity of our day, since 1830 there had been widespread agitation through the public press and by means

of local organizations, in New York City, under the Rev. John R. McDowall, whose fervor was so much more abundant than his wisdom as to overwhelm his attempt with disaster. For years Oberlin sustained a Maternal Association (also for a short time a Paternal Association) which sought to secure and maintain right relations between the sexes.

Commencing as late as 1869, with Mr. Finney as leader, who in his early life had been a member of the order, a brisk campaign was waged against Freemasonry. The occasion of the agitation was the opening of a lodge in the village. For a season he employed both tongue and pen with much of his accustomed power, and the substance of his argument and conclusion was published soon after in book form. As a result the First Church, of which he was then pastor, was stirred to take action whereby candidates were to be questioned as to membership in certain secret organizations, and if it appeared that they had taken the oaths they should be required to choose between the lodge and the church. This rule still remains in force, though in recent years it seems to have largely passed out of mind. The Second Church, though probably having as little liking for Masonry as the First, declined to take any action, on the ground that no such specific tests whatever should be applied at the door of entrance to the house of God; that the sole question should be, Is the applicant a sincere disciple of Christ? and as for the rest, leave the individual to his own reason and conscience.

Temperance principles entered Oberlin with the first colonist, were imbedded in the substance of the Covenant, and with a unanimity probably nowhere else ever matched for so long a time, have since borne sway.

No open saloon has ever been able to survive more than a few days. Whoever has attempted to defy public opinion at this point has come to grief so speedily and so utterly as to be able to find not the least solace for his woes. At the beginning temperance wore a meaning as sweeping as in the New Testament, being coextensive with continence, self-mastery. The promise was to "eat only plain and wholesome food, renouncing all bad habits, and especially the smoking and chewing of tobacco, unless it is 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." As to the last two the good sense of the community presently removed the taboo, but alcoholic drinks and tobacco have remained under the ban even to the present. The students are required to pledge themselves to abstain, and by an overwhelming majority the inhabitants of the village pass their days in blissful ignorance of any need of such stimulants. In 1837 the colonists pledged themselves not to patronize any merchant or innkeeper who was a vender of tobacco, and for years the noxious weed was not to be found on sale. But later the farmers of the surrounding region who chewed and smoked, and for whom Oberlin was the trading place, made so much ado that some of the drug stores began to keep it in stock, and later some of the groceries. Once or twice a tobacco store has been opened, but soon failed for lack of sufficient patronage. In 1880 an anti-tobacco "crusade" was instituted by a mass meeting in the First Church under the lead of the pastors, the faculty and the mayor, and marked by stirring addresses, by forcible resolutions, and the ap-

pointment of a committee. In due season the outcome appeared in a pledge taken by all the tradesmen but one to sell the unpopular article no more. After sixty-five years, in this day of such general use of cigars and cigarettes, it can be truthfully affirmed that the number of smokers in Oberlin is phenomenally small.

As for intoxicants, they have always been exceedingly conspicuous by their utter absence. At various times strong drink has been dealt out surreptitiously for a season, but discovery, arrest, conviction and condign punishment were so certain to ensue that the offender was content never to repeat the offence. The open saloon has always been considered absolutely intolerable. Since 1875 several determined attempts have been made to defy public sentiment in this particular, but each case was met with a popular uprising so unanimous, so orderly, but so evidently determined that at all hazards liquor must go, that the originators were glad precipitately to retire or make the best terms possible, sadder but wiser men, and with enlarged ideas of what good people can do when united and wholly bent upon achieving a definite purpose. Public gatherings with crowded seats were held in the churches, prayer was offered in the closet, in the saloon or upon the sidewalk, relays of citizens kept watch hard by the door day and night to take note of all who entered, the proprietor was argued with and warned by committees composed of some of the most eminent for character, wisdom, and standing in the community. To the present day no vender of intoxicants has been found who, after a few days of such experience as this, coupled also with evident prospect of indefinite continuance of the same, has not been thoroughly satis-

fied that discretion was the better part of valor. In 1881-2 an alliance was formed which secured pledges to the amount of \$200,000, to be employed if need be to the last cent in furtherance of the objects determined upon. Twice when buildings were secured and bars were opened, violence was resorted to under cover of darkness, by persons unknown, however, and without the approbation of the worthier portion of the community. Once the windows were smashed in and also the heads of the liquor kegs, and once the saloon-to-be was demolished and removed so completely that no sign was left that it had ever existed. But this is not the normal Oberlin way of doing things.

Reform in education was taken as another part of Oberlin's work. Thus the founders would make it possible for the many instead of the favored few to secure intellectual training to fit them for stations of usefulness. This was the meaning of manual labor, as well as of the simple and economical ways of living enjoined. To many the admission of colored students was an example of reform carried to an irrational and shocking extent. The admission of women was an attempt to remove from society a heinous wrong from which the "misjudged and neglected sex" had always suffered. Elsewhere in colleges the Bible and Christianity had been too often slighted, kept in the background, relegated to the limbo of things non-essential if not also illegitimate to a course of liberal education. The intellect was ministered to, but not the higher affections and the moral sense. But it should not be so here. At least the filth of the classics should be excluded. The Scriptures should have an honored place in the entire curriculum. It were a shame, if not a crime, for a Christian college to graduate its students

in dense ignorance of the Old and New Testaments upon which Christian civilization has been built. The words of Jesus and Paul and Isaiah are at least as worthy of study as the words of Homer and Plato and Shakespeare. Our schools should aim at turning out not merely scholars, but men of character and conscience. Education, not learning, is the goal. Besides, sixty years ago, when the West was new, teachers were scarce and untrained, and schools of every grade were most defective, as a rule. Oberlin sought to train up a generation of teachers of both sexes who should be able both to impart instruction and to mold the lives of the young. In the performance of this high task her students, having caught her spirit, have seldom been excelled. So highly were their gifts and graces appreciated that the hundreds who every autumn were ready to go out upon an educational campaign during the long vacation would not suffice to meet the demand. Even where their religious fervor and their abolitionism were not relished, these were gladly endured for the sake of the practical intelligence, the good sense and the enthusiasm with which they were quite sure to be found conjoined.

But it was doubtless antislavery reform which more than any other lifted Oberlin to fame, to infamy also with multitudes. It was a strange series of providences which enlisted her energies and set her spirit all aflame. Her name was early enrolled for abolition, her faith and courage never flagged, her sons and daughters by the thousand scattered throughout the North were always in the battle's front until the final victory was achieved. The Oberlin pulpit and press

without ceasing denounced the iniquity and called to repentance with words which carried weight and were borne afar. But first of all and all along sympathy and kindness and hospitality were extended to people of color. That is, as students and citizens they should be actually welcome. They might walk the streets without danger of insult. Neither should it be accounted an unpardonable sin if sometimes blacks and whites sat at the same table, that is, both being willing. Yes, and a boy or girl of African descent might enter upon any course of study he chose, and pursue it as far as he cared to, with teachers of pure Caucasian blood to bestow upon him all reasonable assistance, with white boys and girls also consenting to sit in the same seats with him at recitation time. And nowhere else in the land were these marvels of benevolence then to be seen. Not many chose to come to secure the priceless advantages offered, and of these only a very small proportion ever climbed higher than the Preparatory Department. In 1840 it was found that out of 1,105 students who thus far had been connected with the institution, only 20, of whom 5 were women, were colored. At the end of fifty years out of a total attendance of 20,000 about 1,000 were colored, of whom only 60 had taken a full course, one-half of these latter being women. How much the admission of colored students means President Fairchild undertook to tell in 1860 in these words :

But the indirect influence upon the elevation of the colored race can scarcely be over-estimated. In the twenty-five years past more than 10,000 students have been connected with the Institution, and few of these have been here so short a time as not to have their prejudices removed in reference to the colored race. To this result no special means have been necessary. They meet from day to day those whom nature has tinged with a shade darker than themselves, but engaged

in the same pursuits, cherishing the same aspirations, gifted with the same powers, and sharers in a common destiny. A supercilious air seems out of place. The lip which at first curled with contempt will at length smile a recognition of a common humanity. What men most require for the cultivation of a fellow feeling is to look each other fairly in the face. So we have found it here ; and of the thousands who have gone out from among us, there are probably few who may not be relied on as the enemies of oppression, and the friends of an abused and neglected race. The widespread influence which these must exert in the family, in the school, the church, and the state, cannot be compassed by human vision.

But besides all this, Oberlin both afforded a home to hundreds of people of color, and maintained a vigorous activity in the matter of assisting ex-slaves to escape beyond the reach of their masters. The sound of the name appears to have penetrated into the far south. Until the fifties only a few families took up their residence among these friends whom they felt sure they could safely trust, but as the days of the Rebellion drew nigh the number rose to several scores. One man paid \$8,000 to secure the freedom of his wife and family. Some were freed by their masters, were brought hither and presented each with a piece of land or a considerable sum of money. Of course the houses of all these, as also of almost all their white neighbors, were places of refuge for fugitives from the terrible land of bondage, who almost any day were likely without warning to appear under the conduct of some Good Samaritan, to tarry until the next stage of the journey towards Canada could be safely taken. The entire community seemed to be always on the alert for slave-catchers. Suspicious looking strangers were closely scrutinized. A signal of danger would bring hundreds together within a few minutes. Sometimes the roads outside were patrolled night after night. And somehow the Oberlin conscience was so thoroughly suffused

with the principles of the Higher Law, that no act of Congress requiring all men to give aid and comfort to Southerners in search of their human property was ever able to stir them to any kind of activity, except to put every possible hindrance in their way. A volume would be needed to contain all the traditions of attempts to discover fugitives and counter-attempts to throw pursuers off the scent and send them away on fools' errands. The best qualities of the community, combining earnestness with cool audacity, boundless determination with abundance of self-control, appear to good advantage in the two famous rescue cases. The blacks must not be returned to the house of bondage, the man-stealers must by all means be circumvented, but there must be no mob violence. And every legal device in the entire category must be resorted to. The Oberlin-Wellington case, in 1858, easily takes high rank among notable events in the long 'anti-slavery struggle, and perhaps may be permitted to stand with the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin and John Brown's deed at Harper's Ferry among the incidents which hastened the final crisis.

In undertaking rightly to estimate the importance of the part played by Oberlin in the campaign against the "peculiar institution" the strategic point held by this community must not be forgotten. Ohio was a pivotal state, lying as a connecting link between the East and West. On account of population, wealth, and intellectual energy it wielded a leading influence among the sisterhood of commonwealths. But, bordering upon slave territory, its affiliations were quite largely with the South. The counties bordering upon the Ohio and for fifty miles back were largely peopled from the slave states. And hence it was that the odious

Black Laws were enacted so early and held their place so long upon the statute book. The extent and intensity of proslavery sentiments are manifest in the career of Vallandigham during the dark hours of the Rebellion. The interior counties of the state were occupied mainly by a population which took slight interest in public questions ; so that the destiny of Ohio was to a remarkable degree committed to the keeping of the Western Reserve, covering only twelve counties in the extreme northeast. Within this area the intelligence and enlightened conscience of the state may be said to have centered and to have been massed. Here the Republican party was omnipotent and irresistible. The Thirteenth Congressional District was famous for its overwhelming majorities. And it also "happened" that somehow no single definite intellectual and moral force upon the Reserve could compare with Oberlin. Nowhere else did this community have so many friends and admirers. When, in 1849, Chase was nominated United States senator, the two votes which secured his election were cast by members from Lorain county ; so that it was not mere flattery, or the language of compliment, when he stated that it was to Oberlin that he owed his election. Nor is it simply speculation empty and idle to suggest that if the influence of the Western Reserve from the beginning down to 1861 had been omitted from Ohio history, the state might have cast in her lot with the South, or insisted upon compromise with slavery, or at least have stood neutral in the midst of the bloody strife. Upon the theme of this chapter probably no weightier words have ever been uttered than were spoken by General J. D. Cox, an alumnus of the institution, in his address at the semicentennial upon "The Influence of Oberlin College on Public Af-

fairs During the Half Century of its Life." A striking passage follows immediately after the title-page, as a sort of text for this volume, but a much more lengthy quotation will surely be here in order. He says in part:

Looked at with reference to the history of the national controversy, Oberlin was born at the beginning of a new and important epoch. Andrew Jackson was at the summit of his power, had just been elected President for a second term, and was the autocrat of the great Democratic party. Both he and the party were committed to the pro-slavery view of the Constitution, and had no toleration for the handful of unpopular fanatics who were probing the conscience of thinking men in the Northern States and rousing them to an unwilling sense of the responsibility of the whole people for the sin of slavery. But face to face with Jackson, and his rival in the leadership of the party, was Calhoun, the apostle of the extreme Southern doctrine of the right of nullification. A subtler intellect than Jackson's, an equally daring leader, a truer representative of the Confederate theory of the Constitution as opposed to the national theory, and therefore a better representative of the South, Calhoun was conscious of being the only consistent and logical expounder of Jefferson's Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798, and made no hesitation in expressing the scorn he felt for the unionism of Jackson. . . .

It was in the midst of this fierce revival of an agitation that was not to be quieted or ended but in the extinction of slavery at the end of fearful civil war, that Oberlin was founded. Its founders meant that it should be a Christian school of learning, and they purposely established it in a wilderness that it might give its own character to the community which should grow up about it, and retain its individuality and power instead of taking color and being controlled by the influences of some larger and stronger society, in which it might have been placed. . . . If we had known nothing of those founders but by their work, we should still be sure that they were men of deepest earnestness, of unfaltering courage. Put such a band of workers in the wild woods where they reproduced many of the characteristics of the first Pilgrim settlement of New England, and where they were surrounded by many of the things which made at once the Pilgrims' trials and their strength, and it was pretty sure that they would make their mark upon the world's moral history. "The hour and the man" conspire to bring about great events, and here in the little clearing in the flat woodlands of Lorain, with scarcely a passable road in any direction, was a society and a school in just such relations to the time and the great problems which agitated it, as to furnish one of God's great opportunities. . . .

Looking back on all this we are sometimes inclined to speak of it as a singular mingling of radicalism and conservatism ; but it is justice to say that the apparent conservatism was the result of real radicalism, for they fearlessly applied their principles, and were at once logical and sagacious. They made a proper composition of all the forces which were working for good, and the result was nearly a straight line ; whereas it would have been easy to have been driven in queer zigzags if they had yielded now to this and now to that impulse. They said they were led by a higher Wisdom, but they also acknowledged the practical duty of sparing no pains to understand the strange problem the country was laboring with, and to use their heads as well as their hearts. Hence it came that when the struggle was over, and Church and State were rejoicing in the new era, when our country's Constitution came into fullest harmony with the rights of man, they had no need to orient themselves anew. They simply thanked God that the end was reached, which their faith had never let them despair of, and for which they had labored with patience and intelligent zeal. It was nearly forty years since they had entered the wilderness, and every morning had found them ready to strike their tents and move at the head of the people when the pillar of cloud went forward. . . .

The theological classes spent their vacations in preaching or anti-slavery lecturing, and whether preaching or lecturing, the absorbing topic of the time was rarely absent from their thoughts or speech. The undergraduate classes . . . had to wait for advanced education till . . . they could make teaching in the common schools furnish the wherewithal to keep the wolf from the door. . . . Each of them had his scores of younger minds upon whom for some months of the year he was impressing . . . his own intense earnestness in the great public questions of reform. Every debating society formed in a country hamlet was a platform from which the politics of the country took shape, and where the men were formed and instructed who became delegates to nominating conventions and created the public sentiment which soon began to find its echo in Congress. . . . It would be hard to overestimate the part in this work which was taken by Oberlin students. Remember that they numbered hundreds at an early day, and soon exceeded a thousand. Each autumn they swarmed from the college halls, and were not only to be found in the white schoolhouses dotted thick over northern Ohio, but they scattered westward and eastward, and even southward . . . always pushing, debating, inquiring, and agitating. . . . It bubbled from their lips as naturally as their breath, and they could not refrain from it. . . . The schoolmistresses became the wives of the most intelligent and active men in the little growing communities of the West, and often did more than their husbands to mold the opinions of their neighbors through the subtle influence of earnest conscientiousness and intelligence, exerted quietly but persistently from day to day, and from year to year. . . . I think we may fairly say that Oberlin

is peculiar among all the learned institutions of the land in having so large a constituency of temporary students, inoculated with her spirit, though not having her diploma ; the bone and sinew of the country wherever they are, active and influential in their modest spheres, and always ready to second the efforts and sustain the work of her more authoritative representatives whenever they appear. . . .

What can be clearer than that in this chapter of our country's history the influence of Oberlin as a college was a factor of great and permanent importance ? It would be rash to assign to any one influence a decisive and preeminent power, for all the circumstances of the time and the march of intellect and progress in the whole race combined to remove from the earth an institution that belonged to the dark ages ; but I unhesitatingly assert that there is hardly a township west of the Alleghanies and north of the central line of Ohio, in which the influence of Oberlin men and Oberlin opinions cannot be specifically identified and traced. It was the propaganda of a school of thought and action having distinct characteristics, and as easily recognizable in its work as was that of Garrison and the American Antislavery Society in their methods and work. . . .

CHAPTER XII

OBERLIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO MISSIONS

THUS far in the main the attempt has been to depict early Oberlin as represented in its character and life, in the incidents which attended its progress during the first years, and as affected by its environment. Comparatively little has been said of the phenomenal results wrought by the intellectual and spiritual forces which centered here upon the region surrounding, upon the commonwealth, the country at large, and even the world. But after all it is in its achievements that Oberlin appears at its best, its work for the betterment of humanity. A careful investigation would be more than likely to demonstrate that no community of its size in the land, no literary institution, can be named which in so brief a period has made an impression so widespread and profound in realms political, social, educational, moral and religious. Without doubt such terms as reform, philanthropy, evangelism, will best sum up and set forth its work. Or if a single word must be chosen, quite certainly it would be missionary, or missions, giving to this the widest signification, making it equivalent to an organized effort for the enlightenment and elevation of humankind. The founders were both missionaries. Their eyes and their hearts were upon "our desolate valley," and "our dying world," when they began to pray and plan. They would raise

up in particular a troop of ministers and godly school-teachers. In the first catalogue they say the design of the institute, "its grand object, is the diffusion of useful science, sound morality, and pure religion, among the growing multitudes of the Mississippi Valley. It aims also at bearing an important part in extending these blessings to the destitute millions which overspread the earth." Their aims therefore were religious in the best sense. Through the colony and the college they would give a substantial impulse not to mere intelligence, to education pure and simple, but to Christian enlightenment. On the other hand they would advance not mere piety, which might save the soul, but an enlightened faith and zeal instead which should honor God, renovate society and make for the upbuilding of all manner of good institutions. And this deeply religious purpose has never been lost sight of or seriously sinned against. Though not a few of their most cherished expectations came to nought, proved to be but idle dreams, this sublime idea, which stood for more than all the rest combined, which indeed was the deepest meaning of all, has moved steadily on to constantly enlarging measures of success.

Let us take a yet closer look at the type of piety which they sought to propagate. It was not one whose chief seat was in the emotional realm, which delighted most in a happy frame and assurance of safety for one's self, but which rather was self-forgetful, and self-sacrificing, was thoroughly active and aggressive in its make. Something all-important remained to be done in the world and Oberlin was to be started to assist in doing it. Like their Master, they came not to be ministered unto but to minister. They would walk in the footsteps of Him who said in the Nazareth synagogue:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he anointed me to preach good tidings to the poor: he hath sent me to proclaim release to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord. Their spirit and aim were exactly coincident with the motto of the founder of the Moravian Church. "From henceforth that land is my country which most needs my help." Their souls had drunk deep at the same heavenly fountain with the devoted pastor of the Steinthal, that "saint of the Protestant Church," whose name they gave to their godly venture, who for sixty years gave himself with the greatest enthusiasm and joy to the elevation of an exceedingly poor and degraded population. On just such an errand was Oberlin sent, the task was taken up with alacrity and was pursued with vigor and unflagging determination. The great revivals of the days just preceding had kindled an unprecedented missionary fervor just as the majestic tramp of the millions was taken up towards the Great West, and its spiritual needs, so limitless and appalling, began to be felt. It was a missionary impulse which kindled in the breast of Mr. Shipherd a longing for "the elevation of female character, by bringing within the reach of the misjudged and neglected sex all the instructive privileges which have hitherto unreasonably distinguished the leading sex from theirs." Just as it was a missionary impulse which would by the magic hand of manual labor make it possible for the very poorest boy or girl to secure an education, and thus enlarged fitness to perform the duties of life. It was a missionary impulse which inclined the community to welcome the advent of colored students, to treat them with greatest sympathy and consideration, and to help

them to rise in spite of the almost crushing disabilities which weighed them down. Quite a large proportion of the early students had consecrated themselves to distinctively missionary service in the home or foreign field before they entered the institution. During the first years the seminary course was most attractive of all. But those who became teachers instead of pastors sought just as humbly and earnestly to be true ministers of the grace of God. Likewise thousands who failed to finish the full course, or to enter any of the learned professions, but passed their lives in humbler stations and served their Master in the home or in the neighborhood, having caught thoroughly the missionary spirit while sojourning upon the colonial tract, kept it and lived it thenceforward to the end.

Before taking up in detail the story of what Oberlin has done for missions in the narrower acceptation of the term, it will not be amiss to dwell a little longer upon a few of her more general, or indirect forms of ministering to the public weal. The scope of religion as understood and exemplified by Mr. Finney and his coadjutors was no narrow routine of prayer and Bible study and wrestling with internal foes, no pent-up-Utica realm of external activities, but included whatever affected humanity for woe or weal, the individual and society, body and mind, soul and spirit. It was not in the least profane for a saint to meddle very intimately with politics, or even to handle in the pulpit with great plainness of speech all public questions which had a moral or religious side. This idea of what was both rational and Christian was widely adopted by the thousands who came under their influence. Many a time has the Oberlin conscience been a source of anxiety to corrupt politicians, and

many a time have their best-laid plans been brought to confusion. This same God-fearing community has always stood courageously and steadfastly for all worthy reforms, but never for these as mere whims, or fads, or hobbies, but rather as component parts of benevolence, or Christianity. As mere logical theories they excited slight interest. In pushing them one must be reasonable and Christian. Though supposed to be red-hot upon abolition, no countenance was given to Comeouterism, to any wholesale and unlimited disfellowshipping of all who were in the least degree contaminated by any direct or indirect connection with slavery, or to any excessive scrupulosity concerning the use of articles produced by slave labor. Oberlin was for peace, and yet was also fierce for fighting when war was in order. The vital question was, What is wisest and best under the circumstances? But it is as an unmatched training-place for teachers that Mr. Shipherd's Institute has made itself felt most widely for intelligence, good morals and piety. For some forty years the long vacation was appointed in the winter, and when manual labor so completely failed to supply the financial need of the students, teaching for several months of each year was their main reliance for support. And what a famous scattering occurred in November to the four winds of heaven! Though the very name was so feared and hated, yet there were friends sufficient to desire and solicit more teachers than were to be had. The quality of their work was found to be so excellent that it was wisdom to swallow much prejudice in order to secure the benefit of their instruction. One year during the fifties no less than five hundred and thirty teachers went out for the vacation. Each one of these by the force of a winning example helped to diffuse

the beneficent Oberlin spirit, and seldom failed also to bring back sooner or later a choice student or two to swell the numbers already upon the ground. Who can measure the benefit bestowed by these great companies of earnest-hearted men and women, who for more than a generation and for months each year expended their energies upon children and youth by the ten thousand? Teaching down among the freedmen in the South will be mentioned further on. Then, too, hundreds of Oberlin students have chosen teaching for a life work, and in scores of academies and colleges have wrought in all patience and wisdom. At the end of the first fifty years it was found that of the 839 graduates of the classical course no less than 333 were teachers and professors, 310 were ministers, 134 were lawyers, 52 were physicians and 30 were journalists. And, finally, Oberlin is the fruitful mother of colleges. Olivet, Tabor and Benzonia, institutions and communities both, owe their existence directly to Oberlin men, nor would it be extravagant to affirm that a half-score of others in the West and Northwest would never have begun to be but for the inspiration and more substantial assistance bestowed by men who caught the divine contagion of self-denying love to God and man prevalent in the neighborhood of the historic elm.

But returning now to consider missions in the narrower sense, it is worth while to recall that the first settlers during the first summer, and afterwards as well, pushed out in various directions through the woods to hold Sunday-schools and other services. For several years these scores and hundreds of devout and earnest souls were seriously shut in from the needy world by miles of forest and bottomless mud, and later almost as effectually by bitter prejudice and dislike. After

the colonists and students had all been converted, no material was left upon which their desire and effort could expend themselves. Just then it was, and largely because of this fact, that the perfection excitement "broke out." But when this period of self-examination and tugging after an experience of the "blessing" had passed by, it was soon found that the missionary spirit had not perished but had only slumbered. The Lane students, having become fervid abolitionists, began at once to put their principles into practice by ministering in every possible way to the ignorant, degraded and despised blacks in the vicinity, and aided by the liberal purse of Arthur Tappan secured a number of teachers to labor in their behalf. When these young men took their departure for Oberlin, among others they persuaded A. D. Barber, recently from Oneida Institute and who later followed them to complete his theological studies, to assist in carrying on the work. He remained a year or two, entirely without salary, depending entirely upon the small gifts of a few friends for money sufficient to purchase what food he required, which consisted usually of mere cornmeal mush eaten with black New Orleans molasses, and cost only about thirty cents a week. When colored students were admitted, the Lane boys had made their advent and Weld had set Oberlin on fire with abolition sentiments, of course missionary zeal began to be bestowed upon Africans wherever such could be found. For a decade or two every long vacation numbers of the students, made their way to southern Ohio, wherever these poor creatures were gathered, and lavished upon them sympathy and compassion, receiving only their bare living. In 1836, Hiram Wilson, a Lane student, who graduated that year, proceeded to Upper Canada to commence

work among the something like 20,000 freedmen who had fled from slavery to that place of refuge. He found them in deepest poverty and ignorance and fast lapsing into vileness and utter depravity. To the task of Christianizing and educating them he devoted his whole life. At the end of two years fourteen teachers from Oberlin were assisting him, at an actual cost of \$1,000, but with only \$600 received. In 1840 no less than thirty-nine were teaching colored schools in Ohio, half of them young women, receiving their board only, and as many more in Canada.

The story of the beginning and progress of the kingdom of God in the Mississippi Valley and beyond would be seriously incomplete which did not set forth with considerable fulness the part played by Oberlin. Planted in the West, it existed largely for the sake of the West, and from the first not a few looked to the frontier as the divinely appointed field upon which their energies were to be expended. The numbers were large of those of either sex who devoted their lives to laborious foundation-building in this vast region, and no institution can be named which turned out missionaries on the whole better equipped for the task on hand. But unfortunately this chapter of Gospel history is almost wholly unwritten, while the materials required for putting it upon paper are difficult of access if not really inaccessible. This brief summary from the pen of President Fairchild must here suffice :

The great body of young men who went out from Oberlin to preach in the early days went as home missionaries—with this exception, that they looked to no society to aid the churches in paying their salaries. It was not difficult to find needy churches to welcome them. Such churches were numerous in western New York, in northern Ohio, in Michigan, in northern Illinois, and to some extent in New England.

A few of the stronger churches were open to Oberlin ministers ; but for the most part they were the weaker churches, such as at that time and at the present would look for home missionary aid. But such aid came only through the advice and recommendation of committees of associations and presbyteries—under the Plan of Union, chiefly presbyteries ; and such was the prevalent ignorance and misapprehension in regard to Oberlin men, that the most they could look for was the privilege of working in some needy field without molestation. Thus each man was obliged to find a place for himself, and slowly secure recognition. Under these conditions, Oberlin men found their work and waited for a brighter day. Some would make their way with little difficulty, and soon found a warm welcome—and this was the more frequent result. Others were less favored, and had somewhat trying experiences before presbyteries and councils. A year or two of self-denying and efficient labor with some needy church without aid was the usual probation to a recognized ministerial standing. Thus the work of the early Oberlin preachers was mainly missionary work in the weak churches and in the newer regions where there was abundant room. Theological students going out to preach during the long vacation found no home missionary society to guide them to open doors and to secure them compensation for the service. They went where the preaching seemed to be needed, and often returned to the seminary as empty-handed as they went, except for the friendship and gratitude of those to whom they had carried the word of the Gospel. They were manual labor students, and could make their way through another year of study. The situation had its advantages. The Oberlin man secured a theological standing of his own—a birthright of liberty. No one was responsible for his orthodoxy. If he talked like the Westminster Confession, it was a surprise and satisfaction. If he did not, it was only what was to be expected, and at all events he must have the privilege of talking his own way. This freedom may have come at a heavy price, but it was worth the having.

In 1834, by act of the British Parliament, emancipation was secured for the 800,000 slaves held in the West Indies, to be fully obtained at the close of six years of semi-slavery, a period afterwards shortened to four years. Here then was supplied a fine field for the display of antislavery sympathy. The desperate needs of these freedmen were brought to the notice of Oberlin by David S. Ingraham, another of the Lane students, who in the winter of 1836–1837, seeking a warmer climate for health's sake, had sojourned in

Cuba. Being a skilled mechanic, he found self-support easy, and while there conceived the idea of a mission to the blacks of Jamaica to be carried on independently of any outside assistance. Returning after several months, he was ordained, and in the fall of 1837, attended by his wife and several others, set forth to establish himself in that island. To one of the stations presently opened, the name Oberlin was given. For fifteen years the call for recruits continued and was responded to, until in all thirty-six had gone forward. For several years these much-enduring men and women, aside from the pittance which the ex-slaves could bestow, depended almost wholly upon the labor of their own hands. In addition they built their own dwellings, as well as chapels and schoolhouses. Some aid was rendered by the London Missionary Society, and some was derived from funds set apart for the education of the freedmen. Later the "West India Committee" began to receive and transmit contributions. Several of these missionaries died in the field, while Mr. Ingraham survived four years and breathed his last just after landing in New York. The health of others breaking down under the strain of the climate and the over-abundant labors, they were compelled to retire. A daughter of the founder of the mission was educated at Oberlin, then returned to Jamaica to wear herself out in proclaiming the Glad Tidings. After a decade or two it became so evident that the spiritual well-being of this island might with wisdom be turned over to the hands of British Christians that no more reinforcements were sent, and with a few exceptions the missionaries took their departure and sought service elsewhere in the great labor field.

The next organized evangelizing movement in which

Oberlin was engaged was one which literally carried into Africa the war against Satan. And it originated from the liberation of the Amistad captives. In 1839 about fifty negroes had been kidnapped upon the West Coast by Spaniards and had been taken to Havana, and sold to be transported to Principe. While on the voyage, in a frenzy from being told that on their arrival they were to be killed and eaten, they overpowered the crew, put their owners in irons, and ordered the pilot to return them to the Dark Continent. He, however, brought them into port at New London, Connecticut. Great was the excitement in antislavery circles when the facts were published. The weighty question was, What is the legal status of these Africans? Are they bond, or free? Their owners claimed them as slave property, and the authorities at Washington were much inclined to regard them as such, both because the Spanish government took this view of the case, and because to declare them free men would deeply offend the South. While awaiting the decision of the courts they were consigned to the jail for safe-keeping. The law's delays extended over no less than two years. With John Q. Adams as their foremost champion, their rights were so well cared for that when, after several trials, their case came before the Supreme Court they were declared fully entitled to liberty.* Meantime by friends their wants had been supplied, all legal expenses had been paid, nor had efforts been at all neglected to educate and Christianize them. It

* In these days of steam and electricity it approaches to the amusing to read of what was then considered a marvel of achievement, to wit, that intelligence of the decision setting these captives free actually reached Oberlin from Washington by way of New York *in nine days*, having in the mean time been reprinted three times.

was next decided that they should be restored to their own country, which was found to be a limited coast region lying about a hundred miles south of Sierra Leone. To meet the emergency a "Mendi Committee" was chosen. It was also concluded that here was a call to open a new mission in Africa with these freedmen as a nucleus. Being antislavery as a matter of course, from whence should it be supplied with ministers and teachers so fittingly as from Oberlin? Three men with their wives were chosen to go as pioneers, one couple being colored, James Steele, William Raymond, and Mr. Wilson, who sailed from New York in November, 1841. Thus was founded the Mendi Mission, which continues to the present day. Like all attempts to evangelize the pestiferous West Coast, this one was carried on only with great loss of life, and in the midst of most appalling discouragements. The site chosen was unfortunate, being upon the malaria-laden lowlands near the coast. Of the fifteen men and women who were representatives of Oberlin eight found there their graves, and sooner or later the others took their departure to escape the same fate. But even more disheartening, though when the liberated captives left America they seemed interested in the movement undertaken for the benefit of themselves and their friends, they manifested later such an utter lack of stamina that their connection with the missionaries was perhaps on the whole more fruitful of evil than good. With three or four exceptions all finally fell back into their original paganism and barbarism. Soon after the organization of the American Missionary Association this work was given into its hands, to remain until 1883, when it was transferred to the care of the United Brethren.

As we might well suppose, the forlorn case of the American Indians early touched the sympathies of colonists and students. The American Board had opened missions in the Southwest among them, in 1815, with Mr. Stewart as a lay-toiler beginning a few years later. Mr. Williamson was despatched to the upper Mississippi to locate near Fort Snelling in 1835, and Mr. Riggs two years after. In 1836 Whitman and Spalding took their journey to Oregon, traveling overland *via* South Pass. Mr. Finney laid down the somewhat ultra and startling dictum that "nobody was fit to be a missionary who was not willing with but an ear of corn in his pocket to start for the Rocky Mountains." With some such simple "faith" as the impelling force, several families turned their faces towards the Great Plains to halt, some on this side of the Continental Divide, and some to cross it to the Pacific Slope, intending to make homes for themselves wherever it seemed best, to support themselves by their own toil, and to labor for the spread of the kingdom in every possible way. Asahel Munger and wife were among them, who in September 1838 asked the Oberlin church to pass judgment upon "his qualifications as a mechanic, laborer, and teacher" to serve the Lord efficiently in that wild and remote region. Though the conclusion was that "under present circumstances the church cannot feel justified in recommending brother and sister M. to embark in their proposed expedition," the eminently wise counsel was rejected. For not long after he is found in Oregon, where also he lost his reason, poor fellow, and his life. In his insanity hearing a command from God to sacrifice himself, he covered the hearth with coals and cast himself upon them. In 1843 something more

formal and definite was undertaken. Robert Stuart, a Scotchman and a prominent agent in the founding of Astoria, who also made a heroic journey across the continent from west to east, later was agent of the American Fur Company, and now was government superintendent of all the Indians of the Northwest with headquarters at Detroit, desiring to benefit his wards in every possible way, came to Oberlin (where also a son of his had studied) in search of missionary teachers, promising them protection and all the assistance in his power to supply. Near the head of Lake Superior two missions were already in existence. From one of them came Mr. Ayer and his wife, bent on the same errand. The project meeting with favor from faculty and students, Mr. Ayer made a long and difficult trip to the upper waters of the Mississippi to choose a suitable location. The question of support coming up, the American Board was applied to, but declined to render aid. That body and this institution were by no means on the best of terms in those tempestuous days. As touching slavery they quite failed to see eye to eye, nor could the Board afford in the least to wink at the monstrous heresy of perfection. But in that howling wilderness, among those savages, self-support was scarcely to be thought of. Therefore what could not be found must be fashioned. With the help of the Western Reserve Association the Western Evangelical Missionary Society was organized to collect and distribute funds.

By the summer of 1843 all things were in readiness, and ten missionaries took their departure for a field then as remote, judged by the extreme difficulty of reaching it, as are now the very ends of the earth. One could take the stage to Cincinnati, descend the

Ohio and then ascend the Mississippi to Fort Snelling, with a tramp of several hundred miles beyond. Or he might take the lake route to Chicago and travel thence by land to Galena. Or Lake Superior could be utilized. In those days St. Paul was composed of a few log cabins, while at St. Anthony only a single cabin had been built. Four women formed a portion of the company. First a schooner helped them on their way from Detroit to Mackinaw, and then, all other means failing, resort was had to birch bark canoes until the head of the lake was reached. And now it was that the real tug of travel began through swamps and forests, along rivers and lakes, across portages, day after day, week after week, for two and forty days, at night always camping out in the woods. It was in behalf of the Ojibways that they were to endure hardness, and presently three stations were opened, at Red Lake, Leech Lake, and Cass Lake, in what is now northern Minnesota. Selkirk settlement was some four hundred miles to the north. What perils, and exposures, and discomforts they endured cannot be given in detail. These borrowed sentences must suffice :

In that high latitude the winters were long and terrible. The Indians had no permanent dwelling-place, but cultivated a little land in one place, made sugar in another, hunted and fished in another; and their teachers were compelled sometimes to make a journey of five hundred miles in the winter that they might not be separated from their flock. They must raise their own provisions, saw their own lumber by hand, build their own houses, and help the Indians do all these things. Sometimes to avert starvation they were obliged to make an expedition to Selkirk with oxen and sledges in the dead of winter. They were obliged to see their provisions stolen and their cattle killed by starving Indians, and sometimes to divide their last potatoes with them.

After three years Rev. S. G. Wright, one of the first

party, returned to Oberlin in search of a wife, taking the route down the river past Fort Snelling. Accompanied only by an Indian guide, the first one hundred and fifty miles were traversed in ten days. Then followed a dreary and perilous stretch alone and with only an Indian trail to keep him from going astray. A few months later his heroic bride returned with him over the same route, suffering exceedingly, and almost giving out before the end was reached. In all more than twenty men and women toiled and endured in this barren field, and the work was continued for sixteen years, or until 1859, when, for various reasons, especially because the whites began to come in such numbers, it appeared best to leave the few converts largely to themselves. The Government continued to sustain schools on the reservation and other appliances of civilization, and Mr. Wright remained for years at Leech Lake, not leaving finally until 1881.

In 1846 an event occurred which opened eventually for Oberlin a boundless field for missionary effort. Hitherto the finances at command had been limited in the extreme, but now an organization was to be fashioned whose scope was broad, whose friends were many in both East and West, and whose treasury was presently to be filled with numerous and generous donations. Antislavery was the chief impulse which gave it existence. No less than four organizations within a few years had sprung up to meet specific needs, which wrought together in harmony, were largely sustained by the same persons, but yet each more and more became a rival to all the others. It was high time to systematize and consolidate. In addition, for years among the friends of missions an increasing dissatisfac-

tion had been felt concerning certain features in the management of the American Board. So pronounced had this now become that individuals and churches not a few had ceased to contribute to its funds. Therefore a call was issued, "signed by a large number of ministers and laymen of high respectability," for a "Convention in behalf of Bible Missions," to meet in Syracuse February 18, 1846. The object is sufficiently defined in these sentences from the call:

We need not inform you that strange things have come to the public knowledge. Slaveholders are in churches planted and sustained by the American Board. They are there as approved and regular members. They have been welcomed to and continued in them, without question, without reproof, without discipline. This has been done for more than one quarter of a century, and is still done. And now that the thing has become generally known, the board and those who direct its affairs excuse, justify, and declare it apostolic and scriptural. They commend the missionaries who have done and still do it as competent and faithful, and tell them in terms that they cannot advise, much less require them to change their proceeding. From aught that appears, the gospel we are to propagate through this agency is to tolerate, baptize, and welcome slavery to the church wherever it meets it in all the earth. Caste, polygamy and other social wrongs are to have a like allowance, admission and sanction. And they who would have it otherwise are told that they transcend "God's method," and have not learned their "procedure from the Bible."

By this convention a second one was called to meet in Albany, September 2. Now it was that the decisive deed was done by organizing the American Missionary Association, and by issuing a lengthy address in which were set forth numerous and cogent reasons for such a step. Among other things this was declared: "The time has come when those who would sustain missions for the propagation of a pure and free Christianity should institute arrangements for gathering and sustaining churches in heathen lands, from which the sins

of caste, polygamy, slaveholding and the like shall be excluded by the terms of admission, or by disciplinary process." Quite a number of radical changes in the policy and principles of missionary societies were argued for. Steps were taken which proved successful to secure the dissolution of the four other bodies in general sympathy with this new one, or rather their union with it, that is: the Western Evangelical Missionary Society, the Union Missionary Society, the West Indies Committee and the Amistad Committee. Rev. George Whipple, one of the Lane students and then a professor in Oberlin, was chosen secretary, a position which he held most efficiently for thirty years, and until his death in 1876. It is needless to suggest that now at length Oberlin found a society after its own heart, and one which also held its men and women in highest honor. At the end of two years the income had climbed to \$20,000, and 44 missionaries were reported; in a few home fields, among the Ojibways, in Canada and the West Indies, on the West Coast of Africa, and in Siam, for this society hastened to receive Bradley and Caswell, whom the American Board had cast off for holding perfection sentiments. Presently great enlargement was given to home missionary work, so that by 1854, to 79 representatives in the foreign field were added 54 scattered through the various states and territories. By 1860 the number in the West and South reached 112. It is estimated by one who is an authority upon the subject that at this date Oberlin had contributed to the treasury of the Association directly and indirectly not less than \$100,000, and that nine tenths of all its missionaries had been supplied from this single institution. And down to the same date Oberlin had sent out in all 147 missionaries; 59

to home fields, 36 to the Mendi Mission, 18 to the Indians, 16 to Jamaica and 3 to Siam.*

Thus far the work of the American Missionary Association, though of no inconsiderable value, was yet but tentative and preparatory. For the better part of two decades the length and breadth of its divine calling were not revealed. Its magnificent opportunity was supplied by the desperation of the advocates of slavery. Early in the war of the Rebellion "contrabands" by the thousand who had fled from bondage were found within our lines in the neighborhood of Fortress Monroe. Nobody could think of returning them by force to their masters, and sheer humanity required that in some way their needs should be ministered to. This was exactly in the line of the Association's business, and by September of 1861 a school had been opened at Hampton, hard by the very spot where the first cargo of slaves was landed almost two hundred and fifty years before the beginning of the Hampton Institute and of that splendid company of schools for freedmen which now dot the Southern States, and of church work as well. No society approaches this one in the magnitude and excellence of its achievements. The Boston Council of 1865 recommended that \$250,000 be raised to meet the pressing demands consequent upon the abolition of slavery and the close of the war, and a sum somewhat larger was soon forthcoming for its treasury. In 1870 the income rose to \$420,770, while the teachers numbered 533. In later times, while the foreign work has been given up, the

* In 1862 the Oberlin *Evangelist* reported that 92 Oberlin students were in the foreign fields; 39 in Jamaica, 29 in West Africa, 25 among the Indians, etc. And a greater number were home missionaries, among whom 24 were toiling in Michigan, 18 in Illinois, 8 in Kansas, 8 in the Southern States, etc.

Association has enlarged its sphere in other directions so as now to supply evangelizing influences to several tribes of Indians, the mountain whites of the South, and the Chinese upon the Pacific Coast. In 1864, when a second secretary was found necessary, the choice fell upon Rev. M. E. Strieby, an early graduate of Oberlin college and seminary, and to-day a third Oberlin man is found filling a similar position. The figures are not to be had to present the exact facts in the case, but it cannot be doubted that the ministers and teachers furnished to the Association have always ranked high for efficiency, and constitute a very large fraction of its entire missionary force. For more than sixty years the loving zeal of Oberlin for the despised and neglected colored people has never flagged. Probably no other phase of her work for the needy of humanity has been more purely Christlike, or more abundantly blessed to the good of millions.

We have seen how in the fifties the community under view was received as in good and regular standing by the Congregational churches of the land, and all fears of heterodoxy and antinomian immorality rapidly subsided, so that in due season general confidence and respect, if not also high honor, were accorded to its representatives. Moreover, with the progress of events, certain timid and somewhat time-serving societies had gathered courage and changed their minds at certain important points. So that from that day to the present Oberlin's deep missionary instincts have been able to act themselves out in all directions without let or hindrance. The names of Oberlin men are very numerous on the rolls of the Congregational Home Missionary Society. They are found in well-nigh every one of the twenty missions

of the American Board. In 1881 an Oberlin band of seven went out together to found the Shansi, China, Mission. Some are working in connection with Presbyterian and Baptist boards, while at least three are doing independent work in Bulgaria and India. Including all these and others already mentioned, the goodly number of two hundred and thirty-seven names can be reckoned up of men and women who consecrated their lives to the foreign work alone. Probably six hundred would not be too large a figure to represent such as have ministered to the Indians, the mountain whites and the freedmen. If we also add the fifty-nine home missionaries who served the Master through the American Missionary Association in needy western fields previous to 1860, and such as in the same region toiled as nobly, though no society deigned to give them countenance, as well as those who during the passing generation have wrought in behalf of feeble churches, both east and west, the number of Oberlin's missionaries could not fall far short of 1,000.

But the remarkable story of Oberlin's contribution to missions, home and foreign, is not yet told. In addition to this lavish giving of her choicest sons and daughters, a readiness is ever present, and to all appearances unlimited, to listen to statements of fact from the world-field, and to respond to calls with liberal gifts of silver and gold. Seldom does a week pass without an offering made for somebody somewhere. The two churches, though large, are by no means wealthy. As for most, by frugal living they are simply well-to-do. But everybody helps in everything and does his best. Therefore the Year Book for 1896 could report \$2,053 as given for foreign missions, and a total of \$6,000 for Christian beneficence. The gifts

to the American Board for five years aggregate \$8,857, an average of \$1,771 each year, not including the Clark Fund of \$1,000 annually pledged by the students. The entire amount donated during the same period was \$31,198. Still further, not only does Oberlin educate, inspire, and every year send out to the north, south, east, and west a goodly company of missionaries, and aid generously in sustaining them in their arduous toil, she also provides a place for rest and recuperation when they return on furlough, and a home and education for their children when these must be left behind. A recent census revealed the fact that not less than eight adults and forty-five children at that date were sojourning in the village for a longer or shorter time, with enough more present during the calendar year to raise the number to seventy. These represented twenty-five missionary families, seven countries, and fourteen out of the twenty missions of the American Board. Indeed, so many are the children so far from parents and kindred, often of quite tender years, for whom shelter, care, and training are by cogent circumstances demanded, that a few years since the need seemed to be imperative for a home for such. Therefore Judson Cottage was provided and almost at once was filled to overflowing. Within a year Tank Home has been reared upon the same premises, a most comely structure and admirably adapted to the uses intended, 102 feet by 50, with two stories and an attic, and furnishing living accommodations for some two score. The cost is about \$20,000, one-half of which was derived from the estate of Mrs. Tank, a woman of rare spiritual qualities, born in Holland and recently deceased in Wisconsin, a member of the Moravian Church, whose husband, a Norwegian, was a clergyman belonging to the same body.

In the college buildings provided with boarding arrangements it is designed that various qualities and prices for food shall be maintained to fit diversities of taste and financial ability. From Baldwin Cottage the cost of living diminishes through Talcott Hall and Lord Cottage, in which also precedence is given to the children of home missionaries, to Stewart Hall (named for one of the founders) where the charges are lowest, and especial favors are granted to self-supporting girls. Still further, Keep Home for a generation has supplied quite a number of rooms at easy rates to girls for self-boarding, supplied, too, with almost all needed articles of furniture, cooking utensils, etc. So that seldom have any cases been known of such extreme indigence as to make the pursuit of an education impossible. It should be added that during the first half-century almost all the dwellings erected were planned with express reference to accommodating students with rooms and board. In these is found almost unlimited opportunity to adapt one's style of living to the capacity of one's purse. So, all things considered, though much which they desired to maintain would be missed, could the founders return and take thorough cognizance of the spirit of the place, and estimate correctly what Oberlin has accomplished for "this Valley," and in earnestly endeavoring to minister to the spiritual wants of "a dying world," surely their souls would overflow with wonder and gratitude at the many and marvelous things which God through their humble instrumentality has wrought.

KEEP HOME.





CHAPTER XIII

OBERLIN'S WORK FOR CONGREGATIONALISM

A REALLY notable passage in the history of the denomination is next to pass under review, but one which has never been presented with any approach to fulness, and consequently is not widely appreciated. It may be that at once the question will be asked, What has Oberlin achieved in the direction suggested which may not be as properly claimed by any other institution of similar age, size, and grade of excellence? But this name stands for much more than any ordinary school of learning. It includes not only several departments, with a theological seminary among them, but much more, all these together constitute the mere center and inspiration for a considerable community, which is not only molded largely by their influence, but is also in heartiest sympathy and cooperation with their lofty aims. Nor is this by any means all. From the beginning this institution and community have represented a phenomenal and puissant idea, or conviction, or spirit, or movement, overflowing with positive, aggressive, and enthusiastic elements which in their operation have been pervading and far-reaching. That is, Oberlin has always been intense for evangelism, for righteousness, and for reform of all sorts. So that Professor Walker does not in any wise misstate, or in

the least exaggerate, when he affirms: "The establishment of Oberlin College was a step of the utmost importance for the history of Congregationalism in Ohio." And again: "No institution has been more useful to our churches than this educational center. Its life has been one of intense spiritual activity, of deep consecration, of high, self-denying achievement, and Congregationalism to-day has few agencies for which it has more profound reason to be thankful than for Oberlin College." *

In order to understand the marked and widespread influence exerted by this community and institution upon the denomination which they represent, it will be necessary to glance at pre-Oberlin days and survey the ecclesiastical situation as it was when Mr. Shipherd launched his memorable scheme. In particular the famous Plan of Union must pass in brief review. When the century opened, the tide of emigration towards the West had set in, with thousands pouring into eastern and central New York, and into the western counties of Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. As a result urgent calls had begun to reach the churches of New England for missionaries; that the means of grace might be provided for the population now in such spiritual destitution. Already, to meet the need, in 1798 the Connecticut Missionary Society had been formed. The settlers in the regions named were largely either of Congregational or Presbyterian antecedents. The problem was a new one, so that there was no experience to guide in the choice of the best methods of procedure. In the emergency nothing was hit upon which seemed to meet the demands of the case so well as a scheme of cooperation. As a preparation for

* History of the Congregational Churches, pp. 371, 362.

the step soon decided upon, democratic ideas were by no means as yet dominant in the land, east of the Hudson Church and State were still in entangling alliance, and in various quarters a semi-Presbyterian polity had long been in vogue. Hence in 1801, at the suggestion of the Connecticut General Association, the Presbyterian General Assembly agreeing thereto, with motives and designs on both sides of the very best, was unfortunately brought into being "A Plan of Union in the New Settlements." The descendants of the Pilgrims and the Scotch-Irish disciples of Calvin had so much in common in the religious realm that it appeared to be altogether unmeet for them, dwelling side by side upon the frontier, to separate into distinct bodies, and so multiply church organizations when at the best these must be small and feeble. Alas, that no prophetic vision was vouchsafed, no anticipation of the day when cities would spring up, churches would become strong, and room would be found for both! In the endeavor to forestall any causes of disagreement that might arise various regulations were made, which for substance settled it that Congregationalists when derelict or in need of counsel should be dealt with in their fashion, and Presbyterians in theirs.

From the very first the freer and simpler polity was at a disadvantage. Thus the New England churches, relatively wealthy and ready to contribute, were remote from the Western Reserve, so far indeed that men willing to enter this howling wilderness to endure toil and deprivation were exceedingly hard to find; whereas Pennsylvania Presbyterians dwelt in close proximity to the scene of operations and possessed missionary timber in plenty. So presently it had come to pass that while the money was poured out

from Yankee purses, the ministers were poured in by the other parties to the contract. And this queer process continued through all the critical formative period of the settlements. Still further, no arrangements had been made for the organization of any ecclesiastical bodies. The evidence is conclusive that it was taken for granted that both presbyteries and associations would be formed and maintain the closest fraternity and fellowship. But here again the law of proximity was regnant. Just over an invisible line among the Pennamites presbyteries were already in operation, both able and willing to extend their bounds indefinitely to the westward to take in all who might wish to join. Hence the absurd and vicious fashion was easily fixed, which also prevailed for a full generation, for both churches and clergymen of bluest Yankee blood to seek "shelter" and affiliation in Presbyterian folds. Yes, and to indulge in divers practices to match by electing ruling elders and a standing committee to bear sway over the saints. The heresy was prevalent in those days that only by such safeguards and discipline could Christian faith and practice be maintained in any regions over-far from Plymouth Rock. Little by little Congregational ways of doing things, at least everywhere outside the realm of the local church, began to be regarded as uncalled for, illegitimate, deserving even to be rebuked as a form of trespass. In 1805, three Congregational ministers and six Congregational churches were joined in the "Ecclesiastical Convention of New Connecticut," but the men soon left the field and had no successors, so that the organization perished, as also did the Muskingum Association formed in the Marietta region in 1809. Next, in 1812, by a company of ministers and laymen an attempt was made to

organize an association, but so keen were the scruples of the single Presbyterian present, and so persistent was his pleading, "that at last something was shaped to which was affixed the name, 'The Consociated Presbytery of New Connecticut.'" Well might the Synod of Pittsburg refuse "to recognize such a thing." But out of it came the Presbytery of Grand River, which was subsequently divided and sub-divided until the entire Reserve was covered; and from thenceforward more and more it became the high privilege, yea, the bounden duty, of all Congregational ministers and churches to eschew associations and be obedient to all rules and regulations of presbytery, including sending delegates to meetings thereof, the records also to be presented for rectification, suffering that body to install and dismiss pastors, paying annual assessments to the General Assembly, and content to be reported to that judicature as Presbyterian!*

Such was the situation in the thirties when Oberlin appeared upon the scene. Mr. Shipherd had been pastor of a Plan of Union church, Mahan and Finney were of Presbyterian antecedents, though the latter had recently become a Congregationalist, while Professor Henry Cowles, though preferring the Pilgrim polity, was not in the least antagonistic to the Plan. No sooner was the Oberlin church organized than, as a matter of course, admission to the presbytery was sought. For several years there was no thought of meddling in the least with the ecclesiastical status.

* The absurdity of the situation is brought to the borders of the exquisite by the fact that in the eleven counties of the Reserve to 147 Congregational churches there were but 25 which were Presbyterian, or the proportion of six to one. In three counties not a Presbyterian church was to be found, in four counties but one each, while in another there were but two, to seventeen which were Congregational!

And yet a variety of influences soon began to co-operate to carry this community thoroughly over to ideas and practices which were purely Congregational. The transition was made in part from choice and in part also from necessity. The colonists, the faculty, and the students, were almost wholly of New England birth or descent, and hence were accustomed to self-rule and in love with the largest possible measures of religious liberty. They came to Ohio, however, not as the propagandists of any ism, but to extend the Kingdom of God. Nevertheless, such was their spiritual and intellectual temper, and such the times into which they were cast, that a few months were sufficient to make it clear that whatever it might have been, the Plan of Union was no longer a help to Zion, but instead a serious hindrance to its progress. Not a few belonging to both parties to the compromise had reached the same conclusion. Presbyterians of a conservative make were persuaded that through the Plan the virus of New School doctrine had entered various synods, with the Western Reserve Synod the worst among them. And in the churches were Congregationalists by the hundred, some of them laymen of influence, who had never relished the juncture of elements so irreconcilable. Their dislike was increased by the Exscinding Act of the General Assembly in 1837, when they found themselves enduring the pains and penalties of ecclesiastical law by being caught in Presbyterian company, and various churches began to endeavor to shun punishment by bringing such unprofitable affiliations to an end. Another feature of the case caused much trouble to sensitive consciences. By belonging to presbyteries, which belonged to synods, which belonged to the General Assembly,

which wickedly winked at the sin of slavery, both the local church and each of its members became sharers in the dreadful guilt. Prompted by these and other motives, renewed attempts began to be made to form bodies after the Congregational pattern.

As early as 1831 traces appear of movements looking in this direction. In 1834 one Tassey formed at Williamsfield The Independent Congregational Union of the Western Reserve, and at one meeting ten churches were represented. In the summer of 1835, a convention was called at Hudson "to consider the subject of a change in ecclesiastical institutions." Though it was "deemed inexpedient to take measures at this time for altering the present system of church government," the year following, at Oberlin, was organized The General Association of the Western Reserve, with nineteen churches and seventeen ministers cooperating, which number was nearly doubled at later sessions. As indicating the general and overwhelming tendencies of the times this fact is significant; within a few years, and mainly in the thirties, no less than ten attempts were made, in Ohio alone, to break loose from the irksome conditions imposed by the Plan. Among them Lorain Association may be named, which may not improperly be considered an Oberlin creation, whose aim and end were to license and ordain the students of the theological seminary, who by almost any other body within reach were well-nigh certain to be rejected. But in most cases there is slight reason to suppose that Oberlin influence was felt to any considerable extent. The denomination was just beginning to come to consciousness and an apprehension of its high mission for the country and the world. In the same decade organizations sprang

up in New York and Michigan, and in the next decade in Wisconsin and Illinois and Iowa.

In order to bring the Congregational churches together under the democratic, simple, New Testament polity, which for two centuries in New England had abundantly proved its excellence and adequacy, some prominent unifying force was needed, some recognized center about which they might gather. Hitherto they had dwelt apart, had never met face to face, but were strangers. Oberlin therefore appeared in the very nick of time, and at least for a season fairly well supplied the need for the Western Reserve, which was the stronghold of the denomination in the State. Though a large majority never joined the Association, its proportions far exceeded those of any other body, and its sessions were full of inspiration and quickening. It was most unfortunate for this movement that Oberlin so soon fell into disrepute with its neighbors, for no small part of the odium excited towards the community and college fell upon the polity which they represented. But the worst of the evils which now ensued may fairly be charged to the strange combination of exciting questions which marked the period. It seems a calamity that Oberlin was located so near to Hudson, that a theological department was opened in both institutions almost at the same time, and that both elected the same theological teacher. It easily wore the look of a serious offence when large companies of students making their exodus from Lane and Hudson (both Plan of Union institutions) after a serious falling out with faculty and trustees, were received into good standing by Oberlin. Moreover, it was now that anti-slavery agitation began to wax hot and to divide churches. Still further, Mr. Finney was a revivalist

and many disliked his measures. Yes, and sanctification was taught and practiced upon the colonial tract,* not to name divers other hobbies which there had their habitat. Forsooth, this was that Oberlin which stood forth as an advocate of Congregationalism. It is by no means strange that the friends of the Plan should lay all this to the charge of the polity, and with all earnestness should urge that the path of decorum and of safety could be held only by continuing in presbytery. Thus it came to pass that for a decade or two Oberlin appeared to be a very troubler of Israel, a force which made confusion worse confounded. Instead of being a bond of union among the churches, she was often the occasion, and in some cases, not all Oberlin men being wholly wise and saintly, a cause even of alienation and separation. As showing that this community was not, as many held, the main cause of the trouble, in neighborhoods where its influence was not felt much, if any, and even before Mr. Shipherd's enterprise was conceived, it frequently happened that churches adopted and abandoned, re-adopted and reabandoned the use of ruling elders and standing committees, and once and again would vote to join presbytery and then to leave, with every attempt to change leading to debate and bad feeling. A few which joined the Association withdrew as the outcry increased, and a much larger number declined to enter into a fellowship of such dubious character. Many adhered to presbytery from wont if not from preference; but scores, breaking off their connection with such bodies, for years stood aloof from all ecclesi-

* It is to be remembered that just then a great horror was abroad as touching an antinomian perfection such as J. R. Noyes embraced and developed to its odious end in the Oneida Community.

astica. relations in the unprofitable and perilous isolation of bald Independency, as though liberty, the absence of all possibility of domination, was the *summum bonum*. Let this list of names adopted by local bodies suggest the almost frenzy of fear which prevailed: Free Congregational, Union Congregational, Orthodox Congregational, Evangelical Congregational, Presbyterian Congregational, Free Presbyterian, Independent Presbyterian, etc.*

Of a truth, there had been grievances in plenty which it was not in Pilgrim blood and bone to brook. While it was an easy thing to *enter* presbytery, it was found to be a serious business to undertake to depart. For the former step a mere majority vote would suffice, but the ruling was made that for the latter nothing less than a unanimous request would answer. A mere handful remaining would be recognized and supported as the church. Of course against such rank tyranny protest would be made, with the result seen in two warring bodies in the same locality. Frequent cases of this kind occurred. The number of churches slain thus was fearfully large, but the number was much larger of such as survived sorely wounded, badly scarred, and crippled for life. It is difficult indeed to see how in the absence of the Plan evils half so many or great could have befallen. And it was into such an unpromising ecclesiastical environment that Oberlin was born. Nor was it many years before numerous Presbyterians and Congregationalists also began to take

* A curious relic of the famous Plan is seen in the Kinsman Church, which is Congregational-Presbyterian in name, for sixty years Presbyterian in sympathy and association, and holding valuable property whose title would be vitiated if the name were changed, or if the brethren should proceed to "perfect their organization" in obedience to the mandate of the General Assembly.

the position that Mr. Finney and his associates were so peculiar and Ishmaelitish that they should be excluded from fellowship and treated as another denomination. For substance the example of Huron Presbytery was followed, within whose territorial limits Oberlin stood, which in 1841 resolved that no Oberlinite can "consistently call himself a Presbyterian, or Congregationalist of the New England stamp," and it is "inexpedient for the churches to employ ministers known to entertain such sentiments!" Under this hot fire of denunciation, Oberlin men on the whole kept cool and carried themselves discreetly, were content to bide their time, and if cast out, steadfastly refused to set up for themselves. Congregationalists to the manner born, they stood resolutely for their rights as such, though not over anxious or pleading much for recognition. And, fortunately, after ten or fifteen years the Christian public began to come to a better mind. This nest of heretics was discovered not to be so very heretical after all. Their radical ideas brought forth no such evil fruits in character and life as had been expected, while the men of influence in the community had proved themselves to be wholly worthy of confidence and esteem, yes, of affection and admiration. Oberlin had learned something and had been chastened, but, much more, she had been in advance of her neighbors, and now they were coming up shoulder to shoulder with her. By June of 1852, she had been heartily received as orthodox by the Ohio State Association, in September of the same year the Albany Convention gave a similar recognition, while, by 1871, the National Council was glad to hold its first triennial session hard by the Historic Elm, and counted it a privilege to sit at the feet of the great evangelist.

After this somewhat lengthy introduction, or digression, we may take up briefly the recitation of Oberlin's part in the development of Congregationalism, and its spread north, south, east and west in Ohio not only, but from the lakes to the Gulf, from ocean to ocean. This influence has been quite phenomenal both for variety and extent. And first of all it was exerted against the Plan of Union which stood, a great barrier, effectually blocking the way to better ecclesiastical conditions. It was under the impulse of no sectarian spirit, nor did it originate in any hostility to Presbyterianism. The thought was, let there be no more attempts to mingle elements which are mutually repellent. Let the two systems exist side by side, each doing its work in its own way, and both endeavoring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. Let the rule be purely democratic, or else aristocratic. For Congregational churches to be swayed by presbyteries is to be unequally yoked together, is to provoke trouble. Therefore Oberlin encouraged and counseled adherence to the simpler and freer polity, both in the local church and in the fellowship of the churches; welcomed the General Association of the Western Reserve, and others, affiliated with the Lorain Association, and rejoiced exceedingly when agitation began for a state organization.

Oberlin from the first possessed abundantly the Congregational spirit, temper, genius, loved it, and lived it, was never disloyal to it, and diffused it far and wide. No formal propagandism was instituted. The name was seldom pronounced or thought of, but the thing itself was omnipresent, and pervaded the atmosphere. Liberty, equality, fraternity,—there was no sinning against these fundamental principles. De-

mocracy was realized, the idea and conviction, not, "I am as good as you," and so am to have my way and prosper at your cost if need be; but this instead, "You are as good as I"; that is, your welfare and moral judgments shall be held sacred like my own. No caste distinctions have been recognized. Black and white, male and female, rich and poor, have always met on the common plane of redeemed humanity. All stand on a level, but it is one resulting from a marvelous process of leveling up. As for liberty, freedom of the will has been mightily emphasized, both as a theory and a practice. Muzzles have never been popular. Investigation has been encouraged to the utmost. *Audi alteram partem*. Let us have free discussion of every weighty theme. Let every man speak his bottom thought. A sublime confidence has been reposed in the self-evidencing power of truth, while, if only the light was poured upon them, there has been no fear of error and falsehood. No over-cautious binding of theological teachers has been in vogue, but good sense and an enlightened conscience have been relied on. Humanity when redeemed and wrought upon by the Spirit of God can be trusted, and must not be harshly dealt with. Hunting of heresy has never been in the least popular in these parts. That is to say, from the first Oberlin has stood for catholicity of sentiment and sympathy. Only let one possess the spirit of Christ, and manifestly be engaged doing his work, and it sufficed. The creed of the Oberlin church, as also that of the Western Reserve Association, was expressly designed to minify the differences between Calvinism and Arminianism, and to bring together all true followers of the Lord. And this creed dates from 1836, almost *thirty years before* at Boston the denomination

undertook the same task, which was completed at the Oberlin council and in the creed of 1883.

As for Oberlin's influence upon the theology of the denomination a few sentences must suffice, though the service performed in this direction was by no means slight. The foundations were laid upon the colonial tract not far from the beginning of the great debate between Taylor and Tyler in New England, which resulted in a division of the theologians into Old School and New School. Before his coming Mr. Finney had heartily accepted the system denoted by the latter phrase, and found Mahan, Cowles, and all the rest, to be like-minded with himself in this particular. From thenceforward in the pulpit and in the seminary class rooms the more reasonable and more practicable conceptions of divine grace were urged with the utmost of energy and enthusiasm. - The will was free, the sinner was able to repent, divine sovereignty and election stood in the way of no man's salvation, sin and consequent guilt were close-joined with full ability to make holy choices. Not much was cared for theories merely as such, but conduct and character were all in all. The well-being of humanity was most precious. Sinners were lost, were in deadly peril and must be aroused. And in part, at least, New School doctrines were popular because found to be efficacious in bringing men to repentance and leading them out into a life of consecration and whole-hearted service. But there is a theology which is peculiarly Oberlin in origin, having been wrought out by thinkers connected with the Institution. The simplicity of moral action may be named as among the more famous doctrines. But whether in the sense of advocating with earnestness and skill the New School conceptions of things

divine, or with this narrower meaning in mind, the belief of the churches is far from what it would have been if this community had never existed. Theology is more liberal, more rational, more practical, more nearly allied to everyday life, because of what Oberlin men have spoken and written. Or, there has been great theological progress during the last sixty years, and Oberlin has performed an important part in moving the wheels.

But further, from the same source the denomination has received a continual and most valuable accession of spiritual force. At the outset and all along, faculty, students, and colonists were nothing if not dead in earnest, swayed by mighty convictions, full of faith and courage, love and burning zeal. And they were not dreamers, but doers, every one. Here was aggressive energy almost in over-abundance. The general feeling was, The world is very evil, the emergency is tremendous, something must be undertaken at once, and woe is me if I fail to play my part. Let us cry out against unrighteousness, buckle on the armor, and set the battle in array. Let us minister to the needy of every class. The Oberlin ideal has been a lofty one, nor has there been any lack of readiness to endure hardness without much thought of reward. The first generation was attended with frequent and sweeping revivals. The missionary spirit took possession of the multitude. The deepest sympathy was excited towards the despised and neglected classes and races, the Indian, the negro in the North and South. What was inaugurated here for the benefit of "the misjudged and neglected sex" by furnishing educational facilities is to be taken as a part of the same beneficent, humanitarian movement. Give women also a chance to find

and to fill their sphere. At this point Oberlin was a pioneer, and she bore the brunt of the long and hard-fought battle for coeducation, an idea which since has gained such widespread popularity. And that our churches to-day are so spiritual, so active and aggressive, so prominent in reform, in benevolence, and in efforts for the world's evangelization, is to be explained in some considerable decree by recalling the fact that in Northern Ohio was planted more than a half-century since a community with an institution of learning, where, on an unmatched scale, such gospel qualities were imparted to a great host. No single, definite factor can be named which contributed more to produce such blessed results to our Israel. At any rate, what Oberlin so sturdily stood for has been gloriously maintained and diffused far and wide. Of course in it all it was only the divine Spirit operating through such instrumentalities as had here been providentially gathered.

To the foregoing specifications may be added another, which if less important because much narrower in its scope, is also in some respects more satisfactory because more definite. In Oberlin itself, in both the village and the surrounding region, for some reason Congregationalism is pervasive, omnipresent, regnant, irresistible. Upon the nine square miles which Mr. Shipherd secured for his experiment are found some 6000 inhabitants and eight church organizations. Of the latter two are in ecclesiastical affinity with the institution, and of these either one has a larger membership than the entire six non-Congregational bodies combined. The two together also include *about one third* of the population. The First Church reports 1300 communicants, making it the fourth for size in the

denomination, and the Second reports 877. Even if the student contingent and the absentees be omitted, what community of this size can offer a phenomenon to match? In the Sabbath congregations it is nothing unusual to see 3000 gathered. But, one might suggest, the presence of the large institution explains all this. Well, then, consider a somewhat kindred fact. A section of the Western Reserve may be defined some thirty miles by fifty in extent, with Oberlin as the geographical center, covering two entire counties and large portions of three others, whose limits contain forty Congregational churches, while Presbyterian churches are conspicuous *by their entire absence*. At one time or another a few have been organized, but after a season of struggle have uniformly ceased to be, and not in the least from any opposition, but from mere lack of support. This, too, is a record wholly worthy to be compared with the most favored sections of New England.

The statements presented in the preceding paragraphs may appear to be of uncertain value because so general and indefinite, and their significance may be greatly increased if the point of view be changed somewhat and the question be considered, What instrumentalities has Oberlin fashioned and wielded which wrought upon the denomination at large to mold it in any perceptible degree? Considered merely as a college where a few hundred men have been carefully trained in science and the classics and so fitted for eminence in the various professions and in public life, of course both in the East and West a number of institutions may lay claim to the performance of similar service. But it must not be forgotten that Oberlin is in truth a university. With the college is joined an

academy, a conservatory of music, and a theological seminary, each one of which, while greatly increasing the sum total of effect, has wielded an influence all its own. Then in a sense quite peculiar this has always been a school for the people, the masses, and one to which from the first days multitudes have been attracted. From 1,000 to 1,500 have been upon the ground every year, drinking in the manifold good things offered to mind, heart, and conscience. A large proportion came from regions where Congregationalism was wholly unknown. They came, they saw, they wondered, they were delighted. The spirit everywhere diffused took full possession and swayed them for life. Men and women studied together with equal benefit to both. Whites and blacks met upon a level, and accursed prejudice died the death. The glory and blessedness of self-denying service to humankind were held up so constantly, and illustrated by so many shining examples, that multitudes were constrained, each in his chosen calling or his allotted sphere, to adopt the Oberlin program, to exemplify the Oberlin spirit, and that whether in thousands of Christian homes, in the instructor's chair, or in professional and business life. It is beyond doubt that the bulk of the 30,000 more or less of students who here have taken at least a partial course have become Congregationalist, in principles and aims if not by actual membership. In North and South, in the cities or upon the frontier, or wherever their lot was cast, if they did not actually found and foster churches of our order, and help directly to build all manner of institutions which represented our activity, at least indirectly they have rendered exceedingly valuable service.

But Oberlin has made a specialty of raising up a

company of teachers and ministers devoted and intellectually well equipped. During the fifties it was an annual occurrence for more than a half-thousand students to go out in all directions to teach in the public schools through the months of the long winter vacation. As far back as 1881, twelve college presidents had been educated here, with one hundred and fifty professors and other instructors. Not a few were themselves founders of academies and schools of higher grade. Of course these were located largely in the Mississippi Valley and beyond, when settlers were pouring in and the foundations were being laid. Churches, too, of the Pilgrim order, were springing into life by the hundred, and were certain to receive substantial encouragement from these earnest men and women. Hundreds of teachers have wrought for a generation among the freedmen and the mountain whites, and as well in the field of foreign missions. Oberlin ministers past and present constitute a force of not much less than eight hundred, not lacking in intellectual equipment, but averaging high for energy, wisdom, and general usefulness. These also have largely found their work-field in the newer States, and thus have been engaged in the most important task of founding and building for the Kingdom. Writing, in 1863, Professor Henry Cowles could assert: "The Oberlin theological alumni have stood up, a noble phalanx, for the polity of the New Testament and the Pilgrims. Out of two hundred it would not be easy to find one who has swerved from these good old paths." Nor is there any reason to suppose that an investigation made to-day would bring a different result to light. They have heartily believed in the liberty wherewith Christ makes free, they have believed in church government by the people, and

therefore have used their influence to organize Congregational churches and to bind these together in ecclesiastical bodies of the same stamp. It certainly means something for the denomination that the Western Reserve, the chiefest Congregational stronghold outside of New England, for six decades has found its pastors and pulpit supplies so largely in Oberlin seminary, while the entire state and Southern Michigan have extensively sought assistance from the same source. The colleges in Olivet, Benzonia, and Tabor are the creation of Oberlin ministers and laymen, and thrice as many more owe much of their strength to the same class. The churches, schools, and colleges of the American Missionary Association owe far more to Oberlin than to any other institution, while not far from two hundred and fifty trained in this community are or have been serving the Master in heathen lands.

A few names may well be singled out from many to reinforce what has already been suggested. Three presidents, Mahan, Finney, and Fairchild, each in his own way, were men of mark and men of power who impressed their ideas and convictions profoundly upon thousands of young men and women, and made themselves felt to the utmost limits of the denomination. After them come such professors as Henry Cowles, Thome, and Hudson; Whipple and Strieby, also, who so long represented the denomination in its work in behalf of the freedman. With character and life, with tongue and pen, these performed distinguished service in their day and generation. Of course, Mr. Finney was king among these, and his influence took a much broader sweep, extending throughout the land and even to the bounds of Christendom. This almost peerless evan-

gelist, Oberlin's greatest representative, trumpeted New School theology, called sinners to repentance, and saints to a higher type of religious life, in the Old World as well as in the New, and for the better part of a half-century. But perhaps his mightiest work was performed through his books, at least was made more lasting. His "Autobiography," his "Lectures upon Revivals," and upon "Theology," sold almost literally by the million and are yet in great demand. Here was a veritable intellectual and spiritual genius, taking rank among the most potent religious forces abroad in the land during the century.

And, finally, among Oberlin's potentialities must be named the *Evangelist*, a semi-monthly journal, intensely Christian in every column and paragraph, and as thoroughly Congregational first, last, and all the time, though always liberal, catholic, and fraternal in spirit; which for nearly a quarter of a century made its visits to thousands of homes in the East and the West and fed a multitude of hungry souls. And its magnificent work was performed in the dark days of conflict (1839-63), and when the denomination was coming to consciousness and girding itself for the accomplishment of its mission. Oberlin ideas and practices were explained and defended, and here Oberlin's calumniators received their just deserts. The evil working of the Plan of Union was portrayed, and the more excellent Congregational way was recommended for adoption. For years it had no competitor in the field of religious journalism west of the Alleghanies. Though various other men in the faculty rendered important assistance by sermons, lectures, etc., supplied, yet after all the *Evangelist* is to be considered as essentially the achievement of one man, the saintly

Henry Cowles. Upon it he expended his best thought and emotion. Into it he poured lavishly his heart and his life; and all under a continual burden of embarrassment and discouragement, and with the most meager pecuniary return. These three-and-twenty volumes constitute the great work of his useful life. Though his "Commentaries upon the Bible" are excellent and useful, yet the *Evangelist* is the monument fashioned and reared by his own hand which will render his name most enduring.

These few paragraphs must suffice for the outline of a narrative which might well be expanded to a volume. But certainly enough has been suggested to demonstrate the fact that no other community of similar size, and no other institution of learning, has performed a service for the denomination so considerable either for variety or extent. As a shaping and inspiring force Oberlin is unapproached among the churches of the Western Reserve, and since the advent of the fifties at least has impressed itself profoundly upon the churches of the State at large as well as the region contiguous. New England, too, has been leavened not a little by its practical theology and its passion for religious activity and reform. But the entire Great West stretching from the Alleghanies to the Pacific, which has come into existence since the idea of the colony-college was conceived, has been the divinely appointed field for the expenditure of its energies, with the South added since slavery perished. Great is the marvel that within a generation or two Congregationalism has had a far greater development and expansion than during a century or two preceding. And whoso would explain this significant phenomenon must not fail to make large account of the ideas and convictions,

the spirit and life, whose origin was connected with the momentous experiment of that humble Elyria pastor, and whose unfolding was through the men he began to gather in the little clearing in Northern Ohio.

CHAPTER XIV

OBERLIN AND MUSIC

AS at so many points, so here also Oberlin was most fortunate in the time of its birth. It was in a day of general quickening. The march of material progress was nothing less than marvelous on every side. Never before had revivals of religion been so numerous or so mighty to turn men from sin and incite them to righteous conduct, and as always happens when the soul is aroused, only through the lavish use of psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs could the deep emotions find adequate expression. Moreover, during the same period a great musical revival was sweeping over the land. The days of darkness had been long and dreary, but as the twenties advanced various tokens appeared that the dawn was not far distant. As in the literary so in the musical realm a group of reformers began their work, with these among the most eminent : Lowell Mason, Thomas Hastings, Nathaniel D. Gould, George J. Webb, T. B. Mason, and William B. Bradbury. By such men as these new methods of instruction were introduced, notably the Pestalozzian, and the task of teaching was undertaken in the public schools and in singing schools, by conventions, societies, etc. The founding of the Boston Academy of Music in 1833 was a notable event. In eastern Massachusetts Mr. Gould taught the first class of



PETERS HALL.

children to sing by note in 1824; in 1827 Mason entered on a long and distinguished career as composer and instructor in Boston, while in 1832 Hastings began a similar life-calling in New York City. Books also were greatly multiplied, of a kind far superior to any which had preceded, like *Templi Carmina*, *Carmina Sacra*, *Musica Sacra*, Boston Handel and Haydn Society's Collection, Manhattan Collection, etc. Through the rapid emigration then in progress the new musical culture was not long in penetrating the Great West. Dr. Lyman Beecher in 1832 had taken up his residence in Cincinnati as President of Lane Seminary. In Boston Mason had been his organist and chorister, and the music had been accounted the best in the country. But the churches in the Mississippi Valley in this particular were found in a wretched case, being destitute alike of books, instruments, taste, and knowledge. At once he raised a cry for help, and in a year or two T. B. Mason, a brother of Lowell, had crossed the Alleghanies in response; and presently had succeeded in banishing the "buckwheat notes," had trained a goodly company of singers, had introduced various instruments, both wind and stringed, and by 1837, mainly by his efforts, seconded by those of Mr. Beecher, the first pipe organ ever heard in the West had been set up in the Second Presbyterian Church. For the better part of a generation he continued to do for all the region around about just what his brother and Mr. Hastings were doing upon the Atlantic seaboard.

In all their planning for their colony and college the founders of Oberlin do not seem to have given any special thought to music as an efficient handmaid to the Gospel, though without knowing it when they put

coeducation into their plan it was made easily possible to have an abundance of melody and harmony of the highest quality, especially in all religious services. The first year no attempt was made to provide instruction for the students. But, fortunately, among the early settlers were quite a number from New Hampshire, a state which sustained a large and vigorous musical society, and from the neighborhood of Dartmouth, which, through its flourishing Handel and Haydn Society, was an important center for musical training. Deacon Turner was one of these, and during the early months he led the singing with acceptance in the worship of the Lord's day. Mr. Finney could make melody with instrument and voice, and had taught singing in his early manhood. President Mahan informs us that he came to Oberlin "determined that under the best and most spiritually-minded teacher that could be found sacred music should be carried to its highest perfection, so that all our social gatherings, our public worship, our daily religious services, should constantly be under the most deeply spiritual influence." Therefore, as we might expect, when these men arrived in 1835, with Morgan and Cowles, who also held music in high esteem, a marked increase of emphasis was put upon the service of song. The catalogue of that year names among the faculty "Rev. E. P. Ingersoll, Professor of Sacred Music." This was done during the few months when, through the munificent promises of her New York patrons, Oberlin cherished great but most deceitful expectations of soon possessing all needed buildings and endowment. Next year, however, and doubtless because of poverty and the dire necessity of retrenchment, a blank occupies the space which Mr. Ingersoll's name had filled, though,

as if in assured hope of better days at hand, a few pages further on the public is informed that "particular attention will be paid to the cultivation of Sacred Music," a promise which to this day has never been broken. After an interval of two years another name appears, that of one who is to be held in high honor as Oberlin's musical apostle. For doubtless it was George N. Allen who sowed the seed from which all the precious and bountiful harvests of sixty years have been produced. He had been a pupil of Mason in Boston, and early mastered the violin, the instrument which forever after remained almost an integral part of his existence. Like so many others at the time, attracted by the genius of Dr. Beecher, young Allen set forth for Lane Seminary, but staging it through northern Ohio he halted in Hudson merely to pass the Sabbath. Before Monday arrived, however, won by his genial qualities and by his musical genius, both students and teachers urged him to remain and complete his preparation for a theological course. This he finally concluded to do, though a few months later, finding the ruling sentiment in Hudson far too conservative on the subject of slavery, as quite a company of other students had recently been doing, he took his departure for Oberlin, where he also graduated in 1838. The year before, however, he had been appointed "Teacher of Sacred Music," which title was continued until changed to "Professor," 1841-2, and remained thus down to 1864, with "and Principal of the Preparatory Department" added, 1842-7, or "Professor of Natural History," 1847-63, with "and Geology" added 1864-70. Thus for more than a quarter of a century Mr. Allen was to the entire community, both old and young, to thousands of students also, musical

leader, instructor, and chief source of inspiration. His skill, enthusiasm, and devotion in the performance of his duties, must be reckoned among the most important spiritual forces which wrought together to mold the formative period of Oberlin's life.

His task was manifold and most laborious. For some years his salary was but \$200, and he was obliged to eke out a living by giving private lessons and teaching singing schools, especially during the long winter vacations. These hints from the catalogue will tell something of the character and scope of his calling. In 1839-40, "Instruction in sacred music is free to all. Not far from one hundred have attended the regular classes in this department." A twelvemonth later, "Not far from two hundred and fifty have received instruction in this department the last year." In 1841-2, "During the past year an increased attention has been paid to the study of sacred music. Systematic instruction has been given to upwards of four hundred pupils, including a large class composed of young children of the citizens of the village." In the *Evangelist* of September 1, 1841, this item appears in connection with commencement: "Immediately after the exercises in the tent was a juvenile concert in the chapel. The juvenile choir is made up of the children between four and fourteen years of age, collected promiscuously from the families of the citizens here. They have been under the tuition of Bro. G. N. Allen, and Miss Susan D. Allen, for the summer. . . . In the evening a concert of sacred music was given by the Oberlin choir, who had also assisted at the commencement exercises." Five years later in the same paper mention is made of a commencement concert "performed chiefly by members of Professor Allen's family.

The pieces were in part secular, but interesting for power and beauty of description, and valuable for their social and moral bearings." From 1842 onward the announcement is made regularly that "Systematic and thorough instruction in music is given to all who wish it. A large portion of the members of the Institution are attending to this branch of study." It is noteworthy that the term "sacred" used down to this date is from henceforth omitted, indicating that music is no longer prized only for its religious uses. In 1849-50 another departure is brought to light by the addition of this sentence: "Instruction in instrumental music can also be had at moderate charges," with this clause presently inserted, "by competent teachers." No instrument is named, however, until 1853-4, when this enlarged announcement is made: "Although instruction in instrumental music forms no part of the course of the Institution, yet ample facilities are here afforded, with extra charge to those who wish such instruction. Special pains have been taken during the past year to provide suitable instruments for practice, and to procure thoroughly competent teachers, while at the same time the terms are as moderate as can possibly be afforded. For the pianoforte the terms are eight dollars a quarter for tuition, and the usual additional charges for the use of instruments." This notice is repeated for substance till 1865-6, except that the terms increase soon to ten and finally to twelve dollars.

These are some of the indications of the steady progress in musical culture made in Oberlin during the first thirty years. And it is next to impossible for this generation to appreciate at all the multitudinous embarrassments under which this pioneer "Professor of

Sacred Music" labored. Those were the days of primitive conditions throughout, and of general lack of financial ability. He was compelled to build from the foundation, and largely to manufacture the material to be used in the structure. Thus when among other duties the leadership of the large church choir was imposed upon him, save his beloved violin, of instruments there were next to none. Therefore an orchestra of six or eight performers must needs be collected and trained, as well as supplied with wind and stringed instruments. A double bass viol was brought into being by the mechanical skill of a young Scotchman in the theological seminary. "When it seemed impossible to procure a sufficient number of copies of a piece of music to supply the large choir, Professor Allen procured dies and stamped the music on blocks of cherry wood, from which he printed the required number, and then held the stereotype plates in reserve for future use." Nor does he seem to have found full sympathy for his enlarged views of the value and office of music in an educational course, or in the life of a community. While there is no evidence that the "ungodly fiddle" was ever an object of prejudice when employed in the sanctuary, the piano was objected to in early times. In 1840 the college trustees, in part at least because of their lack of love for secular music, resolved "That it is not expedient to introduce piano music as a branch of instruction." In 1841 we find the authorities in correspondence with the agent of a firm engaged in the manufacture of the seraphina, a rude progenitor of the modern cabinet organ, which is highly recommended because it will not "vitate the mind and unfit it for devotion, like the pianoforte. Not because the piano is not as sweet in its tones, but because it is not

well calculated for slow and devotional music, and will not in such or in any other tunes sustain a full harmony of sound." The next year this record is made; "It is the sense of the trustees that the style of sacred music taught be in accord with what is understood to be the style of the Manhattan Collection, or of Thomas Hastings." President Mahan is understood to have inspired this action, while Professor Allen is known to have preferred the style of Mr. Mason. The first piano was introduced into Oberlin by N. P. Fletcher, one of the early colonists, in 1841, to be sold later to Dr. Steele, thus helping to start George Steele in his musical career, of which we shall hear further on. The second piano was purchased the year following by Mr. Allen, and found a lodgment upon the third floor of Oberlin Hall. Several others were procured by him in later years as the demand for instruction steadily increased, as well as an excellent class of teachers. From the same source came Music Hall in 1842, secured by uniting the interests of the choir and literary societies of the college. This structure, of wood and in one story, stood nearly upon the site of Baldwin Cottage, and supplied an audience-room together with a piano-room shut off by sliding doors. It was not until early in 1855 that Oberlin rejoiced in the advent of the first pipe organ, when one was set up in the church, twenty-two long years after the beginning of things upon the colonial tract. Concerts and musical conventions came in occasionally during those early times to kindle enthusiasm and afford opportunity for special practice, sometimes under the management of such masters as Mason and Hastings. The latter is said to have expressed the opinion that Oberlin had "without question the best choir and the most perfect

sacred music in the United States." * This choir was divided when the Second Church was formed in 1860, but not many years elapsed before the two began to come together to practise regularly as the Musical Union, an organization of the greatest value, and which since has risen to deserved fame.

During the first generation, as we have seen, it was sacred music which held the place of honor, and found in the religious services its chiefest field, especially in the sanctuary, upon the Sabbath, with the great chorus choir to lead. It is narrated that though the preaching of the first president and the great evangelist were often mighty to stimulate and impress, the music was sometimes simply overwhelming, whether in the Big Tent, or in the first days in the brick church; and especially when Mr. Finney would pause in the midst of an impassioned appeal and call upon the choir to sing some hymn in keeping with the theme. An auditor of those famous times still survives who retains vivid memories of the effect produced when his penetrating tenor voice could be distinctly heard above the chorus as these solemn lines were sung to music set in the minor key:

"Dark brood the heavens o'er thee; Black clouds are gathering fast.

"When the harvest is past and the summer is gone,"
And sermons and prayers shall be o'er;

"O, there will be mourning, Before the judgment seat,
When this world is burning Beneath Jehovah's feet!"

The office of the choir was identical with that of the preacher, that is, to bring home the gospel of salvation with transforming power to the hearts and consciences of sinner and saint. No trifling was tolerated in the

* Mahan, Autobiography, p. 262.

singers' seats either on the Lord's day or during the rehearsal hour. The choir was liable to be publicly prayed for, and exhorted, and, if need be, rebuked, while meetings for practice were always opened with prayer and sometimes closed in the same way; nor was it a thing unknown to give the entire hour to fervid supplication. Mr. Finney religiously believed that the tune was for the sake of the hymn and not *vice versa*, and President Fairchild is authority for the statement that once when the great choir and great organ had produced much noise with but a minimum of aid to devotion, he innocently proceeded to pray as follows: "O Lord, we trust that thou hast understood the song which we have been trying to sing; but thou knowest that we could not understand a word of it." As far back as 1841 the choir was incorporated so as to become a legal custodian of property, and began to collect a musical library. When concerts were given with an admission fee, the proceeds went for the furtherance of some public object. It was in this way that the first organ mentioned above was mostly paid for.

What was probably the most important part of Professor Allen's varied and eminent service to Oberlin remains to be mentioned. He was a source of greatest benefit to multitudes through his voice, his violin and his Christian character, but he was also a maker of books which for years together helped to mold the lives of thousands. In those primitive times collections of hymns were for the most part too bulky and expensive for the everyday needs of this devout community, and so at an early date he set himself to the task of producing a pocket edition which every one who would might own and carry in readiness for all

occasions. In 1844 appeared from the press of the *Oberlin Evangelist* The Social and Sabbath School Hymn Book, containing 220 hymns upon 178 pages, in a diminutive compass of 3x4 inches. The bulk of the contents is composed of religious lyrics still in use in the churches, though a score or two represent a musical and poetic taste which fortunately has passed wholly away. Thus few of the twelve hymns relating to the sad case of the "bondmen" would pass muster nowadays as at all fit to sing, though fifty years ago the bare theme was amply sufficient to make the worst of them more than tolerable. These are a few of the titles: "To the Rescue," "Break Every Yoke," "Shall We Be Slaves," "The Dying Slaves," "The Slave Mother," "The Little Blind Boy." Two stanzas from the last will suggest the lyrical flavor of several. It was to be sung to the air, "Sweet Afton," while others were set to such eminently non-spiritual melodies as "Bonny Doon," "Araby's Daughter," and "Gaily the Troubadour!"

Come back to me, mother ! why linger away
From thy poor little blind boy, the long weary day !
I mark every footstep, I list to each tone,
And wonder my mother should leave me alone !

Poor blind one ! no mother thy wailing can hear,
No mother can hasten to banish thy fear ;
For the slave-owner drives her o'er mountain and wild,
And for one paltry dollar hath sold thee, poor child !

The curse of the broken in spirit shall fall
On the wretch who hath mingled this wormwood and gall,—
And his gain like a mildew shall blight and destroy,
Who hath torn from his mother the little blind boy.

Some wild camp-meeting pieces are recognized as worthy to be voiced in civilized and cultured com-

munities, while after the fashion of the fathers, hymns upon death and the judgment abound, like Moore's:

What 's this that steals,—that steals upon my frame ?
Is it death ?

And this one entitled, "Parting at the Judgment," beginning :

O, there will be mourning, mourning, mourning, mourning :
O, there will be mourning at the judgment-seat of Christ.
Parents and children there will part, will part to meet no more.

This little volume held its place for upwards of forty years, and went through at least seven editions. The name, however, was soon changed and shortened to "Hymns for Social Worship," and the size was increased by hymns set in a supplement. The third edition, 1850, contained a supplement which increased the pages from 167 to 212, and the hymns from 218 to 266, and four years later in the fifth edition the number was raised respectively to 250 and 290. The sixth edition, appearing in 1863, was thoroughly revised and remodeled. The pages now number 239, and the hymns 303, with the exceptionable ones almost wholly omitted, and strangely with only three relating to slavery. The seventh edition, in which no changes appear, followed in 1868. But we are now so far along in the modern era that a mere hymn book no longer meets the wants of worshipers, and music must be combined with words upon each page. And so in 1875 in response to such a demand, "Sacred Songs for Social Worship" appears with 224 pages and 281 hymns. Taking the work of Mr. Allen as the basis, but omitting much and adding much, "committees from the college faculty and the two Congregational churches of this place," wrought with "Prof. F. B. Rice of the Oberlin

Conservatory " to produce what was deemed most desirable for size and quality. Even yet perfection does not appear to have been attained. Rather, a new ideal was set up which made yet another compilation of words and music necessary. Hitherto, in all the Sabbath services and the large religious gatherings of the community such manuals as the Church Psalmist, Christian Psalmist, and Sabbath Hymn and Tune Book had been in exclusive use, while the little volume of Mr. Allen had been kept within the limits of the homes, the Sunday-schools and the various religious exercises of the college. But it was now determined to attempt something which should be at once inexpensive, portable, and also sufficiently comprehensive to answer at all manner of gatherings for devotion. This difficult task was imposed upon Professors Rice and Hiram Mead, who in 1880 sent forth from the press "The Manual of Praise, for Sabbath and Social Worship," which from that day to this has entirely displaced all other books in Oberlin, and has been adopted besides in scores of churches in the region surrounding.* And, finally, seventeen years later we find a committee vigorously at work upon a thorough revision, weeding out what is of inferior value, introducing what is newer and better, and in the best sense bringing everything up to date. Therefore the Christian world owes to Oberlin at least five manuals of praise, or nearly twice as many if all the editions of each one are reckoned, issued by tens of thousands, scattered broadcast throughout the land by the continual coming

* More than 30,000 copies of this work have been sold. It is used extensively throughout Ohio, *e. g.*, in Toledo, Columbus, and one large Presbyterian church in Cleveland, in New York City, Brooklyn, Boston, Andover, Hartford, Oakland, Cal., Hawaiian Islands, China, Africa, etc.

and going of a host of students, and thus for sixty years ministering most effectively to the quickening of spiritual life. So who can estimate the value of the influences organized and set in operation by George N. Allen! Among the builders let not his name be forgotten.

With the incoming of the fifties came the dawn of a new era to Oberlin, and among the rest to its musical life. The railroads had made their advent. Ohio was no longer the frontier with primitive conditions abounding, the country had recovered at length from the dreadful financial paralysis which followed 1837, and hence Oberlin's worst embarrassments were over. The influence of German musicians had begun to be widely felt, and of the Italian opera as well, while in 1850-2 the millions both East and West were thrilled by the vocal performances of Jenny Lind. In 1849 Charles H. Churchill entered the seminary to pursue a course of theological study and became a member of the choir. Ere long, coming across a set of unused pipes, he put them together and added a keyboard, thus becoming fashioner of the first organ Oberlin had ever seen. When Mr. Allen was sick or absent he was chosen to lead and drill the choir. In such work he proved so proficient that it fell to him to make provision for commencement music. The outcome of this attempt is given in this extract from the *Evangelist* of September 1, 1852:

The Oberlin choir gave concerts on both Tuesday and Wednesday evenings, in both which they performed the Oratorio of Absalom to the great delight of crowded houses. This was the first performance of an oratorio in this place. We doubt not many will say, as we must for ourself, that it gave new conceptions of the power of music to do the work of an historical painting. The scenes connected in fact or in im-

agination with the treason, usurpation, and death of Absalom were not only delineated in poetry, but penciled and shaded, or rather whispered, moaned, or thundered as the case might be, by the broad compass of expressive music. It is rare that the plains of the great West have rung to the echoes of music so varied, so chaste, and so charming. But the Genius of musical culture is on her way westward, and we hail her coming.

Mason was here in those days to instruct and drill, and others like E. M. Foote, who assisted at several commencements and once presented the Cantata of Esther. It was now, too, that portions of the Messiah and the Creation began to be heard, whereas hitherto the music had ordinarily been of lesser merit. It was during the passage of the next decade that changes most radical and extensive began to be inaugurated. As we have seen, Mr. Allen retired from his professorship in 1864; this on account of delicate health which demanded a mode of life less stimulating to the nervous system than could be secured in a musical career. And he had trained up a generation of singers and players fully competent to carry forward the work which he had thus far sustained. So, in 1865-6, the names of John P. Morgan and George W. Steele appear in the catalogue as "Instructors in Music," while upon another page is found another name, and a notice, whose significance to the institution and the community nobody at the time in the least degree appreciated. For the "Oberlin Conservatory of Music" stands forth in bold letters, with Morgan as "President and Principal of Sacred Music," and Steele as "Principal of the Department of Secular Music." "This institute, which has been established for supplying a want generally felt by those interested in the cause of the art, to the furtherance of which it is devoted, began its first term September 5 of the present year (1865)."



WARNER HALL.

The curriculum laid down is given with rules and regulations, etc. At first and for two or three years the conservatory had no organic connection with the college. Mr. Morgan remained but a twelvemonth. In 1867-8 the two were brought together, and Mr. Steele was appointed Professor of Music in the college with leave of absence "to pursue further his studies in Germany," with two men present to take charge of the work. In 1869-70 "Professor Fenelon B. Rice, Instructor in Music-Theory and Organ," appears in the catalogue; a man destined to be as prominent in his profession in later years as Mr. Allen was in the early period. By 1871-2 he had been advanced to a professorship, and could report a list of 264 students in his department, with Mrs. Helen M. Rice and Miss L. C. Wattles assistants. After ten years of patient toil and steady enlargement at every point the teaching force had increased to 11, and the attendance to 387. All along the embarrassment had been great on account of insufficient quarters. Some rooms in the chapel and in Tappan Hall were utilized, and others were rented wherever they could be found. At length it became possible to purchase the lot on which stood the house built for President Mahan in the first days, and since occupied by Professor Morgan. Presently also a large-hearted friend was found in Dr. Lucien C. Warner, who with his wife assumed the entire cost of erecting the magnificent home for the Conservatory which fittingly bears his name. In 1883 Dr. and Mrs. Warner announced their intention, and the structure was built in three sections, the first completed in 1885, the second in 1888, and the third in 1892. This building is one of the finest ever erected exclusively for the uses of a school of music, cost not far from \$200,000,

is of buff sandstone and four stories in height, has a frontage on one street of one hundred and fifty feet and of one hundred and twenty feet on another—and contains a fine concert hall seating seven hundred, a lecture room, orchestra room, library and offices, and nearly one hundred lesson and practice rooms.

Though founded by others and helped forward by the indispensable toil of a large corps of assistants, this department may properly be called the creation of the noble ambition, the indefatigable energy, and the wise management of Professor Rice, whose connection with it has been unbroken for twenty-eight years. The general plan of the school is similar to that of the best European conservatories, “and aims at the production of intelligent musicians of liberal culture in the various branches of musical activity.” Its members are subject to the same regulations as other students of the institution, and also share in all the peculiar literary advantages which center in this community. The conservatory library contains nearly 14,000 works. Among others, these two may be named as constituting a part of “the unequaled combination of advantages” offered here: (1) “Its instruction is of the most thorough sort. It aims to give that broad and substantial culture in music which is much more than the mere ability to sing a song or thrum an instrument. (2) Its work is carried on in a preeminently religious atmosphere. The teachers are all Christian men and women, who believe that the highest attainments in music need not be purchased, as they too often are, with a lapse from good habits, or the loss of Christian faith.”

CHAPTER XV

OBERLIN CHARACTERISTICS: THE COMMUNITY

THE college buildings are located in the center of a village of nearly five thousand inhabitants, to whom during term time are to be added about twelve hundred students. The distance from Cleveland is about thirty-five miles to the southwest, and from Lake Erie fifteen miles to the south. The surface of the surrounding region, as almost everywhere in Northern Ohio, is quite level, except in the neighborhood of the streams, where it is quite broken, and precipitous bluffs abound. The soil is mainly a tough clay, though the lake ridges are composed of sand or gravel. Omitting certain features derived from the institution, the general appearance of the village does not differ much from that of the average thrifty and prosperous community of the same size. In the bulk of the residence portion the dwellings are comely and of modern architecture, though scattered here and there among them are not a few houses quite large and somewhat unsightly with their numerous windows and divers additions. These all date from at least a generation since, when the demand for rooms was often in excess of the supply, and when every loyal Oberlinite sought to the utmost to supply students with lodgings. The churches are almost severely plain both outside and

within, but this perhaps chiefly because built in times comparatively primitive, the Second belonging to the early seventies and the First to a period still earlier by nearly thirty years. Oberlin is connected with the busy world by a first-class railway, and also by an electric road just completed. Pure water in abundance is brought from springs distant several miles by works constructed at no inconsiderable cost, and an excellent system of sewerage conduces greatly to the public health. Light is supplied by both gas and electricity. The telephone, too, is in common use, while effectual defence against deep mud, galore, has recently been begun by resorting to brick pavement laid in waterproof cement.

Partly from circumstances, but probably as much from design, manufacturing establishments, save such as are necessary to meet local needs, have never been introduced. It was not deemed wise to attract in large numbers a class of persons wholly out of sympathy with the aims and plans which gave to the community its existence. But the serious drawback has resulted that employment for the resident population is scarce, the young are almost forced into habits of idleness, or they must leave home in search of work. Keeping boarders is the one ruling industry and next to that comes the furnishing of table supplies.

The inhabitants are very largely of New England origin or descent. Of course the college element is prominent, including the scores of professors and their families. Scores of other families are continually coming and going, attracted by the superior educational facilities, and remaining but a few years. Scores also of graduates return to pass their closing

days, clergymen as well, worn out with work or years, and no small number of persons of means and culture who prize the intellectual and religious opportunities here so abundantly supplied. Not far from one-fifth of the population is colored, dwelling mainly together upon certain streets, for the most part upon the outskirts, though to a slight extent scattered here and there wherever able to purchase property. Of the older portion almost all were born in slavery, purchased their freedom or received it as a gift from their masters, and came to this hospitable community before the close of the Rebellion. They are easily divisible into three classes. A considerable portion are intelligent, industrious, well-to-do, thoroughly respectable and in every way good citizens. A few are superior as blacksmiths, builders, etc. But to these are joined a considerably larger number of the unlettered, who are good-natured and well meaning and harmless, but only semi-industrious and seriously lacking in forethought, ambition, and energy, content therefore to live from hand to mouth. Then there is an over-large fraction composed of the shiftless and worthless, shading off into the vicious and criminal. Labor is an intolerable evil, their craving is for animal indulgence, and being given to drink, petty thieving, and related offences, are well known in the court-room and the county jail. But, taken as a whole, it is safe to say that here is a community not easy to match for intelligence, good order, good morals, and whatever other qualities are essential to social enjoyment or the common weal. Nor is it at all necessary to look further for an example of the founders of an enterprise impressing their ideas and convictions so deeply as to become a shaping force for generations. The Oberlin

case was peculiarly fortunate in this respect, in that the colony was isolated topographically through all the early and formative years and was shut in by prejudice. Besides, among its citizens was an unusual number of men of force and original make, the multitude came in a teachable spirit and to accomplish a specific object and then were fused into homogeneity by the fires of revival and antislavery zeal in a church whose pastor was possessed of unwonted ability to arouse and impel.

But, however it came about, the unity which prevails is really phenomenal. Warring elements, envy, bickering and jangling between classes and parties are strangely absent, while harmony, essential oneness of sentiment upon matters of great public importance, and hearty cooperation are well-nigh the rule. First of all and perhaps most remarkable of all, no serious division has been made on lines of college and non-college interests. This happy condition results in part from the fact that in the original scheme school and colony were but part and parcel of the same thing, each existing only for the sake of the other. It was also a piece of good fortune that the campus was fixed not at one side of the village but in the center, as if an integral and essential part, instead of a mere accessory, or something distinct. Then the policy was supremely wise on the part of the representatives of the institution never to consult together to push its interests in opposition to those of the village, never to oppose what the general public evidently demanded, never doggedly to insist upon what the citizens deemed improper or ill-advised, and always both as individuals and as a corporate body to bear a fair share of the public burdens. They were first of all citizens, and only after that members of the faculty. Whether

in political campaigning, in fighting the saloon, in manning the village council, the school board, the fire department, the water-works board, constructing sewers or paving streets, in the churches and in all matters of public concern, the distinction between collegian and citizen is delightfully imperceptible and unthought of. In the olden time Oberlin was overwhelmingly Whig, and by its rousing majorities made foes to tremble in the township, in the county, the congressional district, and even the state. Later the Liberty Party enjoyed the almost unanimous suffrages of these abominators of slavery, who later still gloried in being "black Republicans." Opposing parties found it most disheartening business to go to the polls or even to nominate candidates. And this unanimity came not in the least from fear. Then on the side of morals and religion, though the majority is not so sweeping, it can be counted upon to make itself felt in every important emergency and with irresistible power. For example, let the liquor interest undertake to invade the community, or any attempt be made to trample upon righteousness or decency, and the presumptuous individual who stood forth as leader would be certain presently to witness such an exhibition of public indignation as he would not willingly face a second time, and would remember with quakings of heart to his dying day. Even in Sabbath keeping, church-going, and church membership, there is a oneness not often equaled. The congregations in the two principal sanctuaries would be counted large in the great cities, and in the others empty seats are few, while the communicants constitute nearly one-half of the entire population. As the hour for the preaching services approaches, so thronged are the

streets and the campus, all moving by a common impulse towards the sanctuaries, that a stranger might easily suppose he had hit upon some notable occasion, some unusual ceremonial, though here it is a most common affair to go with the multitude that keep holy day. The community is worshipful.

A few words should be added concerning the relations existing between Caucasians and the colored people. Away back in 1835 Oberlin offered them equal educational privileges ; in response they came by the hundred to study and to reside ; this community fought slavery fiercely with every possible weapon till it died the death ; but, after all, at home how have the sons and daughters of Africa been treated? Well, among all the better, the representative portion of the villagers, students included, one could not well ask for a better feeling and attitude towards them, one more free from prejudice or fuller of kindness and sympathy. The danger of abuse, insult, or wrong of any kind is exceedingly slight for any well-behaved or respectable colored man or woman. Their well-being is deeply desired and diligently sought after. In the house of God they are welcome, nor are they relegated to the galleries or to seats least desirable. In the public schools and in the college they sit together and recite together, no distinction on account of color being made, and are often seen walking the streets together. Not many respectable whites would seriously object to eating with respectable blacks. It is true that for the most part the colored people (students largely excepted) worship by themselves, but only at their own deep desire. When the movement towards separation began back in the sixties, in the general judgment it was deemed uncalled for, unwise, and harmful.



COUNCIL HALL.



and received no countenance. But when in spite of protests it went forward, then generous financial assistance was bestowed and has been, on occasion, ever since. And how is it about social relations, "equality," intercommunication, intimacy, and all that? Fifty years ago it was currently supposed that miscegenation and amalgamation were common in Oberlin, if not the rule. The bulk of the colored people being uneducated, hewers of wood and drawers of water, that is, servants and hired help, they rank socially with the similar class of whites. The relations are pleasant, friendly, neighborly, brotherly. Character rather than color, not race so much as intellectual or moral worth, sets limits to the kind and degree of social interchange. Each individual white is left to decide and act as he deems best. But the fact remains that with occasional exceptions, which result from peculiar circumstances and are but temporary in their operation, the two races, though on the best of terms, and dwelling side by side, remain socially each a class apart by itself.*

This community can lay valid claim to the possession of a spirit that is genuinely liberal and tolerant. Freedom from the first on the colonial tract has been loved with a passion and has been fought for stoutly against all assailants. A noble confidence has been cherished that truth has nothing to lose and everything to gain from free discussion. Nothing was more characteristic of the early days when Finney and Mahan were among the leading spirits than the fashion so prevalent of welcoming whoso had a dream, a revelation,

* Among Oberlin students only two women of color have been married to white men. In one case scarcely a trace of African blood was visible, and in the other the wife-to-be was sent hither from South Carolina to be educated. Both of them were intellectually well-endowed and possessed of unusual attractions.

a prophecy, to speak it out with all boldness, only insisting that afterward he should subject himself to sharpest questioning and rejoinder. Heresy hunting was never more popular here than slave hunting. If anybody was evidently casting out devils in Jesus' name there was no disposition to forbid him because he failed to travel in company with his neighbors. Sectarianism never found favor with the people, but unity among brethren, the fellowship of the Spirit in the bonds of peace. The Oberlin doctrine was and is, Make the gate of entrance into the Church no narrower than is the gate of entrance into the kingdom of heaven. The pulpit has never failed to feel at liberty to speak plainly and pungently upon all public questions which had a moral or religious bearing, even to politics. Nor was the sanctuary profaned by admitting anything worthy in itself and of value to the people, be it concert, lecture, political mass meeting, or what not. But let it be understood that, no matter what is to follow, some fitting words of thanksgiving and petition are first to be uttered. An Oberlin audience could scarcely appreciate the hesitation and embarrassment of Dr. Watson (Ian McLaren) over giving one of his popular lectures in the pulpit where Finney had stood for a generation. When Mr. Garrison came to present his abolition sentiments, so extreme that scarcely a person even in this community could accept them, he volunteered the remark that though he did not object to an opening prayer, he yet did not believe in praying in public, nor did the New Testament authorize such a practice. Professor Morgan blandly proceeded to give those present a brief Bible exegesis on public prayer, and then led them in the devotional exercise.

Something further should be said concerning the type of Christianity dominant in Oberlin. It is simple, unpretending, earnest, steadfast, intelligent, full of good sense and sweet reasonableness, inclined to dwell less upon doctrine than life, less upon theory than practice, less upon the next world than this one, that it may at the soonest be redeemed and made Christlike. However the case may once have been, there is scarce a trace left of the puritanical, the strait-laced, the solemn and gloomy, but the ruling mood is cheerful and hopeful to the borders of the optimistic. A few survive who mourn continually for the blessed first decades, but of the many the look is rather upward and forward. With little profession, or noise, or demonstration of fervor, there is a vast amount of downright consecration to everyday right-doing and service, humble endeavor to obey God and minister to humankind without making any fuss about it. The churches are mainly constituted of such saints. From the first day this community has stood for activity, aggressive force, missionary zeal, much more than for a frame composed mainly of contemplation and mysticism. Piety is chiefly good for what it does for one's neighbors, the community, the country, the world, and therefore lays emphasis upon patriotism and whatsoever belongs to good citizenship. Mr. Shipherd's solicitude took in "our desolate valley," and "our dying world," nor have those who followed him ever forgotten the needy regions beyond. In other words, Oberlin Christians are seldom excelled for beneficence which is liberal, conscientious, ungrudging, and joyful. The calls are frequent from the West, the South, the foreign field, and not many are unheeded. Subscription papers are familiar objects, and scarcely a week passes

without a collection. And as the world goes the amounts received annually are surprisingly large. Only a few are rich, the many are able to bestow only by strict economy and simple habits of living, but everybody seems to lay by in store according as God hath prospered him, and does his best to cast into the treasury whenever the occasion demands. It appears to be counted a privilege to bestow upon others rather than upon one's self. Nor is it mere emotional giving under the spur of mighty appeal, and which is followed by regret and reaction. It comes from principle, from preference, from settled habit. Therefore, though in all probability the greater number are unfamiliar with the letter of the Covenant which Mr. Shipherd prepared and presented to the original colonists for signature, they by inheritance have entered fully into its spirit. The solemn pledge was: "We will, by industry, economy, and Christian self-denial, obtain as much as we can above our necessary personal and family expenses, and faithfully appropriate the same for the spread of the Gospel."

It is no exaggeration to state that Oberlin approaches remarkably near to the ideal Christian democracy. At any rate not many communities can claim superiority at this point. The foundations were laid in the Jacksonian period, when in the New World the nascent spirit of democracy was first becoming rampant and turbulent. Freedom, equality, were words to conjure with. From the highest the rights of the humblest were beginning to find hearty recognition, and the masses, the sovereign people, were beginning to make their presence felt. The early settlers were all substantially of the same social and intellectual class. Further, almost at once it was settled that whites should

possess no monopoly of privileges over blacks, while in the "pattern shown in the mount" the educational prerogatives of women were not inferior to those of men. To all this was added for a generation a deep and all-pervading religious fervor which fused all hearts and fashioned them alike. When thousands were gathered upon the colonial tract and met socially, for business, to worship, this was the dominant feeling: We are all equally members of the same honored family, alike children of the heavenly King, from the greatest to the least, above all things else brethren of the Lord Jesus.* Since those primitive times, changes of various kinds have come in to provoke difference and division, and the original uniformity of outward condition has largely passed away; but even yet distinctions of color, race, sex, occupation, worldly estate, by almost universal consent are kept at a minimum and as much as possible in the background: No aristocracy of family, of wealth, or even of learning, has been able to ascend the throne, sway the scepter, and persuade the multitude to bend the knee in homage. Attempts at aping those "above" are conspicuously absent, and just as much any "stooping" in a patronizing way to the level of those "below." "A man's a man for a' that," is an article in the Oberlin creed which is thoroughly believed and religiously held to.

* Marks of republican simplicity are seen in the fact that President Mahan and Prof. J. P. Cowles, a Yale valedictorian, thought it no disgrace to be found more than once toiling in dust or mud while helping to repair or open public highways. And that the third president milked his own cow until business calls became so frequent that the inconvenience became too great of removing overalls on short notice. After years of trundling home his purchases in a wheelbarrow, it was with unaffected regret on his part that at length the storekeepers began to insist upon delivering the goods they sold.

Oberlin enjoys the well-earned reputation of having been always able to keep the liquor traffic under the heel, and to exclude all forms of public amusement commonly held to be seriously detrimental to morals. No open saloon has ever been tolerated inside the corporation or upon the nine square miles surrounding. Three or four times determined attempts have been made by men whose desire amazingly outran their discretion, and who had no conception of how herculean was the task they had undertaken; but it was sure to occur that practically the entire population was found so united, so resolute, so active, and so fertile in troublesome expedients, that a few days sufficed to send the would-be vender of intoxicants away, a sadder but wiser man. A billiard saloon was once suffered for a season, but, presently proving itself morally pestiferous by congregating youth of the baser sort and tempting others to join their company, as a nuisance was abated, duly and most effectually. Theatrical companies find slight inducement to visit so small a community. The circus and the minstrel troupes have made their advent occasionally in recent years without exciting much fear of contamination. As for the dance, the ball, such a form of social indulgence has never been known since the first colonist set foot on Oberlin soil, nor has any scheme for one been seriously broached. This phenomenal fact is not to be explained by supposing that the citizens, on general principles, stand more in horror of dancing than other good people, but primarily by remembering that the institution, which maintains coeducation of the sexes, could not by any possibility countenance such gatherings, and by common consent they have been altogether omitted from social life. Card-playing and the use of tobacco are strictly for-

bidden to students during term time, though by no means unknown in the community at large. Time was when tobacco was under the ban and found no users, nor would any respectable dealer keep it in stock. But as the demand steadily increased from the farming population, and by the advent of a population not kindred in sentiment to the first comers, venders to match were found. So great is the falling away from the early ideal that smokers and those who chew are by no means unmet with. And only this can be affirmed: Among the leading citizens, business and professional men (the faculty of course included), the use of tobacco in any form is next to unknown. Scores and hundreds never touch it. Omitting the colored population, a very large majority are total abstainers. The public nuisance so commonly consequent upon smoking and chewing is not often inflicted. One may be on the street or in public gatherings for hours together and not be compelled to breathe air defiled by cigar or pipe. And of what other village of similar size can this be declared?

And yet it must not for a moment be supposed that the Oberlin policy is one of mere repression of things evil or doubtful. No special emphasis is laid either upon *Thou shalt not*, or *Thou shalt*, but great faith is reposed in "the expulsive power of a new affection." Evil is overcome with good. Humanity is held back from what is worse by making abundant provision for what is better. The excellent and attractive things lavishly supplied week after week, month after month, year after year, fill the time, the thoughts, the affections, of the bulk of the community so to satiety and repletion that not much opportunity or disposition is left to run after folly or transgression. Though the

churches do their part, yet most of the social, intellectual and esthetic stimulus proceeds directly or indirectly from the institution. The days and nights are fairly crowded with this, that and the other program of social, recital, concert, lecture or other forms of public address. The best brain and culture of this country and the Old World, the finest musical talent, vocal and instrumental, minister often to student and citizen. The difficulty appears to be to choose from among the rich and toothsome viands so temptingly spread for the higher nature. In all this Oberlin receives most substantial assistance from the presence of the Conservatory of Music, while also without coeducation much of the choicest now enjoyed would be impossible. And, almost strange to say, nowhere are stimulus, inspiration (entertainment one might almost add without being profane) more generally afforded than in the churches upon the Sabbath, with the crowded seats of the great auditoriums, the great chorus choirs and the great organs, with preaching to match ; in the chapel exercises also, and the multitudinous gatherings for social worship. No wonder, then, it is strictly true that whereas elsewhere it commonly happens that one is compelled to carefully shun the evil and search for the good, here, at least for the well-disposed, while whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely and of good report, are always visible on every hand, their opposites as a rule are out of sight in their hiding-places, and only open to those who seek. The tide sweeps towards goodness, righteousness, towards noble thoughts and holy purposes, which one must stem if he will journey in the other direction.

A few lesser phenomena of a pleasant and compli-

mentary kind remain to be mentioned. As we might well suppose after what has already been stated, gossips and talebearers exist in but insignificant numbers, and find but slight encouragement to ply their occupation. There is too much unity, fraternity, and affection, too little jealousy and envy to make popular evil-speaking and the spreading of sinister reports about one's neighbors. Besides, the bulk of the population are too busy with good things to listen to rumors and suspicions. The professional critics also are but few, the chronic faultfinders, those who make a virtue of opposing on general principles whatever project happens to be under consideration. Discussion is free, coupled with all needful plainness of speech, and then except in rarest cases the minority yields gracefully and heartily. A speaker is listened to with candor, and judgment is lenient, as is quite certain to be the case wherever audiences are possessed of intelligence and moral worth. Oberlin is a peaceable community, able to survive and prosper without much quarreling or resort to the law. Indeed the almost incredible affirmation is made that during the first generation the services of lawyers were uncalled for and their presence as residents was unknown; in part, because church investigations took the place of proceedings in court when neighbors fell out, but more because of the fact that Mr. Finney in his early manhood was a member of the legal profession and now held the entire confidence of everybody, so that difficulties of all sorts were submitted to him for settlement and his decision was accepted as final. Still further, in Oberlin church fairs, festivals, "socials" with ice cream, oysters, and divers similar seductions, though not quite unknown, have never been fully naturalized or clothed with respectability.

If money is really needed for any good object, the orthodox, popular way is to say so without circumlocution, stating the amount, and then for each one concerned to take from his purse his share and so make up the amount. The tradition is that the Second Church sanctuary was wholly reared and furnished with funds procured in this excellent fashion. But perhaps nothing among the manners and customs of this village strikes the stranger as more peculiar than the regular closing of all places of business before supper on Thursdays, and since in the evening all the church prayer-meetings are held. Oberlin has always favored early hours for public gatherings, as soon as possible after tea. Scarcely any assembly is held as late as eight, nor is six deemed over early. Of course this comes in great part from the purpose of keeping the evening sacred to study.

There certainly can be no need of reminding the reader that after all Oberlin is not celestial in its general characteristics, is not even a section of paradise. Mr. Shipherd's original device failed wholly to exclude the world, the flesh, and the devil. The men and women resident in the place exhibit in full sufficiency the faults and follies to which human nature is heir. It may, however in fairness be explained that while for the worthy features which have been stated it is quite peculiar, if not actually unique, on the seamier side it is simply in close resemblance to most other communities. Two or three "spots on the sun" may be pointed out. Reference has already been made to the absence of sufficient steady employment for the population, leading to idleness and the attendant demoralization. Whoso would become a citizen will be fortunate if he comes bringing means adequate for his support. It

occurs here as in all educational centers that a large proportion of the best men and women are, as to all their time and energies, so occupied with their special lines of work in teaching and managing the business affairs of the institution as to have little opportunity left for social relaxation or the performance of neighborly offices. Therefore they may easily appear to some who do not take in the situation to be indifferent and exclusive. Newcomers sometimes find it hard to become acquainted and fear they are not appreciated. Further, they are not all Israel which are of Israel. With all the remarkable unity and homogeneity, it is not to be wondered at that among the five thousand inhabitants some peculiar and offish and even Ishmaelitic specimens are found. A few are out of sympathy with the prevailing influences. They stand aloof and look askance, they shut their eyes to the abounding light, and harden their hearts. The spiritual freshets of the days when Finney was in his prime, subsiding, left a certain amount of flood-wood and other debris lying high and dry, which is neither useful, nor pleasant to the eye. A "submerged tenth" brings responsibility and peril. A few also survive who represent the old time "sanctification," and who dote on "faith missions" and "faith healing," or see no hope for the temperance cause except through the ultra régime of the Third Party. But these are exceptions to the rule, they do not at all represent the general conviction. An overwhelming majority face the other way. And whatever may be the drawbacks to life in Oberlin, no matter how many or how great, it remains that for all who relish at least some fair approach to republican simplicity, who care much for the substance and comparatively little for the show of

things, and who for themselves and their loved ones crave society which combines a piety that is earnest and practical, simple and sweet, with a high average of solid intelligence, a community fuller of privilege can scarcely be found.

CHAPTER XVI

OBERLIN CHARACTERISTICS : THE INSTITUTION

NO attempt will be made in this chapter to give a complete description of this school of higher learning, nor even to name all the excellent features of its work. Much will be taken for granted. It will be assumed that for the number of branches covered in its curriculum and for the thoroughness of intellectual drill it takes rank among the better colleges of the land. The dominant forces are in full accord with the best of modern educational ideas, and the best modern methods of teaching are adopted so far as the facilities at command will allow. The view to be presented will relate almost wholly to features which are peculiar to Oberlin, or at least to matters upon which peculiar emphasis is here laid.

Allusion has already been made to the remarkably harmonious relations which have always existed between the college and the community, the students and the citizens. The two classes are not in the least hostile or in rivalry, are scarcely separate except in name and occupation. The fifteen acres of campus are located in the very center of the village with places of business and hundreds of homes on every side. Boarders and roomers sit at the same table with house owners and their children, kneel at the same family altar, and worship in the same sanctuary. It was

originally planned that the interests of all should be not separate and diverse but harmonious, all united by aims and sympathies held in common, and on the whole that Christian ideal has been splendidly maintained to the present day. Lawbreaking and rowdiness are kept at a minimum, and very rarely does any case occur of destruction of property, or of trespass upon private rights. The young people carry themselves as they would if at their homes surrounded by their own kindred. The democratic feeling, the spirit of equality, the absence of classes and castes based upon mere artificial distinctions, is almost as marked in the institution as in the village. From the first the trustees have counted sacred the rights and privileges of the faculty, confining their labors to outside matters, and never attempting to interfere with the management of internal affairs.* The faculty in like manner have never sought to lord it over the students as being themselves superior, nor have insisted upon any particular show of homage, reverence, or respect even. Especially in early times they played instead the rôle of elder brothers to their pupils. Slight use was made of titles, but, "Brother Finney," and "Brother Mahan," etc., were not in the least uncommon forms of address from anybody who met them upon the street. The president has been content to employ his mother tongue in conferring degrees and performing other duties at commencement time, nor have robes of state or other "imposing" ceremonies been resorted

* This limitation of authority imposed upon the Board began early, and resulted directly from the blunder which the Lane Seminary trustees fell into, who by their meddling made life intolerable to self-respecting inmates of the institution. Finney, Mahan and Morgan made it a condition of their coming that they and their associates should not be interfered with in the management of details.

to on such occasions. Moreover, though with no compulsion except from ruling tastes and public sentiment, all manner of class distinctions, together with conceit and arrogance commonly attending, have to a surprising extent been kept under and kept out. No separation is made in chapel or elsewhere of senior and freshman, of preparatory student and theologian. Not even sex or color either confers or deprives of any valuable prerogative. Each individual has full liberty to make the most of himself, and stands for just what he is actually worth in heart and brain. Class yells and class colors have come in of late, occasionally class hats, canes, and the like, at rare intervals the class robe, but with the consensus of judgment and taste heavily against any wide departures from fashions of dress in vogue elsewhere in good society.

On the intellectual side of things Oberlin has always displayed certain idiosyncrasies. It was designed not to bestow the finest finish upon the fortunate few with money at command, though for such the course was the best possible with the limited financial resources. It was rather in the plan of the founder to make it the school for the many, in the best sense the people's college, to furnish large opportunities to any young man or woman who was hungry for intelligence, and eager to be somebody and do something notable. It was never held here that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing in the sense that if one could not graduate it were better not to come for a single year, or term even. A Preparatory Department has been maintained from the first, in which the bulk of the college students received their early training, though thousands never advanced beyond it. Probably this institution has never stood so exclusively as did the "old-

fashioned" colleges for a culture purely scholastic in its nature, for mere book learning. More emphasis was laid upon the practical side. Knowledge was good through its uses, for what it would accomplish. Oberlin has always been impressed by the fact that what the world most needs is character, men and women of genuine worth and power, whose aims are unselfish and noble, who count service a delight. But even in the first years, when the missionary spirit was well-nigh universal, there was no lack of strong meat for minds the most masculine. Finney, Mahan and the rest were overflowing with stimulus to thought and enthusiasm. The mightiest questions were daily brought up for discussion. Into the depths of philosophy and metaphysics the frequent plunge was boldly made.* And ever since the superficial, the namby-pamby, has been held in contempt. But with the completest mastery of science, the classics, and belles-lettres, the aim has been to send out representatives who were able to use what they knew, able to adorn useful callings, able efficiently to serve their country and their kind.

Among the unique features a place must be accorded to the famous Thursday Lecture. Its origin was as far back as 1835, not specially as a college arrangement, but a church appointment, a gathering held late in the afternoon which the students were required

* A member of the class of '38 speaks thus "of the intellectual life we found here. It was of the rarest, most stimulating kind. There was abundance of ozone in the mental atmosphere. I had known thorough diet in the Boston Latin School and in Dartmouth College, but here I found forces in operation which aroused and set ablaze all the powers of my mind. Our teachers were in their prime, and thoroughly enthusiastic in their chosen work. He must have been as good as dead who could live at such a time, in such a place, without the highest intellectual profit."

to attend to listen to a religious address from Mr. Finney or some other professor. In later years its religious character passed away and lectures were given on all manner of subjects, either by home talent or by strangers invited in from abroad. Coming thus with rare omissions every week, during an educational course opportunity was afforded to hear lectures literally by the hundred, and no small portion of them from specialists on their themes, or by men of marked talent and fame. All this was in addition to the lectures in the regular courses from the finest speakers the country possessed.

Turning now to the social side of the student life, coeducation introduced a feature which fifty years ago was anomalous and by many to be feared if not also abhorred, though now become so common as to be taken as a matter of course. The mingling of the sexes is natural and informal, in fact is much the same as that which exists in everyday life. They meet freely in the recitation rooms and halls and upon the walks, calling is in order at certain times and in certain places, class and other socials are not unfrequent, and with permission secured they go together to lectures, concerts, etc. The young women are under various restraints from which young men are free, but only as the same is also the case in society at large. Another difference in treatment is seen in the fact that while the institution owns no less than five buildings which supply rooms to women, but one is open to men and that only to theologues. As for the rest they are scattered here and there through hundreds of dwellings. This absence of dormitories is not from design or settled policy so much as from the accident of circumstances. In Oberlin Hall, the original college building, the girls

occupied the second story and the boys filled the attic above. While Tappan Hall stood, ninety single rooms were ready for masculine use. But, as if in compensation for neglect elsewhere, each one of the buildings for women has table-room for double the number of its occupants, of which the men are at liberty to avail themselves, nor are they slow to accept the offer. What further legitimate desire for social relaxation remains is likely to be abundantly met in the literary societies and the homes of the village in which they find shelter. In all this there is no more of intercourse with one's fellows than the average man or woman possessed of good sense and self-control can enjoy without interference with the hardest intellectual toil, nor is there more than is needed to keep the entire frame, brain, heart, and conscience in the best condition to meet the exigencies of after life.

Nearly allied to this feature of life in Oberlin is another, that connected with the vast amount of most excellent music, which through the presence of the Conservatory and from various other sources every day is fairly thrust upon the student. Nor is it easy to overestimate the value of this as a part of education, making the most of one's self, fitting one's self most completely for the work of life. How can it be but that the continual presence of womankind, and the abundance of melody and harmony, vocal and instrumental, from piano, organ, orchestra, choir and glee club, in solo and chorus, in hymn and song, in anthem and oratorio, should avail much to move the emotions and mold the character, and make mightily for refinement, culture, civilization and Christianity; that is, for education in the largest and best meaning of the term? Nor without coeducation would such results be



STURGES HALL.

achieved. At any rate here are gathered several hundred conservatory pupils in daily intimate association with students of the other departments, united with their teachers and other trained musical talent in giving frequent public performances. Each of the two church choirs numbers not far from a hundred and fifty voices, and all these with others are joined in the Musical Union, which gives from two to four concerts every year. The College Glee Club is kept in splendid condition for service. More than once Thomas' Orchestra and Gilmore's Band have been heard with delight. Oratorios like Samson, Elijah, and the Creation are familiar to the community, while for the better part of a generation not a Christmas season has been suffered to pass without a presentation of Handel's Messiah. Every Sunday the great chorus choirs render three or four pieces from the masters of sacred song, with organ preludes and postludes meant not for display but for worship. And if there were nothing else musical, the effect is blessed and incalculably great of sitting daily in the chapel for years to join with more than a thousand other voices in lifting to heaven glad hymns of praise. The founders of Oberlin and some of the prominent early builders would fain have confined music to the "sacred" realm and were hesitant about giving countenance to melody which was "secular," but in these better times this art has been lifted to an honored place as an important part in a scheme of education.*

* The following statement published by the institution is well within the facts in the case: The presence of a Conservatory of Music brings unusual facilities for musical cultivation within the reach of students in all departments. Classes in choral singing, meeting four times a week, are free to all. The large number of young men and young women makes possible the best chorus work; and the church

The religious character of this institution is well known. In origin and design it was purely and intensely Christian. Faith, prayer and evangelistic zeal marked every step of early progress. The gospel scarcely ever had a representative more fervid than Mr. Finney, and during the first generation revivals of almost irresistible power were frequent, sometimes continued for months together, so that it became next to certain that whoever remained a student for any length of time would be constrained to accept Jesus as Saviour. As many would now judge, it sometimes happened that an excessive amount of time and thought were bestowed upon this theme, as when for days all recitations would be suspended, and when emotion approached dangerously near to fanaticism. But no traces of such questionable manifestations of earnestness and solicitude appear to-day. Christianity is now inculcated and its personal acceptance is encouraged and incited, most of all by the fact patent always and everywhere that the community is overwhelmingly Christian, the dominant forces both in and out of the college make for righteousness and piety, the tide sets towards a life of consecration and service. The best students are commonly also the best exponents of earnest, hearty discipleship. The Sunday congregations and prayer-meetings are phenomenally large. The roomy sanctuaries are often filled to the last sitting, while the preaching, whether for exhortation or statement of doctrine, is quite sure to be reasonable as well as pungent and forcible. As a result of all this, in a choir and the Musical Union give excellent drill in the singing of church music and oratorios. The weekly rehearsals of the Conservatory, and the numerous concerts and recitals by prominent musicians from abroad, assist in the cultivation of a high musical standard, and afford opportunities which cannot be equaled except in our largest cities.

majority of cases, the student is likely to receive the impression that religion is not something aside from real life, a realm entirely distinct, a matter of slight moment, but instead belongs among the weightiest and most essential things; that to be unchristian is to be exceptional, in isolation from the best lives, and in a sorry case. Not many can ever forget the inspiring and winning exhibitions of the Gospel constantly presented to their gaze. But further, every class exercise, every meeting for choir practice, or other public performance, is prefaced with a prayer or the singing of a verse or two of a hymn.* Even in the Conservatory it is taught by precept and example that music is not a mere science, or art, or accomplishment, or means of earning a living, but is also a potent instrument whereby God may be glorified and humanity blessed. No graduate is esteemed completely furnished for his profession, whatever it may chance to be, unless all his choicest gifts are laid upon the altar of consecration. Of course the Bible takes its place among text-books. It was in part a godly fear lest this Book of books should be crowded out or thrust dishonored into a corner, that for a brief season produced an outcry against the "heathen classics," and a greatly increased attention to Hebrew and New Testament Greek. Every Monday an hour is devoted to a recitation based upon some portion of the Scriptures, with the purpose of securing to all during the course some intelligent apprehension of their contents, at least considered as literature possessed of remarkable excellence and historical value. And finally, so sensitive is the public conscience that

* As President Fairchild informs us: "This practice came in with Mr. Finney in 1835, not by any ordinance, but by spontaneous adoption, and the custom has made the law."

every general exercise controlled by the institution begins infallibly on the stroke of the clock at the time announced; while late comers, especially in Conservatory doings, are certain to find the doors shut against them and must wait until entrance can be made without interruption to the exercise. The sentences which follow well set forth the religious profession made by this institution of learning, which also, to an extent seldom seen elsewhere, is made actual and plainly visible in the everyday life of the multitude of instructors and students in all departments:

“From the beginning of its history Oberlin has been an avowedly Christian college, and has steadily aimed to build on the deepest and most solid convictions of the best Christian people. It has sought to furnish an atmosphere in which parents desiring the completest education and the highest development in character would gladly place their children. Its fundamental convictions have been that all truth is one, and to be fearlessly welcomed; that character is supreme; that Christ is the world’s one perfect character and completest revelation of God; and that the Church is the one great world-organization for ideal ends. It has intended to lay a practical, daily emphasis on the ethical and spiritual in religion, on life and faith, and at the same time to allow the fullest freedom of thinking within the broadest Christian lines. The College has never had a creed, or any denomination control; but it has believed in a loyalty to Christian truth that should manifest itself in a persistent and earnest application of that truth to the life of the world.”

The physical side of man is not forgotten in the Oberlin scheme of education. Though so profoundly religious, the projectors of the colony and college were



THE CHAPEL.



LORD COTTAGE.

by no means ascetics. Their dietetical ideas, so peculiar, looked in part to economy, but as much to health. Their manual labor scheme was largely designed for the benefit of the body. The claim was early published: "It will preserve the student's health. There being an intimate sympathy between soul and body, labor promotes clear and strong thought, with a happy moral temperament. It meets the wants of man as a compound being, and prevents the common and amazing waste of money, time, health, and life." The thought then, however, was fixed not on exercise, but "useful" toil. When this much-vaunted device failed, for a time nothing remained to take its place but doing chores about the village, and not until the sixties did the idea of introducing a gymnasium begin to seem other than profane. With doubt and hesitation the college authorities granted the use of ground and a cheap structure was reared, but just as the Rebellion was opening and in the excitement of the years succeeding, dumb-bells and vaulting-bars were forgotten, though a revival of interest occurred not long after the return of peace. A plain building was erected which ever since has been utilized, while for the women a much better one has been in use for years. Besides, modern baseball, football, and athletics in general receive rational attention without degenerating into a craze. Two trained physicians, one of either sex, are directors-in-charge and full members of the faculty, with their work recognized as a department of the institution. A two years' normal course in physical training for women is maintained. Each student upon matriculation passes a careful physical examination, and then, under a competent leader, most are required to take regular and systematic exercise. Only the

lack of suitable buildings hinders Oberlin from having a Physical Department as good as the best in the land.

Passing now to an enumeration of features less fundamental, Oberlin is somewhat peculiar in the matter of marks, prizes, honors, and the like. As so often elsewhere, her scruples, or tastes, as to these particulars, originated early and have continued to the present. During the thirties, that is, when Mr. Shepherd and his associates were laying foundations, there was much earnest discussion abroad concerning the value and the legitimacy of emulation in the broad sense as a motive force and incentive to diligence and application, especially in student life; and many of the foremost educators held most strenuously that it was not needed to secure the best results, while in general tendencies it was on the whole positively harmful and vicious. In every way it was far better to appeal to pupils of all grades, as well as to all others, by addressing only their higher nature. Influenced largely by such convictions, it has always been that, though recitations and examinations are marked and a record is kept, this is not to establish a basis for grading or for any distribution of honors, but only for private consultation by the teacher, the student, or other persons concerned. No announcement of standing is ever made. At commencement all members of the class stood on the same level, their names appearing on the program in alphabetical order. Of late also it has come to this, that all alike are compelled to sit in silence and listen to the great address given by some intellectual magnate from abroad. The usual degrees have always been conferred upon graduates. For a brief period, however, near the beginning, the Oberlin conscience came so

near to being morbid that the scholar's parchment was held in disrepute by some. That is, in the class of 1838 about half declined to receive any such certificates of having completed their course, though in later years most thought better of the matter, were able to wear an A. B. or an A. M. after their names with entire equanimity, while a portion were quite willing to attain to a doctorate. As for the higher degrees, the institution has always been very sparing in their bestowal. No positive action has ever been taken either by trustees or faculty in opposition, but to some extent a traditional repugnance is entertained towards a policy of scattering high-sounding titles with a free hand. A few deserving graduates have recently been thus honored.

In connection with college government and discipline some further idiosyncrasies appear. The conception came early and has been persistent that above all things else the faculty and students, from president down to the latest addition to the Preparatory Department, were associates, friends, brethren in Christ, with aims and interests in common. Rules and regulations were only to enable hundreds to dwell together and cooperate in harmony and with greatest profit to all concerned. Meddling with the ways of the individual and display of authority were to be kept at a minimum. Self-rule was the ideal. The assembled youth were to learn how to use freedom by being left free. A right public sentiment was to be the controlling force, and this was to be secured by keeping the conscience sensitive and the aims noble. Make the institution eminently Christian and the need of discipline would disappear. Of course the presence of women has all along been a great restraint

to roughness, and a great incentive to good behavior (the presence of men operating as effectually to keep the other sex within the bounds of propriety and decorum). Secret societies have been strictly forbidden from the first, also card-playing and the use of tobacco.* The association of the sexes is regulated by a few positive enactments. And about all the rest is left to be managed by the general good sense. With an exception to be noted, cases of discipline have been phenomenally few and far between. Whole decades have passed without a vote of expulsion or suspension being found necessary. An essential modification must be made in this statement when applied to the Academy. This department is recruited every year by numbers of raw recruits of comparatively early years and so immature in character, and coming from all manner of homes and communities. Of these quite a large portion are strangers to discipline, obedience, and good manners, whose idea of rules would seem to be that they were made to be broken. For a few weeks by such success is splendidly achieved at doing as they please in all things, but, alas, then detection befalls and penalty. If allowed to remain, wisdom and prudence soon assert themselves and they conclude to carry themselves respectably and honorably like their fellows. The general result of the Oberlin style of government is that it will be exceedingly difficult to find a student community so large which is so free from outbreak and excess, and so characterized by good order and earnest attention to the real business of student life.

* But the violation of this rule is not regarded as so serious an offence that a student under discipline would be refused clean papers if he desired to enter another institution.

CHAPTER XVII

OBERLIN IN ANECDOTE

THE term is employed loosely and in a sense sufficiently comprehensive to include various items of interest for which, in the preceding chapters, no appropriate place could be found. After various leading topics have been treated with as much fulness as seemed to be required, quite a mass of miscellaneous matter remains, from which selections will be made still further to depict the phenomena which characterized early Oberlin. Much fiction and falsehood have been set afloat concerning the colonists and their doings, for which there was no sort of excuse, since the facts in the case were sufficiently strange. Nor in examining the stories still current is it always easy or even possible to distinguish between what was actually said and done, what is largely composed of exaggeration and perversion of the truth, and what is purely the product of malice or a florid imagination. Many familiar stories have been rejected as being baseless and absurd, and yet some have been admitted for whose authenticity one would hesitate to vouch, the reason being that they possess the quality of verisimilitude, relate to what might well have occurred, and so are true to life.

Mrs. Douglass Putnam came to "college" from Massachusetts, aged fifteen, in November of 1833, and

some weeks before the opening of the first term. An entire day was required to traverse the nine miles lying between Elyria and Oberlin, with a lumber wagon as the conveyance. "Our way through the woods was around stumps, fallen trees, and through mud holes so deep that it seemed as if we must go under and disappear from sight." A few students had gathered in Oberlin Hall, the only framed building then standing. Quilts and blankets served as doors between apartments, and were spread upon the floors for sleeping purposes. Another, who came two years later says: "Two weeks were spent in the journey from New England. I found Cleveland a small place. Coming from thence to Elyria occupied a hard day, riding in a primitive stage over a corduroy road and walking through the deep mud gulches. From Elyria to Oberlin a lumber wagon came once a week. Leaving my trunk to be brought out the next trip, I started. The tracks were many and devious. I lost my way, and not till late in the day did I arrive in the village. For united dinner and supper a glass of lukewarm water was served, a few slices of stale bread, and a slice of fried pork in lieu of butter." A third, who came early the next year, says: "We hired a man with a strong team to take us from Cleveland to Oberlin. After leaving Elyria, when the corduroy road was reached the driver began to rebel, and when we were to leave the main road, two miles from our destination, he refused to take us any further. So we left our trunks in a shanty with no lock on the door, to remain over night, and started on through the dense forest, but had not proceeded far before I found myself sinking in the mud." Her brother returned to the shanty, procured a pair of his boots for her use, and thus ac-

countered the journey was finished. She speaks of the tall straight trees and the singing of new birds as a feature which added much to the enjoyment of the two miles tramp.

And a fourth one tells this story: "I reached the hotel an hour after midnight early in March, 1853. I rode from the depot in a hack, holding on to myself and my new trunk,—a miscellaneous sort of a ride. The next morning the ground was covered with snow, where it was not covered with water. The clouds were black and cold, and the wind was piping. 'Tappan Hall Square' (it had not then grown to the dignity of 'college campus') lay picturesque and dismal. It had but recently been farmed, and was thrown up in broad ridges with long black pools of water lying between. The whole was surrounded by a crooked rail fence of various heights, with an incipient osage hedge just inside of it. Tappan Hall was the only building that in any sense looked like a college, but the place was full to bursting with students, a thousand of them. There was no room anywhere, in recitation rooms, at breakfast table, or on the walks." Truly, those were the days of homespun.

This description of Cincinnati Hall, or Slab Hall is well worth preserving. "It was built of green lumber and supported upon oak blocks scattered at appropriate intervals, and of course after the unsettling of the first frost the outline of ridge and eaves and sill became decidedly wavy. This, with the outside battening of slabs with the bark still adhering, gave the building a picturesque appearance and made its architecture appropriate to its backwoods surroundings. It was eight feet high under the eaves, one hundred and forty-four feet long and twenty-

four feet wide, was divided lengthwise through the middle, and crosswise with partitions sufficient to make twenty rooms each twelve feet square, the space remaining being reserved for kitchen and dining-room. Each room had an outside entrance and one window, but between the rooms there was no internal communication. This rude structure was reared in the spring of 1835, for the accommodation of the Lane students, and hence was popularly known as "Rebel Shanty." After two or three years, being no longer needed to shelter students, it was used for a carpenter shop, and later still was divided up and distributed about the settlement to be devoted to various uses. Wild game was plenty during those first years. Mr. Finney states: "To escape from the pressure that was upon my mind, I would frequently take my rifle and go into the woods, and would not go more than forty rods from the clearing without seeing a deer." And George Clarke, one of the Lane students, tells of shooting deer just back of Cincinnati Hall. The forest held its place hard by the campus for several years, and until the students, in the interests of manual labor, were able to clear the five hundred acres belonging to the institution. One of the early theologues tells of cutting oaks at least fifteen feet in circumference in the field just west of Colonial Hall, of his class piling brush and rolling up log-heaps, of chopping wood at thirty-seven-and-a-half cents a cord, and exclaims: "What grubbing, what wrestling with roots, what dodging of mud-holes, what devices to fill mud-holes, what toil, what sweat of the face was needed to open up those lands for the sun to come in, for building material to come in and fill the secluded spot!" And so isolated was this spot that

during the first winter the population was reduced to such straits for food that a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. But lo, before the hour for public service had arrived, a stranger came into the clearing from the south seeking help to rescue his wagon and horses from the deep mire in which they were hopelessly stalled a few miles out in the woods. Some teams were sent and soon returned bringing a large load of provisions which had been despatched by Mr. Sturges from Mansfield, and containing among the rest a barrel of maple syrup. In recognition of this deliverance, the community gathered at the time appointed and held a thanksgiving service with a feast following.

Many illustrations might be given of the devout and earnest spirit which characterized those first days. The two founders had sought guidance for weeks before selecting the site, the trustees had assembled in the tiny opening to mingle prayer with planning, and April 19, 1833, arrived the first settler, Peter P. Pease. With a nephew he had traveled all day from Brownhelm, driving his oxen through mud thick and deep. Cutting a tree, the first one felled in Oberlin, they ate supper sitting upon the stump and then knelt in prayer. After this a fire was kindled, and lying upon the ground by the side of the log they passed the night. Presently a log cabin was built (in which many of the early comers were destined to sojourn for days or weeks, President Mahan among them) in the near neighborhood of the Historic Elm, with this inscription upon the door, "Present your bodies a living sacrifice." Wonderful stories are told of the exceeding honesty of both colonists and students, of which these are specimens: The farmers used to bring in apples, po-

tatoes, nuts and the like, and leave them in sacks by the fence about the college grounds, with the price indicated. On their return, when ready to leave for home, they would find the money in the empty sacks. A student avers that he once made a trip into the country and brought back a basket of apples which was placed in one of the halls, with a card indicating the retail price of the contents. Whoever would proceeded to help himself, not forgetting to leave the required amount. Such honesty and such religious fervor were perpetuated and diffused not only by the pungent preaching of Mr. Finney and others, but also by the music which marked all assemblies for worship, where it had a prominent place and was the product of a multitude of voices. Its influence in impressing and arousing sometimes rose to the overwhelming. President Fairchild remembers seeing one auditor in the Big Tent so wrought upon, as he listened to the surging of sweet sounds, as to be able to retain his self-control only by retiring beyond their reach. We are not surprised, however, to hear that sometimes, especially during the two long services of the hot summer days (sermons an hour in length or even an hour and a half, were by no means unknown), neither preaching nor singing sufficed to keep everybody awake. As a preventive for slumber it was a common custom to stand whenever the eyelids began to wax heavy, and sometimes scores were on their feet at once. According to a clerical witness a remedy yet more heroic was resorted to on occasion. "Mr. Finney used to rebuke his congregation sometimes for eating too much dinner. I have heard him on a hot summer afternoon, his eagle eye dimmed with tears and his trumpet voice choked with sobs, exhort in this way: Oh, brethren, how can

I preach the gospel to you, how can the Holy Spirit work in your hearts, when you come here at half-past two o'clock and nod over your pudding and milk ? ”

A few from many incidents may be given which attended Oberlin's antislavery work.* While Thompson and Fairbanks endured long years of incarceration in the penitentiary as the result of their efforts to induce bondmen to escape from their masters, Amos Dresser was flogged unmercifully for the mere offence of having some antislavery literature in his possession. Professor J. A. Thome, an ardent abolitionist, under suspicion of violating a Federal statute was sought for so diligently by the marshal as to make it prudent to retire to Sheffield for several months and keep himself invisible. Rev. U. T. Chamberlain, of the class of '38, was prosecuted under the Fugitive Slave Law and fined \$50,000, but upon appeal the penalty was reduced to one cent, though with the heavy costs still against him, and on a third hearing an entire acquittal was secured. The Oberlin-Wellington rescue case was deservedly famous in its day, which led to the indictment of nearly forty prominent citizens and students and the confinement of about half the number for weeks in the Cleveland jail, though ending in complete and most humiliating disaster to the schemes of the would-be slave-catchers. Oberlin never saw a day to match the one in which Ralph Plumb and his fellow “culprits” returned and in the First Church were accorded a rousing reception. This occurred in 1858, and the next year came John Brown's attempt upon Harper's Ferry, who was not unknown in Oberlin,* since he had acted as agent for the large tract of (West) Virginia lands

*Several letters of his are on file in the treasurer's office, but all relating to business matters.

which Gerritt Smith had given the college, his father was a member of the board of trustees, 1835-44, and some of his younger brothers and sisters had been students. Moreover, three of his associates, all colored men, who also shared his fate, Green, Leary, and Copeland, had been residents of Oberlin. After the execution, at the request of his parents, Professor Monroe made an unsuccessful journey to secure the remains of the one last named. There was a difference of opinion in this community as to the propriety and wisdom of Brown's proceeding, and while some would exalt him as a martyr, others with no less admiration for his spirit and motive judged that his zeal approached too near the fanatical. In a single issue of the *Evangelist* two editorials appeared which were thus diverse in sentiment. While "J. A. T." could see "no signs of hallucination or infatuation," and esteemed "him the Wise Man of our times," "F." (*videlicet* Fairchild) explained why "the *Evangelist* to-day is not perfectly univocal," by expressing the conviction that "to the majority of Christian men the wisdom will appear in the divine plans and purposes, and not in the human scheme."

It must not be supposed, however, that because President Fairchild was conservative then, as always, he was lacking in courage or resolution. For was it not he who for weeks kept a runaway slave concealed in his attic? And it was his brother Henry who, riding home to Brownhelm once, at Mr. Shipherd's request hesitated not to take a colored girl along in the same conveyance, purely for her health's sake (this was in the days when "amalgamation" was supposed to be the horrid and necessary concomitant of coeducation of blacks with whites). Whereat, an extra of the

county paper was published immediately, giving a glowing account, and the next Cleveland paper had an article headed, "Marriage Extraordinary," which was copied into scores of sheets all the land over. Numerous were the devices in vogue in Oberlin to outwit and otherwise circumvent whoso would capture fugitives and return them to the land of bondage. Almost every dwelling was a possible place of hiding. Only warrants to search one house at a time could be legally issued in Elyria, and by the time the officer was prepared to investigate, the imperiled runaway was safely transferred to another part of the village or to some point nearer to Canada. Once a party of students blackened their faces and led a furious chase towards the Lake, and when overtaken made for a brook and washed off all traces of African origin. Again, in broad daylight a slave rode to Huron disguised as a female companion of a student named Sheffield and with face both veiled and chalked. On another occasion a fugitive was in a critical case and time was required to transfer him to a place of safety. Whereupon the students came together in large numbers, blocking up the way by which the slave-hunters must pass, engaging them in all manner of amiable conversation but effectually preventing any forward movement until all danger was past. Says President Fairchild: "It was not often that a slave was seized in Oberlin, and no one during all the long years was ever carried back to bondage. Violent resistance in the form of personal assault upon the kidnapper was not encouraged, and no instance of bloodshed or personal harm ever occurred: but the people would rally in a mass and hinder the captor from proceeding with his victim, oblige him to exhibit his authority and repair at once to the

nearest court to establish the legality of his proceedings. Often the illegality of the process was so marked that the slaves would be discharged at once; and once discharged they were soon beyond danger."

When by the vote of the trustees Oberlin admitted colored students, the apprehension was quite common that the community would soon be flooded with persons of African descent, though but a single one was then resident in the county. However, nothing of the sort occurred. But when some months afterwards "a solitary colored man was seen entering the settlement, a little boy, a son of one of the trustees, ran to the house calling out, 'They're coming, father, they're coming!'" The first to make their advent were students, some of whom remained. Later, a few families were attracted by the educational advantages to be had by their children. Sabron Cox came in 1838 from Alton, Illinois, where he had known Lovejoy, with two others in company. Later came Anson Jones, a skilful blacksmith, who bought freedom for himself and family at a cost of \$8,000. One Chambers, of Salisbury, North Carolina, a wealthy planter, wrote to the governor of Ohio asking if it were permissible to transfer negroes to that state for settlement, and being informed that there was no law against such a proceeding, in 1854 sent forward seventeen of his slaves in a wagon with five horses and a white driver, *via* the valley of the Kanawha to Cincinnati and thence by rail to Oberlin. Later on thirty more were despatched in the same way. To each family represented he gave a considerable sum of money, to at least one as much as \$500 in gold. A colored man named Patterson had already emigrated from the same region and settled

upon the colonial tract, who also erected the building now known as Stewart Hall. A planter removed hither bringing certain slaves who were his own children as well. Having purchased quite a large tract of land, he afterwards apportioned it out equally among them all. Rev. George Whipple was applied to by several slave-owners to receive and locate bondmen to whom they would give freedom, and some of these were settled in the Oberlin region. One of the early colored students was a native African prince.*

A few additional statements concerning the Graham craze, or early Oberlin scruples concerning diet, will not be out of place. At first economy for the sake of an enlarged Christian beneficence was the leading aim in the agitation for a simple diet, and only later did the "scientific" aspects of the case rise to prominence, with Mr. Finney as the most influential exponent. Not long after his arrival, in a lecture upon temperance, total abstinence was called for as touching tea and coffee. Once, in a Thursday lecture, the use of spices was inveighed against with vigor. Said he, "Put pepper in your nose and see how it will feel!" With great resolution in those days experiments were tried to ascertain "how little a student could live on and do his work; whether he needed milk, or meat, or butter, or tea, or coffee; whether his appetite was any index of the kind or amount of food best for him; whether

* John M. Langston, recently deceased, ranks among colored men who, by sterling merit, have risen to fame. Born a slave in Virginia in 1820, at the age of six he gained his freedom, took, at Oberlin, a complete college and theological course, graduating in 1854, practised law till 1869, and then became law professor in Howard University, holding that position for seven years. He was United States minister and consul general to Haiti, 1877-85; for three years more was president of the Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute, when he was elected to the Fifty-first Congress.

he should rise from the table as hungry as when he sat down ; how many condiments he should use, etc." There were some who in their zeal argued that if convicts in the penitentiary could live and thrive on bread and water diet then could students also do the same, and proceeded to eschew all other nourishing substances for weeks. It is related of Mr. Stewart, with whom strictest economy was a fundamental virtue, and who for several years kept the college boarding-hall, that he arose after prayers one morning when the students had finished their customary repast on Graham bread, thin gravy, and salt, and said for substance : " I have been thinking of a way in which we can bless others by making a very small sacrifice. Can we not substitute parched corn for Graham bread and thus save something ? " It does not appear that the proposition met with sufficient favor to make it feasible. Then there was a time when for supper a bowl of sweetened cream was provided for every half-dozen students in place of butter. One day a farmer came to visit his son and was given a seat at table. Beholding a bowl before him, he took it upon his plate and began to crumble in the bread. The son whispered, " That is sweetened cream ; " but the reply was, " I like it all the better for that," and he went on to finish his meal while the others supped on dry bread. Professor J. P. Cowles never looked with favor upon such dietetic vagaries, did not scruple to ridicule and otherwise oppose them, and as he himself states, furnished pepper boxes and kept the table supplied with pepper for months, though eventually the prudential committee took them away. For a season the consciences of some were sorely tried by the question whether it was allowable to foster slavery by using any of the products

of slave labor.* While this was under discussion one day some Graham bread was put upon the table which had been sweetened with molasses, tasting which several students refused to eat another mouthful until unsweetened bread should be provided. But all this exceeding sensitiveness concerning meats and drinks presently passed away, Mr. Finney, with the rest, concluding to eat much like other men. A student relates that a family with which he boarded for months without tasting anything "more greasy than skim-milk," moved away for a few years, and then returning invited him with others to dinner. And what was his amazement at beholding upon the table roast turkey, roast pork, and all manner of condiments and pastries! Not a few, however, there were who mourned over such a grievous departure from wisdom and righteousness. Prominent among these was Dr. Isaac Jennings, earnest champion of a "reformed" system of medicine then known as Orthopathy. It is in this way that he tells the sad story of decline: "In a few months they were panic stricken by the discovery that many of their physical corporations were apparently tottering to ruin. Some of their sturdiest, plumpest, and rosiest-cheeked men found their flesh diminishing, their muscular

* For years Oberlin had a store where conscientious customers could procure the products of free labor, that is, cotton goods, sugar, molasses, etc., which no slave's hands had ever touched, and some families would purchase no other. The quality might be inferior and the cost greater, but this made no difference. A clerical personage could be named, who also went on a mission to the Indians, blessed with a moral sense so acute that slave-made cotton sheets and quilts were an abomination, and, able to find no other substitute, in the hottest weather he would spread his buffalo robe upon the haymow and there seek slumber. The Union Missionary Society was a stanch advocate and patron of free goods to the extent of advertising them, if not also keeping them in stock and profiting by their sale.

strength failing, and their faces bleaching. Under the pressure of this panic they rushed with precipitous and confused haste back to their flesh-pots; and here under the exhilarating and bewildering influence of fresh infusions of the Chinese shrub and the Mocha bean, with the riotous eating of swine's flesh and drinking the broth of abominable things, they succeeded in arresting a necessary renovating work, and in dragging the jaded, disbanded forces back to their severe, destructive, and ill-requited field of duty. Now, forsooth, they are satisfied with Grahamism, they know all about it, they have got beyond Dr. Alcott," etc.

Anecdotes about Mr. Finney are multitudinous, and it is much to be feared that many are altogether apocryphal, though he was indeed an eccentric personage and sometimes said and did queer things. When the grist mill burned he was present and on his way home accosted a young man with, "Good evening; we've had quite a fire, have n't we? Are you a Christian?" Though believing thoroughly in "sanctification," yet once when a student arose and professed to have attained to that grace he said, "Oh, he is too green a Christian to hold out!" In a sermon upon the signs of a seared conscience he broke out with: "Just consider the condition in which I found myself yesterday. I engaged a number of men to make the garden and put in my crops, but when I went to look for my farming tools I could not find them. Brother Mahan borrowed my plough some time ago and has forgotten to bring it back. Brother Morgan has borrowed my harrow and I presume has it still. Brother Beecher has my spade and hoe, and so my tools were all scattered. I appeal to you, how can society exist when such a simple duty as that of returning borrowed property

ceases to rest as a burden upon the conscience?" The effect witnessed next day is said to have been most astonishing. Implements came pouring in from all quarters, some of which had long been missed by the owner, and some also had never been loaned! His prayers were every whit as peculiar as his preaching. Take a specimen. "And now, O Lord, we pray thee for Andrew Johnson. Wilt thou show him that he is only a man, and after all only a very poor specimen of a man. But if he persists in misapprehending himself, then wilt thou put him to bed. Put a hook in his nose and keep him from doing this mischief." This one was offered in a time of severe drought: "O Lord, the long-looked-for clouds are at last over our heads, and we pray that they may now burst and deluge the earth. Do not let them pass by and discharge their water upon the lake as they have so often done of late, for thou knowest that there is already water enough in the lake." When Council Hall was dedicated, the great evangelist was asked to offer the prayer. Before beginning he said he felt somewhat embarrassed with regard to performing this part of the service. He had several times refused to dedicate a house of worship which was not paid for, but this building was neither paid for nor finished. But he remembered he had often offered himself to God and he was not finished, so why should he not offer this house? Once more: "The class in theology of '38 was about to leave the institution. We met to hear one of the last lectures. Our teacher as usual knelt with us in offering the opening prayer, but the burden on his soul for us, for Zion, for a lost world, could not be thrown off in a few common petitions. For a whole hour he led us up to God. There was no lecture that day."

Though this giant intellect, this mighty preacher, was commonly full of sagacity and practical wisdom, it would be too much to claim that he was always rational and sensible. When Dr. Jennings' book on "Orthopathy" appeared, speaking in commendation of it, Mr. Finney expressed the judgment that there should be some *a priori* principle by which any medical theory or system could be infallibly tested. When, in the days of intense revival fervor, recitations had been suspended for two or three weeks and a few students suggested that they were in college for study and not to attend meetings, were on expense and it was not reasonable that their work should be interrupted; their protest was met with a sermon which warned them "that the first thing needed by them was to be reconciled to God; that neither study nor anything else was of any account until this great question had been settled; that Oberlin was founded by the servants of God to prepare teachers and preachers for his service; that the funds by which the college was sustained were given for this purpose, and they had no right to avail themselves of these opportunities to prepare themselves for their own selfish and worldly schemes. He besought them to give their hearts to God, and no longer abuse his forbearance or the privileges afforded them by his people." At one time he had selected an important theme for the Thursday lecture and announced it from the pulpit. But early in the week a political meeting was advertised for the same day and hour with Salmon P. Chase as the speaker. Consulting one of the faculty and receiving the reply, "We cannot help ourselves, he will come; you can go to the chapel but will have no audience, we had better give it up:" his rejoinder was, "James, you have n't got much

courage, have you? I'll never appoint another lecture!" On another occasion when Mr. Finney gave a sweeping and unqualified interpretation to some Scripture passage, another member of the faculty expressed a doubt of its legitimacy, when back came the reply; "Brother Morgan, unbelief is one of your principles of interpretation." He who had so long been the sole Oberlin pastor could never endure the thought of having the church divided, even when the great building became too small for the congregations. To spare his feelings it was arranged that action should be taken during his long absence in Europe, and when the vote was taken to form a second organization but a single ballot was cast in opposition, so universal was the conviction that such a step was imperatively demanded by the facts in the case. Dr. Gray of *The Interior* puts on record this anecdote: "The last time I ever met Mr. Finney, something was said which he laughed heartily at, showing a splendid set of teeth. To me, remarking upon them, he responded: 'I never lost but two in my life, and they were my wisdom teeth, and that some of my theological friends may say accounts for it,' and then he laughed again."

As for President Fairchild, among other important offices he seems always to have played the part of balance-wheel in the institution, and to have been looked to with confidence for wise counsel in all perplexing emergencies. As proof that he was also possessed of a practical turn, certain window-frames of his manufacture remained until recent times, while divers articles of household furniture are still treasured in the community which display his skill in handicraft. A natural student, he mastered all branches

with ease, read the entire Old Testament in the original, and Latin and Greek authors not a few outside of the prescribed course. Being of a bashful and retiring turn he kept largely aloof from the other sex. During the long period of poverty and struggle the professors were paid in orders upon the treasury, which were cashed by merchants and others at a discount sometimes of twenty-five per cent, and then when any money came in, the watchful holders were certain to be the first on hand to present this paper for payment. At his suggestion this evil and scandal was ended by the faculty refusing to take orders, and arranging it that funds coming in should be divided *pro rata* according to the amount due. It was the same brain which devised the plan to put Professor Cowles upon the board of trustees as a check to President Mahan, and which with Mr. Strieby prepared the arraignment to present to that body that preceded only by a few months his resignation. Once when acting editor of the *Evangelist*, Mr. Finney suggested that more narratives of remarkable religious experiences ought to be printed. Said President Fairchild, objecting: "These are good in their place, but their place is in the house where they occurred. And besides, whom shall we get to furnish them?" A number of men and women were named whose soul exercises were truly wonderful and affecting, but whose standing for Christian character was quite inferior. "These are not by any means the best saints." Then quoth Mr. Finney: "I know it, but then it will show what wonders divine grace can work with crooked sticks!" It was at the special request of Professor Park that President Fairchild's article setting forth and criticising sanctification as once held in Oberlin was prepared. Before present-

ing it to a home audience, he sought an opportunity to read it first to Mr. Finney but failed, and a second attempt was attended with a like result. And before a convenient hour could be arranged the fervid heart which might have been grieved had ceased to beat. The Oberlin *Evangelist* of March 12, 1862, gives this narrative: "Professor J. H. Fairchild is temporarily disabled from his professional duties by a fearful shock experienced in the water and ice of Black River. Returning from Huntington in a buggy that morning he found the road flooded by a rise in the river, and the water frozen over. Supposing the ice would readily give way, he drove in. For a while the horse crushed the ice, but soon it proved too stiff and the water too deep for him. Then Professor Fairchild plunged in and broke his way with his hands a distance of some twenty rods, during some part of which the water was breast high. He supposes he must have been a full hour in this ice-cold water. When through he could not walk, or even stand." This incident occurred between Wellington and Pittsfield, and the effects were felt in greatly enfeebled health during the entire season.

The names of some of Oberlin's notable friends may be mentioned, especially of those who in days of suspicion and obloquy were not ashamed to be known as admirers and patrons. There were the Tappans, of course, both Arthur and Lewis. And Gerrit Smith, who donated 20,000 acres of wild lands in Virginia. And Amasa Walker, who, year after year, journeyed from New England to Ohio to lecture upon political economy, making no charges and paying his own expenses. And Josiah Chapin of Providence, R. I., who, without solicitation and for each of several years sent Mr.

Finney a draft of six hundred dollars. And Willard Sears of Boston, a trustee, 1845-62, who took great pains to attend the sessions of the board, helped about plans, and paid the architect's charges when the First Church was building its sanctuary, as well as contributed liberally towards the salaries of the professors. Over in Britain the famous abolitionist Thomas Clarkson was a warm friend and patron; also Harriet Martineau, who wrote in Oberlin's behalf when Keep and Dawes were making a canvas for funds; and David Livingstone, who counseled a younger brother to seek here an education, sending him for voyage and other expenses the first money he ever received from the London Missionary Society. Crossing the Atlantic, the distance from New York City was traversed on foot. It is told of Mr. Dawes that when traveling among entire strangers and taking his seat at hotel tables, he would rise and, calling for silence, would ask a blessing upon the meal or name some other one to perform the act. When in London, engaged in his great financial work to save the institution from threatened bankruptcy, it was learned that the City Council was in control of certain trust funds which could be expended upon whatever charitable objects were deemed worthy of assistance. With a venturesomeness and assurance which to most would wear the look of presumption, if not also of impudence, application was made to that corporation. And, behold, though the request was not granted, the two petitioners were admitted to an interview, were listened to with deference and attention, and the negative vote stood only eighty-two to eighty. Again, a wealthy Quaker was asked for help and promised to respond with a sum to be named the next day, when they should

dine at his house. When the two guests turned their plates, under each one several gold pieces were lying but not amounting to any considerable sum. And what should Mr. Dawes do, master of strategy that he now showed himself to be, but push the coins aside as if not at all taking the hint, and motioning to his associate to do the same ! Not a word was uttered, but within a day or two a draft was received bearing the Quaker's signature which made Oberlin the richer by five hundred dollars.

It is a well-known fact that some of the early colonists were quite peculiar, to say the least. But it must be borne in mind that such as these never constituted more than an insignificant fragment of the population, and also that their activity was confined almost wholly to the first generation. The times, too, were exceedingly favorable for the production of eccentrics, and there was not a little in the scheme of Mr. Shipherd to attract the same class. There was Deacon Beecher, a really good man, whose peace principles were so radical that when the Rebellion broke out he would have no fighting nor any enlistment of volunteers ; but instead would mass an immense praying band down on Mason and Dixon's Line, and there send up mighty supplications until the rebels were vanquished and brought to terms. This same brother once announced that for nine years he had not sinned, and could distinctly recall the hour and the spot which witnessed the last breach of the moral law. In western New York he had stepped ashore from a canal boat while *en route* to Oberlin with his wife, who also had asked him to carry certain over-numerous and over-heavy bundles, whereat he had exploded with words hasty and unbecoming. When, early in the forties, the Second

Advent was held by many to be at hand, a student, in his zeal to persuade his companions to believe and prepare, sold a shelf of books to procure the wherewith to print an appeal, in which he argued that if in the far-off days of Paul the Coming was near, in the present time it must needs be *very* near. A copy of this tract was put under every plate on the tables of the boarding department. But another student, not overcome by this plausible logic, put the query, If it takes eighteen centuries to advance from near to very near, how long will it take that day actually and fully to arrive? In sanctification times it was nothing unusual to hear the declaration in religious gatherings, "I have received the blessing; I know I shall never sin again." Then there was Jay Wheaton, who later seems morally to have come utterly to grief, that once expressed this conviction: "If I should pray to God to convert the world, he would have to do it. But I would not ask him, because I do not know as it would be best." But later he said, "I have done it; I felt just like it last night and asked him." Then to the question, What happened? he replied, "O nothing, but I know he will do it." A colonist whose advent dates from 1833 halted in Buffalo long enough to have a barrel of Graham flour mixed with Saratoga water and made into crackers which lasted him until the next year, though towards the last waxing so hard that a hatchet was needed to crack them. Not finding Oberlin sufficiently strict in the matter of plain living, and hearing how far Dr. Nelson's Mission Institute at Quincy, Illinois, went beyond it in this particular, he resorted thither, built his own cabin, raised his own food, and made his own garments, tolerating but a single button, and that upon his coat. Hiram Pease, an early comer, was an ex-

cellent man, but a genuine Yankee and odd in the extreme. It was he who once passed sermon-time counting the supernumerary buttons on the garments of the brethren present, reckoning up how much they cost and how many Bibles were thus withheld from the perishing heathen, and afterwards in meeting reported the results of his figuring. Hearing of a socialistic experiment starting up at no great distance, he cast in his lot with the founders, but soon returned a wiser but poorer man. Living till the ninetieth milestone was passed, as the end approached he pondered much upon a suitable epitaph for his tomb, which also he would have cut in the face of a granite boulder selected by him for the purpose. These words are the product of his literary labors :

Under this sod and under these trees,
Lies the body of Hiram A. Pease.
He is not here : only his pod :
He's shelled out his soul, and gone to God.

When suffering from his last sickness, to a friend calling and talking about the probabilities of the near future, he expressed the conviction that he should not pass away just then, and gave as a reason : " It is too early to plant Pease."

Professor Street takes its name from the fact that, in 1835, the project was formed by the trustees of building houses for all the faculty upon the west side of the campus and further south. A beginning was made for the benefit of President Mahan and Mr. Finney, but then followed long years of such financial stringency that the scheme was abandoned. In 1851 Mr. Finney bought the dwelling built for him, and Professor Morgan soon after purchased the house

which, on his departure, the president had vacated. How rose-tinted was the prospect for a few months is pictured in the conversation which Mr. Finney held with Arthur Tappan, when on the eve of his departure to open the theological school in the wilds of Ohio: "You shall not want for money. But let the promise which I now make you be a secret between you and me. Send out your agents and collect what you can, and do this mostly for the sake of advertising the work that you are about. Stir up your trustees to make what efforts you can to get funds. Put up your buildings as fast as possible, and let them be tasteful structures; collect a library, get your philosophical apparatus and whatever you need to carry on the work with the least possible delay, and whatever funds the trustees fail to secure from other sources I will supply to the full extent of my yearly income, which is at present one hundred thousand dollars." In June of 1835 this same great-hearted giver wrote the trustees as follows: "Permit me to suggest that some regard be had to the style of building, and of laying out your college grounds. There is a great defect in this particular in our eastern colleges. Without much, if any additional expense, good taste may be consulted in the public and private buildings you erect and the grounds around them. And it will add not a little to the satisfaction of your friends when they visit you, if I may judge from my own feelings. And is it not true that chasteness in architecture and adjoining grounds has a refining influence on the character, and adds immensely to the enjoyment of life? I feel it is a religious duty to imitate our heavenly Benefactor in this as in all his other perfections." But at least one of the colonists, T. S.

Ingersoll, to wit, regarded such matters from another point of view altogether, and in March of the next year sounds a note of solemn warning in the ears of the trustees, and makes protest as follows (be it remembered, Messrs. Shipherd and Stewart being members of the board): "The Lord has made you the almoners of bounty in a work of most interesting and fearfully responsible character. He has opened wide the hand of his bounty, and poured into his treasury which he has established here in the wilderness, for an express, definite purpose, which is no other than the world's conversion to Jesus Christ in the soonest possible time. You, my dear brethren, have taught us to regard this as God's work, God's buildings, God's institution, and God's property. And he has consecrated all the funds he has sent here to a most holy service. Seeing these things are so, what manner of buildings and what manner of work ought your body to direct to be built? Will you direct or even suffer mechanics to build, even at their own expense, houses here for carrying on the Lord's work merely to be esteemed by the men of this world? In the house which is built for brother Mahan I have found some forty or more dollars' worth of work in the two north rooms which I cannot for my life find any good reason for, except it be to please the taste of a vitiated world. An impenitent master-builder remarked to me the other day that he thought President Mahan's house might have been built three hundred dollars cheaper and have it answer the object for which it ought to be built. There is a plain, neat, simple style of building which commends itself to every man's enlightened good sense, and still will not be highly esteemed by the world, neither is it an abomi-

nation in the sight of God. Will my brethren seek for this style of having the work of the Lord done? If so, from whom will they draw their models? from the word of God, or from the word of Benjamin, or some other human architect? Said not Jesus Christ, on another though somewhat similiar occasion, 'Wo unto you, when all men shall speak well of you!'" As the speedy event proved, this brother's fears were groundless. All peril from temptation to extravagance was soon cut up root and branch. Oberlin's bane has come, not from her wealth, but from her poverty instead.

Upon a former page the fact was mentioned that Bishop Whipple of the Episcopal Church for a year or two was a member of the Preparatory Department. But also Lorenzo Snow, an "apostle" in the Mormon church, was a student for a few weeks during the thirties. By his sister Eliza the reason for the brevity of his stay is said to have been, that "he was able to find neither knowledge nor religion" in the concern, and a valid reason surely. Rev. M. E. Strieby supplies this bit of narrative relating to the days of sore financial distress: "I went to New York and attended a meeting of the College Society. When I was allowed to speak I said: 'You know some things I do not know, but I know some things which you do not.' And then I went on and described the times you had had in Oberlin when you did not know from what source you were to get your bread, and how in this town there was prayer everywhere, so that wherever you went past the houses or in the fields you would hear some one praying. And when I told them of such men as brother Streeter and others, brother Ludlow, one of the executive committee, got up and went

out: he could listen no longer. But he came back in a few minutes with tears in his eyes, and said that the spirit I had described as prevalent in Oberlin was what we wanted. A religion that could enable men to deny themselves for Christ's sake like those I had described, and do such a work, should be nourished. He believed that God was in Oberlin. A motion was then carried that relief should be granted from the funds of the society." As for the multitude of those who shared in the almost excessive religious fervor of 1835-40, they kept fairly well their mental balance, or at least presently recovered it when lost. But one W. T. Allen, a southerner, an abolitionist, and who was numbered among the Lane "rebels," not many years afterwards lapsed not merely from the grace of orthodoxy, but made shipwreck of all faith in Christianity. A famous so-called "lynching," more properly termed flogging, has been referred to, which had one really startling outcome. Some months after it occurred, Professor J. H. Fairchild, while upon a trip which was to eventuate in marriage, had occasion to register in a Cincinnati hotel, where his name was seen by the father of the young man who figured as the victim. And he, though entirely mistaken, supposing he had come across one of the participants in the transaction, approached with his hand in his pocket as if with a pistol in his grasp and said: "If I did not fear God more than I fear you, I would shoot you dead." Only one other similar outbreak of violence was ever witnessed among Oberlin students. About twenty years since a boisterous, rough, and provoking young man had persistently made himself so disagreeable and intolerable that one night he was

taken to a neighboring cornfield, stripped, and treated to a coat of tar.

We have heard that for a season Oberlin was deemed by many to be a very nest of heresy and iniquity. In the midst of that queer period E. H. Fairchild became pastor of a Presbyterian church in Michigan. When examined for settlement he was kept all day under sharp questioning, but nothing certainly and dangerously heterodox could be unearthed. So he managed to pass muster, though not without the counsel that he should strenuously endeavor to make his language in the pulpit conform more closely to the phraseology of the Presbyterian standards! As an illustration of the bad reputation borne by the college and community, Mr. Finney narrates that soon after his advent he went out one day northeastward to the ridge for some slips of currant bushes. "The man was very cross when he found I was from Oberlin, and blurted out, 'You're going to compel the young men to marry nigger wenches over there, and you're going to try to unite Church and State.' For years the opposition was so great that they threatened to tear down our buildings and force us to abandon the enterprise." The poverty of the population is revealed in an appeal issued in 1840 through the *Evangelist* to this effect: "The Oberlin Board of Education would say respectfully to their patrons that articles of clothing are of great value to the indigent students under their care. There is a constant demand of all kinds, especially for socks, shirts, bosoms, and collars, fullered or broadcloth, and also for such articles as are suitable for the warm season. The two latter kinds may well be sent before being made up."

A monument in the cemetery possesses a pathetic

interest, which is also fairly historic. On the sides of a modest marble shaft about eight feet high are cut these lines :

S. GREEN,
DIED AT CHARLESTOWN, VA., DEC. 2, 1859,
Aged 23 years.

J. A. COPELAND,
DIED AT CHARLESTOWN, VA., DEC. 2, 1859,
Aged 25 years.

L. S. LEARY,
DIED AT HARPER'S FERRY, OCT. 20, 1859,
Aged 24 years.

These colored citizens of Oberlin,
The heroic associates of the immortal

JOHN BROWN,

Gave their lives for the slaves.

Et nunc servitudo etiam mortua est, laus Deo.

Of Green, an Oberlin student, it is related that when Brown was captured, he was away in the mountains on some errand with a companion, who on returning counseled flight and acted accordingly. But Green replied that he preferred "to go and die with the old man," and went when he might easily have escaped.

For some reason more than a half-century has been suffered to pass since his death without the erection of any building or other memorial structure in honor of the founder of Oberlin. A tablet was indeed placed in the Ladies' Hall bearing this inscription :

REV. JOHN J. SHIPHERD,
MR. PHILO P. STEWART,

And their wives,

Projectors and Founders of Oberlin College, 1833.

But this tablet perished when that building was destroyed by fire in 1886. And in 1880 Mrs. Stewart, then at the age of eighty-four, procured a plain shaft now standing in a conspicuous place near the entrance to the cemetery, on which that inscription is reproduced, and the names are carved of Mr. and Mrs. Shipherd and of Mr. Stewart, together with the places and dates of their births and deaths.

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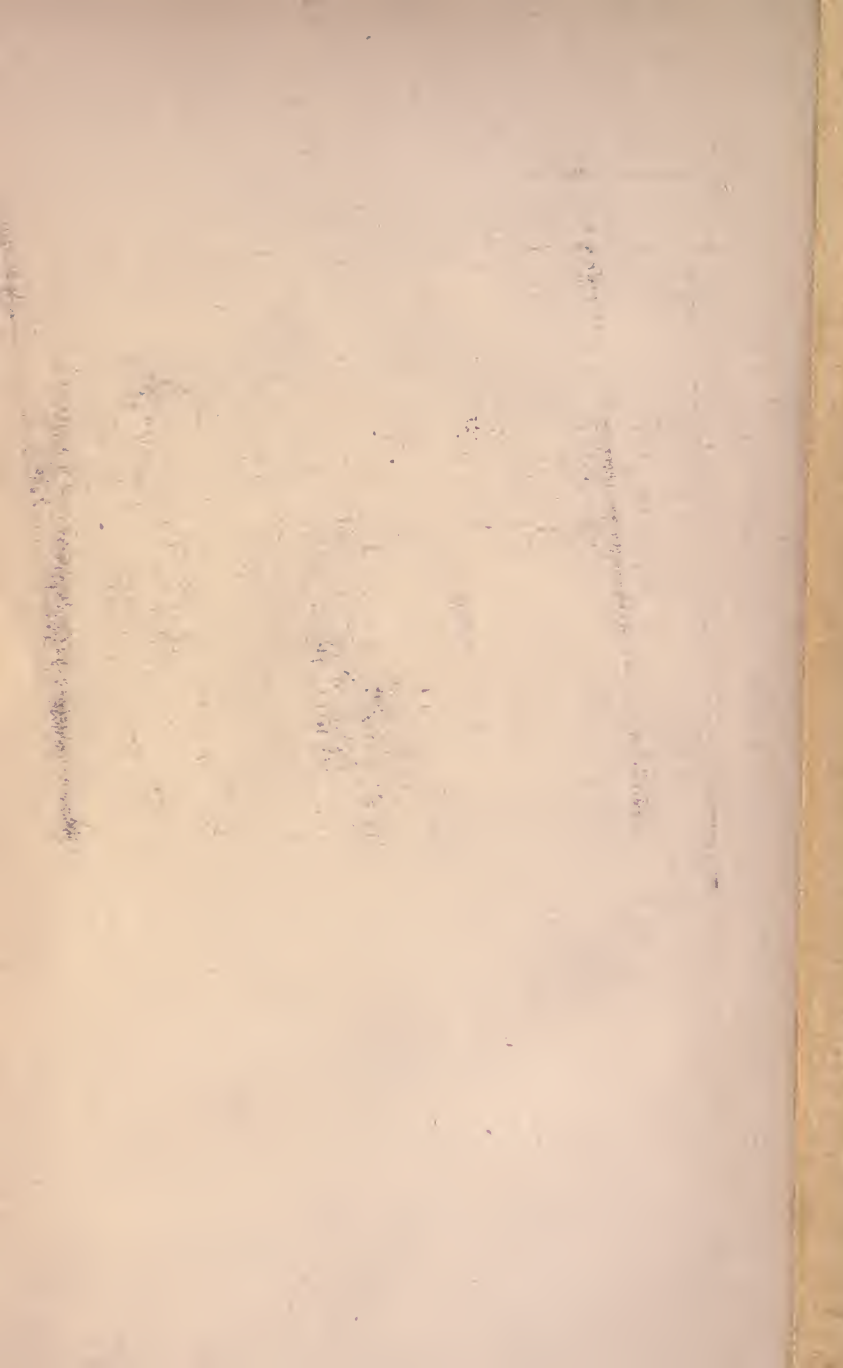
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