

Preventing a “School of Nullification”

Politics, Slavery, and the Presidency of the University of Missouri, 1839–1856

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During the fall semester of 2015, protests erupted at the University of Missouri. Racial unrest that had simmered on the Columbia campus for well over a year boiled over after the killing of Michael Brown by a white police officer just over one hundred miles to the east in Ferguson, Missouri. Students, led by a group called Concerned Student 1950, participated in numerous marches and demonstrations, which quickly garnered coverage by national media outlets. On October 10, 2015, members of the group blocked University of Missouri System president Tim Wolfe’s car during the homecoming parade. The students preventing the president’s egress wore shirts that read “1839 WAS BUILT ON MY B(L)ACK,” a reference to the indelible connection between enslaved African American labor and the university’s establishment during the nineteenth century. The culmination of the protest came as several students built a tent city in Carnahan Quadrangle on November 2 with the intention to remain until President Wolfe resigned. Five days later, two dozen members of the university’s football team announced that they would not play until the president left his position. On November 9 both Wolfe and the much-maligned chancellor of the campus, R. Bowen Loftin, offered their resignations.¹

As indicated by the shirts worn at the homecoming parade, Concerned Student 1950 increased awareness of the historical relationship that the university had with slavery. One aspect of that campaign sought to have a statue of Thomas Jefferson removed from the east side of Francis



Academic Hall at the University of Missouri, circa 1868. The building, constructed between 1840 and 1843, was the campus’s most visible landmark until it burned in 1892, leaving only the columns standing. Scant but convincing evidence in the university’s archives shows that the early campus was built in part by enslaved Missourians. The legacies of MU’s first two presidents reveal an institution bedeviled by the politics of slavery. [Ruth Rollins Westfall Photograph Collection, P0020-024343]

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Quadrangle. The statue is within sight of the campus's six iconic columns that remain from Academic Hall, the original academic building, which burned in 1892. Maxwell Little, one of the founding members of Concerned Student 1950, started a petition on Change.org calling for the statue's removal. Several students posted notes calling attention to the fact that Jefferson had owned hundreds of slaves. The following spring, Little joined with historians Annette Gordon-Reed and Peter Onuf, the authors of a new book about Thomas Jefferson, to discuss the conflicted meaning of displaying historical figures in public spaces who have connections with slavery and white supremacy. Jefferson's statue and his tombstone remained in their places on Francis Quadrangle, but another piece of artwork was removed. Sometime during the spring of 2016, a larger-than-life bronze bust of James Sidney Rollins, one of the most important people associated with the founding of the University of Missouri—and a man who owned thirty-four enslaved men, women, and children—disappeared from the first floor of the university's administration building, Jesse Hall. The university made no public statement regarding the missing bust, but the timing of its movement suggests that the administration sought to prevent a similar protest against Rollins, the *Pater Universitatis Missouriensis*.²

The connection between the founding of the university and slavery is undeniable. Considering its position as a public institution situated in the heart of what was the heaviest slave-owning region of the state, it would be difficult to imagine a way that the college could be separated economically from the enslaved men and women upon whose labor many wealthy families depended. From the first subscription drive to raise funds for building the institution in Columbia, the University of Missouri bore the stain of enslaved labor. When the Missouri legislature drafted the law that brought the university into existence in 1839, the method for the selection of its location relied heavily on the private donations of local elites in the several competing counties. In a state that permitted the use of slave labor, the economic elite frequently built their wealth at the expense of men and women they considered their property. Of the \$97,807.75 that the people of Boone County contributed for the honor of hosting the state college, \$75,231.25 came from households that owned at least one enslaved person. Families with at least the average number of bondspeople in the state of Missouri prior to emancipation contributed just over half of the money.³ Enslaved men and women toiled on the grounds of the university as groundskeepers and janitors, as well as laborers in the construction and maintenance of the buildings. Many of the men who served as curators and professors of the university during its first quarter century claimed human beings as property.⁴

Several historians recently have brought to light the deep and important economic foundation that slavery and the slave-owning class provided in the creation of many colleges and universities in the United States. James T. Campbell began the conversation in the early 2000s when he became involved with the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice. The committee worked to understand how the university benefited from domestic slavery and the slave trade. Similar revelations have emerged from Adam Rothman's work on Georgetown University and Craig Steven Wilder's monograph, *Ebony and Ivy*.⁵ Many other

universities have commissioned inquiries into their historical connections with slavery.⁶ Wilder’s work goes further by describing the ways in which college professors helped institutionalize race in America through their membership in racist organizations like the American Colonization Society, as well as the role that university-sponsored scientific research played in institutionalizing race.⁷

Despite the University of Missouri owing its creation to wealth earned through the daily labor of enslaved men and women, the people who campaigned for a state-funded institution of higher learning did not seek to establish an academy to fight political battles for the perpetuation of slavery. Rather, they sought to provide access to traditional classical education, so common in eastern states, to adolescents living west of the Mississippi River. Largely consisting of bourgeois Whigs like Rollins, the promoters of the university viewed education as a path to respectability, a sign of cultural sophistication, and a fundamental aspect of building up an informed citizenry. The actions of the early board of curators and the university’s first president suggest that they intended the university to serve the public good by providing “education to the rising generations” that would enable them to “perpetuate the principles of our government.”⁸

Being a public institution in a slave state, however, placed the university on a collision course with slavery. When the politics of slavery became a serious concern in Missouri, proslavery politicians used their offices in the state legislature to install an extremist president who would ensure that the state institution of higher learning promoted the proper positions on the brewing sectional crisis. This second president of the university, a fiery Irish-born preacher named James Shannon, pushed his extreme proslavery agenda too far, which within a few years brought about a popular campaign, initiated by the citizens of Columbia and taken up by moderates throughout the state, to reject the injection of proslavery politics into the university’s affairs and restore it to its original mission.⁹



In the summer of 1839, twenty-seven-year-old Missouri legislator James Rollins sought the assistance of his political mentor regarding a matter of education for the second time in his life. Almost a decade earlier, Rollins had asked Henry Clay to take time from his exceedingly busy schedule to give the commencement speech for the first graduating class of Indiana College (renamed Indiana University in 1838). Clay declined to give the speech. Rollins’s second request also proved to be unsuccessful. He hoped to draw on Clay’s “extensive acquaintance throughout the entire union, and your profound knowledge of men” to get him to “point to the person best suited to the important charge” of serving as the president



Boone County Whig politician James Sidney Rollins was key to establishing Missouri’s state university in Columbia in 1839. Although the university was within the state’s densest slaveholding region and he himself owned slaves, Rollins sought to insulate the new school from more zealous proslavery advocates as tensions over slavery mounted in the 1840s and 1850s.

[Portrait by George Caleb Bingham, on loan to the State Historical Society of Missouri from Ellen Westfall Mering]

of the newly created state university in Missouri.¹⁰ Rollins offered some suggestions for candidates he thought would “suit us well,” and presented as a model the late Dr. Horace Holley, former president of one of Rollins’s alma maters, Transylvania University in Kentucky. Holley managed to enlarge the infrastructure and endowment of the university during his ten years of service. Yet he served as a curious model upon which to base the future president of the new university in Missouri, since his Unitarian religious opinions, which some saw as verging on infidelity, and his love of “worldly amusements” inspired wide criticism of his tenure, ultimately resulting in his resignation. Clay never responded to Rollins’s request.¹¹

Undeterred by Clay’s rebuff, Rollins tapped into his own network of men he knew in the academy, hoping to entice an experienced professor to lead the new college and bring a level of legitimacy to the fledgling institution. The candidates selected by the board of curators demonstrate that they had no concern about the president’s ability or desire to present a moral or philosophical defense of slavery. Indeed, each of the three men considered could be seen as a potential problem for the peculiar institution. Historian Manisha Sinha has argued that “abolition was a young people’s movement” and frequently placed students and like-minded faculty at odds with more conservative college administrators who opposed any form of antislavery or favored the more racist colonization efforts. But while each of the three candidates for the new college’s presidency had advanced in their years, they held more radical views than most of their peers in higher education.¹²

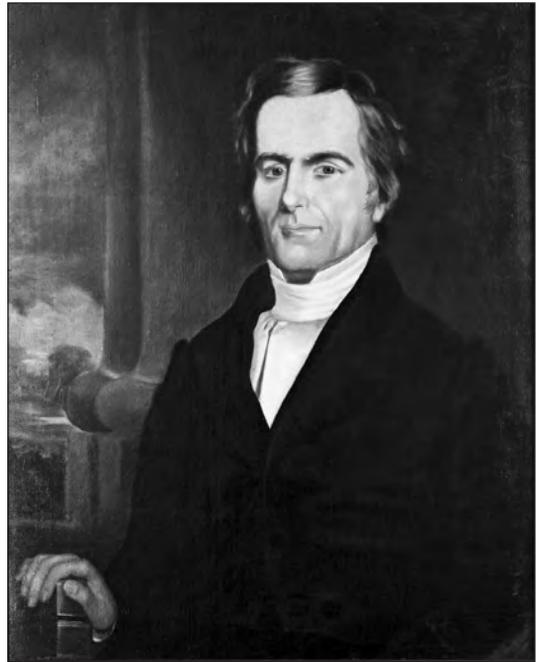
The potential president of the newly created university would take up residence in a rural region where many residents were working diligently to transform their western towns into centers of commerce and culture. All six of the counties that were invited to compete for the school’s location bordered the Missouri River in the central portion of the state, with three on the northern bank and three on the southern bank. Drawn to the region by the rich alluvial river basin, settlers poured into central Missouri in the years preceding 1839. Most of the newcomers hailed from the states of Kentucky, Virginia, and Tennessee. Because of the attractiveness of the central river counties to agrarian settlers from the Upper South, these six counties held over 16 percent of the state’s total population in 1840 and over 25 percent of the enslaved people. Farmers relied on tobacco, hemp, and corn as their primary agricultural products, but most properties had quite diversified offerings.¹³

Situated near the geographic center of the state, Columbia won the bid for the university. By 1840 the “thriving village” already had a reputation as a Whig stronghold, with Boone County providing the highest total vote for the Whig gubernatorial candidate that year outside of St. Louis. In the same year, Boone County hosted the state’s Whig Party convention in the river town of Rocheport, drawing partisan delegates from all over the state. Four of the six counties that bid on the university’s location consistently cast a majority of their votes for Whig candidates. The exceptions to Whig hegemony in central Missouri were Howard and Cole Counties; the former was the home of the powerful Central Clique of Democratic leaders.¹⁴

At Rollins’s insistence, curator Thomas Allen wrote to Andrew Wylie, the president of Indiana University in Bloomington, to see if he would come to Columbia to take control of the university.¹⁵ Rollins had met Professor Wylie when he began his undergraduate work at Indiana in 1827. Just three years before meeting Rollins, Wylie, then president of Washington College in Pennsylvania, had become strongly associated with the abolitionist movement in the western part of that state. In 1824 he gave the inaugural speech for the Western Abolition Society, outlining the aims of the organization to “ameliorate the lot of the free Negroes in Pennsylvania, to prevent them from being kidnapped and sold in slave states, and to carry into effect proper plans for opposing slavery in general.” Wylie’s feelings on slavery changed little over the ensuing years, although he opted to keep his antislavery perspective to himself after arriving in Indiana. In a letter to his son in 1845, Wylie claimed, “on this subject I have feelings which I cannot express—Slavery is an Institution which has in it a blasting withering influence. The Curse is wrapped up in it.”¹⁶

In his correspondence with Wylie, Allen suggested that he write to either Rollins or Rollins’s father, Anthony Wayne Rollins, if he had any questions about the area or the situation. Apparently, much like the late Holley at Transylvania University, Wylie had encountered some difficulties with a politically appointed trustee in Indiana. Wylie, hoping to forestall a similar situation in Missouri if he should accept the position, described to the elder Rollins that the only way to understand how much harm the trustee had caused was to “suppose all the slaves to be set free and put on an equality with their masters and then some Robespierre to be continual agitating them.”¹⁷ This hyperbolic description illustrated the difficulties intrinsic to granting a political body the power of oversight of a public institution.

Wylie’s experience stemmed from an accusation that he had spent more money than had been appropriated by the state and had purchased improper books for the university library. Formal charges were brought against him, but he was acquitted. Following the debacle, the Indiana legislature restructured the board of trustees to remove W. C. Foster, the troublesome trustee.¹⁸ The unfortunate experience caused Wylie to seek reassurance that the board would maintain some distance from the faculty to allow them to do their work and that the legislature would not “throw your institution into the vortex of political agitation.” For Wylie, “no inducement that could be presented” would convince him to preside over a state-controlled university. Indeed, he asserted that “all experience shows that no such institution can possibly—I will not say flourish—but even exist.” Despite the strong language regarding legislative oversight, Wylie saw “many signs of the tide turning in my favor in [Indiana]” based



Andrew Wylie, president of Indiana University, was the curators’ first choice for the presidency of Missouri’s new university. A bad experience at Indiana with a politically appointed trustee ultimately persuaded Wylie not to take his chances with another state university, particularly in a place where proslavery sympathies ran high.

[Courtesy of the Indiana University Archives]

largely on the work that lawmakers had done to shield him from further political interference.¹⁹

James Sidney Rollins naively reassured his former academic mentor that the political agitation he experienced in Indiana would not happen in Missouri. According to Wylie's former student, the leadership in Boone County was "good, composed principally of Kentuckians and Virginians, with an occasional Hoosier and Sucker: it is of a different caste entirely to the society about Bloomington."²⁰ Rollins optimistically remarked that in his home, people were "neither afraid, nor suspicious of great men. You would have no such contemptible asshole to deal with here as W. C. Foster." The claim that society in Boone County differed from that of Indiana based on the origin of its settlers was dubious. Like Missouri, central Indiana had experienced a large contingent of migrants from Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina. Based on its location within the boundary of the Northwest Territory, which had banned slavery in 1787, perhaps Rollins cast a disparaging eye on the type of migrant who would move to a society without enslaved labor.²¹ But a factor that more likely shaped his perspective on Monroe County, Indiana, the home of his alma mater, was the political leaning of its residents. In every gubernatorial election from 1831 to 1856, Monroe County's voters cast ballots for the Democratic candidate by a majority of at least ten percentage points. Being a staunch Whig with considerable wealth and a fairly snobbish attitude toward others, it is no surprise that Rollins found comfort among the leading Whig gentry in Boone County.²² In any event, despite Rollins's assurances about the situation in Missouri, Wylie opted not to take his chances with another state-supported institution.

The curators then turned to their second choice for the presidency, an antislavery Presbyterian minister named John Clarke Young. Born in Pennsylvania, Young graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1828 and moved to Kentucky soon after to head a church in Lexington. The minister married into the politically connected Breckenridge family, which meant he became the master of his wife Frances's slaves. At about the same time, Young became president of Centre College in Danville, Kentucky. Providing the new candidate with no notice, the curators unanimously elected Young to be the first president of their university. He had served as the president of Centre College for over a decade at the time of his election to the post in Missouri.²³

Though presiding over a college in the strongest slaveholding region in the state, Young was no friend to the institution. Unlike many slave owners who detested the practice, he manumitted the slaves he acquired through marriage after providing them with an education. Taking his emancipation project one step further, Young purchased other enslaved men and women with the plan of freeing them. Just five years before his election at the University of Missouri, Young argued that slavery "in all its parts is manifestly a violation of the laws of God" and urged the members of the Synod of Kentucky to sever their ties with the practice. In that regard, Young had been the principal author of a plan to gradually emancipate enslaved people in Kentucky. The plan called for all enslaved children under age twenty and anyone born to an enslaved mother in the future to be freed at the age of twenty-five. As it had been in his own manumis-

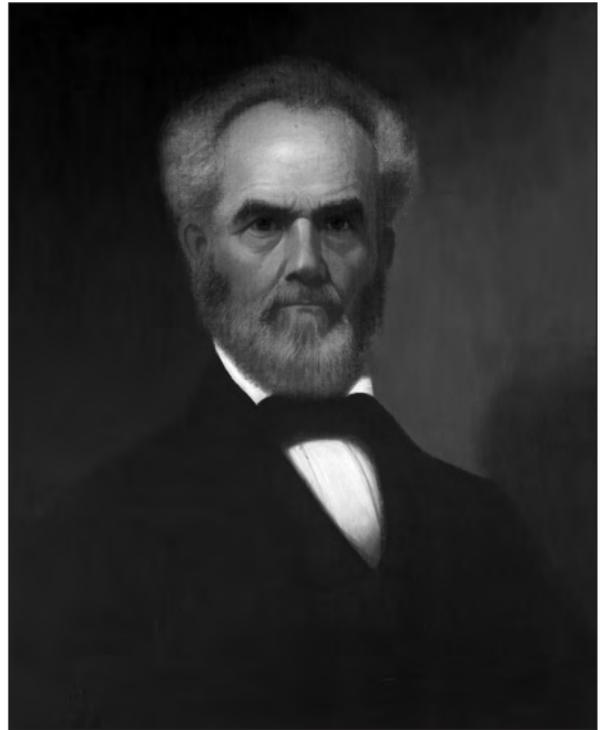
sions, education was important to Young's plan to prepare the freed young people for their role in society.²⁴

Warren Woodson, secretary of the board of curators in Missouri, wrote Young to announce the news of his election and offer him the position. Young apparently had another offer at Miami University in Ohio and planned to make a decision after visiting both institutions. It is unclear, however, whether Young ever made the trip to Columbia. In the end, Centre College provided sufficient inducements for him to remain at his post in Danville, and he continued serving as the president of Centre until his death in 1857.²⁵

Faced with another rejection, the curators turned to their final candidate to lead the new college. Based on the recommendation of W. W. Hudson, an instructor at the private college, known as Columbia College, that was donated to the state for the creation of the state university, the curators focused their attention on John Hiram Lathrop, the Maynard Professor of law, civil polity, and political economy at Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. Hudson knew Lathrop from Yale, where both had pursued their undergraduate degrees. Lathrop continued his education at Yale Law School while working as a tutor for the university. He had planned on practicing law as his career, but after only one trial he realized he had no taste for courtroom theatrics. Looking back favorably at the time he had spent as a tutor at Yale, Lathrop began taking teaching positions around New England, including at the Gardiner Lyceum in Maine, which was the first agricultural college in the United States. In 1829 Lathrop became a professor at Hamilton, advancing to the Maynard chair six years later.²⁶

In the years leading up to his election to the presidency of the University of Missouri, Lathrop had been drawn into the politics of slavery at Hamilton College. In 1837 Hamilton student Calvin Calkins approached the school's president, Joseph Penney, to ask for permission to circulate a petition to the state assembly calling for a more effective abolition of slavery in New York. Penney "disclaimed all intention to interfere with the right of petition" but regretted that Calkins's group chose to circulate its petition in the name of "students of Hamilton College." Upon receiving the petition, some members of the legislature took exception to the students' political activities. Levi Beardsley, a state senator, argued that he "had no idea of pampering institutions which were the hot-beds of such fanaticism" and called for the reconsideration of a recent appropriation of \$5,000 to Hamilton, which was seconded by several other members.²⁷

The embattled Penney attempted to distance the college from the political activities of the students to reassure the lawmakers that the faculty were not instigating the unrest. In defense of the college, he suggested that many of the sixty-five signers of the petition were "mere



Yale-educated John Hiram Lathrop was a professor at Hamilton College in New York when he was tapped to serve as the first president of the University of Missouri. His ties to established East Coast schools helped bring legitimacy to Missouri's new institution, but his outsider status undermined his efforts to draw legislative support at a time when the state's politics were becoming more turbulent.

[Portrait by George Caleb Bingham, SHSMO Art Collection, 2005.0127]

boys” and had been manipulated by Charles Shepard, a state legislator from Genesee. Representative Shepard responded to Penney’s charge by arguing that the faculty, in distancing themselves from the students’ petition, had made a political stand in opposition to abolition. Shepard also pointed out that at least one of the college’s professors, Charles Avery, had been recently seen at an antislavery meeting in a nearby town and therefore must have had some knowledge of the petition. Lathrop came to the administration’s defense. Walking a delicate line in an attempt to alienate as few legislators as possible, Lathrop argued that the faculty condemned the act of petitioning on campus, not the subject of the petition.²⁸

Penney resigned in 1839 after experiencing “many privations and difficulties” based on his handling of the abolitionist activities two years earlier. Several members of the board of directors for the college approached Lathrop, urging him to petition for the job. Another faction of directors stood behind the candidacy of Simeon North, a professor in the language department. After considerable canvassing and discussion, the position went to North. Neither Lathrop nor North were directly implicated in the abolitionist petitioning in 1837. Both men, indeed all of the faculty, including Professor Avery, had signed the statement to the legislature issued by President Penney. It remains difficult to determine the extent to which the abolitionist petition affected the presidential selection process. But regardless of the substance of the conflict, Lathrop felt slighted by the decision and accepted the position at Missouri.²⁹

Lathrop’s hiring demonstrates that the University of Missouri was not founded to reinforce the ideology of slavery. Living in a slaveholding state, the curators would have been well aware of the abolitionist activities that had been taking place in institutions of higher learning across the country during the preceding years. The scope of their search and lack of apparent concern about the past politics of their chosen candidates speaks volumes on the priorities the board held going into the search. In hiring Lathrop as the president of the new college, the board of curators indicated that their primary concern was the legitimacy of the school. Lathrop and the other candidates all carried with them the authority of more established eastern academies.

Wylie, Young, and Lathrop had all been involved with the politics of slavery in ways that would have deterred hiring overtures from an organization hoping to create a bulwark of proslavery ideology. Wylie worked as an abolitionist in western Pennsylvania, helping to speed up the slow process of the gradual emancipation scheme adopted in that state in 1780.³⁰ Young at Centre College in Kentucky had been directly responsible for the introduction of an emancipation scheme for his state, while the president at Lathrop’s last institution had lost his position based on his handling of antislavery protests. Furthermore, Wylie’s term as the head of Indiana College may not have involved slavery, but it certainly demonstrated the pitfalls of allowing state legislators to inject their political wills into the administration of public universities.



As the University of Missouri began to take shape, Democratic partisans started to voice their concerns about the institution. Their complaints,

however, initially remained within the realm of partisan politics. As Lathrop's tenure at the helm of the university progressed, issues surrounding the expansion of slavery in newly acquired territories would significantly alter the politics of the state as well as the objections voiced by Lathrop's opponents. Within just a few months of Lathrop's arrival in Columbia in 1842, an editor from Jackson County charged that "the State University has fallen into the hands of a clique of federalists in Boone County:—it must be rescued from them, and re-established in a democratic form, that its benefits may be shed over the whole community, and not be a bed for aristocratic luxury and monarchical politics."³¹ Governor Thomas Reynolds elaborated on those concerns in his annual address, regretting that the board of curators, who represented the will of the people throughout the state, had the power to elect only the president of the university. The remaining professorships would be filled or appointed by the trustees of Columbia College, the university's predecessor, "a body of men responsible to no power—indeed, a self-perpetuating body—they having a right to choose their own successors."³²

Governor Reynolds, after consultation with the president of the board of curators, Thomas M. Allen, came to understand that his desire to make the university more accountable to the state required a reworking of the legislation that had created the institution. Because it created the board of curators as a body that would oversee several physical academies, Columbia College continued to operate independently under the aegis of the university.³³ The trustees of Columbia College, all of whom were men from the Whig bastion of Boone County, unexpectedly wielded power in the establishment of the state university based on the complicated nature of folding the private institution into the public university. Consequently, Democratic lawmakers showed little desire to appropriate any money for the university from the state's treasury, since it would fall into the hands of the Whiggish Columbia College trustees.³⁴

During an address to the Missouri General Assembly that he had requested upon accepting the presidency, Lathrop explained the logical outcome of the legislature's tightfisted policy toward the university. The state university, as Lathrop saw it, represented the "informing soul" of the wider public educational system. Providing public funding for the university ensured the availability of sufficient instructors with the proper training to teach in the state's academies, which would, in turn, produce instructors for the various primary schools. This would allow Missouri's children to be taught by their neighbors rather than strangers. In a more direct response to the charge of Whiggish elitism, Lathrop argued that withholding state funding from the university only served to make it less accessible to the majority of the state's youth. State endowments reduced the institution's reliance on tuition and fees, allowing it to be more democratic in its admissions. Lathrop also suggested that the wealthy families of the state could afford to send their sons to finish their education out of state, and without a properly funded public university to serve the less wealthy youth, the legislature would be subjecting Missouri to "the domination of an intellectual aristocracy."³⁵

Lathrop's speech failed to convince the legislature to appropriate any additional funds. Based on the recommendation of the president of the



A view of the early University of Missouri campus. In the antebellum era, only the president's residence (left) and Academic Hall (center) yet stood. Further construction of buildings such as Science Hall (right) followed only when the state reached relatively calmer times after the Civil War. [Collection C:0/47/6, University Archives, University of Missouri]

funding meant that the administration constantly struggled to balance its finances and had to rely more than they wished on the payments made by its student body.³⁶

The Democratic legislature's refusal to provide adequate funding meant that Lathrop's warning proved to be prophetic in the first decade of the university's existence. From 1843 to 1852, a total of 397 students from around Missouri attended the university. Of those, about 39 percent were from Boone County. In contrast, the other five counties in central Missouri that had bid to be the site of the campus sent a combined 54 students during the same period. Altogether, the six counties that competed for the university in 1839 accounted for just over 52 percent of the student body during its first decade. St. Louis enjoyed the second highest representation, providing the university with twenty-four students. About 10 percent, around thirty students, came from beyond the borders of Missouri, especially Kentucky and Louisiana. Clearly, however, the university largely drew from the citizens of Boone County during its first ten years.³⁷

An examination of the wealth held by the families of students during the first ten years shows that there was an unsurprising skew toward greater landowners and those who commanded a significant amount of enslaved labor.³⁸ Among families of students from Missouri found in the 1850 census, the average wealth as indicated by real estate owned equaled \$6,810, with an average of 10.48 human beings held in bondage. For the Boone County households, the averages were \$5,813 in real estate and 10.6 enslaved peoples. Nearby Howard County, which was the seat of power for the Democratic Party in Missouri, had an average real estate holding of \$14,743 and an average slaveholding of 18.57 per household. Two of the seven Howard County households that were found in the census owned no slaves at all, with one head of household serving as the postmaster and the other being a widow with \$200 in real estate. Historian Diane Mutti Burke has determined that the average slave owner in Missouri laid claim to five enslaved people. Among all free Missourians, 18.4 percent owned slaves in 1850, meaning the vast majority of free whites owned no slaves, but 76 percent of all students found in the 1850 census came from households that owned at least one slave.³⁹ Indeed, 134

curators and Governor Reynolds, the legislative body rewrote the bill that established the university, making it a single, physical institution under the complete control of the board rather than an eventual statewide network of colleges. The University of the State of Missouri, as it was called initially, began operation in its own building in the fall of 1843. For the remainder of the decade, Lathrop acted as president, providing direction for the institution and instruction for the students. The lack of state

of the students' families—57 percent of all households with a University of Missouri student—owned six or more slaves, while 36 would be classified as coming from plantation homes (those with 20 or more enslaved people). The fact that more students came from slaveholding families reflected the class stratification in a slave society. Having a bound source of labor meant that children had additional time to devote to education, either for personal improvement or to enter the professional classes.

When the legislature created the university in 1839, the issue of slavery did not arise frequently in state politics. After having come into the Union surrounded by a cloud of controversy regarding the extension of slavery, Missouri settled into a sense of complacency regarding the institution.⁴⁰ Within this relatively calm political climate—with regard to slavery—the curators of the university, both Democrats and Whigs, saw no issue in electing a New York-born president who had taught at schools throughout free states in the Northeast and had been involved with antislavery controversy. By the mid-1840s the expansion of slavery again became a contentious part of the national dialogue with the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War. Within Missouri this tension manifested in the struggle within the Democratic Party surrounding longtime senator Thomas Hart Benton's lack of clarity on slavery's future in newly acquired territories. By 1849 Benton had learned from James Rollins that there was a "small clique in this state (more than a baker's dozen) who I think have very much mistaken the public sentiment on the subject of slavery," and who despite "acting with you politically" were "secretly and violently opposed to you." The same clique targeted President Lathrop "on account of his supposed coincidence of feeling with you on this subject."⁴¹ While a small cadre of antagonistic Democrats, known as the "airtight clique," had been working to unseat Lathrop for over a year due to their dislike of his outsider status, by 1849 they had achieved enough power in the legislature to take full control of the board of curators and begin the work of removing him from as the university's president.⁴²

To wrest power from the Boone County Whigs who supported Lathrop, a proslavery legislator from Saline County named Claiborne Fox Jackson authored a bill that would increase geographic representation on the board of curators. The original legislation supported drawing curators from around the state but failed to provide travel expenses for those curators, meaning that few meetings were able to make quorum. To resolve the issue, the General Assembly modified the law to allow a majority of the curators to be selected from Boone County, which helped the group meet quorum but increased the perception of the university being a local Whig concern rather than a statewide institution. Jackson saw no problem with appropriating state money to create a travel allowance if it meant that he could have influence over the membership of the directing body of the university. Under the new law the board would increase from fifteen to eighteen, with one member coming from each of the fourteen judicial circuits and four from Boone County. After the law passed on March 10, 1849, the legislature selected an entirely new slate of curators based on nominations of a member of the proslavery caucus. The resulting new board came into power immediately.⁴³

Around the same time that the balance of power shifted within the board of curators, Lathrop received word of another academic opportunity. The regents of the University of Wisconsin informed the embattled president that he had been elected chancellor of their nascent institution. In the middle of January 1849, Warren Woodson, who at the time still served as the president of the board of curators, expressed his fear that Lathrop would take the Wisconsin position, and that it would be “a fatal blow to the interests of the institution.” Woodson hoped he could convince the other curators at the next meeting to induce Lathrop to stay in Columbia by making “his compensation respectable.”⁴⁴ The efforts of Lathrop’s friends on the board were curtailed, however, after they all lost their seats. Just a month after the passage of the legislation that shifted power in the university’s management, Lathrop informed the board at the May 1849 meeting that he would resign from the university later that summer, which the curators acknowledged in July. President Lathrop finished out the academic year, presiding over the university’s commencement ceremonies in late August.⁴⁵

On September 29, 1849, dozens of citizens from Columbia attended a dinner held in Lathrop’s honor despite a torrential thunderstorm. Friends of the ousted president made speeches extolling Lathrop’s virtues as an educator and a community member. Attendees proposed the adoption of the original set of resolutions submitted by curator William Claude Jones to commemorate Lathrop’s tenure at the university. Those resolutions had been “mutilated” by the new president of the board of curators, Caleb S. Stone, who put on the record that he did not have “the highest confidence in the learning, talents, integrity and upright moral character of John H. Lathrop” and removed a clause that said the board “deeply regret[ted] the loss of his valuable service to our state University.”⁴⁶ As the informal dinner resolutions came to a vote, one of the proslavery curators in attendance asked if the resolutions were debatable. The contrarian curator, Dr. Turner R. H. Smith, stood and defended his vote to alter the official wording, and after he spoke the townspeople voted overwhelmingly to correct the record in Lathrop’s benefit.⁴⁷



With Lathrop leaving behind the “tempest in the [Caleb] Stone teapot” to move to Wisconsin, the board set about to elect the second president of the University of Missouri. Considering the distrust in Lathrop’s “Yankee” heritage and the board’s new ideological composition, the kind of candidate sought was quite different from the presidential search almost a decade earlier. After a proposal to select an interim president from the existing faculty was rejected, two candidates to succeed Lathrop were suggested. Jones, who had remained loyal to Lathrop, nominated a St. Louis Presbyterian minister named Hiram P. Goodrich.⁴⁸ Born in Richmond, Massachusetts, in 1800, Goodrich had attended Princeton before becoming a professor of biblical literature at the Union Theological Seminary, which functioned as the theological department of Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia before moving to Missouri.⁴⁹

The second candidate was put forward by curator Addison M. Lewis, a Baptist pastor from Fayette. Lewis suggested James Shannon for presi-

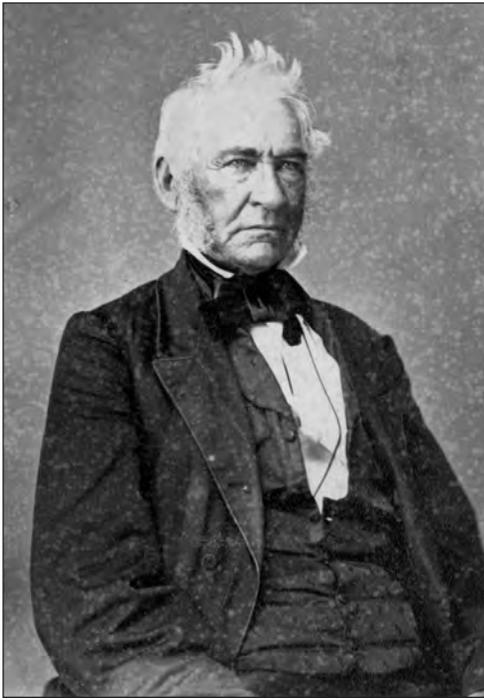
dent. Shannon was a theological chameleon. Educated as a Presbyterian at Royal College in Belfast, Ireland, he then moved to Augusta, Georgia, where he served as a Baptist pastor. In 1830 Shannon became the professor of ancient languages at the University of Georgia, a post he kept for six years. Following a brief stint as the president of the College of Louisiana at Jackson, where the more doctrinaire Baptists pushed Shannon from the denomination, he took the post of president at Bacon College in Kentucky, which operated the first literary institution for the Restoration churches.⁵⁰ At Bacon College, Shannon broke with his Restoration mentor, Alexander Campbell, who wanted the issue of slavery to remain suppressed from theological discussions to help prevent a schism from occurring among adherents of the Restoration movement, as had happened with the Methodists and Baptists. Campbell recognized that Shannon “was wedded to the political school of John C. Calhoun, and would have suffered death rather than abandon his creed.”

Shannon pushed forward a strongly unapologetic proslavery theology as early as his 1844 commencement speech at Bacon, in which he argued that slavery grew because God decreed it to be good and that abolitionists were guilty of advocating for sinful theft of private property. Shannon’s ability to justify slavery through the word of God in the Old Testament as well as the teachings of Jesus and his apostles placed him in direct conflict with another Kentucky academic, John C. Young, one of the original candidates for the presidency. The two men debated on the issue of slavery in June 1849, each brandishing scripture as authority.⁵¹

With the two candidates presented, the board members cast their votes on the afternoon of September 4, 1849. Shannon initially garnered nine of the ten votes cast, but a curator from St. Louis changed his vote to Goodrich the following day, leaving the new president with a total vote of eight for and two against. Two factors helped Shannon’s candidacy. First, and most important, Shannon’s reputation as a “disciple of the Calhoun and Wickliffe School” placed him at the forefront of extreme proslavery ideology. For the past decade, Shannon had repeatedly given a lecture called “Slavery as Identified with the Philosophy of Human Happiness,” which had caused the minister to be banned from the pulpit in Cincinnati in 1844. Shannon’s renown for taking a strong public position supporting slavery meant that Jackson’s newly installed proslavery curators would no longer have to worry about having a “barnburner and abolitionist” like Lathrop at the head of the university.⁵² Shannon’s role as a leader of the Disciples of Christ provided a secondary justification for his election, since Boone County had a growing number of members in this denomination. Former curator Thomas M. Allen, a Boone County Whig who served the region as a preacher of the Disciples of Christ, maintained contact with



James Shannon, a fiery Irish-born clergyman and college administrator in Kentucky, became the second president of the University of Missouri in 1850 after a faction of ardent proslavery Democrats forced a change in the institution's leadership. But Shannon's strident politics were too much for most Missourians, and he was ousted in turn in 1856. [Portrait by George Caleb Bingham, SHSMO Art Collection, 1978-0045]



Thomas M. Allen, a Boone County minister, former university curator, and friend of John Hiram Lathrop, recommended James Shannon for the university presidency. By the end of Shannon's tenure, Allen had withdrawn his support, believing that Shannon's proslavery political advocacy should lead to his removal.

[Ruth Rollins Westfall Photograph Collection, P0020-41]

Christian preachers in Kentucky; he knew of Shannon and believed him to be “a warm, zealous man.” Shannon accepted the presidency after visiting Columbia, but his acceptance was based on two conditions: that he be permitted to continue to preach the gospel, and that there would be no term limit on his tenure. The curators accepted those terms, making Shannon the second president of the university.⁵³

Shannon's inauguration took place on July 4, 1850, during which he delivered an address extolling the importance of moral education based on scripture while simultaneously rejecting proselytizing and religious sectarianism. The proslavery preacher-president hoped to reassure the Presbyterian Whig gentry of Columbia that he had no intention of challenging their religious beliefs. Shannon's insistence on touring the region and giving public sermons helped increase the university's enrollment in ways that Lathrop's passive administration did not. During the final year of Lathrop's tenure, the number of students attending the university amounted to only eighty-eight. After a year as president, Shannon managed to increase that number to 124, and

by 1853 there were 180 students at the university, although a large number of the newly enrolled were young students within the preparatory department. Shannon's success in drawing students, however, did not mean that he enjoyed a problem-free first few years. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Columbia, a number of powerful, wealthy citizens recognized the vast change in partisan and religious tone coming from the head of the university to which many of them had contributed so much time and money. This “vile crew,” as Shannon characterized them, included James Rollins, the state senator from Boone County, and the editor of Columbia's powerful Whig newspaper the *Missouri Statesman*, William Switzler.⁵⁴

As the editor of one of the state's most-read Whig papers, Switzler was in a position to cause significant trouble for the president. The conflict between the two men began when the new board of curators banned Switzler from the room during the meeting where they elected Shannon.⁵⁵ Prior to that moment, the Whig editor had enjoyed the ability to freely enter any proceedings of the curators. After Shannon's arrival the conflict continued when the president hired a printer in Cincinnati to print his inaugural address rather than rely on the local press. Shannon refused to renew the services of the Whig press in printing the university catalogues, which went instead to a succession of Democratic papers in Columbia.⁵⁶

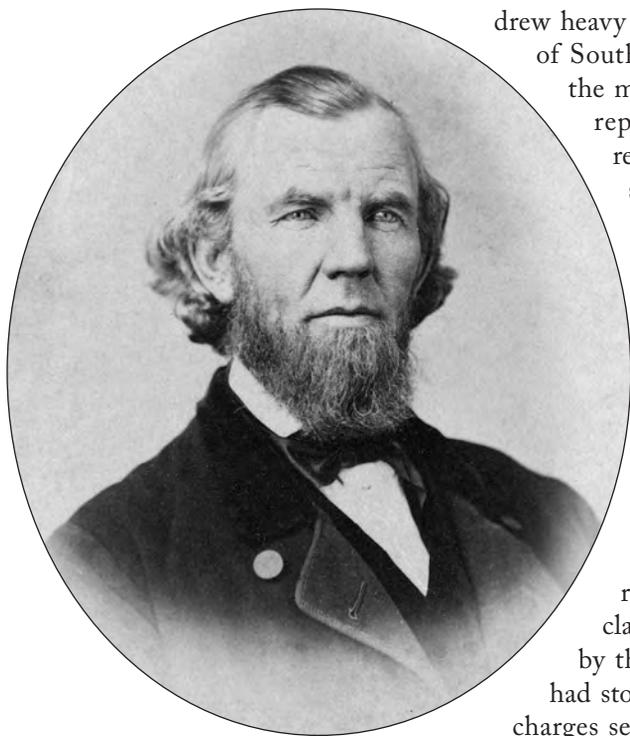
The initial conflict surrounding Shannon and the Whig gentry in Columbia remained partisan and perhaps personal during his early tenure as president. Switzler hoped to amplify every issue into a monumental controversy in the pages of the *Statesman*. In 1851 a charge arose that Shannon had asked a former student named Robert Gray from Kentucky to move to Columbia to take a role as an instructor at the university. This action would have displaced a local tutor, William Shields. Shields

suggested that Shannon had told Gray the situation in Columbia might not seem appealing because "there was a little Presbyterianism and Whiggery in the way, that we have to overcome first, but that would not take long." This issue provided Switzler with the pretext to print a series of attacks on Shannon, presenting the new president as a disruptive force to the social order in Columbia who was using the university as a tool to distribute partisan patronage.⁵⁷

Only a year after taking control of the university, Shannon pursued a public feud with a much more prominent political figure, former senator Thomas Hart Benton. During a speech in May 1852, Benton, who a year earlier had been ousted from the US Senate after thirty years in office, called the installation of Shannon a part of a larger conspiracy enacted by a "squad of confederate nullifiers." Benton identified the legislation that Jackson pushed in the General Assembly regarding the curators as instrumental in placing the state university under the influence of proslavery politicians. For Benton, Shannon and the university served merely "as intended instruments" of the proslavery conspirators, pawns in the larger scheme to remove Benton from office and ultimately force Missouri down an extreme proslavery path against the wishes of the majority of its citizens. A Boonville newspaper misinterpreted Benton's discussion of the president of the university as referring to Lathrop, who had been the president when the conspiracy began. Benton wrote a public letter to the Boonville editor clarifying that he meant Shannon and not Lathrop. The former senator then hurled charges against Shannon. According to Benton, Shannon, while still in Kentucky, had repeated the assertion of the proslavery caucus that Benton was an abolitionist. Furthermore, Benton argued that in the year prior to his move to Missouri, Shannon "was in the habit of expressing a wish to meet me [Benton] in Missouri, and to have an opportunity of smashing me." He interpreted these two items as evidence that Shannon had been posturing for the presidency of the Missouri university.⁵⁸

Employing a bit of humor, Shannon wrote a response in which he said he would not comment that Benton's letter had been written "in a style of low-flung blackguardism" since that would require the president to stoop "beneath the dignity of a gentleman. For the same reason I will not say that I will 'brand him a lying scoundrel.'" Beyond these opening jabs at the former senator, Shannon roundly denied that he was involved in a proslavery conspiracy. He described the timeline that placed him in Kentucky as the president of Bacon College when the cabal of proslavery men met in Jefferson City in early 1849. In this denial, Shannon was presenting a strawman of sorts, since Benton had not suggested that he had joined with the group at that time, but rather that the conspirators had made selecting him a part of their plan. Shannon remained evasive regarding his conduct while in Harrodsburg. Instead of an outright denial that he had bragged about his desire to engage with Benton, Shannon called on Old Bullion to name his source.⁵⁹

Benton, in his final reply, brought to light additional information that members of the public had shared with him to save the state university from taking on a "political (nullification) character." According to the former senator, several of Shannon's students had begun to wield arguments that



William Switzler, an influential Whig newspaper editor in Boone County, became one of Shannon's severest critics, using the widely read Missouri Statesman as a platform for denouncing the president's politicization of the university. In turn, Shannon named Switzler as being among the "vile crew" of his opponents.

[Ruth Rollins Westfall Photograph Collection, P0020-017610]

drew heavy inspiration from the proslavery philosophies of South Carolina statesman John C. Calhoun. At the most recent commencement exercises, Benton reported, one of the students delivered as his recitation a "secession harangue, to the evident satisfaction of the President!" In a similar vein, another student gave a speech on the right of the state legislature to instruct the state's national legislators. Benton believed that this talk took aim at him personally. More interestingly, however, that same student, Peter Singleton Wilkes, earned the endorsement of "the nullification organ at Jefferson City" as a good anti-Benton candidate for the legislature from Miller County, an office he won that year. Finally, Benton alleged that just days earlier he had received word that Shannon had dismissed his classes so that the students could attend a speech by the "notorious nullifier" James S. Green, who had stopped in Columbia during the canvass. These charges served as evidence to Benton and like-minded people in the state that the university, under the leadership

and apparent approval of Shannon, was supporting a proslavery position. The case of Wilkes particularly suggested that Shannon had offered the students of Missouri's public university a first-class education in the politics of nullification.⁶⁰

In 1853, Benton's charges provided the impetus for an investigation in the Missouri General Assembly of Shannon's teaching and administration that he survived "by the skin of his teethe" through the "untiring efforts of good friends." Benton Democrat Frank Blair of St. Louis initiated the investigation to determine whether charges that Shannon had been teaching politics or sectarian religion in the university had any foundation, as well as to vindicate his political mentor Benton. After interrogating numerous witnesses and members of the faculty and staff, a majority of the investigative committee wrote that under the guidance of Shannon the "university is now in a flourishing condition" and "will, in a short time, occupy a place among the first institutions of the Union." The minority opinion suggested that further interviews and examination of evidence were needed before clearing Shannon of the charges.⁶¹

An examination of the written depositions reveals that the charge that Shannon had been teaching politics meant he pushed his proslavery views on campus, confirming Benton's charge from a year earlier. One student complained that Shannon rejected his proposed commencement recitation on the "Senator of thirty years standing" (Benton) based on his position on slavery's expansion. The librarian reported to the committee that Shannon ordered him to purchase a copy of John Calhoun's *A Disquisition on Government*, a document that espoused Calhoun's theory on how to protect slavery against an increasingly hostile federal government. Finally, and most interesting, several students mentioned that Shannon

offered only two alterations to the way that subjects were presented in their assigned reading. On protective tariffs, Shannon agreed with the anti-protection position taken in Francis Wayland's *Political Economy* but wanted to allow for additional discussion by presenting the opposing view. Shannon argued against the antislavery position presented in Wayland's *Moral Science*, a book that had been in the course of study for the university since its inception and used the Bible's New Testament to argue against slavery.⁶²

As the legislative investigation demonstrated, the tenor of Shannon's proslavery position had become a target for some of his enemies by 1853. The 1849 Jackson-Napton resolutions that forced Senator Benton to take a stronger position against expanding slavery into newly acquired territories ensured that slavery would become an increasingly important topic of discussion in the state's politics.⁶³ Shannon's investigation illustrated that point, but the college president's proslavery position had not yet become extreme enough to alienate a large portion of the Democratic Party. Shannon retained his position. Within a year's time, however, the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the violence that ensued caused Missourians to reexamine their beliefs and the way they thought about slavery and the Union.⁶⁴

Undeterred by the General Assembly investigation, Shannon continued down the fire-eater path, accepting an invitation to talk at the proslavery convention in Lexington, Missouri, in July 1855. Organized by some of the most ardent advocates for slavery's unchecked expansion, the convention's 240 delegates from more than two dozen Missouri counties gathered to listen to speakers from all levels of state politics, including Governor Sterling Price, US Senator David Atchison, Claiborne Fox Jackson, and former Whig gubernatorial candidate and Mexican War hero Alexander Doniphan. Judge William Barclay Napton, coauthor of the Jackson-Napton resolutions, spoke on the final day, tying together the various resolutions and providing a historical and logical overview of the circumstances in which Missouri slave owners found themselves. Napton's speech came just before the final slot, which had been reserved for the president of the state's public university.⁶⁵

Shannon wrote his keynote speech with the intention of rallying the convention attendees to take political action in defense of slavery. Repeating a common argument heard at the convention, he asserted that the South's dependence on bound labor was forced by the "combined efforts of old England and New England." Like in his earlier discussions of the subject, Shannon presented a biblical justification for slavery, including citations of Old Testament scriptures in which God blessed various master and slave relationships. Again, the fiery preacher argued that in opposing slavery, abolitionists were sinning, since they sought to steal property held by free men as a natural right. Following his philosophical justification for slavery, Shannon delved into the politics of the matter by asking if Congress had any right to restrict slavery from the territories held by the United States. Unsurprisingly, he concluded that the federal government did not have that power, as it would mean that some owners of private property would be put at a disadvantage when considering moving to territorial lands. His speech reached its crescendo when he discussed how to contend with government overreach. Standing before the sweating,

excited crowd, the charismatic preacher argued that the “right of property in slaves is sanctioned” by nature, the Constitution, and the Bible, and “a deliberate and persistent violation of that right, even by government, is as villainous as highway robbery; and, when peaceable modes of redress are exhausted, IS A JUST CAUSE OF WAR BETWEEN SEPARATE STATES, AND OF REVOLUTION IN THE SAME STATE.”⁶⁶

Opposition to the extreme position taken by Shannon increased significantly following the convention. Whig and moderate Democratic editors across the state began to publish calls for Shannon’s resignation, arguing he had served “sufficiently long to disgrace the position” and that the legislature should “hurl him indignantly from his post.” One constituent wrote to James Rollins, then the state representative from



James S. Rollins (with beard at center), surrounded by his family on the steps of his residence in this post-Civil War photograph, left a complicated legacy. Many modern Americans struggle to reconcile Rollins’s contradictory status as a slave owner, free-soil advocate, and Pater Universitatis Missouriensis. Note the African American child (possibly the son of a family servant) peering out from behind Rollins.

[Ruth Rollins Westfall Photograph Collection, P0020-015286]

Boone County, to ask him to take action against Shannon, who had turned the university into a “sectarian and political institution, diverted from its proper channel of imparting knowledge to youth and become a school of nullification.” Another citizen hoped Rollins and other lawmakers could push “President Shannon into Kansas, or some other outlandish country, where he and D. D. Atchison can preach niggerology to their hearts content.” B. Gratz Brown, a Benton Democrat and editor of the *St. Louis Republican*, complained that no one had agitated for a call

to action when enslaved people from St. Louis had been kidnapped by abolitionists and argued that the people of St. Louis would not “tolerate Shannonism upon the slavery question.” Even Shannon’s longtime friend and fellow Disciple, Thomas Allen, believed that the university’s president was “chin deep in politics,” which would “lead to his removal from his present position.”⁶⁷

In response to intense pressure from all except the most extreme proponents of slavery, the legislature acted to affect the removal of Shannon from the state university. B. Gratz Brown put together a committee, including Rollins, to investigate the status of the university, like the probe that Shannon had narrowly survived two years earlier. Shannon refused to cooperate this time around, forcing the lawmakers to turn to other sources to obtain information. The committee determined that while enrollment numbers appeared to have remained mostly level during the first half of the decade, the type of student had changed considerably. The committee discovered that the majority of students were classified as irregular rather than enrolled in the four-year degree program. Upon inquiry, the investigators found only five sophomores and three freshmen on campus when

they visited. To understand why the academic stature of the university had deteriorated to this degree, the legislators began to ask about President Shannon's time spent attending to duties outside of the university. They concluded that he toured the state preaching and promoting his political agenda far more than he attended to the university's administration.⁶⁸

The committee's report gave the General Assembly the information it needed to force a change in the university's leadership. First the legislature added a provision to the revised university law that vacated the seat of the president and all faculty on July 4, 1856. While they could eject the people holding those positions, the legislature had no power to provide their replacements. The board of curators retained that prerogative and had not changed substantially in composition since the original election of Shannon. To prevent the proslavery board from reelecting Shannon, the legislature amended the university bill to ban the president or any faculty from trying to "preach or exercise the functions of a minister of the Gospel, or any one of the learned professions."⁶⁹ When the board of curators met in the summer of 1856 and began the work of filling the faculty positions of the university, the curators reelected Shannon, who refused the post based on the new restriction imposed on the presidency.⁷⁰



Rollins, along with numerous other like-minded citizens in Boone County and Missouri, worked to establish a public university that provided an opportunity for higher education to the youth of the state. Based on a competitive bidding process, the university was founded near Rollins's home in Columbia. The bulk of the money and lands subscribed to fund the new university came from individuals who earned their wealth, at least in part, from enslaved labor. There is no doubt that when contractors met near the center of the fledgling community in 1840 to erect the main building and the president's residence, they employed slave labor to assist in those tasks. There is evidence, although it is limited, which points to that fact, and the ubiquity of enslaved people's labor in places like the central river counties of Missouri also supports it. Unfortunately, few found it necessary to remark on the labor provided by men (and perhaps women) who lived their lives under the oppression of the lash.

As recent scholarship of the interconnectedness of the South's slave economy with the rest of the nation and the world has demonstrated, the labor of enslaved people either directly or indirectly created any institution built in the first half or two-thirds of the nineteenth century.⁷¹ The University of Missouri, however, was not founded with the intention of reinforcing the institution of slavery. Its first president, John Lathrop, hailed from upstate New York and served as an educator in several New England institutions prior to his election. Lathrop's position at Hamilton College placed him in direct contact with the burgeoning antislavery movement during the 1830s. When he left Missouri, Lathrop found employment at the newly created University of Wisconsin rather than journeying further south to educate in other slave states. The curriculum he believed in reflected the classical learning priorities of East Coast institutions, with no indication of efforts to solidify the hold of slavery on the minds of its graduates.⁷²

As the politics of slavery began to heat up in Missouri, so did the importance of bound labor to those in control of the university. Politically motivated proslavery curators worked to oust the outsider, Lathrop, who never claimed ownership over an enslaved person during his initial stay in Missouri, to install a president who was more sympathetic to the proslavery cause. They found that person in the firebrand preacher James Shannon, who used his position as the president of the university to amplify extreme proslavery arguments. When the violence in Kansas erupted, Shannon's ultra-slavery position became untenable to most Missourians, who strongly valued the Union. Moderates in the General Assembly worked to curtail the threat they saw to the university and to the Union by creating conditions that would make the presidency undesirable to Shannon.

Rollins and the majority of the people of Missouri had no desire to engage in extreme proslavery politics or have a public educational institution that promoted such a perspective. In fighting against the stranglehold that proslavery radicals had on political discourse and public institutions during the middle of the 1850s in Missouri, Rollins and his moderate and free-soil colleagues helped prevent their state from succumbing to the siren song of secession. Modern Americans have difficulty reconciling the seemingly impossible, albeit surprisingly common, status of a free-soil slave owner. But Rollins operated within the political and social constraints of his time and place to push back against the slave power. His status as an owner of enslaved men, women, and children serves as a seemingly insurmountable encumbrance on his legacy, and perhaps that is how it should remain. However, unlike the hundreds of men within the state of Missouri and the multitude nationwide who unabashedly promoted a proslavery agenda to the point of starting a civil war, Rollins actively worked to bring an end to the deplorable labor system. He championed a clandestine sort of free-soil politics within the state and ultimately supported the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution, which ended slavery in the nation. The fight for the ideological soul of the University of Missouri represented one step in combating proslavery extremism. Rollins, after having played a key role in its creation, worked to return the University of Missouri to its goal of providing public higher education for the youth of the state. He worked to prevent their institution from becoming a school of nullification.

NOTES

1. Katherine Mangan, "Silence Breakers: Concerned Student 1950," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, December 13, 2015; Rose Schmidt, "Mizzou African-American Football Players Join Protest for Removal of President," *USA Today*, November 8, 2015; Elizabeth Schulte and Joseph Moore, "The Making of a Rebellion," *The Socialist Worker*, November 11, 2015.

2. Kendall Foley, "How MU Has Come Face-to-Face with Racism on Campus," *Columbia Missourian*, October 21, 2015; Claudia Guthrie, "Students Protest Thomas Jefferson Statue, Call for Its Removal," *Columbia Missourian*, October 7, 2015. A university official has confirmed that they "were asked to remove the Rollins bust" and that "it is stored in a secure location." Mary Maxwell, University of Missouri Operations, email to Zachary Dowdle, September 20, 2017.

3. MU Subscriber List Data. This dataset produced by the author is based on "Honor Roll by the Numbers," <https://mizzoumag.missouri.edu/2013/11/roll-of-honor-by-the-numbers> and the Sixth Census of the United States, 1840. To determine the relative wealth of each contributor I searched for each of their names in the 1840 census, which provides information about the number of enslaved men, women, and children in each household. The form used in the 1840 census only provided the name of the head of each household, meaning that any dependents who contributed to the subscription fund would not appear in the census records. Of the 904 names included on the Honor Roll, 288 did not appear in the census; most of the unlisted were likely dependents of others in the county. In 23 cases, the name was too common to determine exactly which person actually made the subscription. These 23 individuals were assigned to the same category as those whose names were not found. For a more in-depth analysis of the financial connections between the University of Missouri and slavery, see Zachary Dowdle, "Reluctant Emancipator: James Sidney Rollins and the Politics of Slavery and Freedom in the Border South, 1833–1882" (PhD diss., University of Missouri, 2019), 36–56.

4. An extensive search of the extant documents in the university's archives revealed scant evidence of enslaved labor's role in the building of the university. Some invoices that include billing for slave labor exist for the construction of the president's home, and there are a few receipts for maintenance of the buildings. At least two enslaved men, Moses and Toney, worked as janitors for the university. Moses's labor earned his owners, the Lenoir family, \$125 per annum. His

labor was sold to the university until his death in 1853. University president James Shannon offered his own enslaved man, Toney, but argued for \$200 per year. For documentation of these labor arrangements in MU's University Archives, see "Agreement to Hire Moses," January 1, 1853, uw:1/4/1a, roll 1, folder 15; Invoice, December 4, 1857, uw:1/5/4, box 1, folder 7; Invoice, October 17, 1854, uw:1/5/4, box 1, folder 6; Invoice, December 29, 1847, uw:1/5/4, box 1, folder 4.

5. James T. Campbell, "Slavery and Justice: A Q&A with James T. Campbell," *Public Historian* 29, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 15–16; Adam Rothman, "Slavery's Legacy: Georgetown Faces Its Past," *Conversations on Jesuit Higher Education* 51: 21–22; Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013), 1–11.

6. The University of Virginia maintains a website that documents the endeavors of that institution to reconcile with its past reliance on enslaved labor. The site includes a list of institutions that are members of the Universities Studying Slavery collaboration. As of fall 2018 there were forty-five member institutions listed as participants. See <http://slavery.virginia.edu/universities-studying-slavery>.

7. See Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, chaps. 7 and 8.

8. James S. Rollins speech, July 4, 1836, James S. Rollins Papers, (C1026), State Historical Society of Missouri (hereafter cited as Rollins Papers).

9. For a discussion of the importance of education to members of the professional classes in the antebellum era, see Jonathan Daniel Wells, *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800–1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 10–11; Frank J. Byrne, *Becoming Bourgeois: Merchant Culture in the South, 1820–1865* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 72–73. For a discussion of the development of higher education in this period, see Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), 456–64; Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977); Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780–1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983); John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976* (New

York: Harper & Row, 1976); Donald G. Tewksbury, *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities before the Civil War, with Particular Reference to the Religious Influences Bearing upon the College Movement* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932). For more on higher education in the South, see Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), chaps. 3–5; Timothy J. Williams, *Intellectual Manhood: University, Self, and Society in the Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

10. James S. Rollins to Henry Clay, July 5, 1839, Rollins Papers.

11. Lewis Collins and Richard H. Collins, *Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (Covington, KY: Collins and Co., 1877), 217–18; Alvin Fayette Lewis, *History of Higher Education in Kentucky* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1899), 62.

12. Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016), 254. For more on abolition movements at colleges during the 1830s, see J. Brent Morris, *Oberlin, Hotbed of Abolitionism: College, Community, and the Fight for Freedom and Equality in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Lawrence Thomas Lesick, *The Lane Rebels: Evangelicalism and Antislavery in Antebellum America* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1980); Hermann R. Muelder, *Fighters for Freedom: The History of Anti-Slavery Activities of Men and Women Associated with Knox College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959). Wilder discusses specifically the clash between students and faculty over antislavery activities; see Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, especially chap. 8.

13. Diane Mutti Burke, *On Slavery's Border: Missouri's Small Slaveholding Households, 1815–1865* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010), 25–27; R. Douglas Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1992), 51–67.

14. Columbia *Missouri Intelligencer and Boon's Lick Advertiser*, July 19, 1834; John V. Mering, *The Whig Party of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967), 64–65; Christopher Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate: Claiborne Fox Jackson and the Creation of Southern Identity in the Border West* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000), 81.

15. Andrew Wylie to A. W. Rollins, December 14, 1839, Rollins Papers.

16. William Benjamin Smith, *James Sidney Rollins, Memoir* (New York: De Vinne Press, 1891), 5; Theophilus Adam Wylie, *Indiana University: Its History from 1820, when Founded, to 1890* (Indianapolis: W. B. Burford, 1890), 47–48; Robert Wallace Brewster, “The Rise of the Antislavery Movement in Southwestern Pennsylvania,” *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 22, no. 1 (March 1939): 7; Andrew Wylie to John H. Wylie, December 3, 1845, Andrew Wylie Papers, Collection C1, Indiana University Archives, Bloomington.

17. Andrew Wylie to A. W. Rollins, December 14, 1839, Rollins Papers.

18. While there is no direct indication that the political turmoil in which Wylie found himself entangled in 1837–1838 had anything to do with slavery, the language used in the charges and the public statements of the college's representatives following the ordeal suggest that there may have been some ties to the peculiar institution. Four charges against Wylie were dismissed outright: duplicity, refusing to obey by-laws, ungentlemanly conduct, and misrepresentation or falsehood. The one charge that was fully investigated was the purchase of inappropriate books, which the board eventually thanked Wylie for rather than censuring him. W. C. Foster, the trustee behind the charges, was described as being a man “in pursuit of evil purposes.” None of this says directly that there was a connection to slavery, but the avoidance of specifics suggests there may have been a connection, since slavery was one political issue that would be avoided entirely to prevent further agitation. See Wylie, *Indiana University*, 52–54.

19. Andrew Wylie to A. W. Rollins, December 12, 1839, Rollins Papers; Andrew Wylie to Craig Wylie, Andrew Wylie Papers, Indiana University Archives.

20. JSR to Andrew Wylie, December 29, 1839, Andrew Wylie Papers, Indiana University Archives. “Hoosiers” of course were people from Indiana, while “Suckers” referred to people from Illinois. Rollins's point was that Missouri was populated by good people from the Upper South.

21. James M. Bergquist, “Tracing the Origins of a Midwestern Culture: The Case of Central Indiana,” *Indiana Magazine of History* 77, no. 1 (1981) 2–8; Nicole Etcheson, *The Emerging Midwest: Upland*

Southerners and the Political Culture of the Old Northwest, 1787–1861 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996) 18–20; Elfrieda Lang, "Southern Migration to Northern Indiana before 1850," *Indiana Magazine of History* 50, no. 4 (December 1954): 349–56; *History of Lawrence and Monroe Counties, Indiana: Their People, Industries and Institutions* (Indianapolis: B. F. Bowen, 1914), 224–28.

22. Michael J. Dubin, *United States Gubernatorial Elections, 1776–1860: The Official Results by State and County* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2011), 59–64.

23. Harold D. Tallant, *Evil Necessity: Slavery and Political Culture in Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2003), 59–62; Collins and Collins, *Collins' Historical Sketches of Kentucky*, 87; Lowell H. Harrison, *The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978), 55; Aaron Astor, *Rebels on the Border: Civil War, Emancipation, and the Reconstruction of Kentucky and Missouri* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 3. Astor identifies Danville and Centre College as being at the geographical and cultural heart of Kentucky's Bluegrass region. Astor also points out that like Columbia, Missouri, Danville was a Unionist stronghold during the secession crisis and the subsequent war.

24. Harrison, *The Antislavery Movement in Kentucky*, 55; John Clarke Young, *Address of the Synod of Kentucky on Slavery in 1835* (Pittsburgh: United Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1862), 2; Tallant, *Evil Necessity*, 59–60.

25. Frank Fletcher Stephens, *A History of the University of Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1962), 31.

26. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 31–32; Maurice Isserman, *On the Hill: A Bicentennial History of Hamilton College, 1812–2012* (Clinton, NY: Trustees of Hamilton College, 2011), 89–92; *The United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men, Missouri Volume* (New York: United States Biographical Pub. Co., 1878), 156–57; Simon N. D. North, *Old Greek: An Old-Time Professor in an Old-Fashioned College, a Memoir of Edward North* (New York: McClure, Phillips & Co, 1905), 46, 107–8; Oren Root to JSR, February 6, 1882, Rollins Papers. It seems important to note that while at Yale Law School, Lathrop was deemed to be an exceptionally promising student by David Daggett, founder of the law school, whom Craig Stephen Wilder identifies as a strong supporter of the American

Colonization Society. Wilder argues that academics in the northeast and mid-Atlantic were overrepresented in the racist institution. See Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, 271, chap. 8.

27. Joseph Penney, "Memorial of the President and Professors of Hamilton College," March 27, 1837; *The Liberator* (Boston), April 14, 1837; *New York Evening Post*, March 28, 1837.

28. Penney, "Memorial of the President and Professors of Hamilton College"; Charles O. Shepard, "Memorial of C. O. Shepard Relative to a Late Memorial of the Faculty of Hamilton College," April 29, 1837; John Hiram Lathrop, "A Few Brief Remarks Touching Mr. C. O. Shepard and His Memorial," June 22, 1837.

29. Elihu Root, *Documentary History of Hamilton College* (Clinton, NY: Hamilton College, 1922), 240–41; John H. Lathrop to Board of Curators, November 16, 1840, University of Missouri Curators' Papers (C0920), State Historical Society of Missouri.

30. Washington County in western Pennsylvania held on to slavery well into the nineteenth century. See Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4.

31. *Columbia Patriot*, May 14, 1842.

32. *Bowling Green [MO] Radical*, December 3, 1842.

33. Thomas M. Allen to Thomas Reynolds, March 25, 1842, in Thomas Reynolds, 1840–1844, Office of the Governor, Record Group 3.7, Missouri State Archives, Jefferson City. Allen, a Whig from Boone County, also warned Reynolds of the dangers of investing too much power in the legislature in forming the board of curators, because partisan interests in the General Assembly might mean that "minority interests may not have their just weight."

34. For more detail on the complicated relationship between the private Columbia College and the university, see Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 38–42.

35. John H. Lathrop to Board of Curators, November 16, 1840, University of Missouri Curators' Papers; John H. Lathrop, "Address, Before the Members of the General Assembly of the State of Missouri,"

December 22, 1842, John Hiram Lathrop Papers (C0360), State Historical Society of Missouri.

36. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 54–58.

37. Director of Admissions and Registrar Student Registration Book, 1843–1852, University of Missouri, University Archives, C:1/101/1 box 1.

38. To understand the wealth of students during the first ten years of the university's existence, I drew on the information provided in the Student Registration Book, which listed each student along with his hometown for each year he enrolled during the ten-year period. With the name and hometown, I was able to cross-reference this information with the 1850 US federal census record. I chose the 1850 census because it provides the names of all members of the household rather than just the head of the household in the 1840 census and makes more sense chronologically for the period of study. From the 1850 census I found the place of birth for each student, his age in 1850, the name of the head of his household, that person's occupation, wealth in real estate, and the number of slaves owned. Using this method, I was able to locate 235 students in the census, about 59 percent of the total number of students from Missouri. The analysis of wealth comes from those 235 students.

39. Diane Mutti Burke analyzed five river counties that she argues were representative: Chariton, Clay, Cooper, Marion, and Ste. Genevieve. The average holding in those five counties in 1850 was 4.9; for the three counties in central Missouri it was 5.3. Burke, *On Slavery's Border*, 102, 234, 351n4.

40. For a sense of the politics of the state in the early 1840s, see William Nisbet Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton, Senator from the New West: Thomas Hart Benton, 1782–1858* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956); Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*.

41. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 57–58; Chambers, *Old Bullion Benton*, 274–77; Jonas Viles, *The University of Missouri: A Centennial History, 1839–1939* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1939), 48–50; James Rollins to Thomas Hart Benton, June 6, 1849, Rollins Papers.

42. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 62.

43. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 61–63; Viles, *The University of Missouri*, 49–50; *Laws of*

the State of Missouri Passed at the Session of the Fifteenth General Assembly (City of Jefferson, MO: Hampton L. Boon, 1849), 129–30.

44. *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), February 2, 1849; Warren Woodson to JSR, January 19, 1849, Rollins Papers.

45. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 64–66.

46. *Missouri Statesman*, October 5, 1849; *Missouri Statesman Extra*, September 15, 1849, University of Missouri (C1820), SHSMO; Viles, *The University of Missouri*, 50.

47. *Missouri Statesman*, October 5, 1849.

48. It is important to note that William Claude Jones, the curator who remained loyal to Lathrop, had served a term in the Missouri Senate as a Democrat from Newton County in the southwest corner of the state. Jones was not steeped in Missouri politics and likely served as a pro-Benton Democrat, considering his position taken in the board of curators. Jones, having moved to Missouri from Alabama following the Seminole War, only stayed for about eight years. By 1851 he had moved his family to the newly acquired territory in the American Southwest, where he fell in love with a “very young Mexican girl,” which caused him significant legal trouble. He became involved in the movement to separate Arizona from New Mexico Territory, but had to flee due to legal issues. He finally moved to Hawaii, where he remained until his death. See L. Boyd Finch, “William Claude Jones: The Charming Rogue Who Named Arizona,” *Journal of Arizona History* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1990).

49. John B. Hill, *The Presbytery of Kansas City and Its Predecessors, 1821–1901* (Kansas City: Burd & Fletcher, 1901), 46. Wilder identifies Hampden-Sydney as an extension of Princeton's Presbyterian educational mission. This connection, of course, means that Hampden-Sydney, like other universities examined by Wilder, had extensive connections with the institution of slavery. See Wilder, *Ebony and Ivy*, 108–9.

50. Barry C. Poyner, *Bound to Slavery: James Shannon and the Restoration Movement* (Fort Worth: Star Bible Publications, 1999), 50–56, 66; Lee Morgan, *Centenary College of Louisiana, 1825–2000: The Biography of an American Academy* (Shreveport: Centenary College of Louisiana Press, 2008), 12–15; Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 79.

51. Poyner, *Bound to Slavery*, 82–83; David Edwin Harrell, *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866* (Nashville: Disciples of Christ Historical Society, 1966), 122–24; William C. Rogers, *Recollections of Men of Faith: Containing Conversations with Pioneers of the Current Reformation, also Numerous Incidents and Anecdotes of These Heroic Heralds of the Cross* (St. Louis: Christian Pub. Co., 1889), 17; David E. Harrell, “James Shannon: Preacher, Educator, and Fire-Eater,” *Missouri Historical Review* 63, no. 2 (January 1969): 142. Bacon College, then in Harrodsburg, was renamed Kentucky University in 1857 and later moved to Lexington.

52. Harrell, “James Shannon,” 143; James Rollins to Edward Bates, June 6, 1849, Rollins Papers. This is a reference to John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and Robert Wickliffe Jr. of Kentucky. Wickliffe’s role as a proslavery agitator had personal stakes for Rollins, who had gone to school and maintained a lifelong friendship with Cassius Clay. As an ardent opponent of slavery, Clay clashed numerous times with Wickliffe in politics, and once the two men dueled. For more on Wickliffe, see Tallant, *Evil Necessity*, 27–28.

53. Viles, *The University of Missouri*, 52–55; Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 79; Thomas M. Allen to John Gano, February 2, 1850, John Allen Gano Papers (C0065), State Historical Society of Missouri (hereafter cited as Gano Papers).

54. Viles, *The University of Missouri*, 53; Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 80–81, 100; “From the beginning...,” n.d. (1851) note, C1:1/3/1 James Shannon Collection, University Archives, University of Missouri; *Missouri Statesman*, February 25, 1853.

55. *Missouri Statesman*, September 7, 1849. Switzler characterized the meeting as a “secret session.”

56. Viles, *The University of Missouri*, 55; “Eleventh Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Missouri University,” University Archives, University of Missouri. For more on the political importance of press patronage, see Culver H. Smith, *The Press, Politics, and Patronage: The American Government’s Use of Newspapers, 1789–1875* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1977); Jeffrey L. Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).

57. James Shannon to William Shields, February 22, 1851, C1:1/3/1 James Shannon Collection, University Archives, University of Missouri; *Missouri Statesman*, June 27, July 4, and July 11, 1851.

58. Harrell, “James Shannon,” 150–51; *Weekly Missouri Sentinel* (Columbia), July 1 and July 30, 1852. It should be noted that the *Sentinel* was a short-lived Whig newspaper with an anti-Benton perspective. In heavily Whig Boone County, Switzler’s paper, which could be described as a pro-Benton Whig paper, enjoyed substantial support. What these labels meant in practice was that the *Sentinel* stood in support of the Shannon administration and worked to paint the *Missouri Statesman* as being opposed to the university.

59. Harrell, “James Shannon,” 149–52; James Shannon to Editor of the “Republican,” July 26, 1852, James Shannon Papers, University Archives, University of Missouri; *Weekly Missouri Sentinel*, August 12, 1852.

60. *Weekly Missouri Sentinel*, July 30, 1852. Student records confirm that Peter Singleton Wilkes attended the university in 1851, which would align well with him giving a talk on the right of instruction. Based on the 1850 US federal census, Wilkes would have been about twenty-three years old while at the college. He came from a household in Miller County that claimed nine people as their property. Benton’s report of Wilkes earning a spot in the state legislature in 1852 is accurate. Wilkes served one term in the General Assembly, representing Miller County. Also important for understanding Wilkes’s politics is the fact that twelve years later he served in the Confederate Congress as a representative from Missouri. After the war, Wilkes understandably had trouble with the state’s test oath for loyalty. He moved to California, where he died forty years later. See Ezra J. Warner, *Biographical Register of the Confederate Congress* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), 258–59.

61. *Report of the Majority of Committee on the Missouri State University to the Seventeenth General Assembly* (Jefferson City: James Lusk, Public Printer, 1853), 339; Thomas M. Allen to John Gano, May 21, 1853, Gano Papers.

62. Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1860), 103–4; Alfred L. Brophy, *University, Court, and Slave: Pro-Slavery Thought in Southern Colleges and Courts and the Coming of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 134–35; “Report of the Majority of Committee on the Missouri State University to the Seventeenth General Assembly,” *Journal of the Senate of the State of Missouri at the Extra Session of the Seventeenth General Assembly* (Jefferson City, MO: James Lusk, 1852), 349, 356–57.

63. The Jackson-Napton Resolutions were passed in the Missouri legislature in 1849. These resolutions rejected that Congress had the power to restrict the expansion of slavery in the territories of the United States and firmly stated that Missouri would follow the lead of other Southern states in defense of slavery. The final resolution instructed Missouri's senators to conform to the sentiment of the resolutions. For more on the Jackson-Napton Resolutions, see Phillips, *Missouri's Confederate*, 171–72.

64. Floyd Shoemaker, "Missouri's Proslavery Fight for Kansas, 1854–1855," part 2, *Missouri Historical Review* 48, no. 4 (July 1954): 324–35; Nicole Etcheson, *Bleeding Kansas: Contested Liberty in the Civil War Era* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004), 5–8; Christopher Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backward: The Civil War and the Remaking of the American Middle Border* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 78; Adam I. P. Smith, *The Stormy Present: Conservatism and the Problem of Slavery in Northern Politics, 1846–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 107–9.

65. Phillips, *The Rivers Ran Backward*, 79–80; See also Hurt, *Agriculture and Slavery in Missouri's Little Dixie*, 285–90.

66. Shannon, *An Address Delivered before the Pro-Slavery Convention of the State of Missouri, Held in Lexington, July 13, 1855*, 7, 10–12, 19–20, 24 (emphasis in the original); Poyner, *Bound to Slavery*, 15.

67. *Missouri Whig* (Palmyra), July 19, 1855; E. B. Jeffress to JSR, June 28, 1855, John M. Winn to JSR, September 5, 1855, and B. Gratz Brown to JSR, July 22, 1855, all in Rollins Papers; Allen to Gano, August 10, 1855, Gano Papers.

68. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri, Appendix to the Adjourned Session of*

the Eighteenth General Assembly (Jefferson City, MO: James Lusk, 1855), 239–42.

69. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Missouri, Appendix to the Adjourned Session of the Eighteenth General Assembly*, 118.

70. Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 116–19; Poyner, *Bound to Slavery*, 120–23.

71. Scholarship on slavery and capitalism in the United States includes Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2017); Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016); Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015).

72. For more on the original instructional organization of the academy, see Lathrop to Committee on the Organization of the University, n.d., University of Missouri, University Archives, uw:1/4/1a, roll 1, folder 2; Stephens, *History of the University of Missouri*, 34. In contrast, many southern universities like South Carolina College, the College of William and Mary, and the University of Alabama, among others, promoted a decidedly proslavery perspective beginning in the 1830s and extending through the antebellum period that was more in line with James Shannon's project. For more on proslavery education, see Brophy, *University Court, and Slave*, chaps. 1–3; Michael Sugrue, "We Desired Our Future Rulers to Be Educated Men," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Roger Geiger (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 110–13.