ATTITUDES TOWARD BLACKS AND IMMIGRANTS
AT WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, 1831-1920

by

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This thesis is dedicated to Mom and Dad.

Thanks.
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Preface

I see this thesis as a perfect culmination of not only my history major, but also my career at Wesleyan. I have enjoyed both very much, and the ability to combine them into one was an enjoyable and learning experience. My research enabled me to look at Wesleyan from a different perspective. In addition to learning about the subject of the thesis, I learned a lot about Wesleyan's history in general. Bits of information that I never would have known now let me appreciate the school and its alumni even more.

There were a number of people who helped me and encouraged me along the way, the foremost being my advisor, Clarence Walker. I knew from my first class with Professor Walker, during my freshman year, that I could work well with him. In fact, he is the one responsible for opening my eyes to history and the possibility of making it my major. In addition, I will never forget asking him to be my major advisor at the end of my sophomore year, and his saying, "And I will advise you on your thesis, too." From that moment I knew I was going to write a thesis.

I must also thank the wonderful women of the Olin
Library Special Collections and Archives, Elizabeth Swaim and Christina Dodds. From the first moment I walked into their room, they were always offering help and suggestions of different places to look for information about which I otherwise would not have known. In addition, there was also help from Milo Wilcox and Matthew McCreight which was much appreciated.

Now I must acknowledge those who encouraged me, and also put up with me during the stressful times (of which there were few). First and foremost, there was my girlfriend, Susan, who helped ease the tension throughout the whole project. My housemates, Geoff and Michelle, are also due thanks, considering they had their own frustrations to worry about. Finally, thanks to all of the people who showed interest in what I was doing and gave me the desire to continue. Additional thanks are due Geoff for his proofreading of the final draft.

Of course, I cannot forget my family, without which all of this would not have been possible. My parents and sisters always provide great encouragement and support in anything I undertake.
Introduction

The idea for this thesis came to me two years ago while taking "The History of Black People and American Race Relations, 1550-1860". Towards the end of the semester, we were discussing blacks in the antebellum North, and a man named Charles Ray was mentioned in the lecture. We were told that he was a Negro enrolled at Wesleyan University but was forced to leave by a vote of the student body. I found this very interesting, and at that moment thought it would be a great basis for my thesis. How did the "racial climate" at Wesleyan compare to other colleges and the overall attitudes of the nation at that time? Was it a liberal institution or was there just as much racism prevalent here as there was in other parts of the nineteenth century United States?

Wesleyan University was founded by a group of Methodists in 1831. Incorporated within the charter of the university, granted by the Connecticut legislature, was a passage that required the university to be non-sectarian. While it is not evident whether the original intention of the founders was to establish a strictly Methodist university, it is evident that they were against the requirement of a religious test for students, faculty, or administra-
tion.

Provided, that no by-law or ordinance shall be established...which shall make the religious tenets of any person a condition of admission to any privilege in said University, and that no President, Professor, or other officer shall be made ineligible for or by reason of any religious tenets that he may profess nor be compelled by any by-laws or otherwise to subscribe to any religious test whatsoever...¹

While this passage did make the school non-sectarian, it did nothing for blacks. However, the Methodists were very concerned about the plight of Negroes in antebellum America. It is out of this concern that Willbur Fisk, Wesleyan’s first president, allowed Charles Ray to matriculate at the university in the fall of 1832. The admittance of a black man caused quite a stir on the campus, especially among the students from the South.²

The students’ attitudes toward Ray were clearly white supremacist; he could have stayed if he was white. This racist attitude was not unique to Wesleyan; it was rather prevalent throughout the country, with possibly its most visible extreme being the South’s “peculiar institution.” This action compelled me to wonder whether Wesleyan of the past held the same attitudes about race as the rest of the country. Also, when did the next black come to Wesleyan and was he faced with the same problems? As I began to research the topic, I found that, not only did more Ne-

¹ Original Charter, Wesleyan University, 1831.
² The Liberator, 12 January 1833.
groes come to Wesleyan, but also some caucasians who were not white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. These people also encountered hostility throughout the country with the growing nativist movement in the 1840's, but what was their experience at the Methodist Wesleyan University?

In order to find out what the racial and xenophobic climate was at Wesleyan, I read letters to and from the early presidents, researched the records of the two campus debating societies, went through alumni records, and followed stories in the campus newspaper, The Wesleyan Argus. With the leads that I found in these sources, I read books about people who were students, books about presidents, and basically tried to find whatever I could that discussed anything about people and occurrences at Wesleyan that were not part of the White Methodist status quo. Slowly, but surely, I was able to piece together an overall idea about what Wesleyan did and thought in regard to non-whites and non-Americans. In fact, in order to prevent the study from becoming unmanageable, I found it necessary to conclude my study at 1920.

In the first chapter, I describe the origins of Wesleyan as background and framework for the beginning chapters. I then follow chronologically into a description of Wesleyan’s first president, Willbur Fisk. Fisk was an ardent supporter of the colonization movement and the American Colonization Society, both of which involved
him in a number of conflicts both inside and outside the environs of Wesleyan and the Methodist Church. After describing Fisk's activities and influence on the campus, I explain and analyze the Charles Ray affair.

Fisk's successor as president was Stephen Olin, who came from the South and was a former owner of slaves. Olin's presidency occurred at quite a turbulent time for Wesleyan, the Methodists, and the country. The 1830's and 1840's saw possibly the height of the anti-slavery movement on campus, the division of the Methodist Church into Northern and Southern factions, and the emergence of both the slavery issue and the anti-immigrant movement on the national scene.

In chapter 3, I move from the views and influences of the presidents to the thoughts of the students. I focus on the concerns of the Peithologian and Philorhetorian societies. These were the student debating societies and possibly the only evidence we have of what issues were being discussed on campus. They were founded in the first year of the college, and a majority of the students participated in their discussions. From the records of these societies we can see what the topics of discussion were, and sometimes we are even given the resulting vote on the debate. Their interests ranged from slave emancipation to religious questions.

My next chapter I have entitled "Visitors, Environ-
ment, and Views" and it is just that: an accumulation of references to current events, visitors to the campus, and people involved in some way with the life of the students and the university. I will incorporate reports of visiting lecturers and visiting entertainment with commentary drawn from the Argus regarding things on and off the campus. The Argus was first published in 1868 and is my chief source for the period through 1920. In addition to the Argus, the Olla Podrida was helpful. The Olla Podrida was the annual book that contained students' pictures and listed the memberships of all of the fraternities and clubs. From what I understand from the Argus, it was a much awaited publication on campus. Fraternity and sports affiliations were very important in student activities. Even the non-fraternity members formed a club. This became a point of controversy when blacks and foreigners entered the university.

The end of the nineteenth century brought Wesleyan's first Oriental students. The number of Asian students, particularly Chinese, increased during the first twenty years of the twentieth century as the Methodist mission in China was established. Catholics also became a part of the Wesleyan community at this time. This is important for two reasons; first, the Catholics were most often immigrants, and second, these were the first non-Protestants to enter Wesleyan. The attitudes regarding these
non-Methodists are evident in a number of areas, especially in the new emphasis on Wesleyan's original non-sectarian charter. Chapter VI explores the attitudes surrounding these new types of students on the campus.

The beginning of the twentieth century also marks the reappearance of blacks on campus. One could say they came in abundance with four on campus during one five-year period; formerly, the high had been two. The final chapter covers this new period at Wesleyan. Blacks participated in sports and were members of fraternities. I will show whether this was different from other colleges, or just exemplary of a national trend.

It is necessary to set down some conventions that I will be using throughout the paper. When referring to a graduate of Wesleyan, I will follow his name with his graduating year. Similarly, the name of a non-graduate will be followed by an "n" and the class with which he entered Wesleyan. I have not attempted to include all of the points regarding racism and nativism at Wesleyan over these ninety years, but I have tried to take account of a number of incidents for each of the periods and peoples covered to give an overview of the times and events. Again, what I am trying to demonstrate is whether the experiences of blacks and immigrants at Wesleyan were different than those at other colleges and throughout the country. I will take specific occurrences at Wesleyan and
compare and contrast them with the general academic and national environment of that time. In my conclusion, I will try to come to a general statement regarding the first ninety years of Wesleyan's existence and whether it was a liberal thinking institution or simply a microcosm of a national whole.
I. Background

The charter of Wesleyan University was granted by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut on May 21, 1831, and was formally adopted by the trustees on September 20th of that year. The following day would be the official opening, and the buildings which formerly made up the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy of Captain Alden Partridge would now be Wesleyan University. These events marked the culmination of a campaign by the Methodist Episcopal Church to establish a college to train ministers. Prior to this time, a number of secondary schools were run by the Church, but there came the need for the graduates of these institutions to continue their education.

The New Haven District of the New York Methodist Episcopal Conference took the lead in searching for a place to establish the college, taking into account that Captain Partridge had recently vacated his holdings on the shore of the Connecticut River in Middletown. The presiding elder of the New Haven District, Rev. Dr. Laban Clark, presented a plan for the college to the New York Conference. The New Yorkers sent Willbur Fisk, a leader in the movement to establish a college, to the New England Con-
ference to present the case for the establishment of a Methodist institution in Middletown. The idea was endorsed, and competing proposals were sought from other cities. While Troy, New York, Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and Bridgeport, Connecticut, offered alternatives, none could beat the financial and aesthetic advantages of Middletown.

The New York Conference and all of the other conferences of the northeast ratified the move and elected permanent trustees; included were Laban Clark, named president of the Board of Trustees, and Fisk. At the first meeting of the Board a number of important things were accomplished; a perpetual lease for the buildings and grounds was secured, an opening date was chosen, a committee to petition the state legislature for a charter was formed, the planting of trees and shrubs was ordered, and perhaps most important of all, Rev. Willbur Fisk was elected as president of the college. Carl Price, author of *Wesleyan's First Century*, describes Fisk's qualifications:

There could not have been found in all the Church a man better qualified to be the first president of Wesleyan. His education fitted him to become a college president, rather than a professor; for his learning was not specialized in any one or two departments, but was broad and comprehensive. In fact, by the men of his own times, he was said to possess the most symmetrically developed mind of all the men in Methodism. This was in part the natural result of his attitude toward learning. He loved learning, not for its own sake, but for the practical uses which it
could be made to serve.¹

Fisk was known for both his lobbying for a Methodist college and his progressive views regarding education. It was Fisk who was "largely responsible"² for the section of the charter that prohibited the requirement of religious tests for either students, faculty, or administration as a prerequisite for admission. Fisk's inaugural speech on the opening day also emphasized his desire to preserve the non-sectarian aspect of Wesleyan: "Without this, or similar institutions, we can neither do justice to ourselves, nor discharge the obligation we are under to the world. We should engage in it, not for mere sectarian purposes, but for purposes of general interest." Despite this, the vast majority of students in the early period of the university were from Methodist Episcopal backgrounds and were studying for the ministry. Also, attendance at chapel services every Sunday was mandatory.

The first school year started with an enrollment of forty-eight students, forty of whom lived in the dormitory (later called North College). The library could boast of 900 volumes, most of which were remainders from the library of Captain Partridge's Military Academy. The faculty consisted of three professors and one tutor who were

²Ibid., p. 11.
charged with conducting classes in five departments: Moral Science and Belles-Lettres, Mathematics, Ancient Languages and Literature, Natural Science, and Modern Languages. The students had the opportunity to participate in two debate societies, a missionary society, and a number of fraternities which became a part of college life around 1837.\footnote{Ibid., pp. 9-58.}

The preceding information serves as a background of my discussion of Wesleyan's history from its beginnings to 1920. From here I will present various examples of the relations and attitudes of Wesleyan's students, administrators, and faculty, in regard to people of different racial and ethnic origin.
II. Willbur Fisk and the 1830's

Willbur Fisk was made president of Wesleyan University for his progressive views concerning education; his other views had little to do with the decision. However, in addition to Fisk's outspoken stand concerning education, he also tended to be outspoken over another burning issue of the time, slavery. His stand on this issue was firm, but his opinions about the amelioration of "the peculiar institution" led to confusion among both his admirers and critics.

In his biography, written by a friend and colleague shortly after his death, it is stated that "Dr. Fisk was always opposed, sentimentally and conscientiously, to the system of slavery". Fisk was also a member of the "American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Coloured Race". In an address to that organization, Fisk spoke of the probability of the "coloured and white races dwelling together in a state of political equality."

These views were quite progressive for the time, and Fisk took a somewhat stronger stance on the issues concerning

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2Ibid., p. 329.
slavery as compared to that of the Church.

The Methodists viewed slavery as a moral injustice, but had to juggle this concern for the plight of the blacks with the fact that a number of their members were southern slaveholders. As Donald G. Mathews states in Slavery and Methodism: "Gradually, through abolitionist pressure and the involvement of the Church in the movement...prominent Methodist spokesmen became agents...for the American Colonization Society." This seemed to be a compromise for the Church on the question of slavery; it was morally correct, since it would improve the condition of blacks, but it would also calm the fears of Southern interests since it was no threat to slavery. The plan to remove the free blacks to Liberia was a way to solve the problem of the existence of a free black class, which existed both in the North and in the South. While colonization was successful for some time, it began to gather a number of opponents, including slaveholders.

Fisk became "the most respected and outstanding colonizationist in the Methodist Episcopal Church...." Fisk took issue with the methods of the Anti-Slavery movement of the time, believing that abolitionism made the racial situation worse and postponed eventual freedom for

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6Ibid., p. 106.
He stood strongly in opposition to the workings of the Anti-Slavery Society and abolition in general. He tended toward a more conservative track, affirming his stance against slavery, but encouraging consideration of the future impact of the process by which slavery would come to an end. Fisk felt that the abolition movement did not take into account the future welfare of the slaves that it would free. In differentiating between the goals of the colonizationists and those of the abolitionists, Fisk told the Middletown Colonization Society that "the radical difference between them and us [is that] we hope by gradual amelioration, to elevate the oppressed colored man to his rightful standing in the great human brotherhood, without hazard and without civil convulsion."

His extensive activities involving the American Colonization Society gave Fisk a perfect platform for his views concerning slavery. Fisk explained his position best in a letter to **Zion's Herald**, a Methodist newspaper, after a leading abolitionist had parodied a speech Fisk had made on temperance by replacing "liquor" with "slavery."

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7Address by Willbur Fisk to the Middletown Colonization Society, 4 July 1835.

7Holdich, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
...I hereby announce that I am opposed to the general movements of modern abolitionism, to many of its doctrines, and to much of its spirit; but at the same time, I claim for myself and for thousands who are of the same sentiment, as much sympathy for the slave, and as deep a conviction of the evils of slavery, as abolitionists themselves.

...Any use that could be made of my words, or of my life, effectually to favor the great cause of humanity, in the emancipation of slaves, on principles safe and practicable, should have not only my free consent, but my hearty co-operation. But in my humble opinion, the course abolitionists are pursuing, never will do this."

In the same letter, Fisk countered arguments that the American Colonization Society should be disbanded:

...What! commend the dissolution of that Society, which has done more than anything else, to excite 'a healthy public sentiment' in favor of the man of color....A society that has individually liberated more slaves, probably, than all of the anti-slavery societies of our country, from the beginning until now! A society which the unprincipled slave-holder hates and dreads, because it leads to abolition; and the ultra-abolitionist opposes because it stands in the way of his dangerous hi-pressure engine! A Society which, by a successful experiment, makes fair promise of giving to the world a convincing and extended exhibition of negro elevation, moral, intellectual, and social! A Society that has done more to put down the African slave trade, than has been done by the decisions of kingly courts and republican congresses!..."

While it is clear that Fisk stood strongly for the Society, some of his facts above might not be so clear. As I stated above, colonization was a compromise that, in the

"Zion's Herald, 11 March 1835.
Ibid."
beginning, was supposed to appeal to the slave-holders because it resolved the problem of the status of free blacks in a world where all blacks were slaves. Fisk boasts that the society is one that the "unprincipled slave-holder hates". We must assume that it was only the principled slave-holder that approved of colonization. He was principled in approving of colonization because he cared about the free Negro and his problems of assimilating into a white supremacist society. To help the free Negro, the colonizationist argued that blacks should be sent out of the country. This would remove from the United States a people who could not be absorbed into the country's body politic.

It is necessary to consider Fisk's views on slavery and its amelioration in order to look at Wesleyan of the 1830's in proper context. As president, Fisk was viewed as the embodiment of the thoughts and ideals of the University. It was Fisk to whom fathers of seventeen year old boys would write for admission to the University. These men were concerned about the institution where their sons would study for the ministry; they would ask Fisk about the University's moral and intellectual environment. In addition to this, Fisk had a great influence over the students who attended Wesleyan and the activities in which they participated. In fact, David Swift, a former Professor of Religion at Wesleyan, and an authority on early
Wesleyan history, claims that

...Fisk seems to have had little difficulty in containing student abolition sentiment...In the latter 1830's several Wesleyan students wanted to form a college abolition society. They sent two of their number to Fisk to get his permission, Fisk persuaded them that it was unnecessary. Two others were sent with the same result, and yet two more. The project was abandoned.¹⁰,¹¹

Fisk's positions were conservative enough not to scare away any southern students, but not too conservative to cause an uproar among the Church's northern constituency. Fisk was still an overly qualified university president, and held the interests of the university above any of his personal convictions regarding the Negro. This fact even applied when Fisk admitted a student he knew from his days as president of the Wilbraham Academy, Charles B. Ray.

It was Willbur Fisk who admitted the first black student into Wesleyan, but it was the student body who was responsible for his departure only a few months later. Ray had attended the Wesleyan Academy at Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and desired to continue his Methodist education. He entered Wesleyan in the fall of 1832. This was not an unusual event for a New England college at that time.


¹¹Some further specifics of this influence can be found in Chapter IV.
Others had already admitted and graduated blacks: Middlebury in 1823, Amherst and Bowdoin in 1826. However, these were Congregationalist colleges with very little or no southern representation in the student body.\textsuperscript{12} Wesleyan, on the other hand, was comprised of students from both the North and South. Furthermore, these academic ties "...were reinforced by commercial links between southern planters and Connecticut mill owners, including the Russell Company of Middletown."\textsuperscript{13}

For these reasons, Fisk requested the advice of one of the southern parents, Josiah Flournoy, owner of 140 slaves on several Georgia plantations.\textsuperscript{14} Flournoy’s letter was received too late to have any influence, but from the content of the letter, it appears that Flournoy agreed with Fisk’s move to admit Ray,

\begin{quote}
...After the best reflection I have been able to give the subject you propose I can see no objection Educating the Coloured young man of whom you spoke in your letter more especially if he be really humble and pious and have something of the Missionary Spirit.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{quote}

At the time of Ray’s admission to Wesleyan, there were a total of eighty-three students enrolled in the

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{12}David Swift, "O! This Heartless Prejudice," The Wesleyan University Alumnus, Spring 1984, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{13}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{15}Letter to Wilbur Fisk from Josiah Flournoy, 10 October 1832, Eatonton, Georgia.
\end{footnotes}
university. I have been able to determine the following about some of these students based upon their place of birth or activities after graduation; 8 of them were from the South: 1 from the District of Columbia, 2 from Maryland, 1 from North Carolina, 2 from Virginia, 1 from Mississippi, and 1 from Georgia. While these students were a minority of the student body, it seems as though they exercised a baneful influence on the fate of Ray. Of course, it is probable that a number of the northern students also held southern views. This would be consistent with the fact that racism was a national phenomenon.

The university records indicate that Ray's presence on the campus caused an uproar from the moment of his arrival. This uproar was supposedly confined to the southern students and a small number of northerners. Events reached a crisis when Ray came to take his meals in campus buildings. This critical point further affirms that the racism that was present on the campus was just an extension of national norms, the desire to preserve a

16This is an approximation. Arrived at by counting number of graduates from classes of 1833-36 and non-graduates of those classes who left after 1832.


18"Scandalous Affair," The Liberator, 12 January 1833. The information from this article is drawn from a letter from S.P. Dole n°37, Wilbraham, Massachusetts, dated December 19, 1832. The Ray story is related in a letter from Oscar L. Shafter n°34, quoted by Dole.
separation of the races.

The group of students described above approached President Fisk with the proposition that either Ray had to leave the campus or they would. Fisk tried to show them the "inconsistency and illiberality of their views" with little success. What he did tell them was that he would do nothing until he could present the issue to the Board of Trustees, and that he would follow what they prescribed. In order to influence the decision of the trustees, the anti-Ray students organized a meeting on a Saturday afternoon, "when many of the friends of Mr. R. were absent from town." At that meeting, the following resolution was presented:

Resolved--That the Students of the Wesleyan University request the Trustees of said University to remove Mr. Ray from this Institution.

After much debate, a vote was taken, and the resolution was passed by all but one vote in the affirmative. The students were then told by friends of Ray that in no way could the resolution be presented to the trustees as a statement of majority opinion since over half of the student body was not in attendance at the meeting. The students agreed and decided to schedule another meeting on the upcoming Monday evening. Ray’s supporters spoke to

19 The Liberator, op. cit.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
others, including Ray himself, to get their opinions about the situation, but found that Ray had already decided to leave. Ray felt that Wesleyan was not a good place for him to be and, in consideration of the uproar that his presence had caused, concluded that it was best for all concerned that he immediately withdraw from the university. Ray’s friends agreed.

At the Monday evening meeting, Ray’s dismissal was no longer an issue, so the following resolutions were proposed and passed:

Resolved--That under existing circumstances, we view the farther connection of Mr. Ray with this Institution as inexpedient.
Resolved--That as far as our feelings are concerned, we have no objection to Mr. Ray’s continuing a member of this Institution.
Resolved--That the expenses incurred by Mr. Ray in coming to this place—those incurred since he has been here, and those he will incur returning home, be defrayed by a subscription of the Students.\textsuperscript{22}

The first and third resolutions passed unanimously, the second passed with some opposition from the "...Southern delegation, and...by several of the ‘New-England born.’\textsuperscript{23}

Willbur Fisk seems to come out of this whole situation unscathed. He did try to dissuade the student faction from their course of action. He also offered protection to Mr. Ray after advising him that he was welcome to stay. It was the students who were responsible for the

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{23}Ibid.
Ray incident. The article in *The Liberator* includes further descriptions of Ray's impact on the student body,

Among his most bitter opposers, was your much esteemed ------- -------. The only argument that he could bring against him was--his skin was black....

A majority of the students, and all of the Faculty, were friendly to brother Ray, and would have been glad to have him remain. We felt that though his skin was black, there was no danger of its eclipsing our honor, or of rendering impure the fountain whence we are drawing knowledge.

His opposers have not the least scruples in employing a colored man to cut their wood--black their boots--and do their drudgery. I have wished that they could be placed in the black man's situation, where they ought to be, to learn to sympathize with him in his degraded condition...

The final repercussion of the Ray incident was the revision of the charter, passed by the Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors on 10 October 1832 that stated "...none but white male persons shall be admitted as students at this institution." The passage stood until it was revoked in 1835.

As stated earlier, Wesleyan was not unique among New England colleges in having a black student. However, the blacks at those schools stayed until graduation; Charles Ray was forced to leave after only a few months. Looking at the situation, it seems that Wesleyan was not liberal in its views concerning educating the Negro, and the

**Ibid.**

**Notes:**

1. "Minutes of Joint Board of Trustees and Visitors, 1830-1868", p. 17.
students seem to conform to the national ideal of white supremacy. It should be noted that Wesleyan probably had a more geographically diverse student body than some other New England colleges such as Amherst, Williams, and Middlebury. This is most likely related to the denominational backgrounds of those colleges; they were, for the most part, Congregational colleges whose representation was mainly in the North.

To put the Wesleyan incident in perspective it is necessary to look into what was happening at the same time in other colleges. Williams College faced a similar situation. Their Board of Trustees was approached by Lucy Prince, "a colored woman and a verse-maker of some reputation," and asked to allow her son to attend Williams. The request was denied. Also around this same time, there was an attempt to establish a training school for Negroes in New Haven that was defeated for fear of its negative effect on Yale; an anti-slavery society organized by the students of Phillips Andover was denied by its trustees; and Harvard went so far as to dismiss a professor because of his abolitionist beliefs.  

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27 Ibid.

28 Ibid. Further examples can be found in Litwack, North of Slavery, and Woodson, The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861.
To compare what happened at Wesleyan with other schools, it seems that Wesleyan was manifesting attitudes that were just as white supremacist as the others. Perhaps the only positive aspect of the incident was Willbur Fisk's willingness to not only give the Negro a chance, but to even offer to stand behind Ray and offer his support. We will never know what might have happened had the issue been presented to the Board of Trustees. Since that did not occur, the students seem to be the ones responsible for the uproar surrounding Ray's presence on campus and his withdrawal. Also, the blame cannot be placed fully on the southern students, for I have shown that there were not enough of them in the student body to force Ray to leave. The Wesleyan student body, with only few exceptions, was clearly responsible for Ray's exit.
III. Anti-Slavery Activism

George Dutcher, in his unpublished history of Wesleyan’s first decade, states that

...it may be said that very few Wesleyan students of the 1830’s were abolitionists or even ready to take a political stand against slavery, though an overwhelming majority held anti-slavery views.¹

While it is unclear whether a majority actually did hold anti-slavery views, it is very clear that few actually took a stand on the issue. The first spark of the abolition movement on campus grew out of the Charles Ray affair.

Samuel P. Dole was the person who wrote the lengthy letter to Garrison’s Liberator detailing what had occurred at Wesleyan regarding Ray. At that time, Dole was a teacher at Wilbraham Academy, but had many friends at Wesleyan. Dole entered Wesleyan in the fall of 1833. While at Wilbraham, Dole was "an eloquent advocate of immediate emancipation,"² and he continued that advocacy while at Wesleyan. Even though Dole was only at Wesleyan for about a year, it is clear that his views had some

¹Dutcher, op. cit., p. 867.
impact on the campus. From the records of the two debating societies, discussed in more depth in a later chapter, we can see what topics were being discussed. The Peithologian Society did not have one debate on abolition, or any slavery related topic, from the beginning of the term 1833 to the fall of 1835. However, the Philorhetorian Society, of which Mr. Dole was a member, "debated slavery, colonization and education of blacks seven times during the two years...five of those debates were during the fifteen months of Dole's membership."

Another aspect of Dole's activism on campus was exhibited by his starting a monthly publication called The Abolitionist; the first issue in the spring of 1834 was also its last. Also in 1834, a number of Middletown men, including Jehiel Beman, the pastor of the recently formed Cross Street African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, Jacob Huber, a Wesleyan Professor, and Dole, formed the Middletown Anti-Slavery Society. At the first meeting of the group, held at the Douglas Iron-Works Building, a mob formed outside and threw stones and eggs at the building while the society was meeting inside. As the society members left the meeting, a number of them, including Dole, were accosted by the crowd." \(^{15}\) The number of stu-

\(^{13}\)Ibid.

\(^{14}\)Ibid., pp. 156-7.
dents in the mob is unknown, but William Lloyd Garrison, in an article in The Liberator, claimed that members of the Society were mobbed, "...much to the gratification of many of the students of the University."6 Despite this difficult beginning, the Middletown Anti-Slavery Society remained a "small but active group and by 1838 was an accepted part of the community."7

Despite this activity early in Wesleyan's history, the school did not develop a reputation of being particularly friendly to the Negro or the slave. Wesleyan professor D. D. Whedon wrote an article for Zion's Herald entitled "Foreign Interference" that criticized the visit of a British abolitionist. William Lloyd Garrison reprinted the article in The Liberator with the title "Refuge of Oppression" and the following introduction:

The following article we have perused with feelings of horror. Its spirit is clearly murderous, especially as it is manifested in the words we italicized. He who can thus write like an assassin needs only darkness, opportunity, and courage, to strike a deadly blow. Who or what the author is we know not; except that we believe he is a Professor in the Wesleyan University, at Middletown, Connecticut, and the sanguinary advocate of the American Colonization Society. We presume he is from the South, and a slaveholder, or the son of a slaveholder. His piece is calculated to stir up the evil passions

6For further reading on Anti-Abolitionist violence, see Richards, Gentleman of Property and Standing.

6The Liberator, 28 February 1835.

of wicked men, and to lead them to assassinate the noble philanthropist whom it attacks. It has been long apparent, that the Wesleyan University is one of the strongholds of southern despotism."  

Professor Whedon was in fact an advocate of the American Colonization Society, as was his colleague Willbur Fisk. It is quite interesting how Garrison described Wesleyan as a "stronghold of southern despotism" despite the minimal number of southern students. This reinforces the fact that Wesleyan did have a number of students and some faculty who did not hold anti-slavery views.

The death of Willbur Fisk on February 22, 1839, brought about a difficult time in the history of Wesleyan. Stephen Olin was elected president, but was in Europe at the time. Augustus Smith served as acting president until Olin notified the Board that he would be unable to serve due to his failing health. In early 1841, Nathan Bangs was elected president and served until the commencement of 1842, when Olin’s health had improved enough for him to assume the office. Olin was born in Vermont in 1797 and was graduated from Middlebury College in 1820. After his graduation, he became principal of an Academy in South Carolina and decided to enter the ministry. He was appointed as a pastor in Charleston in 1824, and went on to become a professor of belles-lettres at Franklin College in Athens, Georgia. In 1834, he began a successful term

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"Ibid."
as president of Randolph-Macon College in Virginia, and served there until his second election as Wesleyan's president in 1842.9

The administration of Dr. Olin came at a turbulent time for the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the national conferences of the church, the issue of slave ownership was debated.10 These discussions led to the separation of the Methodist Episcopal Church into Northern and Southern sections in 1844.11 This conflict was also present on the Wesleyan campus. The faculty of the college, along with Olin, were conservative on the slavery issue. In fact, Olin reportedly owned slaves while he lived in the South.12

There is little actual evidence of much faculty activism on the side of anti-slavery. From a bibliography of publications of faculty and alumni published in the Alumni Record, 1881-83, one finds in the statistics under the title, "Reform and Benevolence", and subtitle, "Emancipation and Freedmen", a record of 38 titles on the

9Price, op. cit., pp. 59-76.
10For further information, see Mathews, Slavery and Methodism.
subject. Of those listed whose subject matter is evident by their title, I found only one publication of a faculty member prior to the Civil War regarding emancipation in any way. That publication is listed under the name of Reverend Nathan Bangs, D.D., who, as mentioned previously, served as president of Wesleyan between Stephen Olin's two elected terms. The book was entitled *Emancipation, its Necessity and Means of Accomplishment,* calmly submitted to the Christians of the United States. It was published in 1846 in New York and was 101 pages in length. This date is approximately four years after Bangs left the presidency and returned to the ministry, and five years before he was elected to the Board of Trustees. So, at the time of publication, Bangs was not connected to the university, but it is possible that he held the same views when he was a member of the faculty. However, during the eighteen months that Bangs was president, he had little contact with the student body, and probably very little influence on the affairs of the university, other than the administration of the college. For these reasons, I tend to discount the importance of the existence of this publication.

The only other evidence of faculty anti-slavery activism is the record of Jacob Huber, who participated in

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1Alumni Record, 3rd ed., op. cit., p. 533.
2Price, op. cit., p. 71.
the formation of the Middletown Anti-Slavery Society. Huber was born in Switzerland in 1801, and during his career occupied a variety of posts at the university between 1831 and 1863. Despite his active role in the anti-slavery movement in Middletown, there is no record of his publishing anything on the subject of emancipation.

The students' views on the slavery issue are probably best described by the activities of Gilbert Haven, a student who entered Wesleyan in the fall of 1842. Haven was an ardent supporter of the anti-slavery movement, and was disappointed to find only a small number of students who shared his beliefs. In fact, Haven pointed out in a letter to his mother that,

...anti-abolitionism reigns so strong here that I am accounted a ranting, fanatical Abolitionist by the students, and ranked with another Bay-State fellow as the most fanatical students in college. So you need not be afraid, mother, that I shall become pro-slavery. My position has been assigned me by the students, and I don't intend to dishonor it.

As we have seen earlier, the majority of students on campus either had ties to the South or were northerners who held "southern sentiments."

Haven took quite an active role in the abolitionist movement, and was known by most of the students. He even

\[15\] *Alumni Record*, op. cit., p. xxix.


\[17\] Gravely, op. cit., p. 23.
went so far as to request that his family forward to him an anti-slavery newspaper so he could place it in the reading rooms on campus. Apparently, the library did not subscribe to this kind of publication. "It may do some good," was his comment to his mother. Haven also supported James G. Birney's campaign for President on the Liberty Party ticket in 1844. Birney, along with Garrison, Arthur Tappan, and Theodore Weld, was a leader in the American Anti-Slavery Society. He was also the author of Letter to the Ministers and Elders in 1834, which argued against slavery based on religious principles. Haven was disappointed with the support he received from his fellow students, observing, "A few, very few Birneyites are here." It seems that Haven's support for Birney was not only for his anti-slavery stand, but also for Birney's deep religiosity that underlaid his anti-slavery beliefs. Haven was dissatisfied with the "moral compromise with slavery in American Christianity." This was the state of affairs within the Methodist Church. As a way to show

\[18\] Ibid.

\[19\] Prentice, op. cit., p. 69.


\[21\] Gravely, op. cit., p. 23.

\[22\] Prentice, op. cit., p. 70.
his dissatisfaction, Haven began to attend and teach at the church in Middletown’s colony of free blacks.\textsuperscript{28} There is no record as to exactly where this colony was or whether the church in question was the Cross Street A.M.E. Zion Church discussed earlier. Haven recorded in his journal under the date April 26, 1846, “Attended Sabbath-school at the African Church, where I had a fine class of young ladies of color....”\textsuperscript{24} After his graduation, Haven would go on to become a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and maintained his outspokenness throughout his career.

The only other example of anti-slavery activism on the part of the students was the actions of one who left the college. While many students left or graduated and went on to be active in the anti-slavery movement, the case of George W. Brown n’41 seems different and worthy of mention. It appears that Brown was drawn away from the campus by the issue of Kansas’ admission to the union as a free state. Brown, a Rhode Islander by birth, registered his residence as Elba, New York, while at Wesleyan. He left the university during his sophomore year, and, “went to Kansas at the time of the Kansas-Nebraska troubles to assist in making it a free state.”\textsuperscript{26} He later received

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\textsuperscript{28}Gravely, op. cit., p. 25.
\textsuperscript{24}Prentice, op. cit., p. 70.
\textsuperscript{26}Alumni Record, op. cit., p. 369.
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both his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Brown University, but returned to Kansas, and died there in October, 1861. George Dutcher claims, "These facts suggest that he may have been an associate of John Brown." John Brown's raid occurred in October, 1859. There is little further evidence to substantiate Dutcher's claim, although it would be consistent with George Brown's previous experiences.

These few examples of student "activism" on the campus of Wesleyan suggest that Wesleyan did not provide a liberal environment, and that a majority of the students were not advocating anti-slavery views. While this does not necessarily mean that the campus was racist, it does indicate abolitionism was not a popular cause at Wesleyan. Attitudes about abolition and anti-slavery at Wesleyan were very important to a number of people, especially the parents of prospective students who resided in the South. This concern is revealed in the following letter sent to President Stephen Olin from C.H. DuPont, of Quincy, Florida, on September 29, 1845:

...If it would not be too great a tax upon your time, I should be much pleased to learn the present prospects of the Institution—the number of students [and] also the state of public sentiment, in the precincts of the college, [and] its vicinity on the subject of the "abolition" excitement. The latter reference is in reference to a delicate subject, and I do not allude to it from idle curiosity—having resided

**Dutcher, op. cit., p. 843.**
in the South, you are fully able to appreciate my motive in so doing. Your personal [and] individual efforts, to calm the troubled waves of our once peaceful Zion, are too well known to me, [and] indeed to the whole South, to require any guaranty from you on this subject.\textsuperscript{27}

While Mr. DuPont did not matriculate at Wesleyan, nor is there evidence of Olin’s response, I feel it is reasonable to believe that Olin responded in a way that allayed any fears that DuPont might have had concerning the "abolition' excitement", telling him that the excitement had only come from a small handful of students and that the majority of students were not concerned with the subject. This, of course, was true.

In the first fifteen years of Wesleyan’s existence, we find the ouster of a black student, simply because he was black, and very little evidence of any overwhelming anti-slavery sentiment among the students or faculty. From these facts, it is clear that Wesleyan was not in the forefront of the crusade against slavery, nor the campaign to ameliorate the conditions of blacks in America. But was this different from events occurring at other colleges or throughout the nation at this time?

When the question of abolitionist activism at other colleges during this time period is posed, the first example that most often comes to mind is Oberlin. Oberlin

began at approximately the same time as Wesleyan as a colony founded by a small group of Presbyterian ministers who wanted to "establish [both] a colony and an institution of Christian education." A few years after the Oberlin Collegiate Institution had begun its operations, its Board of Trustees was approached and offered several thousand dollars by Arthur Tappan, the famous New York abolitionist, under the conditions that they open a Theological Department, accept a number of students from Lane Seminary, and admit students "irrespective of color." The students from Lane Seminary had debated anti-slavery for eighteen days and achieved almost unanimous support of the movement. However, the students could not convince the faculty and administration at Lane to go along with their views, and as a result, almost four-fifths of the students left the school. The Oberlin trustees finally yielded to Tappan's requests, and the college was officially opened to blacks. Among the new students from Lane was Theodore Weld, and the first Professor of Theology was Charles G. Finney; both would become leaders in the abolitionist struggle. Throughout the whole antebellum period, Oberlin was a leading institution in advocating anti-

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29 Ibid., pp. 54-55.

30 Ibid., pp. 54-60.
slavery and equal rights for blacks.

Oberlin, however, was unique in its outspoken views concerning the Negro. Students of Williams College formed the first anti-slavery society in Massachusetts in 1823, and according to the college historian, "a majority of students belonged to the organization." This is very possible, considering that most, if not all, of Williams' students were Congregationalists from the North. However, there is a good possibility that this anti-slavery stand was not incorporated into the by-laws of the College, as was the case at Oberlin. Very few colleges tend to stand out as supporting, or even having student bodies that supported, anti-slavery. As stated earlier, the trustees of Phillips Andover Academy did not allow the organization of an anti-slavery society by the students, and a Harvard professor was reportedly dismissed due to his pro-abolition views. Examples like these are more prevalent, just as the mood throughout the country led to riots against anti-slavery supporters.

Leonard L. Richards writes:

...Northern anti-abolitionism was both a pervasive and an intensive component of Northern life. Ever since Adelaide Avery Lyons demonstrated in 1919 that slavery had many staunch defenders in the North, 'particularly in the colleges and the churches,' it has become increasingly clear that the traditional view of

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Sprinig, op. cit., p. 139.

Ibid., pp. 138-139.
the 'antislavery North' is largely a myth. Even in those alleged strongholds of antislavery, the Congregational churches of New England and the Presbyterian churches of the West, there are strong indications that anti-abolitionism, rather than abolitionism, prevailed.\textsuperscript{33}

From everything written by Richards, it seems that abolition or anti-slavery activism was the exception, and certainly not the rule, throughout the North, especially in the colleges. In this context, Wesleyan reflected popular attitudes about abolition in the rest of the country. The university contained a tiny minority of people who supported emancipation but they were outnum-

bered by a hostile anti-abolitionist majority.

IV. The Debate Societies

Prior to the publication of a regular campus newspaper, the best way to discover what the student body was thinking and discussing was to look at the records of the two debating societies that existed on campus from the first year of Wesleyan's existence to the time of the Civil War. The first was organized on November 11, 1831, less than two months after the first students arrived for classes, and was named the Philorhetorean Lyceum, later changed to be changed to the Philorhetorian Society. Membership was comprised of students from all levels and meetings were held in members' rooms. By the end of the school year in 1833, the Society had moved into a room, offered to them by President Fisk, in College Hall.

Also in November of 1831, two other societies were organized, the Non Nomenanda and the Adelphian. In July of 1833, these two would merge and become the Peithologian Society. Philo and Peitho, as they were commonly called, were the only major student societies during most of the antebellum period. The societies met on Tuesday evenings and kept somewhat detailed minutes of their meetings, which have been preserved and kept in the University Archives. These two societies played major roles in the
lives of the students at Wesleyan; they both organized their own libraries to supplement the approximately 1,000 books owned by the college. Philo displayed a mineral collection, and they both organized public exercises for the early commencements, including inviting prominent people to speak.¹

It is the activity that these societies engaged in on those Tuesday nights that is relevant to my topic. Leafing through those musty old books filled with minutes of meetings, one comes across quite a few topics of discussion that dealt with national issues. The earlier debates rarely had their decisions recorded, so they are useful just to see what was being discussed. However, when the secretaries began to record the decisions of the debates, we can see just how a segment of the student body stood on a certain subject. These decisions must be taken with a grain of salt, though, since the decision was based on the force of the argument from each particular side; a member could have believed strongly in the negative, but might have voted in the affirmative due to that side's force of argument. Another problem that must be taken into consideration is the membership screening process that possibly existed in one or both of these societies and its effect on the makeup and decisions of the societies. It is possible that all of the southern students belonged to

¹Price, op. cit., pp. 41-42.
one and not the other, or all of the students from a particular academy stayed together. So reading the results of these debates is not the same as taking a random sample of the student body on a particular issue. Despite this, we can gather some idea of the views of the student body, since a majority of it belonged to one of these two societies.

I have gone through the records of the Adelphian (pre-Peitho), Philo, and Peitho Societies and recorded the dates, topics, decisions, disputants, and any other important information of the discussions that somehow regarded blacks or immigrants or any type of racism. I have assembled this information in chronological order and presented it in Appendix 1. In this chapter, I will analyze those particular discussions with regard to the time they were discussed, their frequency, the people who took the sides, and the decisions, to try to construct a model for the feelings of the student body throughout this period.

First, I will begin with simple facts. Of the eighty-five debates I have selected, fifty-four are from the Philorhetorians and thirty-one are Peithologian. Of those, Philo discussed some topics with regard to slavery, Negroes, colonization, or anti-slavery forty-two times. The same topics were discussed by Peitho fifteen times. The remaining debates of both societies were in some way concerned with Catholicism, immigration, American Indians,
or the Irish.

What this data suggests is that Philo discussed these types of topics more than Peitho, and discussed the plight of the Negro almost three times as often. This could be connected to the previously mentioned fact of Samuel Dole’s membership in Philo. Dole was a friend of Charles Ray and an active abolitionist. He belonged to the Philorhetorian Society in its early stages from 1833 to 1835. Perhaps this early connection of Philo to the abolitionist cause affected its membership and discussions for the rest of its existence. In fact, even in the phrasing of certain questions discussed by Peitho, there seems to be a Southern, or anti-abolitionist slant. Of the fifteen times Peitho discussed some aspect of the black problem in America, six of these contained a pro-slavery bias. These discussions, their conclusions, and the date they were discussed are as follows:

Nov. 3, 1835 "Should the North interfere with the South on the subject of slavery?"
No record of decision.

Jan. 10, 1837 "Have the Africans been benefitted by being brought to this country?"
Decided in the Affirmative.

Dec. 4, 1838 "Ought slavery continue...aside from moral causes?"
Decided in the Affirmative by a majority of twelve to six.

June 11, 1839 "May the philanthropist expect beneficial results from the late agitation on the subject of slavery?"
Decided in the Negative by a majority of four.

Oct. 6, 1840 "Do the aborigines of this country deserve
our sympathies more than the negro slaves?"
Decided in the Affirmative by a majority of one.

July 25, 1848 "Will the extension of slavery into the
territories result in the dissolution of the Union?"
Decided in the Negative.  

Both the phrasing and the decisions on these questions and
other decisions (available in Appendix 1) lead me to
conclude that the Peithologian Society was the more racist
of the two when it came to topics concerning the condition
of Negroes.

In reviewing the forty-two debates of the Philorheto-
rian Society concerning blacks, I found that the topics
tended to be more positive in that they discussed the
means and ends of abolition and colonization, the Fugitive
Slave Bill, and the Negroes right of suffrage. While the
decisions, when available, do not always reflect a pro-
black sentiment among the members, it is clear in the
selection and phrasing of the topics discussed that the
Philorhetorians were more concerned with the rights of the
free blacks and slaves and the effect of slavery on the
nation than the Peithologian Society was. This does not
mean that the Peithologians avoided the topic. There are
fifteen examples of their discussing it. In addition to
this, in the minutes of the Peithologian Society, dated
November 16, 1840, is the following entry:

...Voted, 'That Mr. Coddington, the mighty

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"Peithologin Society Minutes. Wesleyan University
Archives."
abolition lecturer, be requested to deliver a lecture upon the subject in the Peithologian Society room on to-morrow evening provided the Philorhetorian Association adjourn their exercises.'

While there is no record of Mr. Codding ever showing for that lecture, it does show that Peitho was concerned about the subject and was open to its discussion.

By the frequency of the discussions of both the societies concerning blacks, fifty-seven times over a period of less than thirty-five years with possibly more that were not recorded in the society records, it is clear that slavery and all of the concerns surrounding it was a sensitive and highly debated topic. During the eight year term of President Willbur Fisk, the societies discussed slavery twenty-four times. Of those twenty-four, seven directly involved colonization or the American Colonization Society, of which Fisk was an active advocate. This is typical of Fisk's indirect influence on the students as discussed earlier. In addition, there is even an example of Fisk's direct influence on the activities of one of the societies:

...one of the student societies were waxing hot on the abolition question, when one attender slipped out and reported the fact to Fisk. Fisk went to the student room where the debate was going on.

They had become very wrathy--had extinguished all their lights but one--overturned all their chairs and were indeed in the height of excitement when he appeared at their door. He

Ibid.
stood and gazed a moment without saying a word; but in a moment all their lamps were relit—every chair righted—order was restored. He then kindly reminded them that they were not acting the part of young gentlemen and left them. But it was enough.

This incident shows even more than Fisk's influence on the student body, but also shows the emotion that surrounded the abolition question.

While I have already stated that the Peithologian Society seemed to be more racist than the Philorhetorian, there is evidence that the Philorhetorian was not made up completely of those who sympathized with the Negro. In the same year that they decided that Kansas should not be admitted to the Union with a pro-slavery constitution and that the evils of slavery were increased by agitating the question, the Philorhetorian Society apparently did not allow two black students to join their ranks. Charles Henry Gardner n'59 entered Wesleyan in the fall of 1855, and Wilbur Fisk Burns, class of 1860, entered a year later; both men were black. The following entries appear in the Philorhetorian records:

Oct. 21, 1856 "Messrs. Gardner & Burns were proposed for membership, and the action thereon deferred one week."

Oct. 25, 1856 "The case of Mr. Gardner was taken up and discussed at some length, after which it was again laid on the table."

Unfortunately, the society's records are incomplete for

the period from October 28, 1856 through March 24, 1857, so if there was any further discussion, it is lost. However, in checking the Librarian's log of the society, a book in which all members were listed, neither Gardner or Burns appeared for 1856 or 1857. From the types of discussions concerning their membership, which were different from any other student's, it seems safe to say that their color had everything to do with the proposal and assumed denial of their membership in the society. This occurrence further shapes our view of what the students were feeling. They seemed concerned with slavery and the problems of the blacks in this country, yet when faced with a situation in which they were directly involved, they seemed to be as racist as the rest of the country.

The questions debated by these two societies that I have not discussed so far are those concerning other ethnic groups, mostly immigrants. The mood of the country at this time was dominated by fears that the Pope wanted to take over the Mississippi valley, and since the immigrants that were flocking into the country at this time were for the most part Catholic, a nativist movement flourished. It was feared that immigrants were a threat to all aspects of the lives of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. In his chapter entitled "The War Against the

Immigrant," Billington states,

Almost as important as the fear of Catholicism in driving the lower classes into the nativists' fold were the material forces centering around foreign immigration. Many Americans believed that the influx of aliens threatened their established social structure, endangered the nation's economic welfare, and spelled doom for the existing governmental system. They sought in political nativism protection from the social, political, and economic evils which seemed inevitably linked with the immigrant invasion."

The Philorhetorian Society discussed either Catholics or immigration a total of fourteen times; the Peithologian did so thirteen times, but also discussed the plight of the American Indian five times. Each of these discussions exhibited the same sort of fear that Billington indicates pervaded the whole country. Here are a few examples:

"Ought the immigration of Roman Catholics be prohibited by law?"

"Ought Roman Catholics to be allowed the right of citizenship?"

"Is the liberty of the people of the United States in danger from the Catholics?"

"Is the Roman Catholic religion hostile to civil liberty?"

"Is there any danger to be apprehended from Catholics to Republicanism in the United States?"

Unlike the difference in the two societies' views concerning blacks, it seems that both societies were equally concerned with the role of the Roman Catholics and the immigrants in the United States. The Philorhetorian

Society even held two debates that compared the evils of slavery to the evils of Catholicism. While no decisions were recorded for either of these debates, it is clear that the Philorhetorians put slavery and Catholicism in the same category; both were seen as threats to the country.

The Peithologian's treatment of the American Indian is very interesting. The topic was discussed five times from June, 1833, to November, 1843, three of those occurring within the first nine months of this period (June 11, 1833, July 1, 1833, and February 18, 1834). The fact that this topic was discussed frequently and exclusively by the Peithos should be noted. Perhaps there was a student among the Peithos who was an American Indian. I doubt this due to the lack of further evidence. The most likely reason is that, similar to the case of S.P. Dole and the Philos, there was probably a member of the Peithos who was interested in the American Indian.

Looking at the three debates that came close together in the beginning, there is no record of disputants for the second one, but there is a disputant in common for the other two dates. Since the disputants were often responsible for choosing the debate topic, it is possible that the common disputant, a Mr. Youngs, held the interest in the Native Americans. In consulting The Alumni Record to check on the background of Youngs, I found that no one by
that name attended Wesleyan. There was, however, a
William Young, who graduated in 1836. Since there is
record of Youngs participating in Peithologian debates
through November of 1835, it is very possible that William
Young is the man in question. However, William Young was
from the Albany area of New York, and there is no record
of his being active in Indian affairs.

Another aspect of the Peithologian Indian discussions
is the racism that is exhibited in the questions. The
question that shows this the most is that of June 11,
1833, "Is it probable that America was ever inhabited by a
race of men far superior to the Indians in civilization?"
While the question was decided in the negative, that does
not necessarily mean that the Peithologians thought that
the Indians did have a superior civilization. Perhaps no
race of men inhabited America and the Indians still had an
inferior civilization.

It seems the topics discussed by these two societies
were similar to the issues which dominated popular discus-
sions throughout the nation, and that the opinions ex-
pressed were also similar to the feelings present through-
out the United States. The only liberal stances that
surface are perhaps those of the Philorhetorian Society
concerning slavery, and even those are symbolic at best,
considering the Philos did not grant membership to two
black students. In regard to the Catholics and immi-
grants, both societies held the same concerns as the rest of the Protestants throughout the nation. They feared that the Catholics and the immigrants presented a threat to their home and their way of living. While we cannot be sure that the opinions expressed by these two debating societies reflected what the entire student body thought, it is likely that their membership made up a large enough portion of the students to present some sort of reliable sample. Assuming this is so, one could say that, on the whole, the student body of Wesleyan prior to the Civil War was just as racist and nativistic as their fellow countrymen.
V. Visitors, Environment, and Views

The College Argus, later becoming the Wesleyan Argus, was first published on June 11, 1868, and since then "has recorded and greatly influenced college life." It is the chief source for the observations made in this chapter, which will cover a variety of events that occurred from the start of The Argus to approximately the turn of the century. The Argus reported news of Wesleyan and other colleges, and at times offered news of Middletown that was of interest to the Wesleyan student. It also often included literary offerings, both prose and verse, usually authored by a student or alumnus. It is essential to my research because it was the only regular publication on campus for this period, and is probably the best source for looking into what was occurring at Wesleyan. The most informative item in The Argus for my purposes was the section that reported short news items, ranging from a few words to a paragraph, about people and events of campus. This section had many different names over the thirty years following 1868, including "Chips," "About Here," and "Around Campus." The items in The Argus that are of

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1 Price, op. cit., p. 112.
concern for my purpose fall into four basic categories: visitors to the campus, student activities, contact with the Middletown environment, and stories and editorials.

The visitors to the campus give an interesting view of what interested and entertained the students. I was even surprised to find that three rather famous people, popular for their role in race relations, came to the Wesleyan campus to speak. The Argus of October 9, 1872, reported the following: "After considerable dispute on the subject, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe gave an excellent entertainment in McDonough Hall, on the evening of the 23rd."\(^2\) The subject of the dispute was not discussed. Apparently, Mrs. Stowe spoke and also presented selections from her book Uncle Tom’s Cabin. According to the review of the event, Mrs. Stowe was not very enjoyable to the students. In addition, "...the selection from Uncle Tom’s Cabin was not so appreciable, on account of the indistinctness of its rendering."\(^3\)

Another noted visitor who received a bad review from the students was the ex-slave, editor, and orator, Frederick Douglass. Douglass spoke at McDonough Hall on March 7, 1876. The commentary on the speech in the following issue of The Argus said, "Judging by this effort, or rather lack of effort, we should say the greatest negro

\(^2\)The Wesleyan Argus, 9 October 1872.

\(^3\)Ibid.
orator was about 'played'. This is conceivable, considering that Douglass had been touring the United States and England, lecturing to various groups since the early 1840's.

The third famous speaker came to the campus on April 4, 1895. His topic was "The Race Problem from the Standpoint of the Negro," and the speaker was the president of the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, Booker (spelled "Boker" (sic) in all of The Argus reports) T. Washington. A summary of The Argus's report of Washington's speech is as follows:

Mr. Washington described at some length the present industrial, religious and educational condition of the negro race in the South, and suggested a number of particular remedies for the prevailing evils....The industrial condition of the race as a whole is such as to cause a slavery having all the disadvantages of the former legal slavery and none of the advantages thereof....

The colored race is traditionally an emotional religious people, but they are very far from practising religion in the sense that white people in the North understand it....Our people lack leadership. They are essentially an imitative people. But in some sections of the South the blacks outnumber whites in the proportion of six or eight to one and there is no one for them to imitate.

One of the principal remedies for the evils which I have mentioned is that of education. Mistakes have been made in the education of the negro in the past. To educate people is to largely increase the wants of that people. To furnish an education to people, and thus multiply their wants, without at [the] same time

"The Wesleyan Argus, 11 March 1876.
Franklin, op. cit., p. 189."
educating them in the means of supplying those wants, is largely a mistake. To say that the negro is an equal in all respects with the white man is not true,...His race has been so long in bondage as to give him certain hereditary characteristics which the education of many decades will be required to overcome."

This speech was typical of the message that would propel Washington into international notoriety in the same year he spoke at Wesleyan. Washington’s appeal was a conservative one that conceded power to whites on questions of civil and political equality, in exchange for the help from whites in black economic and educational progress. These ideas probably were very appealing to the students of Wesleyan, who, as shown previously, did exhibit some concern for the blacks in the country.

Another visitor to the campus worthy of note was a Japanese man, Mr. Asoda, who stopped at Wesleyan on December 21, 1892, during a tour of New England colleges. This is symbolic of the increased missionary efforts of the Methodists in China and Japan. Mr. Asoda, at the time of his tour, was a student at the Union Theological Seminary, a Methodist college in China. The fact that these people

"The Wesleyan Argus, 9 April 1895.


"The Wesleyan Argus, 18 January 1892. More information regarding Wesleyan’s role in Asia and other Asian students will be found in Chapter VI.
did come to Wesleyan shows that the students did have an interest in other ethnic groups, and were not racist to the point of wanting to preserve the separation that was supposed to exist between the races. However, their attitudes toward these groups, and blacks in particular, might have still had shades of white supremacy behind it, possibly demonstrated in the examples of the following visitors.

The second and final category of visitors to the campus came in groups for the purpose of entertainment. The first mention of a black group coming to campus to entertain appeared in the March 17, 1875, issue of The Argus: "A large audience gathered in McDonough Hall, Thursday evening, March 4th, to hear the only original Jubilee Singers from Fisk University." The Jubilee Singers from Fisk, a black university, were used by Fisk to earn friends and money for the university. Their first engagement was in 1875 at the National Council of Congregational Churches in Oberlin, Ohio. John Hope Franklin reported that,

The council was captivated with the way in which the young Negroes sang the spirituals and work songs of their people, and the fame of the groups spread rapidly. In the East they sang in many halls under the sponsorship of Henry Ward Beecher of Brooklyn. Numerous engagements followed, and the money flowed in.¹⁰

¹⁰Franklin, op. cit., p. 272.
One of those engagements was in Middletown at Wesleyan. The review of their performance that appeared in The Argus did not view the performance as a simple demonstration of the black spirituals and work songs, but referred to the performance as "an impromptu camp meeting," "little better than sacrilege," "better adapted for some burlesque entertainment," and "laughable." It seems, though, that this misunderstanding was common along the Singers' tour. Originally called The Fisk Singers, they "took the name Jubilee Singers only after being mistaken for minstrels during their...Northern tour." This type of entertainment, however, seemed to appeal to the Wesleyan students. A number of minstrel shows were mentioned as either visiting the campus or Middletown area, and some shows were even put on by the students.

The first mention of a minstrel show in The Argus appeared in the January 31, 1882, issue. It stated that Hague’s Minstrels were to perform on Friday evening, February 3rd. Hague’s troupe was from England and was not the ordinary minstrel show that most Americans were used to:

Conscious that Englishmen were unconvincing as Negroes and generally lacked the comedy


skills Americans liked, Hague had only his endmen in blackface and promised that the troupe would do absolutely no low comedy. In fact it did little comedy of any sort....Almost totally lacking in comedy, the Clipper reviewer observed, 'the first part was more like a high class ballad or operatic concert than a minstrel show.'

While there was no mention in *The Argus* as to how the show was enjoyed, I would assume, based on reviews of other shows that came to campus and Toll's description of Hague's minstrels, that this show did not appeal to the students. The next record of a minstrel show appearing near campus is that of Billy Rice's Minstrels on January 16, 1883. The only details available on this show are from the review in *The Argus*:

> ...Billy Rice himself is a good comedian and created considerable amusement. Burt Dusena, the ventriloquist, was also good. Otherwise, the entertainment was far from being up to the standard.  

Perhaps because their standards were too high when it came to the entertainment they expected from a minstrel show, the students decided to do it themselves.

In the May 2, 1884, issue of *The Argus*, in the "Local" section, the following message appeared: "Plans are being made for a minstrel show by the students, the proceeds to be devoted to football." Months passed and

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15 *The Wesleyan Argus*, 2 May 1884.
there was no mention of the show until in the same column
nine months later: "What of the minstrels of which there
was so much talk last year?" And finally, a full year
after the original announcement:

Mr. Frank Beattys will begin actively to
'shake up' his minstrel company this week.
...From present indications we judge that this
entertainment will be the finest ever offered
here.17

There seemed to be much enthusiasm among the students for
this show. There was sure to be disappointment when the
following message appeared less than a month after the
above:

The minstrel entertainment which the boys
were intending to present for the benefit of the
Foot Ball Association, has, at the request of
the faculty, been given up. Mr. Frank Beattys,
who had the matter under charge, is endeavoring
to make some new arrangements which will give no
offense, but accomplish the same purpose as
that for which the 'minstrels' were designed...18

So it appears that the faculty were the ones who realized
that the minstrel show was not in good taste and forbade
the students to continue with it. This is possibly the
first time in which the faculty had opposed possible
racist tendencies of the students. This effectively put
an end to the popularity of minstrel shows on campus, and
only once more was a show mentioned in The Argus, a per-

16The Wesleyan Argus, 3 February 1885.
17The Wesleyan Argus, 1 May 1885.
18The Wesleyan Argus, 26 May 1885.
formance of the Zoë Minstrels as a benefit for the Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church, that "no college man could well afford to miss."\(^1\)

In the area of student activities, the majority of notices in The Argus that fell into this category regarding some aspect of race relations were reports of the different orations and oratoricals for various prizes. Such topics as "Reconstruction a Failure," "John Brown," "The Negro Problem in the South," "Catholicism in the United States," and "Beecher, the Anti-Slavery Orator,"\(^2\) were popular and occurred with regular frequency in the various annual exhibitions.\(^3\) Perhaps a review of the Senior Orations of 1885 in The Argus sums up the student attitude best: "...The subjects, perhaps, were a trifle old, too much slavery and politics (what boons these two themes are to the college student!) to arouse any great interest."\(^4\)

Along similar lines, The Argus reported on debates held by the junior and senior classes, some of which were on topics of the blacks and immigrants. These debates were recorded in The Argus similar to the way they were

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\(^{1}\)The Wesleyan Argus, 20 February 1892.

\(^{2}\)The Wesleyan Argus, 22 April 1884; 15 March 1890; 7 April 1883.

\(^{3}\)A more extensive list of these orations is available in Appendix 3.

\(^{4}\)The Wesleyan Argus, 1 May 1885.
recorded by the debate societies, listing the question, the disputants, and sometimes the decision. The senior debates were supposedly weekly occurrences, but they were not regularly reported in The Argus and there is no further records concerning them. The topics were also similar to those discussed more than thirty years earlier by the Philo and Peitho societies, for example:

--"Resolved, that the present division and course of action of the two dominant political parties present the one great obstacle to the solution of the race question in the South."

--"Resolved, that Italian immigration should be prohibited."

--"Resolved, that Negroes should be allowed to vote everywhere in the United States without restriction." 

Despite this apparent concern for, or at least knowledge of the problems of the blacks and the immigrants of the country, there were still examples of racial discrimination apparent in Argus reports of student activity.

In all of my research of Wesleyan history, I came across only three references to the Ku Klux Klan, two of which noted direct student involvement, but were extremely hazy as to the role that organization might have played on the campus. In an 1875 "Notes" column in The Argus, the following message appeared: "'Ku Klux' informs us he is about to enter the class of '78." And perhaps a clearer

---The Wesleyan Argus, 17 May 1890; 27 November 1891; 28 January 1892.
---The Wesleyan Argus, 9 June 1875.
example, yet nowhere near understandable, from 1881:

The Sophomore class seems to have perfected its annual Ku-Klux-Klan organization, and, judging from late demonstrations, has made some enlistments from the ranks of Pandemonium itself... Annual organization? This was a regular occurrence? This is a surprise to me, having never seen any mention of it either before or since. The way that the Klan is referred to in so casual and perhaps even positive manner, leads me to believe that a number of students did not strongly disagree with the Klan. The activities of the Ku Klux Klan had been declining since the government crackdown on their activities in 1871, yet they most likely still existed, and expanded their activities to include actions against immigrants. If the student body still held the national feeling that immigrants were a threat to the country, and I believe that they still did from debates and orations, then the familiarity and implicit endorsement of the Klan is logical.

Middletown apparently had a large number of blacks in the mid-nineteenth century, most of whom probably lived in the area labeled "Nigger Hill". A Delaware slave who bought his freedom and came to this area, Isaac B.

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25The Wesleyan Argus, 18 October 1881.

26Town Poor Relief Ledger. Middlesex County Historical Society, Middletown. The exact location of Nigger Hill is unknown, but possibly was close to campus, near Indian Hill.

27Ibid.
Truitt, (sometimes spelled Truett) served as “the College Sweep” for a number of years throughout the 1860’s and 1870’s. There is a reference to him in George Dutcher’s history of Wesleyan’s early years, and also in “Annals of Wesleyan University” in 1866, as the ultimate owner of the nine-foot octagonal dome that covered Wesleyan’s original observatory. Supposedly it was used “in the raising of poultry.” There were a number of references to Truitt in The Argus of the early 1870’s. It seems that Truitt was a favorite of the students, and his frequent illness concerned them:

Truett is better. He has been seen around College again, once or twice. 'May his shadow never grow less.'

Nothing is seen of Truett lately. This weather must be severe on his 'jints'.

Truett is sick again. There is some excitement in College circles as to who will be his successor.

Truett is now rich out of the pickings of the coal-sheds, which the janitor gave him.

The students took sort of a paternalistic stand concerning Truitt; he cleaned for them, took care of their needs, and they were concerned for his well being. While this behavior may or may not be termed as racist toward the black

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The Wesleyan Argus, 9 November 1870; 22 February 1871; 3 May 1871; 24 September 1873.
man, it is important to see that the students did have contact with blacks other than fellow students and visitors.

The second major example of the students' contact with blacks from outside of the campus involved the students activities at the African Methodist Episcopal Church in Middletown. As we have already seen, such members of the Wesleyan community as S.P. Dole and Gilbert Haven were involved with the church. The fragility of the connection between the church and Wesleyan and the position of the church on the participation of the white Wesleyan students is expressed in the following 1872 report:

The African M.E. Church were quite rampant because one of the students trying to keep order in the Sunday School, placed his hand upon one of the scholars. The head of the church was particularly frantic, calling the student a liar, and declaring that they would not have the whites to rule over them.30

Despite this early difficulty, Wesleyan students continued to both preach at services in the church and help with the Sunday school.

A third example of Wesleyan students' interaction with the blacks of Middletown occurred in November of 1882. It seems that for a number of years a run-down shanty stood very close to campus, possibly on High Street across from South College. This shanty was the home of a number of poor blacks and was considered an eyesore by the

30 The Wesleyan Argus, 15 May 1872.
students. The burning down of this shack was newsworthy enough to elicit a special "Extra" edition of The Argus on November 18, 1882. There was a controversy over who started the fire, many people believing it to be the result of Wesleyan student vandalism. A letter to the editor of The Argus, written by a member of the class of 1875, that appeared in an issue over a month after this occurrence, stated the following:

We are glad to hear that the old shell in front of the campus has been burned. Only the danger of destroying some 75 or 80 niggers, who lived in it, prevented '75 from removing that eyesore.31

Lucky for the "niggers" the Wesleyan students did not lack compassion.

The only other mention of contact with any "outside" group from Middletown was a few references to "a harmless-looking Jew"32 who went through South College looking for donations of old clothes. There were a number of references to the old man in the early 1880's, but they rarely did more than let students know that he had been around again.

The fourth and final type of item found in the Argus regarding people of other races was in the form of the literary or editorial piece. An example of this type is


32 The Wesleyan Argus, 31 January 1882. See also 28 March 1884.
the story that would congratulate certain achievements of blacks, or condemn their mistreatment, in other colleges or other parts of the country. Two items that proclaimed advances for blacks in the country appeared in the same issue of The Argus: "The Supreme Court of Iowa has decided that colored children have an equal right with others to all the public schools of the state," and, "The colored citizens of Mount Vernon, Missouri have built the first schoolhouse ever erected in that place." Similarly, a letter entitled "A Voice from the South," which was apparently sent to a number of college publications throughout the North, presented a plea for help to stop the rash of lynchings of colored men that was plaguing the South at the time. But perhaps the most interesting of this type of entry is the editorial in the November 4, 1889 issue of The Argus that pats both Harvard and the whole college community on the back:

The election of a colored man as class orator by the Harvard seniors is another illustration of the thoroughly democratic spirit that pervades the college world. It is undeniable that money and social position are an advantage to a man, no matter where he may go; but nowhere will he find them counting for so little as in the average American college community. There, even to a greater extent than in the world outside, it is the qualities of the man himself rather than any extraneous circumstance that

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The Wesleyan Argus, 11 June 1868.
The Wesleyan Argus, 15 February 1890.
determine whether he goes up or down. While this is quite a compliment to the college world, did it really apply to the people who wrote it and their fellow classmates at Wesleyan University? At the time this editorial was written, there was one Cuban and one Japanese freshman and no blacks on campus. I question whether the authors acted out the feelings that they described above, and whether it would have been different had there been a number of blacks in the university.

Another type of literary item that I found was the story that either in some way mentioned some ethnic group or was about them in particular. Many times these pieces either did not list the author or only included the author’s initials. In the former case, it is impossible to determine whether the story was written by a student, alumnus, faculty member, or simply taken from another work, but with the initials of the author, it is possible to scan the Alumni Record for a match of initials. The first of three examples of the mention of an ethnic group in a work published in The Argus is from the commencement sermon of President Cummings in 1868. In the speech, Cummings tells his listeners that all men are brothers, and that "social prejudice may not crush those whom Christ has made brethren. Let a man act as Christ acts, and if Christ receives a man to his heart, let no man despise

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The Wesleyan Argus, 4 November 1889.
this fellow because an Indian or an African sun has burned upon them."

The other two examples of this type were not so positive with regard to the ethnic group to which they referred. In a work entitled "Leaves from a Journal" that described a trip in some part of the United States, the unnamed author made the following remarks concerning his contact with blacks:

As far as one could see in every direction there [were]...innumerable mud-plastered cabins. What there is raised hereabouts I cannot conjecture, unless it be darkeys. In the neighborhood of the towns, they give a sombre shade to the landscape....As for darkies--enough have clattered through the depot this morning to colonize a generous slice of Liberia. I wonder if there is a law forbidding any negro to wear a whole garment?

And finally, with a clearly white-supremacist sentiment, an unidentified alumnus wrote a letter about his new home in the Hawaiian Islands, emphasizing the abundant resources of the islands and the yielding of the natives to the superior race.

There were also instances in which a story was published in The Argus that dealt with a particular group. Most often, these stories were made up of numerous generalizations that usually exhibited a racist bias. The first of these was entitled "A Peculiar People" and was

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\(^{36}\text{The Wesleyan Argus, 7 April 1888.}\)

\(^{37}\text{The Wesleyan Argus, 1 March 1890.}\)
about Jews. It described how the Wesleyan student thought of the Jews, and attempted to argue that the Jews of the day should be considered in the framework of their long and enduring history:

We look around in the narrow circle in which we live and think, and so judge the Jews to be a race of snivelling pawn-brokers and hump-backed peddlars. We should lift ourselves out of this common plane of history, and look above it and beyond it, and so estimate the worth of the Jews from a historical standpoint.88

While the author is trying to remove certain stereotypes of the Jews, this suggests that the students did view the Jews negatively, and the existence of the Jewish man described earlier certainly did not help to reduce this mode of thought.

Possibly an even more shocking presentation of racial stereotypes occurred in "Some Traits of Negro Character," printed in 1889. It is astounding the number of generalizations that were made concerning the ex-slaves, over twenty-five years after their emancipation. The work began by complimenting the few slaves who were "becoming more and more like their white numbers,"89 but then went on to tell about those who were not acculturating as they should have been, giving some reasons for this:

Whether the constitutional laziness of the race is reason or not, certain it is that these old slaves are remarkable for the tenacity with

88The Wesleyan Argus, 29 October 1878.
89Ibid.
which they cling to the ways and manners of the 'old regime.'... As to education; the old folk neither have 'book larnin' themselves, nor are they willing for their children to go to school. ... By nature the darkey is fond of bright colors; of making a great show and display. Gaudy ribbons attract him; parades are his especial delight.... Our old friend's fondness for display also leads him into extravagance of speech. He fairly revels in high-sounding polysyllables, especially when a 'w'ite brudder' is present. ... Of all creatures on God's earth, these ex-slaves are the most improvident. They are neither thrifty nor economical.... The old darkey retains the superstitions of the plantation 'quarters.' Witches and spooks are as real to him as his own wife.... The religious zeal of the Negro is truly remarkable. He will attend long services; shout and sing; and make long prayers and exhortations, apparently without the least fatigue. But I am sorry to say, some do not live up to what they preach.... these people have a very low standard of morality. They do not seem to know good from evil.... they are just as they were in old slavery days. Hence, when we study them, we learn the characteristics of the race, as it was 'befo' de wah.'

Despite only referring to a small group of ex-slaves in the Cumberland Valley of Pennsylvania, the author seemed to touch on every possible aspect of their lives that he could, and by doing so, easily reinforced any stereotypes of blacks in general that might have existed in the mind of any and every reader.

In other entries in The Argus, both blacks and Jews were used in humorous stories. These were most often based on stereotypes of the particular group. One is a story of two negroes who went out hunting; another tells of "a darkey [who] was Speaker of the House of a Southern

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Ibid.
These show the amusement that the students could derive out of making fun of certain characteristics, whether true or not, of a certain ethnic group, in a manner similar to that of the traditional minstrel show.

Finally, in an editorial published in the final year of Reconstruction, the editors discussed whether the Fifteenth Amendment was a failure. It began by using many racist generalizations concerning the freedmen and the need for the amendment:

...That the negro would at some future day become a factor in American civilization was conceded by the best thinkers of all parties; ...It was still further allowed that the negro must be educated and trained to a higher degree of civilization; ...the negro should be allowed the right of suffrage, as long as the right was granted to ignorant foreigners it should not be refused his equally intelligent black brother. 42

In these introductory remarks, the author is successful in degrading both the Negro and the immigrant, classifying them both as idiots lacking in civilization. As the question of the success of the amendment is discussed, the author states that the two political parties disagree over the effectiveness of Negro suffrage, the Republicans claiming that the Negros are being intimidated and not being allowed to vote, and the Democrats claiming "that the Southern States are as great and peaceful as any New

41 The Wesleyan Argus, 29 November 1881.
42 The Wesleyan Argus, 13 February 1877.
England State." The author, in claiming that the Fifteenth Amendment has not been proven a failure, takes the side of the Democrats and declares that while there might exist some intimidation of black voters, it is on such a small scale as not to affect the true workings of democracy:

...We venture to assert that not ten percent of the colored voters of the South are prevented from voting as they wish....The white people of the South, disgusted with negro misrule and corruption, are trying to get back the power into their own hands; in trying to do this they have in many localities used the questionable means of intimidation, though by no means universally, or even to any general extent. Facts will not warrant the statement that the great body of colored voters are being intimidated. Nor even is the idea to be treated as absurd that many negroes of their own accord vote with the Democratic party. Now, if the facts will not bear us out in saying that more than a small percentage of colored voters are deprived of their rights, how can we make such a general statement as the Fifteenth Amendment is a failure?""

It is difficult to consider these statements as pro-Negro and non-partisan. Clearly the author believed that a large number of black voters were not being intimidated at the polls by Southern Democrats. History tells us otherwise. In discussing the exact same time period as the author above, William Gillette, in his Retreat from Reconstruction 1869-1879, discussed the efforts of the Southern Democrats to suppress the Negro vote. He even quoted two

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"Ibid.

"Ibid."
Southern newspapers with their descriptions of the Southern plan:

...Democrats throughout the South were organizing to complete their counterreconstruction. Virtually united in the conviction that the 'infernal' Fifteenth Amendment had made a 'terrestrial hell' out of the southern states, they intended to 'get rid of the negro as a voter,' put an end to the remaining Republican regimes, and gain control of state politics.45

It seems clear from Gillette and many other historians that the Negro voters were severely limited in their right of suffrage in the final years of Reconstruction and afterwards. The author of The Argus article was denying the claims of the Republicans and rationalizing the evidence from the actual election returns to claim the opposite. While this stand is not in itself a racist one, it does embody a certain anti-Negro, Southern bias.

The conclusions that can be made from all of these references toward other ethnic groups found in the student newspaper lie not only in what was written, but also what was not written. There were very few examples of material that was in favor of reform or of helping the plight of both the blacks and the immigrants. In fact, there was very little about the immigrants at all. What did appear were items that tended to reinforce stereotypes, paternalism, and racism toward these groups. While it is likely

that the authors of these various entries were rarely writing this way on purpose, these biases were probably inherent in their value system, and were reflective of the national norms.

The use of the press was essential throughout the nation to disseminate ideas of reform, and in the case of Wesleyan, the only press available was not used in this way. This does not necessarily mean that this sentiment was lacking throughout the whole student body, but it could tell us that the desire to improve the situation for blacks and immigrants was felt at best by only a small minority of the students, too small to play a role in the student press or even to exert any pressure for some exposure in the newspaper. Again, I believe that this shows that Wesleyan was not particularly active in the area of liberal reform, and simply represented the more conservative attitudes of the country on the whole.
VI. The Partially Re-Opened Door

Prior to 1875, the number of non-white students that attended Wesleyan was less than ten, with never more than two attending concurrently. After this time, particularly after 1900, there was a significant increase in the number of these students present on campus. While the majority of these were Asian, a large number were also black. There still, as in all of the years since Wesleyan's founding, was an obvious absence of Roman Catholics and Jews. This could be partly due to the revision of Wesleyan's charter in 1870 that brought "the college under denominational control, thus doing violence to Willbur Fisk's original plan of a non-sectarian institution."¹ That change, and the fact that, despite Wesleyan's non-sectarian charter, it had always been primarily a Methodist institution, did not make it a popular choice for either Jews or Catholics.

The increase in the number of Asian students was probably directly related to the increase in Methodist missionary activity in China and Japan. The original idea to establish a mission in China came from Wesleyan stu-

¹Price, op. cit., p. 113.
dents. On April 28, 1835, the Missionary Lyceum, a student group at Wesleyan that discussed matters of Methodist missionary work, passed by a unanimous vote a resolution to send both missionaries and a printing press to China. The location chosen was Foochow. It took some time to establish the mission, and much longer to start a Methodist school there, but Anglo-Chinese College graduated its first student on January 10, 1890. In the next twenty-five years, Wesleyan and Anglo-Chinese would establish close ties. A Wesleyan alumnus, John Gowdy ’97, would serve as its president, and a number of Anglo-Chinese College students would come to study at Wesleyan. The Methodist involvement with Anglo-Chinese College and further increased activity in the Orient was most likely responsible for the large number of Asian students that entered Wesleyan from approximately 1885 onward.

The reasons behind the increase in attendance of black students is not as easy to pinpoint. In the forty-two years between Wilbur Fisk Burns’ graduation in 1860 to the entrance of James Augustus Wilson in 1902, there was only one black student at Wesleyan. Isaac Nuñez Cardozo n’79 entered in 1875 and left during his sophomore year. In the first thirty years of Wesleyan’s existence, three blacks had been students, and in the first ten years of

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the twentieth century, five blacks would be students at Wesleyan. Why was there this scarcity from 1860 to 1902?

There seems to be only one explanation for this fact. After the Civil War, a large emphasis was placed on the education of the Negro. In the years to follow, a number of all-black colleges were established. Denominational organizations, including the Freedmen's Aid Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, played major roles in the operation of colleges in the South. With these opportunities available, why would a black student want to attend an all-white Northern college like Wesleyan, when he had a number of other opportunities to attend college with people just like himself. I feel that this is the reason for the almost complete lack of black students at Wesleyan in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The major increase in the number of blacks who attended Wesleyan after the turn of the century is not nearly as easy to explain. From 1902 to 1907, five blacks would enter Wesleyan University; four of them would graduate, and at one point, four of them would be students at the same time. This was a radical change in the racial make-up of Wesleyan. In the seventy years prior to this, only four blacks had attended, and only one of them had graduated. The reasons for this drastic change are not clear. It could be related to the increase in both students and faculty during the later years of the admini-
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striction of President Raymond. In fact, the coincidence of the end of the steady stream of black students and the end of Raymond's service in 1907 could reinforce this possibility strongly.

There is little evidence of any student reaction to this increase in black students; it actually seemed to have been taken very matter-of-factly, with little discussion. The new wave of black students participated in a variety of student activities, including sports and declamation contests. I did not find any evidence of any blacks participating in the major student activity, fraternities. This might not have been completely due to discriminatory practices by the Wesleyan students, but could have been due to the national regulations of each fraternity.

I did find a very interesting letter that described a number of incidents that involved the black students who played on the baseball team in 1905 and 1906. Its full text can be found in Appendix 4. Written by Arthur Haley '07, the captain of the 1906 team, it described the activities of J.D. Smith, a non-graduate member of the class of 1907 who was "1/8 negro," and Tom Taylor '08. Haley related the fact that these men were "very well liked by all but a few pseudo Southerners from the Washington D.C. area." Haley also recorded that the College Body Senate, under pressure from these "pseudo-Southerners", voted that
no Negro could play on a Wesleyan team. While there was no record of this decision in The Argus, I tend to believe Haley's account. He then goes on to tell how the pseudos made sure that Taylor did not sit near them at the training meals, and that Smith waited on the tables. From all of Haley's remarks, it seems that the behavior of these pseudos was the exception and not the rule for both the baseball team and the college body. This, and the fact that the black students participated in a number of activities, represented a major change in the attitudes of the students regarding a separation between the races, an attitude, of course, that had not had a chance to be tested since 1860.

The presence of Catholics among the students was very limited throughout all of the nineteenth century, and they were not greatly represented until the twentieth century. While no statistics exist concerning Catholic attendance at Wesleyan in the first seventy years, I found mention of only one Catholic student who graduated in 1887. He was listed in the 1901 supplement to the Alumni Record which included the religious affiliation of most of the students who graduated between 1881 and 1901. Of all of these, and additional alumni listed in further supplements, George Francis Flynn was the only one with an "R.C." next to his name. These supplements were issued in 1901, 1903, and 1905.
In 1907, The Argus published a list of the church affiliations of current students and seven were listed as Catholics. This exhibits a large influx of Catholics. The reasons behind this could be related to the change in the charter regarding religious affiliation. As mentioned previously, the charter was amended in 1870 to put the college under Methodist control and to establish religious tests for the faculty and administration. This was changed in June, 1907, to reflect the original non-sectarianism of the college. The Wesleyan University Bulletin of December, 1907, describes the change:

...It is to be regretted that the spirit of reaction was strong enough in 1870 to secure the adoption of a charter of less liberal type. But the essential freedom of thought which has always been manifest at Wesleyan has been steadily developed for more than a generation and has been evident in the selection of members of the faculty and in the personnel of the student body. This liberality of temper finds renewed expression in the University charter adopted last June,...Wesleyan is thus restored to its original position as an institution unhampered in its development by needless restrictions."

With this change, it is possible that the administration went out of its way to show that Wesleyan was not solely a Methodist school and was even open to Catholics. Prior to this change, and possibly also a factor in the increase in Catholics, was the removal, in 1904, of the requirement of attending some church service in a city church."

"The Wesleyan Argus, 5 October 1904."
These changes in Wesleyan could be reflective of the lessening of anti-black and anti-Catholic tensions throughout the country. Whether they are or not, the increase in the representation of these groups on campus, and the absence of any major uproar that it could have caused, could mean that the Wesleyan student body was becoming more accommodating to these groups, and exhibiting less racist tendencies as their predecessors.
Conclusion

I have presented a number of incidences of conflict that occurred at Wesleyan University from its founding through 1920. These conflicts were direct reflections of the conflicts that were occurring throughout the nation during this same period. It was a time of great change for the country on the issues of racial and ethnic relations. Prior to my research, I felt that the degree of conflict at Wesleyan would be less than that of the nation; that Wesleyan would be a more liberal environment. What I found was that this was not true. The attitudes that were prevalent on Wesleyan's campus and most other college campuses were similar to the conservative attitudes present throughout the country.

The paternalism, the desire for separation, and even the violence that was the norm for most of the country was also present on the campus. The students that attended college, or Wesleyan in particular, represented almost a representative slice of the nation and the societal norms that were operative at the time. They were not, in general, the open-minded, liberal thinkers as college students of the 1960's were.

I have shown that the geographical make-up of the
Wesleyan student body, or even other student bodies, had little to do with the racial attitudes that were held. Students from the North were often in agreement with those from the South over racial and ethnic issues, as was the case in the country in general; racism and nationalism were rarely sectional issues. As I have said, this was not the conclusion that I expected when I embarked on this project. Despite this, I am not surprised. From my previous study of this period of American history, I was aware of the national attitudes concerning blacks and immigrants.

When I first considered the fact that started my quest, Charles Ray's admission, I thought that this was a liberal move on the part of the university, and I discounted the importance of Ray's departure. Now I realize that it was his leaving that typified more the attitudes held, and not his admission. In addition, any exemplary acts in the history of Wesleyan concerning blacks or other ethnic groups were most often reflections of an active liberal minority. But in most cases, Wesleyan acted in a conservative way along societal norms.

In my final chapter, I see perhaps a change in the attitudes. With the coming of the 1920's, perhaps the students were acting more liberal and more open-minded. And so, perhaps, they were deviating from the national norm. But I leave that question to some future Wesleyan
student historian to research. I have done what I set out to do; to investigate whether Wesleyan was a better place for these groups, and whether the Wesleyan student body did not follow the nationwide norms of racism and nationalism. Unfortunately, my research led me to conclude that it was not and they did not; that Wesleyan's attitudes regarding blacks and immigrants were similar to those of most people in the United States.
Appendix 1

A listing of the debates of the Adelphian, Philorhetorian, and Peithologian Societies concerning racism and nativism. Listed in chronological order in the following form.

Date "Topic or Question"
Decision (if available)
Disputants (if available, also affirmative and negative, if available)
Interim Speakers (if available)
Note (if applicable)
Society

1831-11-20 "Would the transportation of the slaves from the United States be beneficial to its present condition?"
Decided in the affirmative
Graves, Wright-Aff
Harris, Brown-Neg
Adelphian

1831-12-06 "Ought Slavery to be abolished?"
No record of decision
Roper, Diefendorf-Aff
Harris, Nye-Neg
Philorhetorian

1832-03-20 "Would the total abolition of slavery be beneficial to the U.S.A.?"
Decided in the affirmative
Harris, Foster
Baugh, Nye
Interim: Foster (Neg), Brown, Valentine (Aff)
Adelphian

1832-04-10 "Ought Congress to make appropriations for colonizing the free people of color in the United States on the shores of Africa?"
No record of decision
Rice, S.S. Stocking-Aff
H. Dully, A.H. Wright-Neg
Philorhetorian
1832-10-02 "Ought Slavery to be \textcolor{red}{gradually} abolished?"
No record of decision
Dwight, Gilder-Aff
Roper, Stevens-Neg
Philorhetorian

1832-11-20 "Is the object contemplated by the Colonization Society worthy of support?"
No record of decision
Diefendorf, Round-Aff
Mason, Rice-Neg
Philorhetorian

1833-02-11 "Ought slavery to be abolished at the present time?"
No record of debate
Chase, Burr-Aff
Wright, Youngs-Neg
Adelphian

1833-03-12 "Ought the free blacks of the United States to be admitted to the rights of suffrage?"
No record of decision
Mason, Roper-Aff
A.P. Merrill, Lubbs-Neg
Note: Held over and debated further 1833-03-19
Philorhetorian

1833-04-00 "Ought the U.S. to encourage foreign immigration?"
No record of decision
Henry, Burr-Aff
Nye, Potter-Neg
Adelphian

1833-06-11 "Is it probable that America was ever inhabited by a race of men far superior to the Indians in civilization?"
Decided in the negative
Bangs, Youngs-Aff
Harris, Eyster-Neg
Adelphian

1833-07-01 "Are the Indians of North America equal to the Europeans in respect to their mental faculties?"
No record of debate
Peithologian

Appendix 1
1833-10-01 "Is it probable that Catholicism will not prove injurious to our country?"
Decided: 6 for the negative, 4 for the affirmative
Clift, Youngs-Aff
A.C. Bangs, Magruder-Neg
Peithologian

1833-10-08 "Is there any reasonable probability that the Colonization Society will ever affect the abolition of slavery?"
No record of decision
G. Rice, J.A. Sillick-Aff
J.M. Foster, Hearlow(?)-Neg
Philorhetorian

1833-11-05 "Would the immediate emancipation of the slaves in the Southern States be injurious to those states?"
No record of decision
J.M. Foster, Dole, Wilbur-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1834-02-18 "Can the plan proposed by our government for moving the Indians beyond the Mississippi be justified on the principals (sic) of humanity and national policy?"
Decided in the negative by a majority of one
Youngs, Anderson-Aff
Wakeman, J.W. Meinci(?)-Neg
Peithologian

1834-06-10 "Which is the greater evil, slavery or intemperance?"
No record of decision
Trow, Jolly(?)-Aff
M.H. Lawrence, Harvey(?)-Neg
Interim: Stevens, Wakeman, J.W. Foster, Hale, Banister, Wilbur, Merrill, Stiles
Philorhetorian

1834-09-20 "Is the Colonization society more worthy of public patronage than the Anti-Slavery Society?"
No record of decision
Jolly, Harvey-Aff
M.H. Lawrence, C.A. Lee-Neg
Interim: Stiles, Rockwell, Hyer, Mason, Hobart
Philorhetorian
1834-10-21 "Is the liberty of the people of the United States in danger from the Catholics?"
No record of decision
T.M. Wheeler, J.J. Enos-Aff
T.D. Lincoln, W.W. March-Neg
Interim: Banister, Palmer, Clark, Hobart, Hand, H. Dwight
Philorhetorian

1835-02-18 "Is Catholicism likely to endanger the liberties of these United States?"
No record of decision
Lawrence, Negus, Lee, Enos-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1835-04-29 "Have the sentiments of the Abolitionists any just claims upon the attention of the people?"
No record of decision
Hyer, Lawrence, Gardner, Hobart-Disputants
Interim: S. Dwight, Mercer, Clark, Trow
Note: "The discussion then took place eliciting much warmth of feeling."
Philorhetorian

1835-05-26 "Would the education of the Negroes in the U.S. be advantageous to this country?"
No record of decision
Mercer, Wentworth, Lawrence, March-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1835-10-20 "Ought the colonisation cause to be patronised?"
No record of decision
Rossis(?), Bailey, Greesu(?), Shafters-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1835-11-03 "Should the North interfere with the South on the Subject of Slavery?"
No record of decision
Phelps, Youngs-Aff
Ralston, Saxe-Neg
Peithologian

1835-11-03 "Are our liberties secure under the present laws of Immigration and Naturalization?"
No record of decision
No record of disputants
Philorhetorian
1836-02-16 "Are the liberties of our country endangered by the Catholics?"
No record of decision
W.S. Wiley, Hurlburt, Hawley, Russel-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1836-05-10 "Is our country in greater danger from slavery than from Catholicism?"
No record of decision
Bufell(?), Hurlburt, E. Wiley, Cook-Disputants
Interim: Hand
Philorhetorian

1836-06-14 "Ought Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia?"
No record of decision
Lee, Lincoln, Woods, Converse-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1837-01-10 "Have the Africans been benefited by being brought to this country?"
Decided in the affirmative
Hubbard, Shafer-Aff
Rolston, Mudge-Neg
Interim: Bell, Mead, Sewall, Garrison, White
Peithologian

1837-01-17 "Ought immigration to our country to be prohibited by law?"
No record of decision
Hurlburt, Seely, Chapman, Mathison-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1837-01-31 "Should we encourage foreign immigration?"
Decided in the affirmative
Brit, Bardeau-Aff
White, Kelly-Neg
Peithologian

1837-05-30 "Would the immediate abolition of slavery be a greater evil than its perpetuity under existing circumstances?"
No record of decision
Sanford, Chapman, Cummings, Moore-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1837-06-13 "Is the American Anti-Slavery Society unworthy of public patronage?"
No record of decision
Hawley, Banister, Hitchcock, Seely-Disputants
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1837-10-31 “Is the colonization society more worthy of public patronage than the American Anti-Slavery Society?” Decided in the negative Holmes, Willing-Aff Rust, Thayer-Neg Peithologian


1837-11-28 “Is the system of slavery in itself more dangerous to our republican institutions than Catholicism?” No record of decision Campbell, J. Hurlburt, Bannister, D.G. Allen-Disputants Philorhetorian

1838-12-04 “Ought slavery to continue an instant(?) aside from moral causes?” Decided in the affirmative by a majority of twelve to six Mead, Converse-Aff Brown, Campbell-Neg Interim: Dow, Reynolds, Rolston Peithologian

1839-05-21 “Is there any danger to be apprehended from Catholicism to Republicanism in the United States?” Decided in the affirmative by one Hartwee(?), S.D. Chase-Aff Raisbeck, Reynolds-Neg Interim: Greenwood, Locke, Way, Converse, Reiner, Rolston, Hubbard, W.H. Murphy Peithologian

1839-06-11 “May the philanthropist expect beneficial results from the late agitation of the subject of slavery?” Decided in the negative by a majority of 4 Greenwood, Peirce-Aff Mattison, Burke-Neg Interim: Marcy, Shaffer, Rust, Willing, Campbell, Rolston, Hubbard Peithologian

Appendix 1
1839-09-24 "Was the conduct of the Africans, who, on the high seas forcibly took command of the schooner Amistad justifiable?"
Decided in the affirmative by a majority of 16
Reynolds, Foster-Aff
Absford(?), Willing-Neg
Interim: Pierce, Rust, Thayer, Hubbard
Peithologian

1840-06-16 "Should the immigration of foreigners into this country be encouraged by law?"
Decided in the negative by a majority of 3
Thayer, Halstead-Aff
Hunchford(?), Hubbard-Neg
Peithologian

1840-10-06 "Do the aborigines of this country deserve our sympathies more than the negro slaves?"
Decided in the affirmative by a majority of 1
Rand, Granger-Aff
Hoyt, Twombly-Neg
Interim: Cobleigh, Way, Mattison, Mudge, Hartson
Peithologian

1840-10-06 "Ought Roman Catholics to be allowed right of citizenship?"
No record of decision
Baldwin, Hamline-Aff
Pittee, Guernsey-Neg
Philorhetorian

1841-03-16 "Do the measures of the abolitionists tend to abolish slavery?"
No record of decision
Adams, E. Merrill, Loomis, E.L. Rand-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1841-09-21 "...the following momentous question was read and discussed: "Were the negroes justifiable in their late riot in Cincinnati?"
Decided in the affirmative by a majority of 3
Twombly, Rand-Aff
Bartlett, Granger-Neg
Peithologian

1843-06-20 "Was the alliance of the five great powers for the suppression of slavery justifiable?"
No record of debate
Alexander, Covell, C.R. Dean, Dillingham-Disputants
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1843-10-03 "Are the Irish Repealers entitled to the sympathy of the American?"
Do record of decision
Sawyer, Sanborn, L.L. Dean, Alexander-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1843-10-17 "Ought the immigration of Roman Catholics to be prohibited by law?"
No record of debate
Philorhetorian

1843-10-24 "Ought Irish immigration to be discountenanced?"
No record of decision
Stowe, Gould-Aff
Uglow, Smith-Neg
Interim: Chedsey, Hoyt, F.S. Champion, McClean
Philothologian

1843-10-24 "Ought Roman Catholics to be allowed to vote in the United States?"
No record of decision
Thompson, D. McCrillis, J.A. Dean, Marsh-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1843-11-07 "Has the Indian experienced greater injustice at the hands of the American people than the slave?"
Decided in the negative
Jones, Wickersham-Aff
Burgess, Stowe-Neg
Interim: Smith, Hoyt, Champion
Philothologian

1844-02-20 "Is the Roman Catholic religion hostile to civil liberty?"
Decided in the affirmative
Beach, F.S. Brigham-Aff
Sippett, Burgess-Neg
Interim: Stowe, Sprague
Philothologian

1844-03-12 "Ought the Executive of a non-slaveholding state to be compelled to return a fugitive slave upon the demand of the Executive of a slaveholding state?"
No record of decision
C.R. Dean, A.W. Genung, J. Goodier, E. Hubbard-Disputants
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1844-04-09 "Have we good reason to apprehend the dissolution of the Union from the difference of feeling between the north and south on the subject of slavery?"
No record of decision
Savage, Goodwin, Griswold, Thompson-Disputants Philorhetorian

1844-11-12 "Are our liberties in danger from the operations of Roman Catholics?"
Decided in the affirmative
Hawkins, Sprague-Aff
Davenport, Wailes-Neg
Interim: McClean
Peithologian

1845-07-15 "Ought foreign immigration to be abolished?"
Decided in the negative
Sippett, Wailes-Aff
S.F. Beach, Davenport-Neg
Peithologian

1847-02-09 "Ought the colored persons to be restrained in the exercise of the elective franchise?"
Decided in the negative
D. Ames, Church-aff
Keyes, Townsend-Neg
Philorhetorian

1847-03-02 "Is the American Colonization Society worthy of our support?"
Decided in the negative
Church, C. Cole-Aff
Fletcher, Keyes-Neg
Philorhetorian

1847-03-16 "Ought the abolition of slavery to be made a political question by northern abolitionists?"
Decided in the affirmative
Dow, Brigham-Aff
Hawkins, Avery-Neg
Interim: Holabird
Peithologian

1847-07-13 "Ought foreigners to remain longer than five years in this country before being entitled to the privileges of the ballot box?"
Decided in the affirmative
Keaton, Bingham-Aff
Johnson, Holabird-Neg
Peithologian

Appendix 1
1847-10-19 "Ought the privilege (sic) of the elective franchise be extended the coloured population?"
Decided in the affirmative
Hoyt, celasko(?)-Aff
Dow, Hawkins-Neg
Peithologian

1847-11-09 "Ought foreigners to be more than five years in this country before being entitled to the privilege of the ballot box?"
Decided in the negative
Dow, Maurin-Aff
Belding, Holabird-Neg
Peithologian

1848-03-28 "Is the condition of minors and the lower classes in England preferable to that of the slaves of the South?"
Decided in the negative
Cleveland, Leatimer-Aff
Church, Norton-Neg
Philorhetorian

1848-04-04 "Is the emigration (sic) of foreigners to this country beneficial to it?"
Decided in the affirmative
McKeown, Mellen-Aff
Leatimer, Mny-Neg
Interim: Marshall (Aff), Church (Neg)
Philorhetorian

1848-04-25 "Are the principles embodied in the pledge of the League of Universal Brotherhood obligatory upon mankind?"
Decided in the affirmative
Manly, Roberts-Aff
Silber, Church-Neg
Interim: Brown (Neg)
Note: Pledge of the Universal Brotherhood—"Believing all war to be inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and destructive of the best interests of mankind, I do hereby pledge myself never to enlist or enter any army or navy or to yeald (sic) any voluntary support or sanction to the preparation for or prosecution of any war by whomsoever or for whatsoever purpose declared or waged. And I do hereby associate myself with all persons of whatever country, condition, or color, who have signed, or shall hereafter sign, this pledge, in a League of Universal Brotherhood whose object shall be to employ all legitimate and moral means for the abolition of all war throughout the world; for the abolition of restrictions upon international correspondence, and friendly intercourse, and of

Appendix 1
whatever else tends to make enemies of nations or prevent their fision into one peaceful brotherhood; for the abolition of all institutions and customs which do not recognize and respect the image of God and a human brother in every man, of whatever clime, color, or condition of humanity."

Philorhetorian

1848-07-25 "Will the extension of slavery into the territories result in the dissolution of the Union?"
Decided in the negative
Treadwell, Steele-Aff
Calder, Calef-Neg
Peithologian

1848-09-14 "Does the Free Soil movement argue any good to the Union?"
Decided in the affirmative
Loomis, Steele-Aff
Holabird, Colby-Neg
Peithologian

1848-11-21 "Are northern freemen justifiable in purchasing slaves for the purpose of giving them freedom?"
Decided in the negative
Whetenhall, Ames, Burton-Aff
Mellen, Kellogg-Neg
Philorhetorian

1849-07-10 "Does the colonization of the colored population of this country afford the best means for benefitting that people?"
Decided in the affirmative
Church, Marshall-Aff
Ames, Mellen-Neg
Philorhetorian

1850-04-02 "Ought persons claimed as fugitive slaves to be granted trial by jury?"
Decided in the affirmative
Brooks, Walton-Aff
Adams, Martin-Neg
Philorhetorian

1850-04-09 Same as previous week.
"...After a very interesting discussion,...decided in the Negative."
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1850-11-19 "Is it consistent with citizenship to oppose the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law?"
Decided in the negative
Carroll, Ethridge-Aff
Dikeman, LaBèr-Neg

1851-04-29 "Should the Naturalization Laws for Foreigners be extended to 21 years?"
Decided in the negative
Oakley, Dusinherre-Aff
Beckwith, Conrad-Neg
Philorhetorian

1851-10-07 "Is the Colonization Society [more] worthy of praise than the Abolition party?"
Decided in the affirmative
Walton, Preffirr, Bennet, Warren-Disputants
Interim: Dusenherre, Chester, Wheeler
Philorhetorian

1853-11-08 "Should the United States at the present day encourage immigration?"
No record of decision
Upham, Jayne, Wyatt, Pomeroy-Disputants
Philorhetorian

1856-04-22 "Ought Kansas to be admitted with a pro-slavery constitution?"
Decided in the negative
J.W. Smith, Ela-Aff
Pomeroy, Winchell-Neg
Philorhetorian

1856-10-06 "Resolved, That the evils of slavery are increased by agitating the question."
Decided in the affirmative
Buckley, Young-Aff
Knowles, Shuster-Neg
Philorhetorian

1857-04-00 "Resolved that colonization ought to be the condition of emancipation."
Decided in the negative
Stone-Aff
Jones-Neg
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1857-10-27 "Resolved that slavery agitation has been productive of more good than evil."
Decided in the affirmative
Buckley, Sanborn-Aff
Allison, Fuller-Neg
Note: "The question was thrown open to members of the Peithologian Society and all others. The Peithos however, except for Mr. Squire, found their courage unequal to the task of taking part."
Philorhetorian

1859-05-17 "Resolved, that the 'Emancipation System' is the most expedient way of ridding the United States of slavery."
Note: "During the discussion of the question, many of the members left, and we were without a quorum, consequently we stood adjourned."
Philorhetorian

1860-09-18 "Resolved, that the Republican party ought to advocate the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill."
Decided in the affirmative
Carswell, Warner-Aff
Sawyer, Shepherd-Neg
Philorhetorian

1861-09-10 "Resolved, that the subjugation of the so-called Southern Confederacy would tend to the abolition of slavery."
Decided in the affirmative
Note: "The discussion was carried on in an animated and interesting manner, drawing forth much argument on both sides of the house."
Philorhetorian

1862-04-22 "Resolved that colonization ought to be the condition of emancipation."
No record of decision
Perkins, Stone-Aff
Jones, Nottage-Neg
Philorhetorian

1864-01-26 "Resolved that the Catholic religion is more intolerant [than] the Protestant."
Decided: By weight of argument-Aff
According to merit of question-Neg
Baker, Smith-Aff
Whitaker, Graves-Neg
Interim: H.E. Smith, Richman, Givillim(?) (Aff), Walton, Thompson (Neg)
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
1864-02-09 "Resolved, that the negro (sic) should receive the immunities and privileges of citizens."
Decided: By weight of argument-Aff
By the truth of the question-Aff
Gilman, Smith-Aff
Graves, Elwood-Neg
Interim: Richman, Crane, North (Aff), Gilbert, H.E. Smith, Givillim (Neg)
Philorhetorian

1865-10-10 "Resolved that the right of suffrage should be extended to the negro."
Decided in the negative
Stevens, Crane-Aff
Morrill, Northrup-Neg
Philorhetorian

Appendix 1
Appendix 2

The following is a list of non-white or non-Protestant students who attended Wesleyan through 1920. They are organized here in chronological order in the following form:

- Name
- Class year
- Years of attendance.
- Ethnic Background.
- Birthplace
- School activities (if available)
- Notes (if applicable)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Class year</th>
<th>Years of attendance</th>
<th>Ethnic Background</th>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>School activities (if available)</th>
<th>Notes (if applicable)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Charles B. Ray</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Note: See Chapter III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ynocencio Geigel</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1841-1842</td>
<td>Puerto Rican</td>
<td>St. Johns (San Juan), Puerto Rico</td>
<td></td>
<td>Note: &quot;Left College, having acquired the English Language.&quot; (1883 Alumni Record)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felipe Santiago DeMena</td>
<td>1845</td>
<td>1841-1842</td>
<td>Cuban</td>
<td>Santiago, Cuba</td>
<td></td>
<td>Note: &quot;Attended College to get a knowledge of English&quot; (1883 Alumni Record)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sigfried Kristeller 1865
1861-65
Possibly Jewish, Eastern European
Wollstein, Prussia
Note: Very possibly the first Jew at Wesleyan, later became a Methodist minister.

Isaac Nuñez Cardozo 1879
1875-1876
Black
South Carolina

George Francis Flynn 1887
1883-1887
Catholic

Ayskeh Kabayama 1889
1885-1887
Japanese
Tokyo, Japan
Note: Member of Psi Upsilon Fraternity

Pedro Gillot 1892
1888-1892
Cuban
San Andrés, Cuba
Note: Member of Phi Nu Theta and Phi Beta Kappa

Jewsuke Shimata 1892
1888-1892
Japanese
Yamaguchi, Japan

James Augustus Wilson 1906
1902-1906
Black
Calhoun, Alabama
Note: Spoke often on the problems of the blacks.

John Davis Smith 1907
1903-1906
Black
Middle Haddam, Ct.
Note: Played baseball.

Thomas Jarvis Taylor, Jr. 1908
1904-1908
Black
New Hanven, Ct.
Note: Letter winner for baseball.

Appendix 2
James Simpson Thomas 1908
1904-1908
Black
Baltimore, Md.

John Wesley Edward Bowen, Jr. 1911
1907-1911
Black
Baltimore, Md.

Ho-Min Lin 1916
1914-1916
Chinese
Fukien, China
Note: Entered from Anglo-Chinese College

Wo-Min Chou 1916
? 1916
Chinese
Foochow, China

Cheung Tsuen Lei 1917
1913-1917
Chinese
Canton, China

Matias Perez y Ponce 1917
1914-1917
Philippino
Dupax, Philippine Islands

Yu Ching Tu n1917
1914-1915
Chinese
Hupeh, China
Note: Member of the Commons Club.

Chuan Chao 1918
1914-1918
Chinese
Tsun-hua, China
Note: Participate on Debate team and other clubs.

Do-Gieng Ciu 1918
1914-1918
Chinese
Changsha, China

Appendix 2
Fu-Sheng Chang 1919
1916-1918
Chinese
Foochow, China
Note: Died while a student, buried in Foss Hill cemetery.
Appendix 3

A list of selected orations given for declamation contests or other oratory events for the period 1831 to 1910.

1865 "Negro Suffrage" Charles Prescott Mather Putnam, Ct.
1866 "The Proclamation of Emancipation" Paul Richard S. Brown Pratteville, NY
1866 "A Slaveholding Republic Impossible" Henry Thomas Eddy Bristol, Ct.
1867 "Reconstruction" George Townley Parrott Irvington, NY
1879 "The Negro in America" N. Walling Clark Plattsburgh, NY
1880 "The Negro in America" Frank Bruce Lynch
1884 "Reconstruction a Failure" Robert H. Williams Milton, De.
1884 "Our Ebony Problem" Ernest P. Clarke Sierra Madre, Ct.
1888 "William Lloyd Garrison" Edward Ernest Matthews Newark, NJ
1905 "Industrial Education-A Solution to the Negro Problem"
George Wiley Sherburn St. Johnsbury, Vt.

1905 "The Attitude of the Intelligent Citizen towards the Race Problem in the South"
James Augustus Wilson Calhoun, Ala.

1906 "Shall the Negro Have a Share in American Politics?"
James Augustus Wilson Calhoun, Ala.

1909 "Booker Taliaferro Washington, Creditor"
Walter Henry Brown Bridgeport, Ct.

1912 "Is there a Future for the American Negro?"
Ralph Foster Weld Round Lake, NY
Appendix 4

Portion of letter written by Arthur B. Haley '07 to Norm Daniels, concerning blacks on the Wesleyan baseball team in 1905 and 1906.

Conway, Mass--Mar 24, 1959

Dear Norm--I still ache for ___ the tragic loss of Ahrens to the Wesleyan athletic picture. But he'll always be in my mind's eye. When I think of 'you all' there in the Base Ball and Foot Ball uniforms--

But this new turn on Racial Problems is nothing new at Wesleyan. I'll sketch briefly my (our experiences) at Wesleyan in 1905 and 1906. We had a 1/8 negro in my class, J.D. Smith, who was a stellar S.S. [shortstop], batter and good fellow--well liked by all but a few pseudo Southerners from Washington D.C. area--He played in 1904, 1905, 1906, left college in the summer of 1906. Tom Taylor '08, a very colored negro, caught and played first in 1905 and 1906. He was a grand fellow whose father was a doctor in New Haven. Tom and I played Cowboy pool often at St. Angelo's Barber Shop. Tom made the rounds of the fraternity houses on Saturday morning and Beta was his last call. Then he [and] I went downtown. Every body was very fond of Tom!

At Amherst [and] Trinity [he] had to step high as he said to avoid spikes at 1st base in 1906--When we had our greatest season. Capt. Clarence (Cherub) Hancock '06 (Brother of Stewart '05) who was mgr. his senior (my sophomore) year.--At Princeton in spring of 1906, Tom did not play because the Princetonians objected to colored opponents. Our Mgr. had arranged for this I guess--Smith played S.S. as an Armenian!! Princeton men were told that we had Taylor along as the 'bat carrier'. He played at West Point [and] elsewhere on our 4 day Southern each of the 1905 [and] 1906 springs.

In the fall of 1905 one Maurice Earle¹ (not in the Wesleyan Alumni Record) came from Meriden. He was [called] one of the greatest amateur ball players and at

¹Probably Charles Babcock Earle, attended Wesleyan briefly in 1905. See memo from CKD, 9 November 1984, in Early Blacks File, Wesleyan University Archives.

Appendix 4
once the pseudo Southerners said, 'What are we to be "the Colored Giants"?' So there was a College Body Meeting after a few weeks and it was voted that hereafter no negro could play on a Wesleyan team! Earle left early and so is not registered as a Wesleyan man. Smith drafted out—Taylor graduated and played on the 2nd team—a very co-operative [and] loyal fellow. He asked me as the Captain of the 1907 team and the College Body President for the 1906-1907 year if he would be allowed (by me) to play on the team. I had to say that I am sorry but I have to abide by the College Body Vote (If I had to go through this again I’d tell the pseudos to go to H— and I’d not play unless regularly enrolled students of any race, religion, color were allowed to be eligible. And so that’s the end of the story. Of course our C.B. action could not hold over for other generations (as now).

We had a training table in the Olin home next to Eclectic. Had two Pseudos—Cunningham who deserted and went to become a great B.B. there—and the F.B. coach afterwards and [other] pseudo Mr. ate at a two chair table so as not to eat with Taylor—Smith waited on tables. We had harmony on the field and won grand victories (Cunningham left after 1907). When we beat Princeton and he pitched—and as ‘Bosey’ Reiter said next day’—we lost Cunningham last night I guess.’...
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