

to reading and Prayer." The next evening—"A Person in whose family I had Visited and Prayed called to see me on the subject of Religion, Poor Man was in Liquor." On February 22, 1835, "Past 12 o'clock Night, rose and read 2 of dear Mr. Whitefields sermons."⁴³ The work with the Negroes in the city was carried on with increasing success. The Sisters—Phebe Mathews, Emeline Bishop, Lucy Wright and Maria Fletcher—continued to cooperate in the teaching.⁴⁴ But this halcyon life could not well be permanent; it was not indeed quite satisfactory. There was need of haste to complete their theological education. But where should they go? to Auburn? to Andover?

⁴³Diary, 1834-1835, in the Foltz MSS, Oberlin College Library.

⁴⁴Letters from the Rebels to Weld, Dec. 15, 1834, and Jan. 8, 1835, in Barnes and Diamond, *Op. Cit.*, I. 178-194.

CHAPTER XIV

*THE GUARANTEE OF ACADEMIC
FREEDOM*

IN THE autumn of 1834 the Oberlin Collegiate Institute was tottering, optimistic official pronouncements to the contrary notwithstanding. Old debts were unpaid and few funds were forthcoming for the additional buildings and other necessary equipment. The school had no president and no sufficient teaching staff. In October the Honorable Henry Brown, founder of Brownhelm, resigned as president of the Board of Trustees; he had been the most prominent local man identified with Oberlin.

To take his place Rev. John Keep, now of Cleveland, was appointed, and presided over a meeting on January 1, 1835. Keep, as we have seen, had preached for many years at Blandford, Massachusetts, and, after that, at Homer, New York. While at Homer he had come under the influence of Finney. Besides being a new-measures man he was also an earnest advocate of "female education" and of total abstinence, and a friend of the colored race. Like John Jay Shepherd, he heard the "Macedonian Cry" and went from New York to the Connecticut Western Reserve to help pour onto the "moral putrefaction" of the West the "savory influence of the gospel." In 1833 he left Homer to become pastor of the Stone (now the First) Presbyterian Church in Cleveland, and two years later organized a church in "Ohio City" (the west end of Cleveland) which later became the First Congregational Church of Cleveland, West Side. While still at Blandford, Rev. Mr. Keep had founded a free school for colored people; he had always been an active supporter of the American Colonization Society and had refused an appointment as agent for that organization in 1833. By 1834, however, when he entered the work at Oberlin, he had accepted immediate emanci-

pation without colonization as the proper solution of the evil.¹

At their meeting of September 23 the Oberlin trustees had taken cognizance of the desperate financial situation of the Institute and resolved, "That it is expedient to take immediate & effective measures by agencies and otherwise to increase the funds of the Institution—", and "That our general Agent [Shipherd] be instructed to take a tour through the different Sections of the country for the purpose of collecting funds for this Institution."² Shipherd was a regular subscriber to the *New York Evangelist* and the *Ohio Observer*, in which the Lane affair had been extensively noticed. He must have seen the chance for Oberlin to get students and possibly other aid out of the situation. Very possibly further information may have come to him from Maria Fletcher through her father or from Theodore Keep through his father. Besides, Shipherd, as a member of the Western Reserve Anti-Slavery Society, would have been deeply concerned by the repressive measures adopted against the discussion of immediatism at Lane Seminary. Anyway, he chose Cincinnati as his first objective when he started out on November 24 on this most successful and most significant of all his financial missions in behalf of the institute.³ The journey to Mansfield over the miry, rutted roads of late autumn he found "slow & tedious," especially with the "balky sullen horse" provided him by one of the Oberlin colonists. From that point he sent back the wagon and team (without regret) with some supplies purchased or donated along the way: butter, "baskitts," dust pans, bolting cloth and "steel-yards." From Mansfield he proceeded to Columbus where he met young Keep who told him more "about fallen Lane Seminary" and encouraged him to seek aid among the Rebels and their friends.⁴ So Shipherd went on to his fateful destination, riding in an uncomfortable mail wagon, packed among the bags of letters and papers.

Shipherd was hospitably received in the home of the Mahans

¹John Keep, MS Autobiography (Keep MSS); Keep to Weld, Oct. 20, 1834. On his Cleveland pastorates see Julius P. B. MacCabe, *Directory [of] Cleveland and Ohio City, for the Years 1837-38*, page 42, and A. C. Ludlow, *Old Stone Church (Cleveland—1920)*.

²T. M., Sept. 23, 1834.

³"I go south to Cincinnati, & how much further I know not," he wrote to Fayette on Nov. 23, 1834 (Shipherd MSS).

⁴Shipherd to N. P. Fletcher, Nov. 27, 1834 (Treas. Off., File II), and Shipherd to Keep, Dec. 13, 1834 (O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS).

and there good fortune came to seek him. After years of more or less unavailing efforts Shipherd saw the great opportunity open up before him. "I believe God has here put my hand on the end of a chain," he wrote to Eliphalet Redington, "linking men & money to our dear Seminary in such a manner as will fill our hearts with gratitude & gladness when it is fully developed."⁵ The "glorious good fellows" who had seceded from Lane were very favorable to the idea of coming to Oberlin if Mahan could be secured as President, Morgan as a member of the faculty and Finney to teach theology. The Tappans were clearly more or less definitely committed to financing them wherever they went. Thus might Oberlin secure a whole theological department: students and two teachers, besides a president and much-needed financial backing! Shipherd wrote: "God has kindly opened a door to our infant seminary, wide & effectual, thro' which I sanguinely hope, it will send forth a multitude of well qualified laborers into the plenteous harvest of our Lord."⁶

In the same letter Shipherd asked that Mahan be appointed President of the Oberlin Institute and John Morgan a professor. Shipherd described Mahan as "a revival minister of the millennial stamp" recommended by Finney, himself. He believed him well qualified for the position, "a critical scholar . . . in intellectual & moral philosophy—a department . . . commonly assigned to the President," and "a man of inflexible christian principles who follows the strait line of rectitude while even great & good men vibrate." Mahan would fit in well in the Oberlin Colony, he declared. "His interest in our Institution is intense & he would be willing to toil & sacrifice in its behalf to any extent so would his estimable wife." "In the midst of a city's temptations they have maintained Christian economy & simplicity in their style of living"—in conformity with the principle of the Oberlin Covenant. But, most important of all considerations, the Lane Rebels insisted on his appointment and that of John Morgan, "a man of sterling integrity & unwavering in his maintenance of high moral principle."⁷

Mahan, Morgan and the "Rebels" demanded that as a condition of their coming to Oberlin entire freedom of speech on all

⁵Shipherd to Redington, Dec. 15, 1834 (O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS).

⁶Shipherd to Keep, Dec. 13, 1834 (O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS).

⁷Shipherd to Keep, Dec. 13 and 15, 1834 (O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS).

their opinion. It read: "We, Students of the O. C. Institute hereby certify our view as to the practicability of admitting persons of color, to this Institution under existing circumstances." On the left-hand side was a column marked "In favor"; on the right a column marked "Against." The number of names "against" was 32; the number "in favor" 26. Mary Lyon's nephew and Mary Ann Adams, later Principal of the Female Department, were among those who voted in the negative.¹⁰ Only six young ladies voted for the admission of Negroes and fifteen voted against it; the young men, on the other hand, favored it by a vote of twenty to seventeen.

The trustees were to meet on the first day of January. The feeling was so intense that it was deemed desirable not to meet in the colony. Notices were therefore sent out on the 29th of December announcing that the meeting would be held in Elyria.¹¹ At the last moment an effort was made by a number of Oberlinites to bring the trustees back to the colony by addressing a petition to them:

"Whereas there has been and is now among the Colonists & Students of the O. C. Institute a great excitement in their mind in consequence of a resolution of Bro. J. J. Shipherd to be laid before the board—respecting the admission of people of colour into the Institute and also of the board meeting at Elyria

"Now your petitioners feeling a deep interest in the O. C. Institute and feeling that every measure possible should be taken to quell the alarm, that there shall not be a root of bitterness spring up to cause a division of interest or feeling (for an house divided against itself can not stand). Thereupon your petitioners respectfully request that your Hon body will meet at Oberlin that your deliberation may be heard and known on the great and important question in contemplation. We feel for our Black brethren. We feel to 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 God would have us to do."

The petition was signed by 32 (male) colonists and students,¹²

¹⁰Original in O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS.

¹¹John Keep to N. P. Fletcher and E. Redington, Dec. 29, 1831 (Treas. Off., File A).

¹²"Petition to Trustees Re Colored Students" in Misc. Archives.

but it was ineffective, the trustees holding their important meeting at Elyria as intended. There, in a meeting characterized by one member of the Board as full of "rancour & malevolence,"¹² Mahan and Morgan were unanimously elected, but the motion to admit Negroes was tabled. "Whereas," runs the statement in the minutes, "information has been received from Revd. John J. Shipherd, expressing a wish that students may be received into the Institution irrespective of color—therefore 'Resolved That the Board do not feel prepared till they have other and 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.'"¹³

In the meantime, without waiting for an answer to his proposals from the trustees at Oberlin, Shipherd had started east with Mahan to secure financial aid, the support and adhesion of Charles G. Finney, and his acceptance of the theological professorship. Shipherd had, since at least the early spring of 1834, been considering applying for funds to the Tappans.¹⁴ Now was a most favorable opportunity. En route up the Ohio he wrote to his brother from Gallipolis where he had landed for the Sabbath:

"I hope to be in New York next Saturday night or Monday night at farthest. . . . Br. Mahan Pastor of the 6th Ch. in Cincinnati is with me as an Assistant Agent for our dear Institute, and it is highly essential that we should be in New York. . . .

"Br. Mahan has expressed his readiness to accept & a confidence that br. Morgan will also accept. Some twenty theological students who have left Lane Sem. on account of its gag laws; among whom is br. T. D. Weld, say that if brs. Mahan and Morgan join the Faculty of our Institute, they shall join the pupils. Doct. Beecher has said that these men did right in leaving the Seminary, & called them a company of 'Glorious good fellows' &c—Moreover bros. Finney, Arthur Tappan & others in New York have offered some thousands for the establishment of a Seminary where these young men & others can enjoy the liberty

of free discussion; & these brethren say that they will advise the N. Y. brethren to turn all in at Oberlin & engage their energies for its upbuilding. Thus dear br. I trust God has put my hand on a golden chain which I shall be able to link to Oberlin & thro' it bind many souls in holy allegiance to our Blessed King.

"We hope Br. Finney will become Prof. of Theology at Oberlin. Lane Seminary I regret to say is down, & Doct. Beecher with it. Oh why did he confer with flesh & blood! Why not dare to do what he acknowledged to be right! He has evidently been guilty of *duplicity*, & his sun which I hoped would enlighten this valley & set serenely in the West, will I fear go down in a cloud. 'Cease ye from men!'"¹⁵

Certainly the conjunction of circumstances was remarkable and it is not surprising that minds of Oberlin accustomed to look for providences should have deemed it providential.

The "Rebels" in Cumminsville were ready. Stanton wrote to Weld early in January: "As to Oberlin—Study—next summer &c., We have had no formal expression of opinion since your letter arrived, but we like the plan well. Brother Finney *must* go to O. It is the very kind of contact we need. So good, and rare too, in its moral characteristics. Our time expires here first of April. Ought we to go to O. then? We must spend the remainder of our course together some where! Will it be possible for you to be with us next year? Even 6 months of your contact would be invaluable to us. With Finney, Mahan & Morgan!!" James Thome, of Kentucky, concurred: "I hope the Oberlin enterprise will carry. It suits my wishes, for I believe it will suit my wants." William Allan, another Southerner, likewise approved: "This Oberlin plan, however, has opened up a new train. If you & Finney should go there I would try if possible to go with the rest. That, with me, will be putting on the capstone—I shall have passed the rubicon if I should go to an institution where abolition is concentrated—at the head of which is that arch-heretic Finney."¹⁷

Stanton and Whipple wrote a joint letter to Finney a few days later expressing their deep interest "in the cause of theological education at the West."¹⁸ They saw the region in a desperate

¹²N. P. Fletcher, *Op. Cit.*, No. 3.

¹³F. M., Jan. 1, 1835. Quite clearly the difficulty lay in the fear of the association of Negro men and white girls.

¹⁴Fayette Shipherd to J. J. S., Mar. 24, 1834 (Treas. Off., File 11.).

¹⁵J. J. S. to Fayette Shipherd, Dec. 22, 1834 (Shipherd MSS).

¹⁶Stanton, Allan, Thome, Whipple *et al.* to Weld, Jan. 8, 1835. Barnes and Dumond, *Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld*, I, 184-194.

¹⁷Stanton and Whipple to Finney, Jan. 10, 1835 (Finney MSS).

plight. "The harvest of the great valley is rotting & perishing for lack of *laboring men*. The spiritual death in our churches is alarming. The impenitent West is rushing to death, unresisted & almost unwarmed. The whole Valley is over-run with anti-nomianism, Campbelliteism, Universalism & Infidelity—while Catholicism is fast taking possession of all our strong holds & is insidiously worming itself into the confidence of the people, & undermining the very foundations of pure religion. And the orthodox are quareling among themselves." They saw only one solution: there must be a great revival, such a revival as could be produced only by "a new race of ministers" educated at a seminary "established on high moral ground, . . . & decided in its revival spirit" and its support of the "great and glorious reforms." No such seminary, they felt, existed at that time in the West. Certainly Lane Seminary "governed by a time serving expediency,—by a subserviency to popular prejudice & opinions" was "ill adapted to fit its pupils for warring with the sins & enormous evils of a corrupt & corrupting age." A new Western theological school must be founded to meet the pressing need.

Oberlin and Finney offered the answer. Oberlin was strategically located, and Finney was the man, if any existed, who could train a band of earnest young men to save the Godless West. "Our eyes," continued Stanton and Whipple, "have for a long time been turned toward you, as possessing peculiar qualifications to fill a professorship in such an institution. Holding & teaching sentiments which we believe are in accordance with the Bible, & having been called by God to participate more largely in the revivals of the last 9 years than any other man in the church, we could not but fix our attention on you as one whom God had designated for such a work. . . . Recognizing these truths, & having full confidence in your qualifications, we strongly desire to become your pupils. . . . We cannot but think that the Providence of God directly calls upon you to become the professor of theology in that institution [Oberlin]. If you should go there, nearly or quite all the theological students who left Lane, would place themselves at once under your instruction." How much after his own heart were these young men! Shipherd, or Finney himself, might have expressed his opinion of the Western situation in much the same language.

Now for some months Finney had been considering retiring

from his strenuous duties in New York City, so that the new invitation from the West came at an opportune moment. His trip to the Mediterranean had definitely not improved his health. His friends feared that continuous preaching in the city in the future would surely kill him. The Tappans had suggested that the inspired invalid might go to Cumminsville and complete the preparation of the Lane Rebels for the ministry; they would bear all the expense. But Finney had decided against this proposal early in November.¹⁹ Then, in mid-January, Shipherd and Mahan arrived in New York with their invitation to Oberlin, and the letter from Stanton and Whipple, representing the Rebels, came to support them.

The interplay of forces between the Tappans, Leavitt, William Green, Dimond, Shipherd and Mahan around Finney cannot be reconstructed at this late hour. But the decision was made promptly, thanks evidently partly to the conjunction of circumstances and partly to the persuasive powers of Shipherd, who saw that the supreme moment of opportunity for his beloved Oberlin had arrived, and of the Tappans, who were deeply interested in the education of the Rebels. The result was beyond anything that the first founders of Oberlin had dared dream of. Arthur Tappan subscribed \$10,000; and his associates, Lewis Tappan, Dimond, Green and others, agreed to pay eight professors six hundred dollars annually—all on condition that Finney be appointed Professor of Theology. Finney in turn agreed to accept the appointment on the condition that the trustees allow him to spend three or four months each winter preaching in New York and agree to "commit the internal management of the institute entirely to the Faculty, inclusive of the reception of students."²⁰

Unless the Oberlin trustees decidedly revised their stand on the question of the admission of Negro students the whole structure must collapse. Finney wrote to the Rebels: "We do not wish the Trustees to hold out an Abolition or an Anti-abolition flag but let the subject alone for the faculty to manage."²¹ Writing to Finney, John Morgan denounced the trustees' resolution: "I do

¹⁹Finney to Mrs. Finney, Nov. 10, 1834, and *Memoirs*, 332.

²⁰Shipherd to the Trustees of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, Jan. 19, 1835 (Original in the Misc. Archives).

²¹C. G. Finney to H. B. Stanton, Jan. 18, 1835 (copy in Finney's hand in Finney MSS).

not see how consistent abolitionists can give either their money or personal labours & influence to Oberlin till the trustees are 'prepared' to rescind this enactment & do justice to their coloured brethren whether other institutions do so or not. . . . I am sure that Weld & the leaders from Lane will not think of going to Oberlin while this resolution stands. Even Lane Seminary did not assume this odious attitude."²² The Lane Rebels took the same stand. One of them wrote to Weld: ". . . Saw a notice of the request of Shipherd that Trustees should pass Res. to admit into Col without respect of Colour. The board Res. not [to] act upon it without further information, declaring it to be their intention to have their Institution stand on the same ground as other literary institutions in the land.—This is not enough in these times, do write to New York & tell Mahan & Morgan not to accept without having that thing settled."²³ Everything depended on a change of front by the trustees.

Shipherd wrote two elaborate epistles to Oberlin in a desperate effort to bring about a change in the feeling of the community and the trustees on the question of the admission of colored students and to secure the acceptance of Finney's condition. One letter, written in New York and dated January 27, 1835, was addressed to the Church;²⁴ the other, written the week before and including a full statement of the situation at New York, was addressed to the trustees of the Institute.²⁵

Shipherd expressed deep disappointment at the trustees' previous decision—"surprising & grievous to my soul." "I did not desire you to hang out an abolition flag," he continued, "or fill up with filthy stupid negroes; but I did desire that you should say you would not reject promising youth who desire to prepare for usefulness because God had given them a darker hue than others." It was generally agreed, he pointed out, that emancipated Negroes ought to be educated in order to prepare them for the proper exercise of their freedom. He reminded the trustees that other institutions had admitted Negroes to full privi-

²²Jan. 13, 1835 (Finney MSS).

²³George Whipple et al. to Weld, Jan. 8, 1835 (Weld MSS). Barnes and Diamond (*Op. Cit.*, I, 194) have a slightly different reading.

²⁴J. S. to N. P. Fletcher, Church Clerk, Jan. 27, 1835 (O. C. Lib. Misc. MSS). This letter is quoted in part by Fairchild (*Op. Cit.*) and Leonard (*Op. Cit.*). It is historically less significant and less detailed than the letter to the trustees.

²⁵Shipherd to Trustees, Jan. 19, 1835 (Misc. Archives).

leges: Western Reserve College, Princeton and even Lane Seminary. Students who were so pharisaical as to object to association with Negroes would not be forced into their company, and the danger of "amalgamation" (intermarriage between white and colored students) he declared to be wholly illusory. Besides, Shipherd held that the admission of students irrespective of color was eternally right and he would insist upon it for that reason despite any considerations of "worldly expediency."

But, after all, the admission of Negroes was not the crux of the matter. "The difficulties [at Lane]," he recognized, "did not grow out of the reception of colored students," "but out of the Trustees' interference with the Students' right of free discussion, & those matters which belong to the Faculty to manage." In order to forestall any possible future unwarranted interferences by the Oberlin trustees in the internal affairs of the Oberlin Institute Shipherd insisted on the acceptance of Finney's condition. He threatened to resign if the trustees would not guarantee "that the Faculty shall control the internal affairs of the institute & decide upon the reception of students."

To consider this ultimatum, a special meeting of the trustees was called to meet at Shipherd's house in Oberlin on February 9. This was another hectic session, "riotous, turbulent & filled with detraction [and] slander."²⁶ Nine members of the Board, including Keep, the newly appointed president, gathered at the appointed place early in the evening; Shipherd's letter was read and "after some discussion and remarks, prayer was offered & the Board adjourned" to meet the next morning. Nathan P. Fletcher, an ardent abolitionist, and three other members favored the adoption of the measure sponsored by Shipherd and Finney; Philo P. Stewart, also supported by three of the trustees, opposed. John Keep, ardent Finneyite and friend of Weld and, as we have seen, an abolitionist, cast the deciding vote for the proposition.²⁷ The resolution passed is almost in Finney's own

²⁶Keep to Stewart, Pease and Fletcher, Jan. 29, 1835 (Treas. Off., File A), and N. P. Fletcher, Critical Letters, No. 3.

²⁷John Keep to Finney, Mar. 10, 1835 (Finney MSS). "The division in the Board," wrote Keep, "is occasioned by the alleged impropriety of permitting blacks to be in the same school with the whites. But the prime object of the movement (am I right?) is I suppose to train in a better manner for the ministry, holding yourselves ready to receive applicants irrespective of color—not as you are reported, to congregate such a mass of negroes at Oberlin as to darken the whole atmosphere."

words and settled the matter satisfactorily for him, for Shipherd, for the Lane Rebels and for the Tappans. It required a later misinformed and unsympathetic generation to discover that the trustees' action was "staggering and inconsequent." There is nothing ambiguous about it; it is straightforward and clear:

"Resolved That the question in respect to the admission of students into this Seminary be in all cases left to the decision of the Faculty & to them be committed also the internal management of its concerns, provided always that they be holden amenable to the Board & not liable to censure or interruption from the Board so long as their measures shall not infringe upon the laws or general principles of the Institution."²⁸ Mahan, Finney, Morgan, etc., were to be the faculty. With this faculty controlling the "admission of students" and "internal management" there was no danger that Negroes would be excluded nor that the repressive measures enacted at Lane could ever be forced upon Oberlin. Freedom of students and faculty from trustee meddling in "internal affairs" was thus a basic principle in the new Oberlin.

Important as was the decision to admit Negroes, in view of the great contribution which Oberlin was to make toward the education of the colored race, it was at the time of secondary significance. Oberlin was not the first college to admit Negroes. As we have seen, Shipherd, himself, cited a number of examples of Negroes who had attended other schools and colleges.²⁹ The chief concern of the Lane Rebels, of Morgan, of Mahan, of Finney was not that Negroes should be admitted, but that there should be freedom of discussion of the anti-slavery question and other social and moral problems.

²⁸J. M., Feb. 10, 1835. Leonard, Fairchild and Barnes are mistaken in their selection of the resolution which gave Negroes access to Oberlin. The resolutions referred to by them (F and G in the minutes) are merely a supplementary expression of sentiment on the question of Negro education. See Leonard, 144-145, Fairchild, 64, Barnes, 232. Prof. Finney wrote a formal acceptance of the position after his arrival in Oberlin in which he restated the conditions: that he have yearly leaves of absence to preach in New York or elsewhere, that sufficient funds be secured "to put the Institution beyond the pressure of pecuniary embarrassments," and "that the Trustees give the internal control of the school into the hands of the Faculty."

²⁹John B. Russwurm, a Negro, graduated from Bowdoin in 1827 (W. W. Brewer, "John B. Russwurm" in the *Journal of Negro History*, XII, 413-422 [Oct., 1928]). Edward Mitchell, a graduate of Dartmouth in 1828, is said to have been colored (*Oberlin Evangelist*, Oct. 8, 1836). A Negro is said to have entered Western Reserve College in 1832 (Carroll Cutler, *A History of Western Reserve College . . .* [Cleveland-1876], 43).

CHAPTER XV

BOOM TIMES AT OBERLIN

ASIDE from the money promised by the friends of the slave and the supporters of Finney in New York, Oberlin's wealth in the things of this world was small. John Keep stated the situation clearly in a letter to Finney: "Now then as to funds, Brother, we (trustees) have none, except the land & buildings etc. at Oberlin, say from 20 to 35 thousand dolls. We have not the money to *build* or support teachers. . . . The Board of Trustees cannot go on in this matter, only to act as the *legal* organ & do what N. Y. friends propose, in the present stage of the business. Now the whole enterprise is in the hands of these N. Y. men, with Br. S., Mahan, & yourself. Hold on to it well & see that it do not fail."¹

Arthur Tappan had promised to give \$10,000 and, later on, to lend \$10,000 more for buildings and other immediate needs. A Professorship Association was formed, a sort of living endowment, a group of the New York City brethren (William Green, Jr., I. M. Dimond, Lewis Tappan and others) agreeing to pay the salaries (\$600 per year) of eight professors. The association was to be given continuity by the appointment of a new member whenever any one of the old members died. No wonder Shipherd was disturbed when this association threatened to go on the rocks when it was yet hardly out of port. Lewis Tappan, it seems, doubted Finney's attachment to anti-slavery principles and threatened to withhold his subscription to the association. Shipherd called the subscribers together and, after a long evening of discussion, it was determined "to hold on in the name of the Lord" and stand "fast whatever gales may blow." The Founder wrote to Keep: "This meeting has shown us our foundation and greatly strengthened it."² Arthur Tappan was the financial rock

¹Keep to Finney, Mar. 23, 1835 (Finney MSS).

²Shipherd to Keep, Apr. 3, 1835 (Keep MSS), and to Fayette Shipherd, Apr. 1, 1835 (Shipherd MSS). Again in May Lewis Tappan was expressing his doubts of Finney's anti-slavery zeal.—L. Tappan to Shipherd May 5, 1835 (O. C. Lib.