

ACADEMIC BONDAGE: A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY ON UNIVERSITY
CAMPUSES IN AMERICA AND HOW THESE SCHOOLS ARE ADDRESSING THEIR PAST

by

ROBERT MATTHEW WEST

(Under the direction of Scott Nesbit)

ABSTRACT

The institution of slavery has deep roots in American history. The connections are evident in multiple pillars of society, including that of higher education. Many colleges and universities that were founded before the abolishment of slavery, in 1865, still exist today. Several of these schools have historical connections to slavery in one form or another. In recent years, multiple colleges and universities have begun to examine their historical connections to the institution of slavery. This thesis examines the more prominent efforts currently underway by some of these schools and looks at the challenges that can arise when addressing the issue. This thesis also proposes ways that other schools can effectively do the same, while also addressing the preservation issues related to this topic and the validity of apologies coming from these schools.

INDEX WORDS: College, University, Slavery, School, History, Preservation, Brown University, Columbia University, University of South Carolina, University of Georgia, College of William and Mary, University of Virginia, University of Alabama, Mount St. Mary's, University of North Carolina, Dartmouth, Rutgers, Princeton, Emory University, University of Maryland, Interpretation, Slave trade, Ebony & Ivy

ACADEMIC BONDAGE: A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY ON UNIVERSITY
CAMPUSES IN AMERICA AND HOW THESE SCHOOLS ARE ADDRESSING THEIR
PAST

by

ROBERT MATTHEW WEST

BA, University of South Carolina, 2014

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2016

© 2016

Robert Matthew West

All Rights Reserved

ACADEMIC BONDAGE: A LOOK AT THE HISTORY OF SLAVERY ON UNIVERSITY
CAMPUSES IN AMERICA AND HOW THESE SCHOOLS ARE ADDRESSING THEIR
PAST

By

ROBERT MATTHEW WEST

Major Professor: Scott Nesbit

Committee: Wayde Brown
Daniel Nadenicek
Robert Weyeneth

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2016

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Tommy and Kim West, and to all the men and women in uniform who are my brothers and sisters in arms, especially those that laid down their lives for this great country.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of several people. I would like to thank my major professor, Scott Nesbit, first and foremost. Without your supervision and advice, I would probably still be sitting in front of a computer trying to figure out what to write about. I would also like to thank my friends and family at the Hardcore Gym in Athens, Georgia. Getting away from my computer to train and help coach the Spider Monkeys provided a much need break from the daunting task of writing this thesis. You kept me sane. I would also like to thank all of my friends and family that have supported me throughout my life in all that I do. Thank you for your unwavering love and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 TIER 3: Low-level Support.....	13
3 TIER 2: Mid-level Support	23
4 TIER 1: Top-level Support	41
5 Challenges, Proposal, and Conclusion.....	53
REFERENCES.....	63
APPENDICES	
A List of Slavery and University websites.....	73
B Methodology Sample: List of Colleges founded before 1865.....	74

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: The Hand, Mount St. Mary's.....	15
Figure 2: Image of Historic Horseshoe.....	27
Figure 3: Campus map of Horseshoe, USC.....	28
Figure 4: Survey of Historic Horseshoe Wall, USC.....	29
Figure 5: Marker on graves of former slaves, UA.....	32
Figure 6: Unsung Founders Memorial, UNC.....	48
Figure 7: Grave marker for former slaves in Old Chapel Hill Cemetery.....	49

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The idea that many college campuses from early America were shaped by slave labor is an issue that is just beginning to be discussed. Early colonial institutions that still exist today, such as Harvard, Brown, and the College of William and Mary, all have ties to slave labor in some form. These schools, and others that were founded later but have similar ties to slavery, are beginning to look at their own connections with the institution of slavery and acknowledge their past. The fact that their current campuses, as they exist today, were in some way shaped by slave labor is a fact that many are just beginning to acknowledge.

How can these colleges and universities, whose campuses are shaped by the labor of enslaved people, effectively address this history? This thesis examines what several of these colleges and universities have done to confront the issue. Some schools, like Brown University and the College of William and Mary, have made a concerted effort to confront their own historical ties to slavery head on. Others, such as Rutgers, for example, have done little to nothing to address this issue. There is proof that enslaved people helped shape their campuses in some way, but little is being done to acknowledge that fact. The preservation issues here arise from the significance of these historic campuses and it has merit with both the interpretation and conservation aspects of preservation. The issue of slavery on college campuses in early American history argues for a new and different understanding of these historic structures and landscapes.

The goal of this thesis is to survey what is being done at these institutions to confront their history with slavery. Who is driving the initiative? Is it the students? The professors? The University Administration? Is it a top-down effort or a grassroots effort? What worked and what did not work? How did schools like Brown and William and Mary get to where they are today?

This thesis will answer these questions and in doing so, a roadmap can be made for other institutions to follow if they are seeking to effectively confront their own history with slavery.

In order to effectively survey what is already being done at colleges and universities to address the topic, we must first look at what has been made available to the public. The research methodology consisted of conducting a survey of 350 colleges and universities that were founded before 1865 and are still in operation today. From there, a sample of thirty-five schools was selected and then a preliminary internet search of each school was conducted. This search included each university home page and 'About' page and then a search of the entire school website was also conducted, using key words like, such as slave and slavery. This method yielded a diversity of approaches to dealing with this issue. In addition to using the university websites, a brief web search was done to determine what information is out there. A wiki page, titled "Slavery and Universities,"¹ also provided a list of various institutions and several resources for each ones. This thesis comes from the exploration of these schools and how they are addressing their past connections to the institution of slavery.

Colleges and Universities have taken three basic strategies for addressing this topic. One strategy is a bottom-up grassroots effort, usually led by students or a professor. Schools that approach the issue in this manner usually have minimal evidence that slaves were on their campus and are in the early stages of gathering research and evidence to present to the administration. Then there is the top-down approach, which usually involves the University President creating a Steering Committee or issuing some directive that calls for the research on scholarship on this issue and it

¹ Slavery and Universities. <https://slavery-and-universities.wikispaces.com/> (accessed April 25, 2016).

spreads from there. A third approach is sort of a mix between the two. There is some university level support and funding, but the majority of the legwork is coming from the students and/or the faculty and staff. The schools talked about here were placed into one of these three categories, based on their efforts as it relates to this topic. This is based off of research into each university and what is being done there to address this topic. Each category will be discussed in separate chapters with five to six schools in each category that will serve as case studies.

Some colleges have done little to nothing to confront the implications of slavery on their campus. For schools in this category, there is evidence that slaves helped shape the campus during some point in its history, yet nothing is being done to discuss it, and if anything is being done, it is being done by an outside source. The evidence for this mostly anecdotal, but it is out there and it is accessible to those looking for it. Schools that fall into this category will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Other colleges and universities are receiving a little more support from the university administration, whether it is a class or a graduate school project. The issue is being addressed, but it is not being fully acknowledged by the university administration, for the most part. There is a good amount of evidence that these schools have connections to slavery and, for the most part, it appears that the evidence has been gathered and catalogued into a website or some sort of collection. Chapter 3 will discuss these schools, in depth.

Finally, a number of schools have done the most to address this issue. These schools have sponsored steering committees, held conferences, and completed massive amounts of research in order to tell their story of how the institution of slavery is connected to their university. In addition to this, these schools have created websites or collections similar to those schools in Tier 2. The difference mainly lies in how much institutional support the project is receiving from university

administration and what is being done to acknowledge this effort and the story it tells. When attempting to address the history of their own university, these are the schools that should be emulate. The efforts that they have made are impressive, to say the least. Chapter 4 will discuss these schools and how they got to where they are today.

A successful confrontation of a school's history and ties to slavery is based on analysis of other schools that have made efforts to address this issue and by reviewing relevant literature. Success will mean different things for different schools, but ideally, the main indicator of success is that the school has openly and publicly acknowledged its ties to the institution of slavery and is making an effort to do something about it, like promoting more scholarship and education related to the topic. The criteria for success will be discussed in Chapter 5. Also, Chapter 5 will discuss the challenges that schools face when addressing this issue and it will discuss a proposal for how schools can meet those challenges and successfully deal with their histories related to the institution of slavery.

There is a robust amount of literature that looks at individual schools and their ties to slavery. The literary sources are both peer reviewed and non-peer reviewed, academic and non-academic. The literature also includes published histories of these schools, which simply serve as evidence of slaves on campus, as certain university historians specifically mention slaves on campus.² However, the one academic monograph that stands out and provides substantial evidence

² Benjamin Pierce, *A History of Harvard University, from Its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution*, Cambridge, MA: Brown, Shattuck, 1833, pg. 28; Deborah K. King, "Still Embattled, Yet Emboldened: Contesting Black Female Embodiments," Black Womanhood Symposium, 12 April 2008, Hood Museum, Dartmouth College; 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, 1932, pg. 32-22; Ebenezer Baldwin, *Annals of Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut, from Its Foundation, to the Year 1831*, New Haven: Hezekiah Howe, 1831, 308; Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North*, Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1973, pg. 72-87; Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*, Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1930-35, III, pg. 492, 511; Francis Lane Childs, "A Dartmouth History Lesson for Freshman," *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, December 1957, <http://www.dartmouth.edu>; *General Catalogue of Dartmouth College and the Associated Schools, 1769-1900, Including a Historical Sketch of the College Prepared by Marvin Davis Bisbee, the Librarian*, Hanover, NH: For the College, 1900, pg. 169; *Harvard University Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636-1920*, Cambridge, MA: By the University, 1930, pg. 13, 141; Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*, New York: Vintage, 1976, pg. 155-67; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997, pg. 98-103; James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*, New York: Vintage, 1983, pgs. 121, 125, 199-209; James A. Rawley and Stepen A. Behrendt, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History*, Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005, pg. 129-65; James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*, New York: Norton, 1977, pg. 71-71, 132; Jill Lepore, *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan*, New York: Knopf, 2005, pg. 19-26; John Langdon Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1881*, Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1996, IV, pg. 446-48; John S. Whitehead, *The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776-1876*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973; Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*, New York: Vintage, 1956, pg. 386; Leslie M. Harris, *In the Shadows of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003, pg. 43-46; Lorenzo J. Greene, "Slaveholding New England and Its Awakening," *Journal of Negro History*, October 1928, pg. 496-97; Mark Auslander, "The Other Side of Paradise: Glimpsing Slavery in the University's Utopian Landscapes," *Southern Spaces*, May 2010; Oscar and Mary Handlin, "Origins of the Southern Labor System," *William and Mary Quarterly*, April 1950, pg. 214-15; Phillip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1920, II: 208-10; Robert Donald Come, "The Influence of Princeton on Higher Education in the South before 1825," *William and Mary Quarterly*, October 1945, 359-96; Samuel Eliot Morison, "The History of Harvard College," in *The History and Traditions of Harvard College*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard Crimson, 1936; Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936, I, pg. 5-8, 42-44, 340-60; Thomas Clap, *The Annals or History of Yale-College, in New-Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut, from the First Founding thereof, in the Year 1700, to the Year 1766: with an Appendix, Containing the Present State of the College, the Method of Instruction and Government, with the Officers, Benefactors, and Graduates*, New Haven: John Hotchkiss and B. Mecom, 1766, pg. 109-11; Thelma Wills Foote, *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pg. 159-86; Thomas G. Dyer, *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*, Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985, 1-45; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870*,

of slavery and universities is Craig Wilder's *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*.³ Published in 2013, *Ebony & Ivy* discusses just how deeply intertwined early colleges and universities in the U.S. and the institution of slavery are. In a *New York Times* article by Jennifer Schuessler, James Wright, former president of Dartmouth College, discusses Wilder's book. In this article, Wright states that, "Slavery was deeply embedded in all our institutions, which found ways to explain and rationalize slavery."⁴ Wilder discusses, at great length, just how connected slavery and colleges and universities were and still are. The connection goes deeper than simply having slave owners as university presidents or administrators. As much of the evidence that Wilder (and others researching this issue) uses shows, enslaved people were on campus from the inception of many schools. Enslaved people built and maintained these schools and their labor funded these schools.

Wilder, who currently serves as the chair for the history department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), begins his work at the very outset of early colonization on the North American continent and he brings to light just how much slavery shaped U.S. college campuses. In the book, Wilder shows how early institutions were built on land that was taken from Native tribes and then built on the backs of slaves. He goes on to explain how slave owners became university presidents and how slaves actually lived on campus. In addition to perpetuating and

New York: Longmans, Green, 1904, pg. 27-29; William D. Snider, *Light on the Hill: A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992, 3-37; William B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789*, New York: Hillary House, 1963, I, pg. 41,140.

³ Craig Wilder, *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America's Universities*, Bloomsbury Press, New York, 2013.

⁴ Jennifer Schuessler, "Dirty Antebellum Secrets in Ivory Towers: 'Ebony and Ivy,' About How Slavery Helped Universities Grow," *New York Times*, October 18, 2013, (accessed April 25, 2016), <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/19/books/ebony-and-ivy-about-how-slavery-helped-universities-grow.html? r=0>.

benefiting from slavery, Wilder also points out that many of these institutions also promoted some of the “scientific” theories of the time that perpetuated the idea of racial inferiority.

While some universities actually owned slaves, similar to how an individual would own a slave, others rented or borrowed them from local slave owners. Some institutions would even accept slaves as a form of tuition payment for students. Slaves would sometimes stay indebted to the university long after the student that they were there for had graduated and moved on. Some schools allowed their students to bring their own personal slaves from home. President George Washington’s stepson, John Custis, attended King’s College (now Columbia) with his personal slave Joe. Wilder also points out that many of the colleges in the South modeled themselves after the institutions in the North, like the schools in New Jersey, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.⁵ This, of course, flies in the face of the notion that the southern states were the only states to have slavery. In fact, Wilder says, access to enslaved people was what kept some of these colonial schools open.⁶ Many of these schools were, in fact, built on the backs of slaves. According to Wilder, this issue is important because it, “helps show the centrality of slavery to the founding of the American colonies and ultimately to the founding of the United States. The first three colleges in British America--Harvard, William & Mary, and Yale--had slavery at their founding moments.”⁷ Wilder spent almost a decade researching his book, spending ample time in several university archives. When he first started, this topic was not even on the mind of most institutions.

⁵ Wilder, 136-37.

⁶ Ibid, 135.

⁷ Gary Shapiro, “Ebony and Ivy: Slavery’s Role at Early U.S. Universities, Including Our Own,” Columbia News, April 16, 2014, <http://news.columbia.edu/content/ebony-and-ivy-slaverys-role-early-us-universities-including-our-own>.

Schuessler cites a 2001 report on Yale's connection to slavery, one that was done by graduate students. This report was dismissed by many who attributed it to ulterior motives. This was due to the fact that the graduate students who wrote it allegedly had ties to labor unions that were, at the time, fighting with Yale administration.⁸ Schuessler also makes note of the fact that the Brown report started at a period when many northern universities, banks, and insurance companies were dealing with possible class-action lawsuits for reparations due to their connections with the eighteenth-century slave trade. Through his research, Wilder discovered that people of color have always been at these institutions. This fact changes the way people think about these places.⁹ His research shows that these institutions were not just innocent beneficiaries of slavery; there were actively a part of it. Wilder states:

The European invasion of the Americas and the modern slave trade pulled peoples throughout the Atlantic world into each other's lives, and colleges were among the colonial institutions that braided their histories and rendered their fates dependent and antagonistic. The academy never stood apart from slavery-in fact, it stood beside church and state as the third pillar of a civilization built on bondage.¹⁰

What this quote reveals, and what the rest of Wilder's book reveals, is the deep, deep ties that early colleges and universities had with the institution of slavery; many of which are still operating today. Some of the oldest colleges and universities operating in the U.S. today are connected with one of the oldest institutions in the world.

There is also a good amount of literature on public apologies, which is a measure that a few schools with ties to slavery have taken. One article of note is, "The Power of Apology and the Process of Historical Reconciliation," by Dr. Robert Weyeneth, a history professor at the

⁸ Schuessler.

⁹ Schuessler.

¹⁰ Wilder, 11.

University of South Carolina. In his article, Weyeneth examines if, “historical apologies have the ability to facilitate a process of historical reconciliation.”¹¹ He also notes the recent trend of governments, churches, and corporations who are apologizing for historical injustices committed under their banners centuries ago.¹² The form of apology varies from situation to situation, but there are usually two common factors: acknowledgement that there is wrong doing and a statement of remorse.¹³

Weyeneth’s article looks at several different forms of apologies and then discusses the motives of the apologists and how they are just as wide-ranging as the forms of apologies, themselves. The apologies are placed into two categories: contemporaneous apologies and retrospective apologies. Contemporaneous apologies is an acknowledgement of wrong-doing by the responsible party to the victims personally affected who are still alive. Examples of this include the Japanese apology in 1995 for its conduct in World War II. Retrospective apologies are acknowledgements of wrong-doings that were systematic or structural in nature or are long-past historical events. Examples of this include anti-Semitism and the slave trade.¹⁴

There are also arguments against apologies, which Weyeneth discusses in his article, as well. There are several arguments against apologizing, most notably that the people alive today did not commit the acts that they are apologizing for and that apologies are just lip service, and while they have their place, apologies cannot replace action. These arguments against apologizing bring to question whether or not these apologies have any power and if they even matter. Weyeneth

¹¹ Robert Weyeneth, “The Power of Apology and the Process of Historical Reconciliation,” *The Public Historian*, 2001, 9, *JSTOR Journals*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 25, 2016), pg. 11.

¹² Ibid, 10.

¹³ Ibid, 12.

¹⁴ Ibid, 35.

argues that the mere fact that that they are in demand shows that they do matter. He argues that if a satisfactory apology is received, it seems that historical wounds do begin to heal, citing a 1997 apology from the Episcopal Church to homosexuals for the years of mistreatment and rejection.¹⁵ In today's climate, apologies have taken hold, which Weyeneth attributes to increasing global connectedness and the fact that the interpretation of history is now up for grabs.¹⁶ Apologies do have their place, especially in the modern world where everything is open for interpretation and discussion. Considering that public access to historical archives has grown in the past few decades, due to the boom in technology, past indiscretions are increasingly harder to cover up. Yes, apologies can just be lip service and do not replace actions, however, there is still value in a sincere apology, especially if it is something that is being demanded.¹⁷

Another article that discusses apologies is Max Clarke and Gary Fine's, "'A' for Apology: Slavery and the Discourse of Remonstrance in Two American Universities." This article looks at what is being done at Brown University and the University of Alabama to address their past relationships with slavery. Clarke and Fine argue that "complete apologies" have four distinct features: acknowledgement of wrong-doing, acceptance of responsibility, expression of regret, and

¹⁵ Ibid, 30.

¹⁶ Ibid, 38.

¹⁷ Alex Haley, *Roots*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976; Alice MacLachlan, "The State of 'Sorry': Official Apologies and their Absence," *Journal of Human Rights* 9, no. 3, 2010, pg. 373-385; Alison Dundes Renteln, "Apologies: A Cross-cultural Analysis," *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, 2008, pg. 61-76; Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998; Jeremy M. Bergen, *Ecclesial Repentance: The Churches Confront Their Sinful Pasts*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011; Jeffrey Rosen, "The Social Police," *The New Yorker*, 20 & 27 October 1997, pg. 174; Michael R. Marrus and Munk Centre for International Studies, *Official Apologies and the Quest for Historical Justice*, No. 3, Toronto: Munk Centre for International Studies, 2006; Michael Murphy, "Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation," *Human Rights Review*, 12.1, 2011, pgs. 47-69; Randall Robinson, *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*, New York, NY: Dutton, 2000; Richard F. America, ed., *The Wealth of Races: The Present Value of Benefits from Past Injustices*, New York: Greenwood Press, 1990;

a commitment to reparation.¹⁸ Both of what these schools have done to confront their past connections to slavery, will be discussed in other chapters, so they will not be discussed here. In terms of this article and apologies, Clarke and Fine use Brown and Alabama as case studies, with Brown being an example of a good apology and Alabama being a bad example. Their main reasoning is that Brown's efforts had institutional support, being lead by the university's president, while Alabama's efforts lacked that same institutional support. Clarke and Fine conclude their article by stating that university apologies are a powerful tool because they "extend the active consideration of an issue to alumni, current students, professors-to all those who are associated with the university."¹⁹

This topic is just beginning to take hold in the world of higher education and relevant literature to the topic is also changing, as more historians and other journalists and authors are publishing works related to this issue. This thesis is merely a pause button, looking at what has been done as of this writing. More and more colleges with ties to slavery are beginning to acknowledge it, so the list of schools that have addressed the issue is constantly being updated. In the following chapters, what some of these schools are doing will be examined and addressed. Following the examination of what is currently being done in this field, the challenges that a school addressing this issue will also be discussed. The goal is to create a proposal, or template, for what schools that are just beginning to accept their history can do to effectively confront this issue and deal with it in a way that is sensitive to both the school and those who might be affected by what is being done.

¹⁸ Max Clarke and Gary Alan Fine, "'A' for Apology: Slavery and the Discourse of Remonstrance in Two American Universities," *History & Memory*, no. 1, 2010, pg. 81-112, *Project MUSE*, EBSCOhost (accessed April 25, 2016).

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 106-107.

This is a sensitive topic, but it is one that needs to be discussed. The fact is, slave labor built and funded many of these colleges and universities that are still in operation today. In fact, slave labor kept some of these schools alive when funding was low and closing their doors seemed imminent. Not only did these schools benefit from slave labor, because many of their graduates went on to become successful members of society, the rest of the country also benefitted off of slave labor, as it relates to colleges and universities. The economy, the government, higher education, and society as a whole, were all connected and they all benefitted from slave labor. Many people have looked at and discussed how other aspects of American society benefitted from slavery, but no one has really looked at just how connected slavery and the colleges and universities are, until now.

CHAPTER 2

TIER 3: LOW-LEVEL SUPPORT

For most of the schools that are discussed in this chapter, little to nothing is being done to acknowledge their historical ties to slavery. For many institutions, especially the ones that are located in northern states, the notion that they have a connection to slavery, or that enslaved people were key in shaping their campus today, is one that unacknowledged. For the average American, slavery is mostly associated with southern states, the former Confederate states, in particular. However, in the early years of this country's formation, slavery was a pillar of society for the entire country. The schools in this tier have a connection to the institution of slavery, yet not much is being done at these institutions to address this. For most, if anything is being done at all, it is being done by a lone professor, student, or someone from outside of the university. The administration at these schools have little, if anything at all, to address their connections to the institutions of slavery. For whatever reason, whether it be that they just do not know, do not care, or do not want to deal with the issue; this story is not being told at these schools.

Mount St. Mary's University-Emmitsburg, MD

Mount St. Mary's University was founded in Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1808. The school was founded by Father John Dubois, the third bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of New York. The evidence that slaves were on campus, for some schools, is anecdotal, at best. At Mount St. Mary's University, the evidence is clearly placed on the school's chronological timeline of their history. According to the timeline, in 1858 the university president and council voted to free the last slave owned by the college.²⁰ The university president at the time was Father John J.

²⁰ "Our History," Mount St. Mary's University, 2011, <http://msmary.edu/about-the-Mount/our-history/>.

McCaffrey, for whom McCaffrey Hall (a dormitory) is named after. This is the only mention of slavery being connected with the university on any of the school's websites. The issue here is that the university is admitting that they owned slaves, but they only elaborate enough to say that the last slaves were freed in 1858. This is problematic because it does not provide any other information. One might take this lone mention buried deep in a chronological timeline as the university's way of admitting their wrong doing, but attempting to gloss over the importance of it by mentioning it in the context of slaves being freed. This, of course, is speculation; but considering the sensitive nature of this topic, it is plausible.

Aside from the brief mention in the university's history timeline, the only other mention of slaves on campus at Mount St. Mary's is in the school's bi-annual publication for alumni and friends of the university, *Mount Magazine*.²¹ In the fall 2000 issue, the focus is on the ghost stories that are told around campus. Several ghosts, one of whom is of a former slave named Leander, supposedly haunt Mount St. Mary's campus. The article starts out by mentioning that it was common practice for the school to be "deeded" slaves as a payment for outstanding tuition, though it provides no sources or evidence to support this claim. Slaves were to work for the university for a determined amount of time until the tuition debt of their master was paid off. Upon completion of the contract, the slaves were to be returned to their masters. Leander is said to be one of the more memorable slaves on campus and was apparently a known thief. After being convicted of a more serious theft, he was punished by having his left hand cut off, which was then buried in front of McCaffrey Hall, according to Catholic customs. Leander remained on campus after he became a free man and was buried in the college cemetery when he died. His hand remains buried in front

²¹ Rev. Dan Nusbuam, "The Hand," *Mount Magazine*, Fall 2000.
http://msmary.edu/alumni/alumni_news/mount-magazine/pdfs/Mount-Magazine-Fall-2000-Ghost-Stories.pdf.

of McCaffrey Hall and people have reported hearing scratches on their windows, finding the hand under pillows and in a dresser drawer.

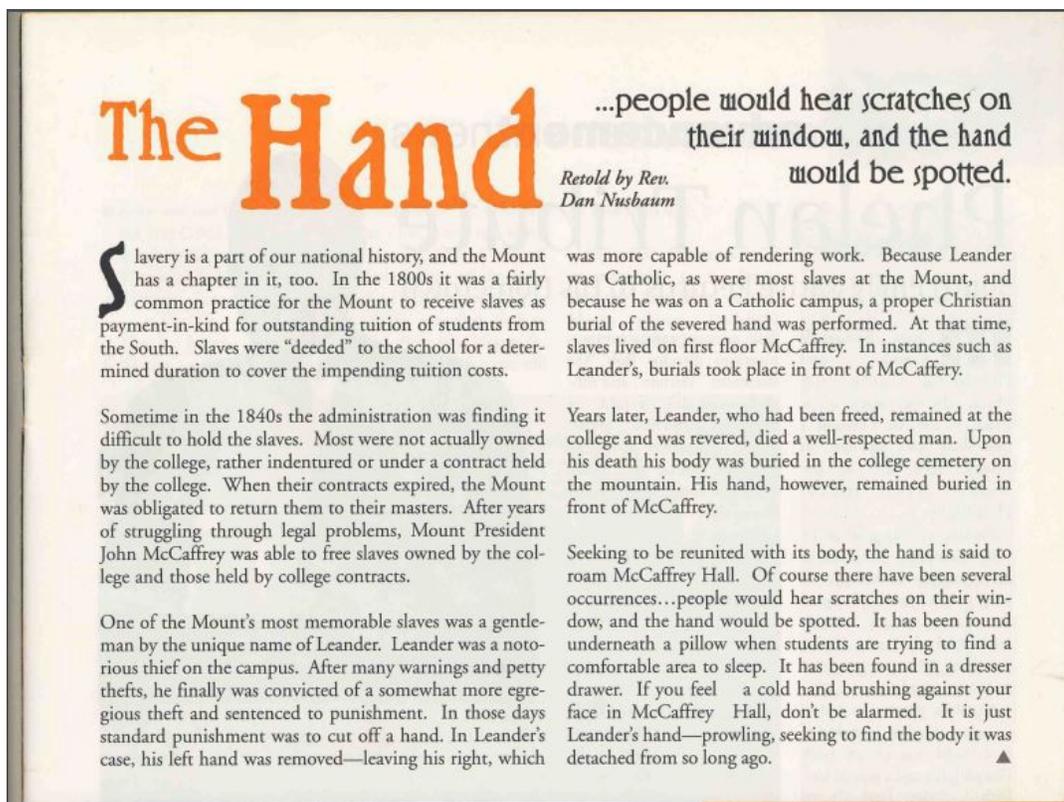


Figure 1--“The Hand.” Article telling the ghost story of slave Leander from Fall 2000 issue of Mount Magazine (Courtesy of Mount St. Mary’s University).

This story is again corroborated in a 2002 article by Linton Weeks for *The Washington Post*. Weeks essentially tells the same story, of Leander’s hand haunting the campus of Mount St. Mary’s.²² Several other websites and publications also retell this story. This dark tourism ghost story is the lone story of a slave on campus at Mount St. Mary’s. Multiple searches of the school’s website and library bring no mention of other slaves or anything pertaining to slavery other than

²² Linton Weeks, “Be True to Your Ghoul,” *The Washington Post*, October 30, 2002, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2002/10/30/AR2005033107081.html>.

the references listed above. There is no doubt that slaves were on campus at Mount St. Mary's, but it seems that there is not much that is being done to acknowledge that.

Dartmouth College-Hanover, NH

Eleazar Wheelock founded Dartmouth College in 1769. Located in Hanover, New Hampshire, it is one of the oldest colleges in the United States that still operates today. Dartmouth is an Ivy League school and it is one of the original nine Colonial Colleges. Most notably, Dartmouth's connections with slavery come from its founder. Wheelock came to Hanover with eight slaves and depended heavily on slave labor to establish the college.²³ Wilder talks extensively of Wheelock's dealings with slaves, specifically on how much he depended on slave labor. Wilder notes a transaction that Wheelock was a part of, involving a slave named Cesar, stating that, "Such transactions fill the historical records of American colleges."²⁴ Later in his book, Wilder notes that the number of enslaved people doubled when John Wheelock, son of Eleazar, became the second president of Dartmouth College.²⁵

Dartmouth has not hidden the fact that slaves were on campus, so much as it has just not been talked about that much. In an article penned for the *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine* in 1957, Francis Lane Childs notes that when Madam Wheelock arrived on campus in late September 1770, she brought with her "four Negro slaves."²⁶ Aside from that mention, a winter 2014 course, given by Sociology professor Deborah King, focused on Dartmouth's ties to slavery. The course was titled "Lest We Forget: History, Collective Memory, and Slavery at Dartmouth." From their research efforts, this class created a website, titled, "Lest We Forget: The Dartmouth Slavery

²³ Wilder, 113.

²⁴ Ibid, 127.

²⁵ Ibid, 145

²⁶ Childs, "A Dartmouth History Lesson for Freshman."

Project,” which features the findings that the class made. However, per the overview of the website, this course focused most of its efforts on telling the stories of the African American students at Dartmouth from its founding in 1769 up to the early 1900s.²⁷ The course and project are ongoing but they appear to focus on Dartmouth’s later connections to abolitionists, the Underground Railroad, and other anti-slavery efforts. This is, of course, a noble effort and something that is important to be recognized. However, the project fails to acknowledge the work of slaves on campus to build Dartmouth. Wilder provides ample evidence that slaves were an integral part of the forming of Dartmouth, going as far as to state that Dartmouth College depended upon enslaved labor, noting that when Reverend Samson Occom was preparing to leave for Britain to campaign for Wheelock’s school, he, “pleaded with his mentor for a slave and a team of oxen to get his home and farm in order. Recognizing Wheelock’s reliance upon enslaved labor, Occom conceded, ‘let me have a yoke of Oxen if you can’t spare a Negroe.’”²⁸ For a course that is titled “The Dartmouth Slavery Project” it seems to be a glaring omission to not include research on the enslaved people that helped establish Dartmouth College.

University of Georgia-Athens, GA

The University of Georgia (UGA) was founded in 1785. Located in Athens, Georgia, the university is the state’s oldest public institution and is possibly the nation’s oldest public university, something that the College of William and Mary and the University of North Carolina also lay claim to. Although the university was chartered in 1785, classes did not begin until 1801, with the first graduating class in 1804. The connection that UGA has to the institution of slavery is a deep one. Many of the early founders of UGA were graduates of Yale and Princeton, as were

²⁷ “Lest We Forget: The Dartmouth Slavery Project,” <https://dartmouthslaveryproject.wordpress.com>, (accessed April 25, 2016).

²⁸ Wilder, 113.

some of the first presidents. Many of these men were also slave owners or from prominent slave owning families. While the school did not own slaves itself, they were hired out from local slave owners to perform various tasks on campus. Minutes from the Board of Trustees show that in almost every year available on record (from 1794 up until the end of the Civil War in 1865), anywhere from \$250-\$300, was set aside annually for the purchase of slave labor.²⁹ Even during the early years of the American Civil War, when the university was operating at a bare minimum, funds were still set aside for the purchase of slave labor.³⁰

In addition to mentions of “slave labor” in the university’s Board of Trustees minutes, there are also other mentions of enslaved people being on campus. E. Merton Coulter, author and noted historian of the South, states that, “Negro bell-ringers and other slaves were the only Negroes allowed on the campus.”³¹ Augustus Longstreet Hull also makes several mentions of enslaved people on campus in his book, *The Annals of Athens*. Hull actually mentions a few slaves by name, stating that, “Many a student of Dr. Waddell’s day will remember old Dick Cary, the bell ringer and college servant.”³² This is one of many mentions of enslaved people interacting with students on campus at UGA. There is ample evidence that enslaved people once walked the same grounds on the North Campus that many students walk today, however, not much is being done at UGA to acknowledge this fact.

Currently there is no major effort from university administration to acknowledge the school’s ties to slavery. Aside from a brief mention in Craig Wilder’s *Ebony & Ivy*, regarding the

²⁹ Minutes of the University of Georgia Board of Trustees, 1835-1857, 261. Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

³⁰ Minutes of the University of Georgia Board of Trustees, 1858-1871, 77.

³¹ E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, University of Georgia Press, Athens, GA, 1928, 81.

³² A.L. Hull, *The Annals of Athens*, Athens: Athens Banner job office, 1906, 33-34.

founders and their ties to Yale and Princeton, not much else has been written about UGA's ties to slavery. In the fall of 2015, Professor Scott Nesbit, who is a faculty within the History Department and the College of Environment and Design's Historic Preservation program at UGA, held a graduate level course on public history and technology. The focus of this class was to research and then tell the story of slavery at UGA. The class produced a website that serves as an archival collection for all of the information found by the students in the class. The majority of the collections are minutes from various meetings of the faculty committee, board of trustees, and prudential committee, with a few other sources relating to specific slaves being on campus. While the website has not gone live for public consumption yet, the information is there.

The class looked at websites built by other schools, sites built by students from South Carolina and Harvard among them. The idea was to create a similar website that would serve as a digital archive for the information gathered. While South Carolina's website is very text heavy, UGA's website is not. Some of this is due to the time constraints, as the class only had a few months to gather enough information to put on the website. In addition to this, the information was hard to find, due to a fire destroying some of the university archives around 1904 and the simple fact that there is just not much documentation in UGA's archives that mention slavery. Aside from this one course, nothing else is being done at the school to address this topic. A recent article from the campus newspaper, *The Red & Black*, discusses how the university has deep ties to slavery, stating that, "Black history at UGA typically focuses on the period after integration of Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter. However, African American influence at UGA dates back before 'cultural, ethnic, gender and racial diversity' was a component of the university's mission statement." Dr. Joshua Inwood, a professor of cultural geography and critical race theory at the University of Tennessee and is a former UGA graduate, states that although there are multiple

references to the Confederacy on campus, the topic of slavery is barely even discussed as being part of UGA's history.³³

Symbols of the Confederacy and the antebellum South dot the historic North Campus of UGA. Buildings bear the names of former slave owners, such as Baldwin Hall, named for Abraham Baldwin, former university president. The iconic bell tower, whose bell once stood atop the campus chapel and was rung by enslaved people to signal the beginning and ending of classes and religious services, is still a prominent part of the UGA experience. The bell is rung after athletic victories, special occasions, and just about any other reason one could think of to ring a bell. Yet, the notion that enslaved people once rung that same bell and helped to shape the very same grounds that many students are walking today is something that has gone unnoticed by many. The hope is that the website built by Dr. Nesbit's class will be added to by other students who take the course in the future.

Princeton University-Princeton, NJ

Princeton University was founded as the College of New Jersey in 1746. The school was originally founded in Elizabeth, NJ, then moved to Newark, NJ in 1747, and then finally moved to its current location in Princeton in 1756. Princeton was the fourth college to be chartered in the original thirteen colonies, which makes it one of the original nine Colonial Colleges. Like most of those schools, Princeton's ties to slavery runs deep. Many of the original founders and early presidents not only benefited off of slave labor, they benefited off of the slave trade as a whole. Wilder makes several mentions of slaves on Princeton's campus in his book. He tells the story of one former slave named Betsy Stockton, who was once a slave on Princeton's campus, then went

³³ Hannah Echols, "Before Holmes and Hunter: Students look at UGA's history of segregation and slavery," *The Red & Black*, March 1, 2016.

on to be a teacher and a missionary to Hawaii once a free woman.³⁴ As Wilder points out, Princeton struggled early on in its existence. It was not until John Witherspoon, a Scottish minister, becomes president that the school really takes off. Witherspoon brought prosperity to the school by recruiting new students from wealthy slave holding families in the British West Indies. This was actually a common practice in the early days of the colonial colleges. The selling point used was that the young men would be safer in New Jersey, rather than in England, where they would be preyed upon by others because they were known to be wealthy. Witherspoon used this strategy to bring Princeton into prosperity, all the while, reaping the benefits from slave labor.

There is no doubt that Princeton University has deep ties to slavery. Like most of the other schools with ties to slavery, this was something that was not talked about for many years. In fact, there were even attempts to hide this fact, although it was a long time ago. In the years leading up to the Civil War, many of the elite in the North conveniently ignored their ties to slavery, choosing to sanitize their relationship with the institution. All the while, much of the shipping, finance, and manufacturing industries in New England remained firmly tied to slavery. Wilder quotes Harvard president, Edmund Quincy, as stating that, “The soil of New England is trodden by no slave.”³⁵ Princeton produced accounts of the college, the area’s leading families, and the African colonization movement, but no acknowledgement that the school was tied to slavery. Princeton, just like other schools, ignored the prosperity that its ties to slavery brought and instead focused on glossing over it and placing more emphasis on less embarrassing facts from its past. Now, however, it appears the school is ready to admit its ties to slavery and address them. While the

³⁴ Wilder, pg. 143.

³⁵ Ibid, pg. 283.

university has not issued a public apology or made a public statement addressing their connection, the schools has begun to research its connections.

In the spring of 2013, an undergraduate seminar was offered that focuses on this topic. Because the work was too much to complete in one semester, the class was offered again the next fall and it appears to be a work in progress. So, while the university has not done much, those at the university are taking steps in the right direction. Professor Martha Sandweiss, who teaches the class along with University archivist Daniel Linke and postdoctoral fellow Craig Hollander, has yet to present the findings from the course to the administration, but they will have access to it.³⁶ Hopefully, more will come from this course, as it appears the administration is open to looking into it once more information becomes available.

³⁶ Catherine Duazo, "Seminar explores U.'s little-known connection to slavery," *The Daily Princetonian*, October 15, 2013, <http://dailyprincetonian.com/news/2013/10/seminar-explores-u-s-little-known-connection-to-slavery/>.

CHAPTER 3

TIER 2: MID-LEVEL SUPPORT

The first step in effectively addressing a university's ties to the institution of slavery is to do some serious research. That means digging into university archives, local census data, and other special collections the university or other sources might have. For the schools in this tier, most of that has been done. While there may not be full-fledged university administration support at these schools, something is being done. What this means is that the administration has acknowledged the schools ties to slavery in some form, but there is not a huge effort to look into it. There is not a top-down approach or a directive coming from the university president like there is at, for example, Brown University or the College of William and Mary. For many of these schools, the effort is coming from a professor or graduate program conducting a class or seminar and building a website, or something similar. Some of these schools have even gone as far as placing plaques on campus acknowledging known enslaved people that were on campus and some are considering renaming buildings after these enslaved people. Schools in this tier have really begun to address their connections to the institution of slavery. They have taken their initial findings and they have published them in some fashion. While the respective universities may not be completely on board, in a fashion similar to Brown University of William and Mary, there is some institutional support at some level. Some of these schools had courses that created websites, while other schools held conferences. The common factor for schools at this level is that a substantial amount of research and work has been done to highlight the schools connections to slavery.

Schools in this middle tier are from northern states and southern states. A couple of schools are part of the original nine Colonial Colleges and some are from the antebellum South. For all of these schools, the notion that slaves were essential in shaping the campus is one that is

currently being discussed in some manner. It is a sensitive topic at these schools, but it is being addressed and acknowledged.

Rutgers University-New Brunswick, NJ

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey was founded as Queen's College in 1766. Located in New Brunswick, New Jersey, it is eighth oldest college in the U.S. and is one of the nine Colonial Colleges. Like many of the early colleges, it was founded as a religious institution, this time by the Dutch Reformed Church, seeking to separate itself from ecclesiastical institutions. According to Wilder, the charter trustees of the school "came from the most prominent slaveholding and slave trading families in the region, and they included Philip Livingston, Robert Livingston, Theodorus Van Wyck, Peter Schenck, and Abraham Hasbrouck."³⁷ The first president, Jacob Hardenbergh, was also a prominent slave owner. In the early years, the school struggled financially, forced to close several times. Although the university had financial issues, Hardenbergh was still able to purchase a slave a mere two years before the school was forced to close its doors for the first time in 1795. He also purchased another household slave on the eve of the school's closing.³⁸ At the time of Rutgers' founding, New Jersey was one of the largest slaveholding colonies of the time. The school's ties with slavery go much deeper than the trustees and presidents being slave owners and slave traders.

As was typical with early colleges and universities, eugenics, or the science of "racial superiority," was common. Medical schools often used runaway, fugitive slaves as cadavers for medical experiments and classes. In fact, the Rutgers Medical College would often advertise that its anatomy professor "teaches with THE KNIFE," with full dissections in front of the class.³⁹ This

³⁷ Wilder, pg. 74.

³⁸ Ibid, pg. 123.

³⁹ Ibid, pg. 203.

was common practice of the time and it was made easier with access to runaway slaves. In addition to runaway slaves being dissected in the medical school, enslaved people were also on campus. An article from the campus online newspaper, *Muckgers*, mentions that recent graduates from that time period would reminisce on their interactions with “negro Sam,” who was the assistant for Professor Joseph Henry’s laboratory.⁴⁰ What this evidence shows, is that Rutgers does indeed have a significant connection to the institution of slavery. However, not much else is being done at the university to address the issue.

While there is mention of Rutgers’ connection to slavery on various pages within the university’s website (which can be found by searching the university webpage), there is not really anything being done to deal with this past. Other than the article from *Muckgers* and the work that Wilder did for his book, there is not much else that deals with Rutgers connection to slavery. As the university prepares to celebrate its 250th anniversary, more focus has been placed on the school’s connection to slavery. On November 10, 2015, Rutgers Executive Vice President and Chancellor, Richard L. Edwards, announced the formation of a committee to, “study enslaved and disenfranchised populations in Rutgers history. This committee will be charged with examining the role that the people of these disadvantaged groups played in the founding and development of Rutgers University.” The committee will be made up of faculty, staff, and students and they will make recommendations on how Rutgers and effectively acknowledge this issue.⁴¹ This committee

⁴⁰ Joseph Amditis, “Slavery & Academia: A troubled history of Rutgers University,” January 2014, <http://www.muckgers.com/2014/01/slavery-academia-a-troubled-history-of-rutgers-university/>.

⁴¹ Richard Edwards, letter to the editor, *The Daily Targum*, November 2015, <http://www.dailytargum.com/article/2015/11/u-history-committee-on-disenfranchised-enslaved-pop>.

appears to serve the same kind of function as the steering committee that was formed at Brown University in 2003. So while not much has been done yet, it appears that Rutgers is, at least, attempting to take the proper steps to effectively recognize the contributions of enslaved people to their school.

University of South Carolina-Columbia, SC

The University of South Carolina (USC) was established in 1801 as South Carolina College. The campus is located in the state's capital city of Columbia. As with other early universities in the South, the school has ties to older Ivy League institutions, such as Brown University and Harvard University, with many of its founders and early faculty hailing from these schools. For most, the connection between USC and slavery is not that far of a stretch. Where the school differs from some of its nearby peers, is that the university actually owned slaves. These slaves built the original campus of South Carolina, which still remains today as the historic Horseshoe, off of Sumter Street, much of it surrounded by a brick wall that was also made with slave labor.⁴² The buildings are still in use today, although the original president's house has been replaced by McKissick Museum. In addition to the original buildings of the campus, an outbuilding that was once slave quarters also still stands today. Enslaved people were an essential part of day-to-day operations on campus from the school's founding up until the slaves were freed in February 1865, upon the arrival of federal troops in Columbia at the closing of the American Civil War. Looking out on the present day Horseshoe, the average student at USC has no idea that the buildings they are looking at were built by slaves, using slave-made bricks. These buildings are

⁴² "Slavery at South Carolina College, 1801-1865: The Foundations of the University of South Carolina," <http://library.sc.edu/digital/slaveryscc/>, (accessed April 25, 2016).

classrooms, dormitories, office buildings, and a chapel. Thousands of students walk by these buildings every day, not giving it a second thought.

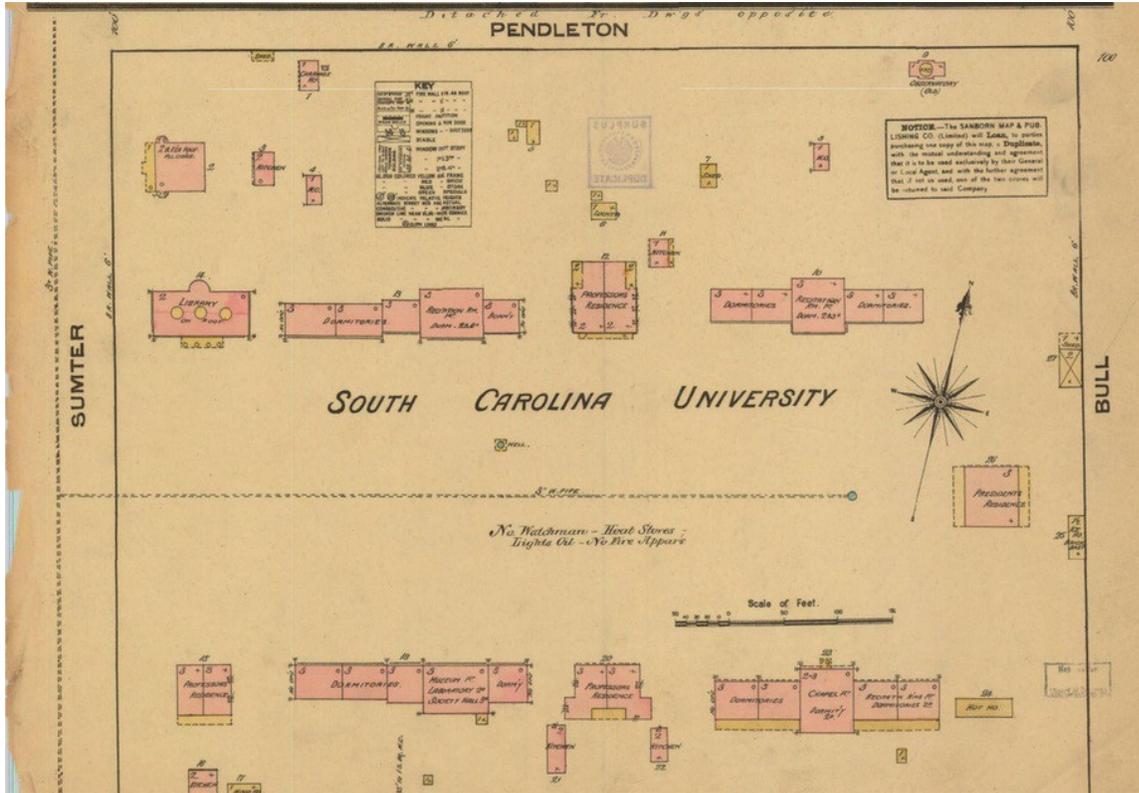


Figure 2-Image of Historic Horseshoe from 1884 (courtesy of Slavery at South Carolina College website).

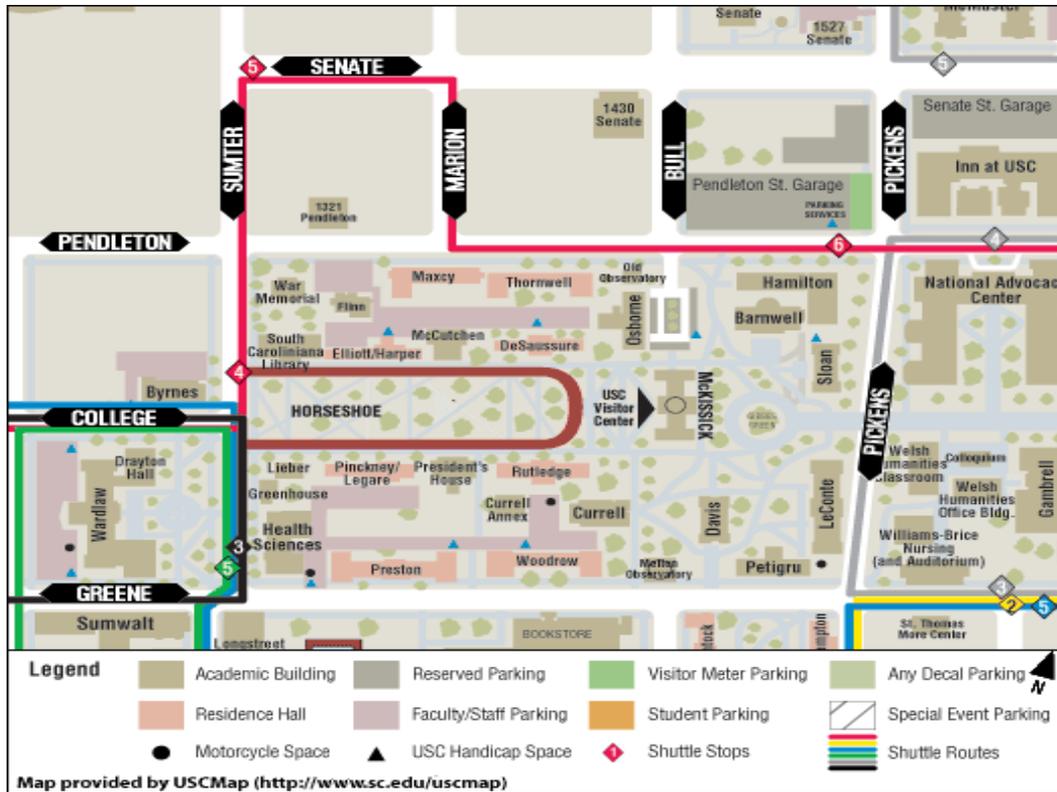


Figure 3-Campus map showing Horseshoe (courtesy of University of South Carolina).

During the spring 2011 semester, nine graduate students in the Historic Site Interpretation class given by the Public History Program at USC, led by Professor Robert Weyeneth, created the “Slavery at South Carolina College” website. Over the course of the semester, the students dug deep into university archives and other records to tell the story of slavery at South Carolina College. The website that they built has information on all of the buildings on the Horseshoe that were built by slaves and information on the slaves themselves. The website is part of the university library’s server and a pamphlet was published by the South Caroliniana Library. While the university itself has done little to publicly acknowledge this project, there have been some positive results to come from it. A survey of the brick wall on the Horseshoe that was undertaken during

the project resulted in a \$1.5 million restoration project that began in 2015.⁴³ Much of the wall was in disrepair and needed major work. This effort by South Carolina students helped to facilitate that by bringing awareness to the history of the wall and it helped raised the money to restore it.



Figure 4- Survey of University of South Carolina Horseshoe Wall (Photo courtesy of University of South Carolina).

Efforts like the one at South Carolina are key in preserving these old structures that were built by enslaved people. The Horseshoe is an iconic part of USC's campus. The buildings and the brick wall that make up the Horseshoe are the lone surviving structures of the original South Carolina College campus, all of which was built by enslaved people, using slave made bricks. Highlighting the historical significance of these structures is a key part in preserving them. Although it is a part of history that has some serious moral issues, it is a part of history, nonetheless. Preserving it is a way to preserve the legacy of those who built it, especially when placed in conjunction with the "Slavery at South Carolina College" project.

⁴³ Marshall Swanson, "Historic Campus takes a bow in new exhibit," University Magazine Group, September 2012, <http://www.sc.edu/news/newsarticle.php?nid=4789#.Vr5glPkrIuW>.

University of Alabama-Tuscaloosa, AL

The University of Alabama (UA) was founded in Tuscaloosa, Alabama in 1831. It is the state's flagship university and is one of its oldest. Like many other schools in the south, UA was modeled after prominent institutions like the University of Virginia. Just as those schools have deep ties to slavery, so too does UA. In fact, one of the first things the university did was purchase a slave named Ben in 1828 (UA opened its doors in 1831 and dates the founding to this year, but the school was actually established in 1820). A slave named Sam was a laboratory assistant for F.A.P. Barnard, who would go on to be president of Columbia University after the Civil War. Enslaved people built many of the original buildings on campus using slave-made bricks, including the president's mansion.⁴⁴ UA was also one of the schools that allowed their students to bring their own slaves. So not only did the university own slaves and hire them out from local slave owners, personal slaves were also on campus. In fact, in 1845 the board of trustees voted to make the faculty responsible for disciplining the slaves in an attempt to limit some of the abuse by students. A diary entry from Basil Manly, who was the university president from 1837 to 1845, mentions that he 'severely' beat Sam in front of the faculty. Many of the faculty were proslavery and taught that it was the "natural order of things and a positive good."⁴⁵ Just like many of the other college institutions of its time, Alabama benefitted greatly from the labor of enslaved people.

The efforts by the University of Alabama to acknowledge the school's ties to slavery has come from faculty and students alike. While they have not gone to the lengths that schools like Brown University and the College of William and Mary have gone to, the efforts here actually

⁴⁴ Brian Leiter, "Slavery and the University of Alabama," Leiter Reports: A philosophy, May 2004, http://leiterreports.typepad.com/blog/2004/05/slavery_and_the.html.

⁴⁵ Leiter, "Slavery and the University of Alabama."

predate most of the efforts by the majority of the schools on this list. In 2004, university law professor Alfred Brophy led a campaign to have the university administration publicly apologize for the school's role in exploiting enslaved people. In March of 2004, AL.com staff reporter Jeff Amy reported that Brophy was going to present a proposal at a Faculty Senate meeting. Brophy's proposal was that the school should apologize for its "pre-Civil War ownership and use of slaves, and to consider a commission to study the history of slave use at the school and the possibility of reparations to slave descendants."⁴⁶ Brophy's proposal was approved and on April 20, 2004, the university issued a public apology to the descendants of slaves who were owned by faculty members or worked on campus. In addition to this public apology, the university also announced plans to place a marker near the graves of two slaves who were buried on campus behind the biology building. The slaves, Jack and Bosey, were owned by former university president, Basil Manly. The school also placed markers on three buildings that are believed to be slave quarters and are located behind the President's Mansion.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Jeff Amy, "Professor Wants UA Apology for Slavery," AL.com, March 16, 2004, <http://www.lawschool.com/apology.htm>.

⁴⁷ Jamon Smith, "Slavery marks University's past," tuscaloosaneews.com, April 7, 2006, <http://www.tuscaloosaneews.com/article/20060407/ua17502/60406005?p=3&tc=pg&tc=ar>

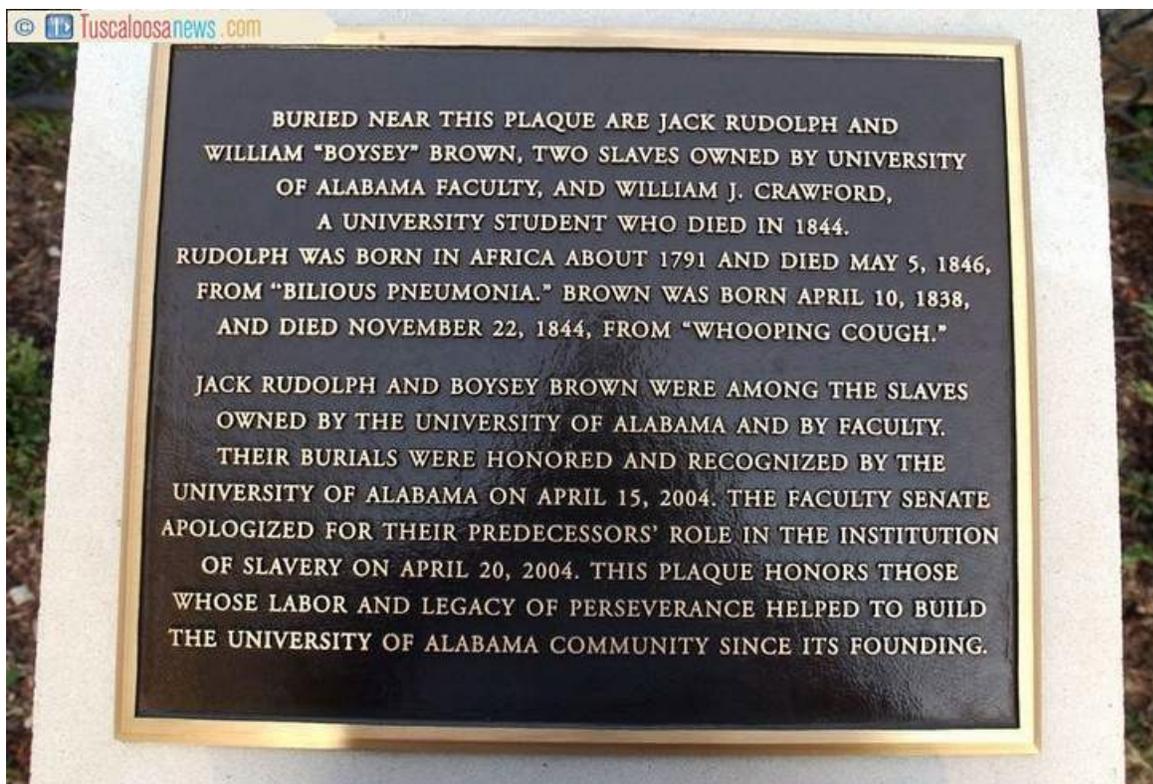


Figure 5-Marker for the graves of two slaves buried on UA campus next to the biology building (photo courtesy of tuscaloosaneews.com)

Aside from this public apology and the placement of markers, it appears the university has not done much else. However, there have been more efforts from the student body to do more to acknowledge the slaves that were on campus. In 2013, university student Benjamin Flax completed an independent study that focused on the school's ties to slavery in an effort to bring more attention to the topic.⁴⁸ That same year, a group of students proposed that the slave quarters behind the President's Mansion be made a part of university tours.⁴⁹ This appears to have been successful, as

⁴⁸ "UA student researches slavery on Tuscaloosa campus," The Associated Press, October 20, 2013,

http://www.al.com/news/tuscaloosa/index.ssf/2013/10/ua_student_researches_slavery.html.

⁴⁹ Ellen Coogan and Mark Hammontree, "Students push to see slave quarters on tours," *The Crimson White*, April 21, 2013, <http://www.cw.ua.edu/article/2013/04/students-push-to-see-slave-quarters-on-tours>.

a January 2016 article from the campus newspaper, *The Crimson White*, announced that one of the “Hallowed Grounds” tours, which would see university professor Hilary Green, give a one-hour walking tour titled “Slavery and the University. Green states that this tour will show where the slaves worked and slept. This tour was given during the month of February.⁵⁰ Referring back to the slaves buried next to the Biology building, in November of 2015, the Student Government Association Senate passed a resolution that recommended the school name the biology after the two slaves that were buried next to the building.⁵¹ So while Alabama’s public apology predates some of the more successful efforts at other schools, there is still more that can be done. It seems that much of the effort these days is coming from the students. For the moment, Alabama is one of the few schools that have actually issued a public apology from the administration, which is something that many feel is key in properly addressing the issue. Placing historical markers next to graves and having former slave quarters on campus tours are also good measures in addressing this issue.

Emory University-Atlanta, GA

Emory University was founded as Emory College in 1836 in Oxford, Georgia. In 1915, the school relocated to Atlanta, GA, where it still resides today. The campus in Oxford, became the Oxford College of Emory University. It is now a two-year residential college that focuses on the foundations of a liberal arts education. After completion of the curriculum at Oxford, students move on to the main campus in Atlanta to finish their studies. While the school was founded in

⁵⁰ Rebecca Rakowitz, “Hallowed Grounds Tour to show history of slavery at the University,” *The Crimson White*, January 30, 2016, <http://www.cw.ua.edu/article/2016/01/hallowed-grounds-tour-to-show-history-of-slavery-at-the-university>.

⁵¹ TJ Parks, “Senate recommends buildings be named in honor of slaves,” *The Crimson White*, November 16, 2015, <http://www.cw.ua.edu/blog/sgablog/2015/11/senate-recommends-buildings-be-named-in-honor-of-slaves>.

1836, classes did not begin until 1838, nearly two years later. Many of the early founders and presidents of Emory were staunch supporters of slavery. Similar to the University of Georgia, evidence of Emory's ties to slavery comes from the minutes of the Board of Trustees. One entry from 1840 shows that five slaves were hired by the board to make rails and haul them to a plantation in order to repair a fence.⁵² Like many other schools of its time, Emory did not own the slaves, but hired them from local slave owners. Students were not allowed to have their personal slaves on campus, however. The evidence of Emory's ties to slavery, appears to be minimal, but there is evidence that the school not only profited off of slavery, but promoted it as well, championing the pro-slavery ideology that was common in the antebellum South.

Emory has made some efforts to address their ties to slavery. In February 2011, the school held a conference, entitled "Slavery and the University." Representatives and scholars from thirty different schools across the country attended the conference and it ran from February 3 through February 6. Emory's Transforming Community Project, which focuses on how academic communities can effectively discuss racial issues, sponsored the conference.⁵³ In addition to holding the conference, Emory also issued a public apology for its involvement in slavery. On January 13, 2011, the university's Board of Trustees adopted a resolution that stated:

Emory acknowledges its entwinement with the institution of slavery throughout the College's early history. Emory regrets both this undeniable wrong and the University's decades of delay in acknowledging slavery's harmful legacy. As Emory University looks

⁵² Felicia Feaster, "Slavery helped build Emory; now it explores that history with "Slavery and the University," Feb 1, 2011, <http://www.artsatl.com/2011/02/slavery-helped-build-emory-now-it-explores-its-history-with-slavery-and-the-university/>.

⁵³ "Slavery and the University: Focus of Emory Conference Feb. 3-6," Emory University, February 1, 2011, <http://shared.web.emory.edu/emory/news/releases/2011/01/slavery-and-the-university-focus-of-emory-conference.html#.VubawcfwrG0>.

forward, it seeks the wisdom always to discern what is right and the courage to abide by its mission of using knowledge to serve humanity.⁵⁴ This statement, and the conference that followed in February, coincided with the university's 175th anniversary. Aside from the public apology and the conference, it appears that not much else has been done at Emory to acknowledge the school's ties to slavery. While the information on slaves that once maintained the campus is scarce, one former professor, Mark Auslander, did conduct research to document the names of some of the slaves that worked on campus. This seems to be the only other effort to tie slavery to Emory University. While issuing a public apology and holding a conference to talk about the issue is definitely a step in the right direction, there is more that can be done at Emory. Public access to this information is hard to come by. While that is partially due to the lack of information, having some sort of collection or archive of information already available would be a step in the right direction. Emory seems to have shown a high-level commitment, but the information is hard to come by.

University of Maryland-College Park, MD

The University of Maryland was founded in College Park, Maryland in 1856. The school was originally founded as the Maryland Agricultural College. Slavery was abolished in the US in 1865, so the school was only around for the waning years of slavery in the US. However, even though the school was only open for about eleven years before slavery was abolished, the school does have connections to slavery. Because there is only a short amount of time to deal with, pinning down the school's ties to slavery is a bit tricky. Several of the school's founders and early trustees were slave owners. It is not known for certain whether or not slaves built the school or if slaves

⁵⁴ Ron Sauder, "Emory declares its regret for historic involvement with slavery," Campus News, January 17, 2011, http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/stories/2011/01/campus_regret_for_historic_involvement_with_slavery.html, (accessed April 25, 2016).

even once roamed the campus. However, many scholars believe that it is highly unlikely that slave labor was not used to help build the campus. At the time, slave labor was an important part of business and construction, so it is a safe bet to assume that slaves had some role in building the campus. A large fire in 1912 wiped out much of the school's old records, so coming across documents that hold evidence of slaves on campus is hard to come by. However, Maryland is making an effort to address the school's ties to slavery. This is remarkable simply because the school only existed for about eleven years while slavery still existed and there is not much concrete evidence that slaves were on campus.

In 2009, Maryland celebrated the 150th anniversary of its opening. In conjunction with this celebration, history professor Ira Berlin and a group of students released a report detailing what is known about the university's ties to slavery. According to the report, the university was founded to push Maryland past its reliance on slave labor. While there is no damning evidence of slaves on campus, researchers are comfortable assuming that there were, based on the context of the times and based on how entrenched slave labor was to society at the time.⁵⁵ The researchers also found that at least sixteen of the original twenty-four trustees were slave owners. Berlin states it would have been near impossible to not use slaves at the time and that, "if slaves didn't lay the bricks, they made the bricks. If they didn't make the bricks, they drove the wagon that brought the bricks. If they didn't drive the wagon, they built the wagon wheels."⁵⁶ While there is not much information or evidence to go off of, at the very least, it appears that Maryland is taking steps to address the

⁵⁵ Childs Walker, "Study weighs Um's slavery link: School traces origins to slave labor, tried to push Md. Beyond it," *The Baltimore Sun*, October 10, 2009, http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2009-10-10/news/0910090150_1_slavery-agricultural-college-college-park.

⁵⁶ Jenna Johnson, "Students trace University of Maryland's Slavery ties," *The Washington Post*, October 10, 2009, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/09/AR2009100904061.html>.

school's ties to slavery. The fact that there is little to no information on the subject and that researchers are merely "assuming" slaves had a role in building the campus, yet the school is still doing something about it, speaks volumes. There are many other schools with much more damning evidence of slaves on campus that have yet to address their past in any form.

University of Virginia-Charlottesville, VA

The University of Virginia was founded in 1819 and is located in Charlottesville, Virginia. President Thomas Jefferson, then Vice President, was a major force behind the establishment of the school. Jefferson was intimately involved in the founding of UVA, even designing the campus buildings. Jefferson designed the campus so well that later schools would model themselves after UVA. The school being located in Virginia, it should come as no surprise that the school benefited from slave labor. Not only was Thomas Jefferson a slave owner himself, many of the early trustees and professors were also slave owners. Slaves built the school, hauling supplies up the James River and raising the buildings. The university spent nearly \$1000 a year on slave labor, hired out from local slave owners.⁵⁷ The university used slave labor from its inception up until slavery was abolished in 1864. They performed similar tasks to that of other slaves on college campuses. Things like working in the library, ringing the bell, maintaining classrooms and serving the daily needs of faculty and students.⁵⁸ At UVA, only faculty was allowed to bring personal slaves, the students were not. In 1826, the school even went so far as to license slaves owned and hired by the university in an effort to keep unwanted slaves and free blacks on campus. Slaves were required to wear these licenses on their person at all times and the school even started a regular slave patrol

⁵⁷ Wilder, pg. 137-138.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

in 1829.⁵⁹ The school also employed an overseer to keep watch over the slaves on campus. According to some documents, more than 100 enslaved men and women were working on campus at any given time all the way up until the Civil War. There is no doubt that slaves played an integral part in shaping UVA's campus. The school has now taken major strides in acknowledging this fact and taking steps to properly make up for it.

In 2007, the board also passed a unanimous resolution that expresses regret for the school's use of slave labor from its founding to the end of the Civil War. This differs from efforts at Brown and Alabama because at Alabama, it was the faculty that apologized and at Brown, there was not an admission of guilt, per se.⁶⁰ Then, in 2013, the University of Virginia appointed a commission to explore the school's connection to slavery. The Commission on Slavery and the University was formed by UVA President Teresa Sullivan and is comprised of twenty-seven members, made up of faculty and staff, students, alumni, and local residents. The commission was charged with "providing advice recommendations on the commemoration of the University of Virginia's historical relationship with slavery and enslaved people."⁶¹ The commission looked at the interpretation of historical buildings on campus that are related to slavery, in addition to proposing projects that would educate people about the enslaved persons on campus and commemorate their work. This came after sixty-seven unmarked graves were found next to the University cemetery. The commission was charged with six things:

⁵⁹ Brendan Wolfe, "Slavery at the University of Virginia," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, February 2, 2016, http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Slavery_at_the_University_of_Virginia, (accessed April 25, 2016).

⁶⁰ Andy Guess, "Facing up to a role in slavery," *Inside Higher Ed*, April 25, 2007, <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/04/25/uvaslavery>.

⁶¹ Anne Bromley, "U.V.A. President appoints commission on slavery and the University," *UVA Today*, September 23, 2013, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-president-appoints-commission-slavery-and-university>.

1. Investigate the interpretation of historically significant buildings/sites related to slavery at UVA (Sites identified by the Office of the Architect include the Crackerbox, McGuffey Cottage, the Mews, Pavilion VI garden, and the African American burial site adjacent to the University cemetery).
2. Discuss mutual interests with Monticello to include research and events focusing on Jefferson and slavery.
3. Promote an historical exhibition focusing on slavery at UVA.
4. Assist in interpretive/interactive media in the Rotunda Visitor's Center.
5. Propose projects (similar to the Henry Martin plaque) that would educate students, faculty, staff, and visitors about enslaved individuals who worked on Grounds.
6. Consider appropriate memorialization.

The University also created a brochure, titled "Slavery at the University of Virginia," that gives visitors to the campus information on the school's ties to slavery. In 2014, the University also offered a symposium as part of its ongoing effort to properly interpret the history of slavery at the university. In 2015, the University named a dormitory after a former slave couple that once lived on campus. The former slaves, William and Isabella Gibbons, were owned by two different professors at the University and they remained on campus after being freed. Isabella became a teacher and William became a preacher and their contemporaries considered both intelligent and literate people. Gibbons House opened in the fall of 2015, the result of a \$35 million project, complete with photos of the two former slaves and panels on life as a slave on campus. This makes UVA the only other non-historically black school to have a dorm named after a slave, besides the University of North Carolina. The commission is also working on other projects, hoping to get students and visitors to reexamine the spaces that they frequent. Panels have been placed on various buildings and locations throughout the campus and students are also developing a mobile app that gives a tour of campus and highlights these places.⁶²

⁶² Alexandra Svokos, "UVA names building for former slave couple, starts coming to terms with its history," HuffPost College, June 19, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/19/uva-gibbons-house_n_7615314.html.

The efforts by the University of Virginia are similar to those of Brown University and the University of North Carolina. Similar to Brown, the efforts at UVA have the full support of the University administration and the creation of the Commission on Slavery and the University ensures that efforts will continue to be made to properly and effectively interpret the school's past ties to slavery. Like UNC, Virginia has renamed a campus building after a former slave and is including slave spaces on campus tours. Even more so, UVA has gone as far as to place informational plaques in these buildings and on many other locations around campus. These efforts to educate the public are key in effectively dealing with the school's history of profiting off of slave labor. Rather than from the past or ignore it, UVA has followed in the footsteps of other institutions and the school has embraced its past and it has apologized for its role. Enslaved men and women shaped the campus just as much as Thomas Jefferson or anybody else and those at Virginia seem to realize that and are seeking to recognize these individuals.

CHAPTER 4

TIER 1: TOP-LEVEL SUPPORT

Several colleges and universities with ties to the institution of slavery have gone above and beyond what most schools have done to address their connections with slavery. Some of these schools were the first to actually begin the effort to acknowledge the ties between slavery and universities. The schools in this top tier have received substantial support from their respective institutions. These schools are the standard bearers for effectively acknowledging and addressing this connection. For many, it was a top-down approach, rather than a bottom-up, starting with a university president appointing a committee and spreading from there. These schools have held conferences, built websites, and some have even gone as far as to issue apologies for their connections to slavery. The schools in this tier have made the most effort to address their historical connections to slavery and have had the most success. These schools have done the most to acknowledge and address their connections with slavery. The projects at these schools have received a substantial amount of support and they have published a good amount of information.

Schools in this tier have formed committees, mandated by the university president. They have created websites, issued public apologies, changed building names, and generally have completely acknowledged their connections to slavery. Some of these schools have issued apologies, others have not, but have still made efforts to tell the story in a way that is sensitive to those descended from slaves. In particular, two schools, Brown University and the College of William & Mary, are at the forefront of this effort, being one of the first schools to really confront this topic head on and deal with it. Schools just beginning to acknowledge their connections with slavery should be looking at schools in this category as something to model their efforts after.

Brown University-Providence, RI

Brown University was founded in 1764 as ‘The College in the English Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.’ Brown is one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in the U.S. and is one of the original nine Colonial Colleges. Like the other schools in this thesis, Brown has deep ties to the institution of slavery. Some might say the ties are even deeper than others because not only did enslaved people help shape the campus, the school also profited from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Wilder focuses a great deal on Brown’s connections to slavery in his work.

In 2003, university president Ruth Simmons formed the “Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice.” This committee researched the school’s connection to slavery and produced a report. In addition to the report, they were charged with organizing public programs that would facilitate a better reflection on this information. In 2006, the committee reported their findings and in 2007, Brown endorsed a set of initiatives that were in response to the report. These initiatives included measures that called for an official revision of university history; forming a committee with local leaders from the city of Providence and the State of Rhode Island to develop ideas on how to appropriately place the history of slavery in the public historical record; and for the creation of a permanent endowment of \$10 million to establish a Fund for the Education of the Children of Providence, among other things.⁶³ In 2009, there was a report from the Commission on Memorials, which recommended that the Public Arts Committee of the University, “be asked to commission a memorial that recognizes the University’s ties to slave trading;” and that the director of the Center for Slavery and Justice (which was created as a result of the Steering Committee’s report) should

⁶³ “Brown University’s Response to the Report of the Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice,” February 2007, http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/about/response.html.

look at how this history can be represented in the curriculum at Brown and how it can be used at the K-12 level.⁶⁴ Brown University updated this response in 2011, giving reports on several of their efforts to accomplish the mandates in the previous response.

What Brown University has done is what schools with similar types of connections can do. Brown has really taken the initiative on this and they have gone above and beyond what most others are doing. The school has effectively dealt with the challenges that come with confronting this issue and they paved the way for other schools to do the same. In terms of effectively addressing a school's ties to slavery, Brown University has set the standard. Not every school has the support or funding to put forth an effort similar to Brown's, but making the effort is what matters most, because it shows a commitment to change. At the very least, making the effort shows that the school is aware of its past and wants to make up for it in some fashion. While no school can ever make up for its past, they can take steps to acknowledge it and properly preserve that legacy in a way that tells the stories of enslaved people on their campus in a way that is sensitive to everyone involved.

College of William & Mary-Williamsburg, VA

The College of William & Mary (W&M) was founded in 1693 in Williamsburg, Virginia. It is the second oldest university in the US, after Harvard, making it one of the original nine Colonial Colleges. W&M's ties to slavery are similar to that of the other colonial colleges. Not only did the school benefit from slave labor, it also benefited from the slave trade itself. W&M is unique from the other colonial colleges because it is in Virginia, a state that would later secede from the Union to join the Confederacy. That said, the idea that the school has ties to slavery is

⁶⁴ "Report of Commission on Memorials," Brown University, March 2009, http://brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/documents/memorials.pdf

something that is not surprising. Virginia was a major slaveholding colony. Like some of the other colleges in the South, slaves were a part of campus up until the Civil War. From its very inception, W&M profited from of slave labor. In fact, as Wilder points out, the school's charter "assigned a duty of a penny per pound on tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to support a president and professors."⁶⁵ At one point in time, trustees also, "excitedly received 1000£ to buy Negroes for the College Use and Service."⁶⁶ W&M was also one of the few schools that allowed its students to bring their personal slaves with them. The school also owned slaves, similar to South Carolina College, rather than hiring them out from local slave owners. Slaves helped build the campus, in addition to serving food, doing laundry, and performing other forms of menial labor and maintenance. For a long time, W&M ignored this part of their past. However, in recent years, the school has taken massive strides in acknowledging this past and telling the story of slave on its campus.

In 2009, the College of William & Mary began a project to investigate its ties to slavery. The project, titled "The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation" is named after a former slave, named Lemon, who was owned by the college. The project seeks to, "rectify wrongs perpetrated against African Americans by the College through action or inaction." This is an ongoing project that aims to "focus on contributing to and encouraging scholarship on the 300-year relationship between African Americans and the College, and building bridges between the College and Williamsburg and Greater Tidewater area."⁶⁷ The project receives its funding from the university Office of the Provost.

⁶⁵ Wilder, pg. 42-43.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ "The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation," The College of William & Mary, 2009, <http://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/index.php>.

Similar to Brown University, William & Mary started its efforts with a top-down approach by forming a steering committee, after receiving multiple resolutions from students and faculty. In fact, a Student Assembly bill from 2007 suggests that the university apologize for its past, which is something that is later done with the creation of the Lemon Project, whose founding researcher was Dr. Robert Engs. In addition to the steering committee, an advisory committee was also formed. Also, the Board of Visitors issued a resolution, which resulted in the creation of the Lemon Project.

The Lemon Project offers annual symposiums that address multiple topics regarding racial topics. There are also several informal panels offered throughout the year, in addition to event called “Let Freedom Ring,” that focuses on the stories of colonial black Virginians. The Lemon Project has a website that details all of this information as well as the information regarding W&M’s connections to slavery. There are also multiple links provided that relate to this topic. The project also helps fund several projects around campus, one that resulted in the discovery of possible slave quarters on campus in 2011.⁶⁸

W&M has taken great strides to deal with this issue and, while nothing can ever truly make up for the exploitation of slave labor by the university, efforts have been made to properly address this past. While the university has not offered an endowment or reparations to descendants of slaves owned by the university, it has made ample strides in preserving the legacy of slaves on campus in a way that properly tells the story of these slaves and does not simply white wash them or gloss over them.

⁶⁸ Daniel de Vise, “Possible slave quarters found at William and Mary,” *The Washington Post*, August 9, 2011, https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/college-inc/post/possible-slave-quarters-found-at-william-and-mary/2011/08/09/gIQAsow14I_blog.html.

University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, NC

The University of North Carolina (UNC) was founded in 1789 in Chapel Hill, North Carolina. It is one of three schools to claim the title of “oldest public university” in the US, along with the University of Georgia and the College of William and Mary. UNC was chartered in 1789, but classes were not held until 1795. As was the case with many early schools, and those located in the South, UNC’s ties to slavery run very deep. According to Wilder, by the early eighteenth-century, “North Carolinians were using slavery to fund education, and leaving money, rents and whole plantations to endow schools.”⁶⁹ Like multiple early universities in the South, UNC can trace its roots to the early colonial colleges in New England. The first president of the university’s board of trustees, Alexander Martin, was a Princeton graduate, as were many other early trustees. In fact, Princeton University president, John Witherspoon, sent his son David to assist with the founding of the college.⁷⁰ There is no doubt that slaves played a vital role in the creation of UNC. They were a part of everyday life for students, kindling fires in their rooms and cutting wood for their stoves.⁷¹ A virtual exhibit on UNC’s website details the lives of a few former slaves of the university, in addition to details on slaveholding trustees and founders.

Another article on UNC’s history details the school’s ties to slavery, stating that, “slaves played important roles in constructing the University’s first buildings.”⁷² According to some sources, about thirty of the original forty trustees of the university owned slaves and one graduate and former trustee, William Saunders, was also a founding member of the Ku Klux Klan.⁷³ A digital collection titled “Documenting the American South,” sponsored by the university and its

⁶⁹ Wilder, pg. 100

⁷⁰ Wilder, pg. 108-109.

⁷¹ “UNC-Chapel Hill opens up records about ties to slavery,” *Associated Press*, November 17, 2005, <http://diverseeducation.com/article/5105/>

⁷² “Southern Roots,” The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2014, <http://www.unc.edu/about/history-and-traditions/southern-roots/>

⁷³ *Ibid.*

library also details some accounts of slave life on campus. There is a good deal of evidence that slaves were once on campus at Chapel Hill. In recent years, the university has taken several steps to acknowledge this past, although school is still embattled in some controversy over the names of buildings and other monuments on campus.

On November 5, 2005, the University of North Carolina held a dedication ceremony on the McCorkle Place quadrangle, for the Unsung Founders memorial. The graduating class of 2002 raised about \$54,000 in order to help fund this memorial. The total cost ended up being around \$80,000 and the addition funding was provided by the provost's office. The monument (see Fig. 5 below) was meant to help counter some of the negative connotations that come from the Confederate Monuments on Campus. The monument, created by Do-Ho Suh, who is a Korean sculptor and installation artist, depicts three hundred figurines that support a large table to that bears the inscription "The Class of 2002 honors the University's unsung founders-the people of color bond and free-who helped build the Carolina that we cherish today."⁷⁴

⁷⁴ Unsung Founders Memorial, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.



Figure 6-Unsung Founders Memorial (Photo courtesy of University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill).

In addition to the Unsung Founders Memorial, there is also a grave marker in the Old Chapel Hill cemetery that is dedicated to three slaves. Oddly enough, the grave marker was once an obelisk that honored former university president Joseph Caldwell, who owned one of the slaves that the monument is currently dedicated to. Trustees commissioned a new monument for the president in 1904 and they moved this monument to its current location and dedicated it to the slaves buried there.⁷⁵ In addition to these monuments, UNC has also taken steps to digitally archive collections that detail the university's history and its connection with slavery. The website, titled "The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History," has multiple exhibits that detail

⁷⁵ "Grave marker in Old Chapel Hill Cemetery for college servants," The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University history, <http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/slavery/grave-marker-in-old-chapel-hill-cemetery-for-colle/>.

the school's history. One such exhibit, entitled "Slavery and the University," gives a brief biography of William Caldwell, a former servant of the college, whose father, November Caldwell, was owned by University president, Joseph Caldwell.⁷⁶ While this exhibit only has a few entries on slaves, it does attempt to tell the complete story of slavery at UNC, even though many of the biographies on the page are of white slave owners who served on the trustee board or were professors.

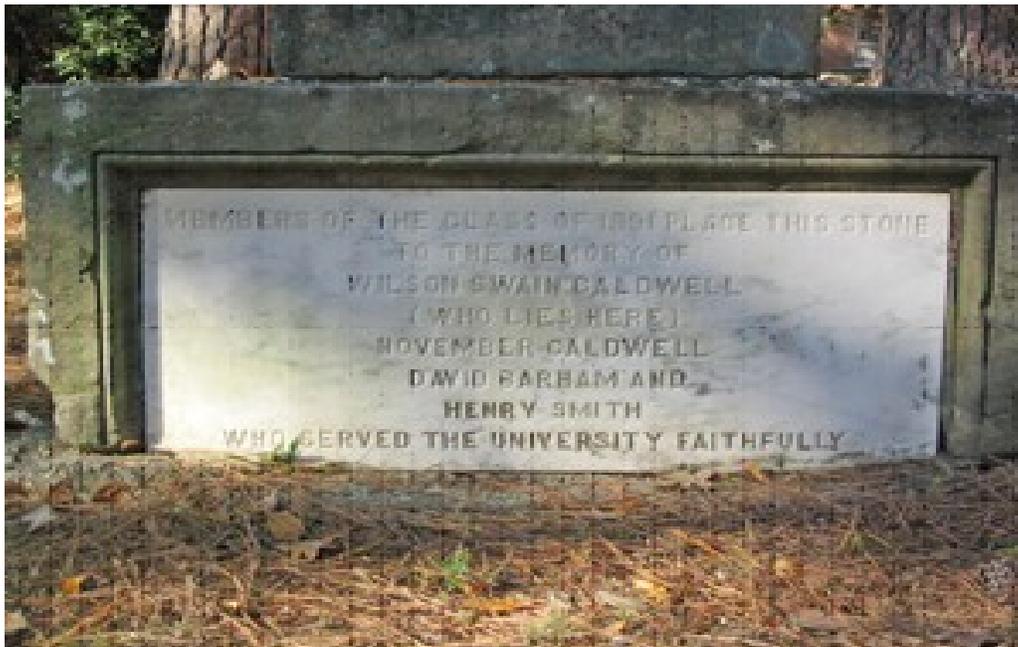


Figure 7-Grave marker for former slaves in Old Chapel Hill Cemetery (Image courtesy of The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History).

However, the school is still embattled in controversy as some of the buildings are named after slave owners and alleged white supremacists. This narrative is one that is seeing increasing discussion and campuses across the South. One such building at UNC is Saunders Hall, named after William Saunders. Saunders was an alumnus of the school and a Colonel in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. He was also the head of the Ku Klux Klan in North Carolina. The

⁷⁶ "Wilson Caldwell (1841-1898)," The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History, <http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/slavery/wilson-caldwell-1841-1898-0/>.

building was named after him in 1922, to commemorate his service to the university and the state of North Carolina. In 2014, UNC students presented a measure to the Board of Trustees to change the name of the building because of Saunders' connections to slavery and the KKK. In May 2015, the school officially renamed the building Carolina Hall. This was part of an objective adopted by the University Board of Trustees to "form a comprehensive approach to tell the University's full history...a history that represents 'the good, the bad, and the ugly.'" In addition to changing the name of Saunders Hall to Carolina Hall, the approach laid out measures to develop new curation and education initiatives and to place a sixteen year freeze on renaming buildings so that enough time can be allowed to develop the new education programs. The board also decided to install a plaque on Carolina Hall that states "We honor and remember all those who have suffered injustices at the hands of those who would deny them life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."⁷⁷ UNC also has a dorm named after a former slave, placing it in a category with the University of Virginia as the only non-historically black schools to have a building named after a former slave. The building, Horton Residence Hall, was opened in 2002 and was named after George Moses Horton in 2007. Horton was a slave poet from a nearby county and he taught himself to read and write.⁷⁸

The University also offers a "Black and Blue Tour" that covers the history and involvement of black people on campus, dating all the way back to slavery. This tour was developed by Dr. Tim McMillan in 2001 and has been an annual tour offered by the school's Visitor's Center.⁷⁹ In

⁷⁷ Gary Moss, "Trustees adopt comprehensive approach to curating and teaching campus history," *University Gazette*, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, May 28, 2015, <http://www.unc.edu/spotlight/trustees-adopt-comprehensive-approach-to-curating-and-teaching-campus-history/>.

⁷⁸ "Names across the landscape," *The Carolina Story*, <http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/names/george-moses-horton-ca-1798-1883-and-horton-reside/>.

⁷⁹ "Welcome to the Black and Blue Tour," University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2016, <http://blackandblue.web.unc.edu/>.

January 2016, university chancellor, Carol Folt, announced that faculty, staff and students will be working on a major effort to give more context to the history of race at the school, including the development of an exhibit at Carolina Hall that tells the story of race relations at the school throughout the years.

Columbia University-New York, NY

Columbia University was founded as King's College in 1754. The school is located in New York City and it is the oldest institution of higher learning in New York. It is the fifth oldest college in the country, making it one of the original nine Colonial Colleges. Like many of the other Colonial Colleges, Columbia can trace its roots to the slave trade and the school's ties to slavery run deep in the same manner as the other schools. Columbia was one of the few schools that allowed students to bring their personal slaves with them. In fact, George Washington's stepson, John Parke Custis, brought his personal slave with him when he enrolled in 1773.⁸⁰

Again, many of Columbia's founding members and early presidents were also major slave owners. Like Princeton and other schools, Columbia also recruited students from wealthy slaveholding families further south. Many of the early trustees were not only slaveholders, but slave traders as well.⁸¹ The school also received large donations from wealthy New York families who owned plantations in the West Indies and sometimes loaned those families money at interest rates that were at below market rates.⁸² Like most other schools, Columbia failed to acknowledge this past for many years. Wilder points out in a National Public Radio article about his book that early histories by schools like Columbia portrayed slaves on campus as caricatures, dehumanizing

⁸⁰ Shapiro, Columbia News.

⁸¹ Wilder, 76.

⁸² Schuessler, *New York Times*.

them and making their presence on campus unremarkable.⁸³ So the evidence that Columbia is just as tied to slavery as any other colonial college is there and although they are late to the game, Columbia is now doing something to address their connections.

According to Schuessler, Columbia's efforts began after the current university president, Lee C. Bollinger, read about Craig Wilder's *Ebony & Ivy*, which contains a good deal of information of Columbia. Wilder was invited to speak on campus and shortly after, history professor Karl Jacoby began offering a senior seminar that focused on researching Columbia's ties to slavery. This effort was spearheaded by the university president, so it seems that Columbia has taken a top-down approach to this issue. While the efforts of Columbia are not yet on the level of some of the schools in this tier and in the top tier, the university president has, at the very least, acknowledged the school's ties to slavery and has attempted to address it in some fashion. While not much else appears to have been done on Columbia's part, the seminar seems to be an ongoing course that is offered. Considering the efforts at Columbia are still in the early stages, having the university president acknowledge the school's past and spearhead an effort to research it and address is a step in the right. At the very least, Columbia is not running from its past and is making an effort to address the fact that it had a hand in the exploitation of enslaved people and benefitted from their labor for many years.

⁸³ "How slavery shaped America's oldest and most elite colleges," National Public Radio, September 17, 2013, <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/09/17/223420533/how-slavery-shaped-americas-oldest-and-most-elite-colleges>.

CHAPTER 5

CHALLENGES, PROPOSAL, AND CONCLUSION

Challenges

What kind of challenges might a school that is wishing to address their history with slavery face? First, this is a very sensitive topic. Race and slavery have always been so in this country and many, many factors go into the proper ways to address this topic. As stated in previous chapters, this connection to slavery is not just simply that a founder or president was once a slave owner. It goes much deeper than that. Enslaved men and women were on these campuses and helped shape them. They helped build the classroom buildings and dormitories. They cooked and cleaned for the students. They did maintenance and grounds keeping duties. For many schools, these enslaved people were just as much a part of student life as anything or anyone else on campus. As depicted by the monument on the University of North Carolina campus, enslaved people held these campuses up. They shaped these campuses, but because they were considered property, they received no recognition or acknowledgement for their efforts.

One of the main challenges for any university or college seeking to address their connections to slavery comes in determining to best approach it. There is the top-down approach, which starts with the chancellor or university president and usually involves a committee of some sort being formed. This is how Brown University and the College of William and Mary have approached it the issue. This is ideal because it means the project has full university support and backing. Research is more easily funded and since research is key in addressing this issue, having that research come from more than just one semester's worth of work from a class, it can be an ongoing effort that compiles and archives all of the information that is found. Another approach is the bottom-up approach. This usually involves grassroots efforts, usually coming from students

and/or faculty. Schools that use this approach may have some university support, but at the early stages, it is not likely because there is not enough evidence or scholarship on the issue. Grassroots efforts to work though, as shown by schools like Princeton. There is also the approach that falls somewhere in the middle of the top-down approach and the bottom-up approach. Schools that take this approach usually have some administrative support from the university, but it is not a lot. Much of the effort still comes from students and the faculty/staff.

For many schools, this is not a popular topic, especially in today's climate. This topic brings up questions about labor and wages of current day staff, involving labor unions. Of course, there is the fear that addressing this connection could lead to protests, reduced admission rates, and other issues related to funding and just campus climate in general. Essentially, the administrations do not want to become another Missouri, referring to the protests in 2015 that led to the ousting of university president Tim Wolfe and university chancellor R. Bowen Loftin. Shining a light on this past may bring more scrutiny than some schools are willing to take on. Calls to change building names, erect monuments, fund projects, etc., are all likely to come at some point. Things like this cost money, so as with many things in life, it is a concern for many administrations. Wilder states that, "There has been a fear that there's something lurking in the archives that will be devastating to these institutions, and that people doing this work are motivated by hostility."⁸⁴ Schuessler's article also notes that Harvard's report on the university's connections to slavery, done by students, has received no institutional response, although the project did receive personal support and financing from the university president, Drew Faust.

Money is the key concern here because money drives everything. In addition to the questions this brings up about labor and wages for current staff it also brings up a lot of other issues related to money. Many of these colleges and universities have long-standing ties with major

⁸⁴Schuessler.

families and benefactors whose ancestors were once slaveholders and anti-civil rights supporters. The schools are fearful of angering primary benefactors; so avoiding such a sensitive topic that hits close to home is something that seems reasonable.

This issue also brings to light current admission practices and campus composition because it shines a light on the current inadequacies on campus. There is no doubt that racial tensions are high on many college campuses. Taking a look at the protests at the University of Missouri last year, which stemmed from racial tensions on campus and the apparent lack of action by university administration, this is something that many administrations are fearful of having happen on their own campuses. Multiple protests on college campuses can lead to an administration being removed. Admitting that slaves helped build their college campus and were key in shaping it as it is today, while not receiving any recognition for it, just adds more fuel to the fire and has the potential to create a firestorm that most administrations just do not want to deal with. This is truth telling, at its core, and the truth is not something people always want to hear. It is a difficult topic to address, but it is one that needs to be addressed. The following proposal outlines the steps that schools can take to deal with this issue.

Proposal

This proposal is geared towards schools that are either just starting to look at their historical ties to slavery, or schools that have made a minimal effort to acknowledge their historical ties to slavery. The goal is to get the administration on board, if they are not already. Naturally, the first step in acknowledging a university's connection to slavery is to admit that there is, in fact, a connection. Many of the schools discussed in this thesis have done just that. Simply acknowledging the connection is not enough, though. Efforts need to be made to educate the public. There is debate as to whether or not a public apology is something that should be done. Those at Brown University and some other schools opted to let others decide if there should be a public apology.

Many feel that a public apology is little more than lip service at this point. However, there is also a good amount of literature that argues for apologies, noting that they promote healing, especially when the apology is something that those affected are asking for. It is the efforts to tell the stories of the slaves on campus that really show a desire to atone for the past. If a school seeking to effectively interpret its history with enslaved people is to succeed, that school needs to look at what other schools have done. Schools like Brown University, the University of North Carolina, the College of William and Mary, and the University of Virginia are top candidates for efforts they should emulate. Each school will have to approach this subject differently, as it is a delicate topic and there are many factors involved. The efforts at some of the schools discussed in this thesis have received little to no support from their respective administrations; others were spearheaded by the administration. In order to effectively interpret the school's connection to slavery, getting the administration on board is key. This means that efforts in some places will have to start as a grassroots effort, garnering support from the faculty and student body.

The key to all of this is research, though. Without evidence, it will be easy for a university administration to simply brush the suggestions aside and focus on more pressing issues. For some schools, this will prove to be a difficult task, as record keeping at some places is scarce, be it due to a fire at some point in history, or simply due to the fact that slaves were viewed as property and, therefore, not important to document. However, the goal is to find as much information as possible. This may take some time, but the information is needed in order to provide a solid proposal to university administration. The best way to start gathering information is to have student and faculty led research projects within the curriculum. Offering it as part of a class or independent study for undergraduate and graduate students is a method that many schools seem to have taken and it has produced a good amount of results. The key is to offer it in more than one semester, though, because it is a lot of research to undertake. It is unlikely that one class of 10-15 students, maybe

even less, can gather enough information on this issue in a matter of months. It is best to offer it every year, or even every semester, depending on professor availability.

There is also the issue of how to pitch a proposal and present this information. The idea is to get as many people involved as possible from multiple areas of interest. It is important to go slowly and cover all of the bases because this is a very sensitive topic. It is very easy to leave someone important out or skip over something that might not appear to be important, but is. So the best way to do that is make sure that input is coming from the right places. Getting African American student organizations involved is one way. Many schools also have African American Studies programs and getting the faculty in those programs involved is also a good step to include. Meet with the dean and other organizations to make sure everything that needs to be covered is being covered. If a website is being created for the product, it may be best to keep it private until everything is fleshed out. The class at the University of Georgia did this, as have others. The goal is to be clear and hold nothing back, while being sensitive to those that may be affected by this information, specifically the ancestors of the slaves that were on campus, if there are any. Getting the university administration on board is key in all of this. In order to do that, the evidence must be clear and concise. The benefits of addressing this issue must also be addressed. If there are groups talking about this and they want something done about it, the university administration is more likely to pay attention when presented with the issue. Using what other schools have done as an example is also a good way to show that there are benefits to addressing this issue.

While an apology may not be necessary, it is an option to consider. In addition to this, the real goal is to tell the story of slavery at these schools in a way that educates visitors and effectively tells the story of the school's ties to slavery. Steering committees like the ones at Brown and William & Mary are ideal, because it gets the university administration on board, but they are not always necessary. Another key aspect of any effort to address a school's ties to slavery involves

digital collections. This allows for more information to reach a wider audience. Several of the schools discussed in this thesis have websites that are available for the public to view. These digital collections provide a wide array of information and it is easily accessible for most people. Easy access is important when attempting to have education programs that discuss such a delicate. Including these stories on campus tours, similar to the University of Alabama, UNC, and other schools, is also a good idea to look into for some schools. While some may fear that this could drive away potential students, it is likely that just the opposite will occur. Including these sites on campus tours shows that the school is embracing their past and attempting to educate people in a way that properly interprets the stories of these enslaved individuals. There are multiple ways for a school to acknowledge its connection to slavery, but the key is in the research and the interpretation. Without the interpretation, the research is just a collection of boring information. Proper interpretation shows that an effort is being made to, at the very least, attempt to tell these stories in a way that educates and benefits everyone involved.

Conclusion

This is a unique preservation issue because it deals more with the intangible aspects of preservation. While preserving buildings and structures that were built by slaves is important, there is more to the story that needs to be told. The University of South Carolina is a prime example. The efforts of Dr. Robert Weyeneth and the graduate students behind the “Slavery at South Carolina College” project were key in helping to raise the funds to restore damaged portions of the historic Horseshoe. The focus of efforts like this are about the historical significance of these buildings and structures. By telling the stories of the slaves that helped shape the campus, the questions of “Why is this building important? Why is it worth being saved?” can be answered. It presents a new and different argument for dealing with the significance of the historic structures and landscapes that make up some of today’s college campuses. Interpretation is a key aspect of preservation issues,

especially on historic sites. These old college campuses that still remain are more than just historic buildings, they are historic landscapes and historic sites. While much has changed on these campuses over the years, fortunately for many of these schools, old buildings and structures that were built by slaves still exist.

For schools like the University of North Carolina, the effort lies in renaming buildings in honor of enslaved people once on campus. While the buildings may be new, the names on the building are not. These names have a story behind them and there is a concerted effort to tell the stories of these individuals. The Unsung Founders Memorial at UNC speaks volumes simply in its design. The image of the tiny figurines holding up the massive slab is symbolic of how the slaves were key in shaping the campus, yet were considered insignificant contributors for many years. Placing plaques, markers, and memorials at sites are also an effective interpretation strategy. These are physical markers that give a tangible aspect to a site. Historic Preservation is not just about saving old buildings and sites. It is also about interpreting the history of these buildings and sites and presenting in a way that the public can be educated. The digital collections and websites that some of these schools have created are a perfect example of how the information can be preserved for generations to come.

This thesis analyzes the efforts that several colleges and universities have made to address and acknowledge their respective ties to the institution of slavery. Many of the Ivy League institutions and colonial colleges were founded by slaveholders and slave traders, as were multiple institutions founded as the United States began to spread as a country. As Wilder points out in *Ebony & Ivy*, these institutions of higher learning were just one more pillar of society that profited off of the backs of slaves. Schools in both northern and southern states have begun to address this topic, as this thesis shows. Each of these schools were placed into a category based on the amount of work they have done in regards to this issue.

Most schools take one of three approaches to dealing with this issue. There is the top-down approach, which is usually spearheaded by a university president and involves a steering committee of some sort. Another approach is more of a grassroots effort and is a bottom-up approach. Students and/or faculty and staff are leading the effort and there is some support by the administration, maybe even a bit of acknowledgement by the administration, but for the most part, the grassroots approaches are in the early stages and have not reached the administration yet. Finally, there is a middle ground approach, which combines some university support with efforts by students and/or faculty and staff. Again, the students and faculty are doing much of the legwork, but the university administration has supported the work. Much of the product is the result of an independent study or course led by a professor.

As stated before, the bodies of work on this issue are ever changing. More and more schools are beginning to look at their own historical connections to slavery. This thesis is merely a pause button, looking at what has been done as of this writing. The schools talked about in this thesis were classified based on the amount of effort that has been undertaken and based on how much support the university has given. At the lowest level, there is little to no support by the university administration. There is evidence that slaves helped shape the campus, but there is not much of an effort to research the issue or even discuss it. At the middle level, there is university support, sometimes in the form of an apology or the offering of a course that deals with the issue. For the most part, the schools at the middle level have produced a bit more work than the schools receiving little to no support. Several of these schools, like South Carolina, have created websites that serve as a digital archive of the information that was discovered. Some of the schools have gone as far as to issue public apologies and have placed historic markers on campus where slaves once lived. Lastly, there are the schools that have received a good deal of support from the university administration. Schools like Brown University and William and Mary have done a fair amount of

work on this subject, in regards to their school. They have created steering committees, issued directives, and have promoted more education and scholarship initiatives regarding this subject. These schools have also created websites to serve as digital archives for the information collected. While some of these schools offered courses, much of the research and effort came from multiple places and were not just the result of a few semesters worth of undergraduate and graduate research. A real effort has been made by these schools to deal with their unsavory histories.

By looking at the efforts already underway by these schools, other schools seeking to do the same have a blueprint, of sorts, to go off of. What worked? What did not work? Was there an apology? While apologizing for the past is not always necessary, simply acknowledging that past goes a long way in showing that a school is embracing its past, especially when it comes with other efforts to make reparations or similar commitments. Success is a relative term, especially when it comes to a topic such as this. It will depend on a variety of factors, such as: available resources (in terms of evidence connecting the school to slavery), institutional support, community support, and a variety of other factors. While overall success may be different in each situation, one common factor is institutional support. Efforts to apologize and acknowledge historical injustices on an institutional level mean a lot more when it comes from the institution itself. Not only does it usually mean there is more funding for research and other efforts dealing with this issue, it also shows that the institution is aware of its history and is not ignoring it. Schools like Brown and William and Mary, whose efforts have been driven by the university itself, have made remarkable steps in regards to this issue. While the directive does not always need to come from the top, it helps to get them on board. Success also depends on if the affected community is willing to get involved and accept the public apology, if there is one. For schools really seeking to make an effort, getting the African American community involved is key, especially if there are descendants of former slaves still around. Another key to success is making sure that the information gathered is available and

easily accessible for those who wish to see it. Placing the relevant information out there for all to see, especially on a university website, goes a long way in acknowledging the school's historical ties to slavery.

For these schools, having a historical connection to slavery may not be something to be proud of, but it is a part of history and cannot be ignored. What can be done, however, is to properly tell the stories of these enslaved individuals that shaped so many college campuses early in American history. That is what is being done at many of these schools today. This is an important issue because it brings to light so many other things that are happening on college campuses today. It brings up questions about current labor practices and admission practices, in addition to bringing up issues about money. It is a sensitive topic; no doubt, because there are so many issues involved in dealing with it. Money is a driving factor on college campuses today and there is a fear that bringing the fact that slaves shaped a college campus can cause protests and bring about reduced funding and admissions. However, preserving this history in a way that effectively tells the entire story is key in preserving the past while moving forward in race relations today.

REFERENCES

- America, Richard F., ed., *The Wealth of Races: The Present Value of Benefits from Past Injustices*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Amy, Jeff. "Professor Wants UA Apology for Slavery," AL.com, March 16, 2004.
<http://www.lawschool.com/apology.htm>.
- Amditis, Joseph. "Slavery & Academia: A troubled history of Rutgers University." January 2014. <http://www.muckgers.com/2014/01/slavery-academia-a-troubled-history-of-rutgers-university/>.
- Auslander, Mark. "The Other Side of Paradise: Glimpsing Slavery in the University's Utopian Landscapes." *Southern Spaces*. May 2010.
- Baldwin, Ebenezer. *Annals of Yale College in New Haven, Connecticut, from Its Foundation, to the Year 1831*. New Haven: Hezekiah Howe, 1831.
- Ball, Edward. *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998.
- Bergen, Jeremy M. *Ecclesial Repentance: The Churches Confront Their Sinful Pasts*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011.
- "Brown University's Response to the Report of the Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice." February 2007. http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/about/response.html
- Bromley, Anne. "U.VA. President appoints commission on slavery and the University," UVA Today, September 23, 2013, <https://news.virginia.edu/content/uva-president-appoints-commission-slavery-and-university>.
- Bruce, Phillip Alexander. *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1920, II.

Childs, Francis L. "A Dartmouth History Lesson for Freshman." *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*.
December 1957.

http://www.dartmouth.edu/~library/rauner/dartmouth/dartmouth_history.html?mswitch-redir=classic.

Clap, Thomas. *The Annals or History of Yale-College, in New-Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut, from the First Founding thereof, in the Year 1700, to the Year 1766: with an Appendix, Containing the Present State of the College, the Method of Instruction and Government, with the Officers, Benefactors, and Graduates*. New Haven: John Hotchkiss and B. Mecom, 1766.

Clarke, Max and Gary Alan Fine. "'A' for Apology: Slavery and the Discourse of Remonstrance in Two American Universities." *History & Memory*, no. 1. 2010.

Come, Robert Donald. "The Influence of Princeton on Higher Education in the South before 1825." *William and Mary Quarterly*. October 1945.

Coogan, Ellen and Mark Hammontree, "Students push to see slave quarters on tours." *The Crimson White*. April 21, 2013. <http://www.cw.ua.edu/article/2013/04/students-push-to-see-slave-quarters-on-tours>.

Coulter, E. Merton. *College Life in the Old South*. University of Georgia Press. Athens, GA. 1928.

De Vise, Daniel. "Possible slave quarters found at William and Mary." *The Washington Post*. August 9, 2011. https://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/college-inc/post/possible-slave-quarters-found-at-william-and-mary/2011/08/09/gIQAsoWl4I_blog.html.

- Donnan, Elizabeth, ed. *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America*. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1930-35, III.
- Dyer, Thomas G. *The University of Georgia: A Bicentennial History, 1785-1985*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985.
- Duazo, Catherine. "Seminar explores U.'s little-known connection to slavery." *The Daily Princetonian*. October 15, 2013. <http://dailyprincetonian.com/news/2013/10/seminar-explores-u-s-little-known-connection-to-slavery/>.
- DuBois, W.E.B. *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America 1638-1870*. New York: Longmans, Green, 1904.
- Echols, Hannah. "Before Holmes and Hunter: Students look at UGA's history of segregation and slavery." *The Red & Black*, March 1, 2016.
- Edwards, Richard. "Letter to the Editor. *The Daily Targum*. November 2015. <http://www.dailytargum.com/article/2015/11/u-history-committee-on-disenfranchised-enslaved-pop>.
- Feaster, Felicia. "Slavery helped build Emory; now it explores that history with "Slavery and the University.'" Feb 1, 2011. <http://www.artsatl.com/2011/02/slavery-helped-build-emory-now-it-explores-its-history-with-slavery-and-the-university/>.
- Foote, Thelma Wills. *Black and White Manhattan: The History of Racial Formation in Colonial New York*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Haley, Alex. *Roots*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976.
- General Catalogue of Dartmouth College and the Associated Schools, 1769-1900, Including a Historical Sketch of the College Prepared by Marvin Davis Bisbee, the Librarian*. Hanover, NH: For the College, 1900.

“Grave marker in Old Chapel Hill Cemetery for college servants.” The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University history. <http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/slavery/grave-marker-in-old-chapel-hill-cemetery-for-colle/>.

Greene, Lorenzo J. “Slaveholding New England and Its Awakening.” *Journal of Negro History*. October 1928.

Guess, Andy. “Facing up to a role in slavery.” Inside Higher Ed. April 25, 2007. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2007/04/25/uvaslavery>.

Gutman, Herbert G. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750-1925*. New York: Vintage, 1976.

Handlin, Oscar and Mary. “Origins of the Southern Labor System.” *William and Mary Quarterly*. April 1950.

Harris, Leslie M. *In the Shadows of Slavery: African Americans in New York City, 1626-1863*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Harvard University Quinquennial Catalogue of the Officers and Graduates, 1636-1920. Cambridge, MA: By the University, 1930.

“How slavery shaped America’s oldest and most elite colleges.” National Public Radio. September 17, 2013, <http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2013/09/17/223420533/how-slavery-shaped-americas-oldest-and-most-elite-colleges>.

Hull, A.L. *The Annals of Athens*. Athens: Athens Banner job office. 1906.

Johnson, Jenna. “Students trace University of Maryland’s Slavery ties.” *The Washington Post*. October 10, 2009. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/10/09/AR2009100904061.html>.

King, Deborah K. "Still Embattled, Yet Emboldened: Contesting Black Female Embodiments."

Black Womanhood Symposium. 12 April 2008. Hood Museum. Dartmouth College.

Leiter, Brian. "Slavery and the University of Alabama." *Leiter Reports: A philosophy*. May

2004. http://leiterreports.typepad.com/blog/2004/05/slavery_and_the.html.

Lepore, Jill. *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century*

Manhattan. New York: Knopf, 2005.

"Lest We Forget: The Dartmouth Slavery Project."

<https://dartmouthslaveryproject.wordpress.com>.

MacLachlan, Alice. "The State of "Sorry": Official Apologies and their Absence." *Journal of*

Human Rights 9, no. 3, 2010.

Marrus, Michael R. and Munk Centre for International Studies. *Official Apologies and the Quest*

for Historical Justice, No. 3. Toronto: Munk Centre for International Studies, 2006.

McManus, Edgar J. *Black Bondage in the North*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press,

1973.

Minutes of the University of Georgia Board of Trustees, 1835-1857. Hargrett Rare Books and

Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

Moss, Gary "Trustees adopt comprehensive approach to curating and teaching campus history."

University Gazette. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. May 28, 2015.

<http://www.unc.edu/spotlight/trustees-adopt-comprehensive-approach-to-curating-and-teaching-campus-history/>.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. "The History of Harvard College." in *The History and Traditions of*

Harvard College. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Crimson, 1936.

- *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936, I.
- Murphy, Michael. "Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation." *Human Rights Review*, 12.1. 2011.
- "Names across the landscape." The Carolina Story.
<http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/names/george-moses-horton-ca-1798-1883-and-horton-reside/>.
- Nusbaum, Dan. "The Hand." *Mount Magazine*. Fall 2000.
http://msmary.edu/alumni/alumni_news/mount-magazine/pdfs/Mount-Magazine-Fall-2000-Ghost-Stories.pdf.
- Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: Vintage, 1983.
- "Our History." Mount St. Mary's University. 2011. <http://msmary.edu/about-the-Mount/our-history/>.
- Parks, TJ. "Senate recommends buildings be named in honor of slaves." *The Crimson White*. November 16, 2015. <http://www.cw.ua.edu/blog/sgablog/2015/11/senate-recommends-buildings-be-named-in-honor-of-slaves>.
- Pierce, Benjamin. *A History of Harvard University, from Its Foundation, in the Year 1636, to the Period of the American Revolution*. Cambridge, MA: Brown, Shattuck, 1833.
- Rakowitz, Rebecca. "Hallowed Grounds Tour to show history of slavery at the University." *The Crimson White*. January 30, 2016. <http://www.cw.ua.edu/article/2016/01/hallowed-grounds-tour-to-show-history-of-slavery-at-the-university>.
- Rawley, James A. and Stephen A. Behrendt. *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A History*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Renteln, Alison Dundes. "Apologies: A Cross-cultural Analysis." *The Age of Apology: Facing Up to the Past*, 2008.

"Report of Commission on Memorials." Brown University. March 2009.

http://brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/documents/memorials.pdf.

Roark, James L. *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction*.

New York: Norton, 1977.

Robinson, Randall. *The Debt: What America Owes to Blacks*. New York, NY: Dutton, 2000.

Rosen, Jeffrey. "The Social Police." *The New Yorker*, 20& 27 October 1997.

Sauder, Ron. "Emory declares its regret for historic involvement with slavery." *Campus News*.

January 17, 2011.

http://www.emory.edu/EMORY_REPORT/stories/2011/01/campus_regret_for_historic_involvement_with_slavery.html.

Schuessler, Jennifer. "Dirty Antebellum Secrets in Ivory Towers: 'Ebony and Ivy,' About How Slavery Helped Universities Grow." *New York Times*. October 18, 2013.

http://www.nytimes.com/2013/10/19/books/ebony-and-ivy-about-how-slavery-helped-universities-grow.html?_r=0.

Shapiro, Gary. "Ebony and Ivy: Slavery's Role at Early U.S. Universities, Including Our Own."

Columbia News. April 16, 2014. <http://news.columbia.edu/content/ebony-and-ivy-slaverys-role-early-us-universities-including-our-own>.

Sibley, John Langdon. *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Harvard University*, in

Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1881. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1996, IV.

“Slavery and the University: Focus of Emory Conference Feb. 3-6.” Emory University. February 1, 2011. <http://shared.web.emory.edu/emory/news/releases/2011/01/slavery-and-the-university-focus-of-emory-conference.html#.VubawcfwrG0>.

Smith, Jamon. “Slavery marks University’s past.” tuscaloosaneews.com. April 7, 2006. <http://www.tuscaloosaneews.com/article/20060407/ua17502/60406005?p=3&tc=pg&tc=ar>.

Snider, William D. *Light on the Hill: A History of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992.

“Southern Roots.” The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 2014. <http://www.unc.edu/about/history-and-traditions/southern-roots/>.

Stampp, Kenneth M. *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Vintage, 1956.

Svokos, Alexandra. “UVA names building for former slave couple, starts coming to terms with its history.” HuffPost College. June 19, 2015. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2015/06/19/uva-gibbons-house_n_7615314.html.

Swanson, Marshall. “Historic Campus takes a bow in new exhibit.” University Magazine Group. September 2012. <http://www.sc.edu/news/newsarticle.php?nid=4789#.Vr5glPkrIuW>.

Tewksbury, Donald G. *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, 1932.

Thomas, Hugh. *The Slave Trade: The Story of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440-1870*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997.

“UA student researches slavery on Tuscaloosa campus.” *The Associated Press*. October 20, 2013.

http://www.al.com/news/tuscaloosa/index.ssf/2013/10/ua_student_researches_slavery.html.

“UNC-Chapel Hill opens up records about ties to slavery.” *Associated Press*. November 17, 2005. <http://diverseeducation.com/article/5105/>.

Unsung Founders Memorial, University of North Carolina Chapel Hill.

Walker, Childs. “Study weighs Um’s slavery link: School traces origins to slave labor, tried to push Md. Beyond it.” *The Baltimore Sun*. October 10, 2009.

http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2009-10-10/news/0910090150_1_slavery-agricultural-college-college-park.

Weeden, William B. *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789*. New York: Hillary House, 1963, I.

Weeks, Linton. “Be True to Your Ghoul.” *The Washington Post*. October 30, 2002.

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2002/10/30/AR2005033107081.html>.

“Welcome to the Black and Blue Tour.” University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. 2016.

<http://blackandblue.web.unc.edu/>.

Whitehead, John S. *The Separation of College and State: Columbia, Dartmouth, Harvard, and Yale, 1776-1876*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973.

“Wilson Caldwell (1841-1898).” *The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History*.

<http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/slavery/wilson-caldwell-1841-1898-0/>.

Wolfe, Brendan. "Slavery at the University of Virginia." *Encyclopedia Virginia*. February 2, 2016. http://www.encyclopediavirginia.org/Slavery_at_the_University_of_Virginia.

APPENDIX A

LIST OF SLAVERY AND UNIVERSITY WEBSITES

Brown University

--“Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice.”

http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/.

College of William and Mary

--“The Lemon Project: A Journey of Reconciliation.” <http://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject/>

Dartmouth College

--“Lest We Forget: Dartmouth Slavery Project.” <https://dartmouthslaveryproject.wordpress.com>.

Harvard University

--“Harvard and Slavery: Seeking a Forgotten History.” <http://www.harvardandslavery.com>.

University of North Carolina

--“The Carolina Story: A Virtual Museum of University History.”

<http://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/slavery/>.

The University of South Carolina

--“Slavery at South Carolina College, 1801-1865: The Foundations of the University of South Carolina.” <http://library.sc.edu/digital/slaveryscc/index.html>.

University of Virginia

--“Presidents Commission on Slavery and the University.” <http://slavery.virginia.edu>.

Yale University

--“Yale, Slavery, & Abolition: Yale University and its legacy.” <http://www.yaleslavery.org>.

APPENDIX B

METHODOLOGY SAMPLE: LIST OF COLLEGES FOUNDED BEFORE 1865

Institution	Location	Date founded
Central Connecticut State University	New Britain, CT	1849
Hartford Seminary	Hartford, CT	1833
Trinity College	Hartford, CT	1823
Wesleyan University	Middletown, CT	1831
Collegiate School/Yale	New Haven, CT	1701/1718
Bangor Theological Seminary	Bangor, ME	1814
Bates College	Lewiston, ME	1855
Bowdoin College	Brunswick, ME	1794
Colby College	Waterville, ME	1813
Amherst College	Amherst, MA	1821
Becker College	Worcester, MA	1784
Boston University	Boston, MA	1839
Bridgewater State University	Bridgewater, MA	1840
College of the Holy Cross	Worcester, MA	1843
Framingham State University	Framingham, MA	1839
Harvard University	Cambridge, MA	1636
Lasell College	Newton, MA	1851
MCPHS University	Boston, MA	1823
Mount Holyoke College	South Hadley, MA	1837
Nichols College	Dudley, MA	1815
Salem State University	Salem, MA	1854
Tufts University	Medford, MA	1852
Westfield State University	Westfield, MA	1838
Wheaton College	Norton, MA	1834
Williams College	Williamstown, MA	1793
Colby-Sawyer College	New London, NH	1837
Dartmouth College	Hanover, NH	1769
Kean University	Union, NJ	1855
Rutgers	New Brunswick, NJ	1766
The College of NJ	Ewing Township, NJ	1855
William Paterson University	Wayne, NJ	1855
Princeton University	Princeton, NJ	1746
Seton Hall University	South Orange, NJ	1856
New Brunswick Theological Seminary	New Brunswick, NJ	1784
Princeton Theological Seminary	Princeton, NJ	1812
SUNY Downstate Medical Center	NYC, NY	1858

SUNY University at Albany	Albany, NY	1844
SUNY University at Buffalo	Buffalo, NY	1846
SUNY Upstate Medical University	Syracuse, NY	1834
SUNY New Paltz	New Paltz, NY	1828
SUNY Potsdam	Potsdam, NY	1816
SUNY Fredonia	Fredonia, NY	1826
CUNY The City College	Manhattan, NY	1847
West Point (USMA)	West Point, NY	1802
Alfred University	Village of Alfred, NY	1836
Cazenovia College	Cazenovia, NY	1824
Colgate University	Hamilton Village, NY	1819
College of Mount Saint Vincent	Bronx, NY	1847
Columbia (King's College)	NYC, NY	1754
Elmira College	Elmira, NY	1855
Fordham University (St. John's College)	NYC, NY	1841
Hamilton College	Clinton, NY	1793
Hartwick College	Oneonta, NY	1797
Hobart and William Smith Colleges (Geneva Academy)	Geneva, NY	1822
Manhattan College	Bronx, NY	1853
Manhattanville College	Purchase, NY	1841
NYU	NYC, NY	1831
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute	Troy, NY	1824
Rochester Institute of Technology	Henrietta, NY	1829
St. Lawrence University	Canton, NY	1856
University of Rochester	Rochester, NY	1850
Union College	Schenectady, NY	1795
Albright College	Reading, PA	1856
Allegheny College	Meadville, PA	1815
Bucknell University	Lewisburg, PA	1846
Dickinson College	Carlisle, PA	1773
Franklin & Marshall College	Lancaster, PA	1787
Geneva College	Beaver Falls, PA	1848
Gettysburg College	Gettysburg, PA	1832
Haverford College	Haverford, PA	1833
Lafayette College	Easton, PA	1826
Lycoming College	Williamsport, PA	1812
Moravian College	Bethlehem, PA	1742
Mount Aloysius College	Cresson, PA	1853
Muhlenberg College	Allentown, PA	1848

Saint Vincent College	Latrobe, PA	1846
Susquehanna University	Selinsgrove, PA	1858
Washington & Jefferson College	Washington, PA	1781
Westminster College	New Wilmington, PA	1852
York College of PA	Spring Garden Township, PA	1787
Moore College of Art & Design	Philadelphia, PA	1848
PA Academy of the Fine Arts	Philadelphia, PA	1805
Arcaia University	Glenside, PA	1853
La Salle University	Philadelphia, PA	1863
Upenn	Philadelphia, PA	1740
St. Francis University	Loretto, PA	1847
St. Joseph's University	Philadelphia, PA	1851
University of the Sciences	Philadelphia, PA	1821
Thomas Jefferson University	Philadelphia, PA	1825
Villanova University	Philadelphia, PA	1842
Waynesburg University	Waynesburg, PA	1849
Widener University	Chester, PA	1821
Lancaster Theological College	Lancaster, PA	1825
Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg	Gettysburg, PA	1826
Pittsburgh Theological Seminary	Pittsburgh, PA	1794
Reformed Presbyterian Theological Seminary	Pittsburgh, PA	1810
St. Charles Borromeo Seminary	Lower Merion Township, PA	1832
Bloomberg University of Pennsylvania	Bloomsburg, PA	1839
California University of PA	California, PA	1852
Cheyney UofPA	Cheyney, PA	1837
Edinboro University	Edinboro, PA	1857
Mansfield UofPA	Mansfield, PA	1857
Millersville University	Millersville, PA	1855
Penn State	University Park, PA	1855
Pitt	Pittsburgh, PA	1787
Penn State-Dickinson Law	Carlisle, PA	1834
Brown University	Providence, RI	1764
Bryant University	Smithfield, RI	1863
Rhode Island College	Providence, RI	1854
Castleton State College	Castleton, VT	1787
Green Mountain College	Poultney, VT	1834
Johnson State College	Johnson, VT	1828
Middlebury College	Middlebury, VT	1800

Norwich University	Northfield, VT	1819
University of Vermont	Burlington, VT	1791
VT College of Fine Arts	Montpelier, VT	1831
Illinois State University	Normal, IL	1857
Augustana College	Rock Island, IL	1860
Blackburn College	Carlinville, IL	1837
Eureka College	Eureka, IL	1855
Illinois College	Jacksonville, IL	1829
Knox College	Galesburg, IL	1837
Lake Forest College	Lake Forest, IL	1857
MacMurray College	Jacksonville, IL	1846
Monmouth College	Monmouth, IL	1853
North Central College	Naperville, IL	1861
Shimer College	Chicago, IL	1853
Wheaton College	Wheaton, IL	1860
Illinois Wesleyan University	Bloomington, IL	1850
McKendree University	Lebanon, IL	1828
Northwestern	Evanston, IL	1851
Quincy University	Quincy, IL	1860
Rockford University	Rockford, IL	1847
St. Xavier University	Chicago, IL	1846
Butler University	Indianapolis, IN	1855
Concordia Theological Seminary	Fort Wayne, IN	1846
DePauw University	Greencastle, IN	1837
Earlham College	Richmond, IN	1847
Franklin College	Franklin, IN	1834
Hanover College	Hanover, IN	1827
Indiana University-Bloomington	Bloomington, IN	1820
Manchester University	North Manchester, IN	1860
Marian University	Indianapolis, IN	1851
Saint Mary's College	Notre Dame, IN	1844
Saint Meinrad Seminary	St. Meinrad, IN	1857
Taylor University	Upland, IN	1846
University of Evansville	Evansville, IN	1854
Notre Dame	Notre Dame, IN	1842
Valparaiso University	Valparaiso, IN	1859
Vincennes University	Vincennes, IN	1801
Wabash College	Crawfordsville, IN	1832
Central College	Pella, IA	1853
Clarke University	Dubuque, IA	1843

Coe College	Cedar Rapids, IA	1851
Cornell College	Mount Vernon, IA	1853
Grinnell College	Grinnell, IA	1846
Iowa State	Ames, IA	1858
Iowa Wesleyan College	Mount Pleasant, IA	1842
Luther College	Decorah, IA	1861
University of Dubuque	Dubuque, IA	1852
University of Iowa	Iowa City, IA	1847
Upper Iowa University	Fayette, IA	1857
Wartburg College	Waverly, IA	1852
Wartburg Theological Seminary	Dubuque, IA	1854
Baker University	Baldwin City, IA	1858
Emporia State University	Emporia, KS	1863
Kansas State	Manhatta, KS	1863
Highland Community College (University)	Highland, KS	1858
Adrian College	Adrian, MI	1859
Albion College	Albion, MI	1835
Eastern Michigan University	Ypsilanti, MI	1849
Hillsdale College	Hillsdale, MI	1844
Kalamazoo College	Kalamazoo, MI	1833
Michigan State	East Lansing, MI	1855
Olivet College	Olivet, MI	1844
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, MI	1817
Hamline University	St. Paul, MN	1854
St. John's University	Collegeville, MN	1857
University of Minnesota	Minneapolis, MN	1851
Winona State University	Winona, MN	1858
University of Missouri	Columbia, MO	1839
Harris-Stowe State University	St. Louis, MO	1857
Central Methodist University	Fayette, MO	1854
Columbia College	Columbia, MO	1851
Culver-Stockton College	Canton, MO	1853
Hannibal-LaGrange University	Hannibal, MO	1858
Lindenwood University	St. Charles, MO	1827
Saint Louis University	St. Louis, MO	1818
Stephens College	Columbia, MO	1833
Washington University in St. Louis	St. Louis, MO	1853
William Jewell College	Liberty, MO	1849
Concordia Seminary	Clayton, MO	1839

University of Cincinnati	Cincinnati, OH	1819
Miami University	Oxford, OH	1809
Ohio University	Athens, OH	1804
Denison University	Granville, OH	1831
Kenyon College	Gambier, OH	1824
Oberlin College	Oberlin, OH	1833
Ohio Wesleyan University	Delaware, OH	1842
Antioch College	Yellow Springs, OH	1850
Lake Erie College	Painesville, OH	1856
Marietta College	Marietta, OH	1835
Baldwin Wallace University	Berea, OH	1845
Heidelberg University	Tiffin, OH	1850
Hiram College	Hiram, OH	1850
University of Mount Union	Alliance, OH	1846
Urbana University	Urbana, OH	1850
Wilberforce University	Wilberforce, OH	1856
Wittenburg University	Springfield, OH	1845
Capital University	Columbus, OH	1830
Otterbein University	Westerville, OH	1847
Muskingum University	New Concord, OH	1827
University of Dayton	Dayton, OH	1850
Xavier University	Cincinnati, OH	1831
Augustana College	Sioux Falls, SD	1860
Sioux Falls Seminary	Sioux Falls, SD	1858
University of South Dakota	Vermillion, SD	1862
Beloit College	Beloit, WI	1846
Bryant & Stratton College	Milwaukee/Wauwatosa, WI	1854
Carroll University	Waukesha, WI	1846
Carthage College	Kenosha, WI	1847
Lakeland College	Plymouth, WI	1862
Lawrence University	Appleton, WI	1847
Nashotah House	Nashotah, WI	1842
Ripon College	Ripon, WI	1851
University of Wisconsin	Madison, WI	1848
Athens State University	Athens, AL	1843
Auburn University	Auburn, AL	1856
Birmingham Southern College	Birmingham, AL	1856
Huntingdon College	Montgomery, AL	1854
Judson College	Marion, AL	1838
Marion Military Institute	Marion, AL	1842

Samford University	Birmingham, AL	1841
Spring Hill College	Mobile, AL	1830
University of Alabama	Tuscaloosa, AL	1831
University of North Alabama	Florence, AL	1830
University of West Alabama	Livingston, AL	1835
University of the Ozarks	Clarksville, AR	1834
University of Delaware	Newark, DE	1833
Florida State	Tallahassee, FL	1851
University of Florida	Gainesville, FL	1853
UGA	Athens, GA	1785
Georgia Regents University	Augusta, GA	1828
Gordon State College	Barnesville, GA	1852
Emory University	Druid Hills, GA (Atlanta)	1836
Mercer University	Macon, GA	1833
Ogelthorpe University	Brookhaven, GA (Atlanta)	1835
Wesleyan College	Macon, GA	1839
Andrew College	Cuthbert, GA	1854
Columbia Theological Seminary	Decatur, GA	1828
LaGrange College	LaGrange, GA	1831
University of Louisville	Louisville, KY	1798
Berea College	Berea, KY	1855
Centre College	Danville, KY	1819
Georgetown College	Georgetown, KY	1829
Kentucky Wesleyan College	Owensboro, KY	1858
Midway University	Midway, KY	1847
Transylvania University	Lexington, KY	1780
Spalding University	Louisville, KY	1814
LSU	Baton Rouge, LA	1860
Tulane	New Orleans, LA	1834
Centenary College of LA	Shreveport, LA	1825
St. Mary's College of Maryland	St. Mary's City, MD	1840
Naval Academy	Annapolis, MD	1845
University of Maryland (Baltimore)	Baltimore, MD	1807
University of Maryland (College Park)	College Park, MD	1856
Loyola University Maryland	Baltimore, MD	1852
Maryland Institute College of Art	Baltimore, MD	1826
Mount St. Mary's University	Emmitsburg, MD	1808
St. John's	Annapolis, MD	1696
Washington College	Chestertown, MD	1782
St. Mary's Seminary and University	Baltimore, MD	1791

Ole Miss	Oxford, MS	1848
Mississippi College	Clinton, MS	1826
UNC	Chapel Hill, NC	1789
Brevard College	Brevard, NC	1853
Catawba College	Salisbury, NC	1851
Davidson College	Davidson, NC	1837
Greensboro College	Greensboro, NC	1838
Guilford College	Greensboro, NC	1837
Mars Hill University	Mars Hill, NC	1856
Salem College	Winston-Salem, NC	1772
William Peace University	Raleigh, NC	1857
Chowan University	Murfreesboro, NC	1848
Duke	Durham, NC	1838
Louisburg College	Louisburg, NC	1814
Queens University of Charlotte	Charlotte, NC	1857
Wake Forest	Winston-Salem, NC	1834
Citadel	Charleston, SC	1842
College of Charleston	Charleston, SC	1770
Columbia College	Columbia, SC	1854
Erskine College	Due West, SC	1839
Furman University	Greenville, SC	1826
Limestone College	Gaffney, SC	1845
Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary	Columbia, SC	1830
MUSC	Charleston, SC	1824
Newberry College	Newberry, SC	1856
USC	Columbia, SC	1801
Wofford College	Spartanburg, SC	1854
University of Tennessee	Knoxville, TN	1794
Carson-Newman University	Jefferson City, TN	1851
Hiwassee College	Madisonville, TN	1849
Maryville College	Maryville, TN	1819
Rhodes College	Memphis, TN	1848
Sewanee: University of the South	Sewanee, TN	1857
Bethel University	McKenzie, TN	1842
Cumberland University	Lebanon, TN	1842
Tennessee Wesleyan College	Athens, TN	1857
Tusculum College	Tusculum, TN	1794
Union University	Germantown, TN	1823
Baylor University	Waco, TX	1845

St. Mary's University	San Antonio, TX	1852
Austin College	Sherman, TX	1849
Southwestern University	Georgetown, TX	1840
Averett University	Danville, VA	1859
College of William and Mary	Williamsburg, VA	1693
Emory and Henry College	Emory, VA	1836
Hamden-Sydney College	Hamden Sydney, VA	1775
Hollins University	Roanoke, VA	1842
Longwood University	Farmville, VA	1839
Mary Baldwin College	Staunton, VA	1842
Randolph-Macon College	Ashland, VA	1830
Roanoke College	Salem, VA	1842
University of Richmond	Richmond, VA	1830
University of Virginia	Charlottesville, VA	1819
Virginia Commonwealth University	Richmond, VA	1838
VMI	Lexington, VA	1839
Washington and Lee University	Lexington, VA	1749
Virginia Theological Seminary	Alexandria, VA	1818
Gallaudet University	Washington, D.C.	1864
George Washington University	Washington, D.C.	1821
Georgetown University	Washington, D.C.	1789
University of DC	Washington, D.C.	1851
Bethany College	Bethany, WV	1840
Fairmont State University	Fairmont, WV	1865
Marshall University	Huntington, WV	1837
West Liberty University	West Liberty, WV	1837
Chapman University	Orange, CA	1861
Santa Clara University	Santa Clara, CA	1851
University of the Pacific	Stockton, CA	1851
University of San Francisco	San Francisco, CA	1859
University of Denver	Denver, CO	1864
Linfield College	McMinnville, OR	1858
Oregon State University	Corvallis, OR	1858
Pacific University	Forest Grove, OR	1849
Western Oregon University	Monmouth, OR	1856
University of Utah	Salt Lake City, UT	1850
University of Washington	Seattle, WA	1861
Whitman College	Walla Walla, WA	1859