



# YALE

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**Arthur Conan Doyle  
and the spirits**

**Changing careers,  
midstream**

**Handsome Dan gets  
a palace**

**This is Yale's oldest building.  
Who mixed the mortar?  
Who carried the bricks?**



# A reckoning with our past

Yale examines its historical ties with slavery

Along with dozens of other schools, Yale has opened a long-closed door to a part of its past that had been hidden. In the following pages, you'll learn about that past, and you'll read some painful history.

As a start, however, we offer this contemporary artwork: *But Enough About You*, by Titus Kaphar '06MFA. It's a powerful rejoinder to a much older painting (reproduced on page 41), and to the many who caused terrible suffering.





***But Enough About You*** (2016), by artist Titus Kaphar '06MFA, puts the focus on this unnamed Black boy, who was overlooked for centuries in a painting that prominently features Elihu Yale and members of his family. In that work, painted in the eighteenth century and held by the Yale Center for British Art, the boy—wearing a metal collar that he could not remove—is left in the shadows. In Kaphar's work, it's just possible to identify Yale in the crumpled canvas off to the side.

# Introduction

**My most indelible memory of Connecticut Hall is of sitting in the grass with a friend, our backs to the strong brick wall. We were only a few weeks into our first year at Yale. The Old Campus was green and beautiful. Tourists were strolling through, admiring it. One of them stopped to tell us how extremely lucky we were, to be living in such a place.**

**It was a seismic emotional shift to learn, late last October, that the brick wall I'd leaned against had been built in part by people who were enslaved. It had never come home to me that New Englanders, let alone my own college, could have endorsed and practiced slavery.**

Over eighty colleges and universities have by now investigated or begun to investigate their history with slavery. Yale joined them in the fall of 2020, when President Peter Salovey '86PhD asked David Blight—Sterling Professor of History, African American History, and American Studies, and a Pulitzer Prize winner—to chair Yale's examination of its own past. The first meeting took place in mid-November. The research began in earnest early in 2021, gathering steam as more people joined: Yale staff, faculty, librarians, students, alums, members of the New Haven community, experts from other institutions. In all, over 75 people have participated so far.

Blight is the director of Yale's Gilder Lehrman Center for the Study of Slavery, Resistance, and Abolition ([glc.yale.edu](http://glc.yale.edu)). Its mission: "the investigation and dissemination of knowledge concerning slavery and its legacies across all borders and all time." In late October, the GLC held a three-day online conference on the findings to date ([tinyurl.com/YaleAndSlavery-GLC](http://tinyurl.com/YaleAndSlavery-GLC)). All of the 15 pages you will find after this one were excerpted from just a few of the talks given in the conference. (As for myself, I watched almost all the discussions, transfixed. I can't recommend them enough.)

Blight especially credits the GLC staff who planned and executed the conference—Michelle Zacks, Melissa McGrath, and Daniel Vieira—and Michael Morand '87, '93MDiv, communications director at the Beinecke Library, who has been studying the history of

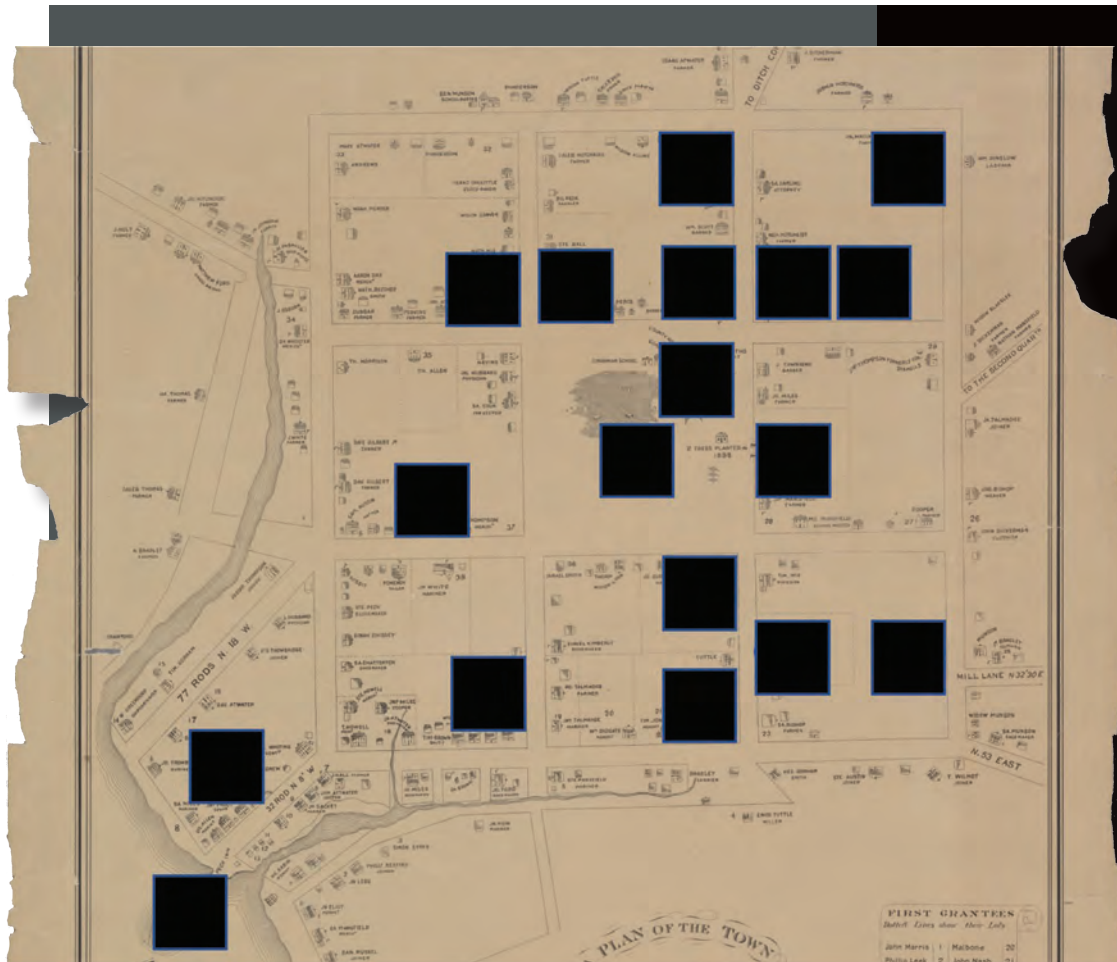
New Haven and Yale for years. And the work continues. The team will soon begin writing a book about their findings. In the meantime, the website [yaleandslavery.yale.edu](http://yaleandslavery.yale.edu) has a great deal of information.

The opening remarks were delivered by Salovey, who began by noting how long the historical problem of slavery had been hidden in the shadows. "So today," he said, "we're acknowledging that slavery and the slave trade are part of Yale's history. Our history." After Salovey's keynote, Blight held a discussion with poet and writer Elizabeth Alexander '84, head of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation; and Jonathan Holloway '95PhD, former Yale professor and dean of Yale College, and now the president of Rutgers. "I admire institutions that are unafraid of their pasts," Holloway said.

At the conclusion of the conversation, Alexander read an excerpt from her epic poem about the *Amistad* captives. It centered on James Covey, a West African who had himself been captured but became a free man. When Yale professor Josiah Willard Gibbs Sr. went to the docks in 1839, looking for someone who knew the captives' language, he found Covey. In Alexander's poem, Covey remembered "an infinity of ships fatted / with Africans, men, women, children / as I was. Now it is my turn to rescue."

It's now Yale's turn to examine its past.

Y KATHRIN DAY LASSILA '81, EDITOR



At right is a plan of New Haven in 1848, showing all its buildings.

Above is a markup by Michael Morand '87, '93MDiv. It shows, he says, "some of the places where Black people, enslaved and/or free, lived, worked, worshipped (without recompense, reward, or recognition)." Diversity, it must be acknowledged, has always been one of New Haven's strongest assets.



## ENSLAVED PEOPLE WORKED ON CONNECTICUT HALL

By Teanu Reid '23PhD

In many stories of early Yale, the work of building Connecticut Hall is credited to two men, Francis Letort and Thomas Bills. The records show that during the construction (1748 to 1752), Letort worked 165 days and Bills 114.75 days. However, in the papers of Yale College president Thomas Clap, we found that a substantial amount of the labor on Connecticut Hall was performed by Jethro and Gad Luke, a father-and-son pair, both free Black men. They worked a total of 191 and a half days, performing tasks such as making mortar.

But Clap's records also revealed that at least five enslaved men worked on the building. Their time was recorded: a total of 436 and one-half days. Other than one enslaved man called "Mingo," their names were not. They were listed by the names of their enslavers, with notes like "President's Negro" and "Mr. Noyes' Negro." Their hours, combined with those of Jethro and Gad Luke, represent about 27 percent of the labor that built Connecticut Hall, but these Black men have been ignored in previous histories of Yale.

From Clap's papers we turned to the university treasurer's records, and then to probate records, assembly records, newspapers—especially the *Connecticut Gazette*—and other primary documents to try to uncover the presence, names, and lives of the people who helped build Yale. This is a continuing process that requires cross-referencing names across those various documents to find as much information as possible from very tiny threads. So far, we've been able to identify most of the "Negroes" who worked on the building: Jack, enslaved to Joseph Noyes. Dick, enslaved to Theophilus Munson. George, enslaved to President Thomas Clap. And Mingo, enslaved to Arch. McNeil. We are still looking for the name of the man enslaved to a Mr. Bonticou.

We have also identified 16 slave owners who were paid for their contributions, such as building materials, toward the construction of Connecticut Hall. And we've found five slave owners who donated to the project. Clearly, there were multiple levels at which slavery was part of the building process for Connecticut Hall.

It isn't the only Yale project that benefited from slavery. In 1721, when the school moved to New Haven, it finished construction of two buildings: a rector's house and "a splendid collegiate house." In that year, the Connecticut Assembly directed taxes from West Indian rum go to the college. The rum was produced in the Caribbean by untold numbers

of enslaved Africans, whose lives were routinely endangered and lost during the brutal labor of harvesting and processing sugar cane into sugar, rum, and molasses.

Between 1700 and 1765, the college also took donations from several locals who profited from owning Black and indigenous people. Among them: Rev. Solomon Williams of Lebanon, Jared Ingersoll, Esq., of New Haven, Rev. Samuel Bird of New Haven, and Governor Gurdon Saltonstall. A number of Yale trustees, such as Joseph Noyes and Timothy Woodbridge, owned enslaved people. Even some Yale students owned slaves.

Slavery in the colony, and later the state, of Connecticut began with the enslavement of Native Americans and remained legal until 1848. The first generation of large-scale Native American slavery occurred in the 1600s. Native American slavery paved the way for African slavery, as New Englanders developed laws and practices that affected Africans and Indians alike. In the 1700s, the majority of slaves were Africans or of African descent. Enslaved Africans were purchased both from the coast of Africa and from British-controlled islands in the West Indies, where New England and Connecticut merchants had extensive partnerships. Slave owners in Connecticut generally had just a few slaves, but those enslaved people represented large proportions of their enslavers' wealth. Several of these enslavers were connected to the development of the college.

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**"They were listed by the names of their enslavers, with notes like 'President's Negro' and 'Mr. Noyes' Negro.'"**

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In numerous ways throughout the eighteenth century, slavery was a part of the building and development of Yale. Unequivocally, the history of slavery belongs in the history of Yale College. New records of that history, including all the ways free and enslaved people contributed to the institution, are essential for accurate accounts of the past. ■

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TEANU REID '23PhD is a doctoral candidate in African American studies and history.

Facing: records of the construction of Connecticut Hall (1748–1752) kept by Yale president Thomas Clap list the days worked by enslaved people, including one person held by Clap himself.

47

Arch. McNeil his Labour, Oversight, and Disbursements	72 <sup>+</sup> 2
his Negro's Work 92 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> Days	92 <sup>+</sup> 15
President's Negro 83 Days Work	83
Mr. Noyes's Negro 172 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub> Days 2 <sup>o</sup>	172 <sup>+</sup> 15
Jethro's & Gad 161 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Days 2 <sup>o</sup>	161 <sup>+</sup> 10
Theophilus Munson's Negro 68 Days 2 <sup>o</sup>	68 <sup>+</sup>
Mr. Boutwell's Negro 96 Days	96 <sup>+</sup>
Nicolaas Wood 75 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Days	78 <sup>+</sup> 16 8
Isaac Sharp 6 Days	6
Benj. Munson 25 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> Days	29 <sup>+</sup> 16
James Fittle 35 Days	35 <sup>+</sup> 2
Danl. M. Connelly 10 Days	10
Abel Wood 2 Days	2 10
Jno. Osborn 1 Day	1
Ruben Cutler 27 Days	12 3
	<u>£921 9 8</u>

## A CHILD, ENSLAVED

**By Edward Town**

While the group of children in the background of this painting are shown joyfully at play, another child in the foreground brings wine to the seated men. To judge from the painting, he is ten years old, probably about the same age as the boy in the background also wearing a grey coat and red stockings. Like many other depictions of people of African descent in British portraits of this period, the boy's identity has been largely ignored. The collar on his neck is of a type seen in at least 50 other paintings made in Britain between 1660 and 1760.

The painting, previously titled *Elihu Yale; William Cavendish, the second Duke of Devonshire; Lord James Cavendish; Mr. Tunstal; and an Enslaved Servant*, is in the collection of the Yale Center for British Art and now on display. Earlier this year, for the first time in its history, the painting was subject to a thorough technical study, bringing to light new information that corrects longstanding assumptions about what the painting depicts, which in turn have implications for the child's biography. The discovery of the pigment Prussian Blue—invented in Germany in 1709 and arriving in Britain the following decade—provided a pivotal piece of evidence for redating and rethinking this group portrait.

Such portraits are a stark reminder of Britain's entrenchment in the transatlantic slave trade, which by the beginning of the nineteenth century had seen over two and a half million people ensnared from the west coast of Africa and sold into chattel slavery. These depictions also point specifically to the invidious practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of bringing children to Britain to serve as domestic servants in the households of the elite.

Chattel slavery was ostensibly unlawful within Britain's shoreline. But as these portraits show, this did not stop thousands of Black children and adults from being brought to Britain over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in an ill-defined but often violently enforced state of what modern writers have characterized as "slavish servitude." Collars made of silver, steel, or brass, of the type seen in the painting, were not used to tether the wearer to other shackles but were impossible to divest from the body and served to deter self-emancipation.

Within the painting, the child not only works but performs another role: he moves from a below-stairs area to a rarefied patriarchal space, to fill the glasses of the three seated men. Here the central figure is Yale University's namesake and early benefactor, Elihu Yale (1649–1721). We can be confident about the identities of Elihu Yale and James Cavendish—

Yale's son-in-law—because their likenesses match those in other portraits. The identities of the other sitters are less secure. Based on comparisons with other portraits, the seated man wearing blue is most likely Dudley North of Glenham Hall, Suffolk, who married Yale's eldest daughter, Catherine. The children in the background are almost certainly Yale's grandchildren.

What does this new information mean for our understanding of the identity and life of the enslaved child? The date of the painting can now be said to fall between around 1719 and 1721. Given the youthful appearance of the child, this suggests he was born in around 1710. It is likely that he was brought to England at around the age of five and presumably had been in the household of one of the seated men for three or four years. A thorough survey of the parish registers for the area in and around Elihu Yale's London home in Queen Square reveals a small but significant Black presence in Bloomsbury in this period, but none of these individuals can be readily identified as the child in the painting.

It is possible that the child's proximity to Dudley North in the painting indicates a tie between them. There was certainly a Black presence in the house-

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**Collars made of silver, steel, or brass were impossible to remove.**

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hold of North's wider family: From at least 1721 his cousin Francis North, the second Baron Guilford, had a servant named Francis Juba; he was described as "Black" at his baptism in London but was in fact from India. As a child, Juba served as a page and then remained a salaried member in the household of this other branch of the North family for close to two decades before being apprenticed to a barber and wig maker in London.

It is possible this child's life took a path similar to that of Francis Juba. But it is equally possible that, like many other enslaved children and adults in Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, he chose to run away. At present, we still don't know what happened next in this child's life. ■

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**EDWARD TOWN** is the assistant curator of paintings and sculpture at the Yale Center for British Art.



This group portrait, featuring **Elihu Yale** (who holds a long-stemmed pipe), includes one very young enslaved child.

## CHRISTIANITY AND SLAVERY IN NEW ENGLAND

By **Kenneth Minkema**  
and **Catherine Brekus**  
'93PhD

Although chattel slave-owning in seventeenth-century New England was not common, some Puritan founders of New Haven, such as Theophilus Eaton, did own enslaved persons. By the time Yale moved to New Haven in 1718, the number of enslaved persons in New England was beginning to increase significantly, and the college became inextricably linked to an economy that benefited incalculably from the importing and labor of enslaved persons.

As the number of Africans suffering in bondage in the Americas grew, blackness became associated in white minds with enslavement, and enslavement was justified by the false views that Africans were either inferior or not human, thus contributing to a system of white supremacy that would expand and deepen as time went on. But some raised questions. First, enslaved persons themselves, often in untold ways, engaged in acts of resistance from the beginning. On rare occasions, enslaved persons publicly

### New England ministers defended slavery on religious grounds.

denounced slavery, as did a man named Greenwich, of Canterbury, Connecticut, who in 1754 declared before a white congregation that he had “been instructed by the Lord” to say that “justice must take place.” As time went on, some white colonizers denounced the slave trade. Even so, the majority feared miscegenation—the intermixing of races.

Most New England ministers defended slavery on religious grounds. For centuries, Christians had claimed there was no tension between their faith and the practice of slavery: the biblical patriarchs owned slaves, and the Apostle Paul urged slaves to obey their masters. The New England Protestants, heirs of this centuries-long tradition, helped shore up an emerging racially based defense for it. Though slavery exists in the Bible, *racial* slavery does not. In the late 1600s, Christians twisted a passage in Genesis to justify racial bondage. Their key text was Genesis 9, the story of Ham, who saw his father Noah’s nakedness and then faced Noah’s fury as Noah cursed Ham’s son: “Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be.” From the time of Augustine, this passage had been used to defend slavery as the consequence of sin. Nothing in it says anything about blackness, but Protestant interpreters, eager to justify enslaving

Africans, argued that Ham was the one cursed, and that one of Ham’s sons was marked with black skin.

Many Protestants defended slavery as an act of Christian compassion. The merchant John Saffin argued that enslaving Africans made possible their eternal salvation: “It is no evil thing to bring them out of their own Heathenish country.” Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, a Yale trustee, baptized an indentured Native boy named John Waubin. By Woodbridge’s logic, Waubin’s removal from his tribe was a mercy; his soul was far more valuable than his freedom.

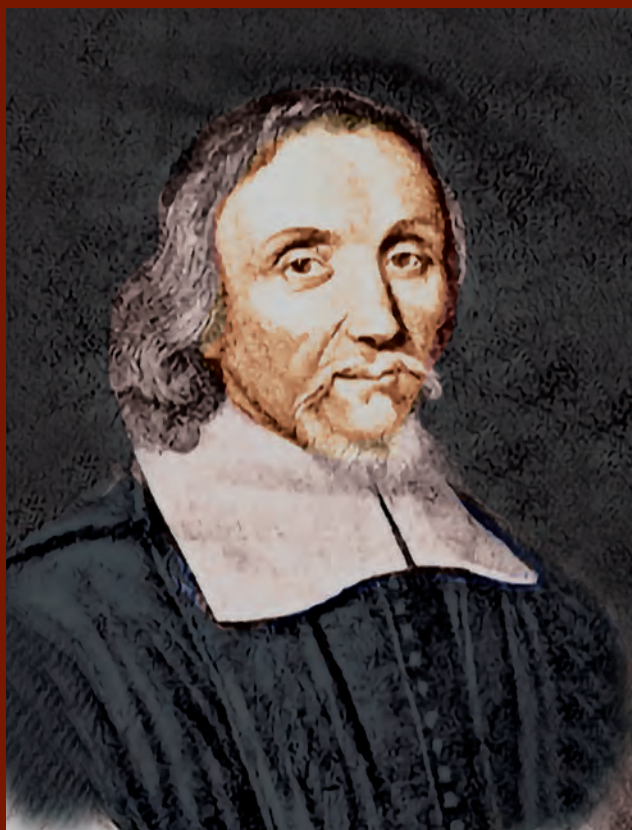
Historically, Christians had believed the enslaved should be freed if they converted. But Protestant ministers argued that even Christian Africans should remain in bondage—a stunning reversal of Christian precedent that transformed Protestant supremacy into white supremacy. The three ministers who occupied the pulpit of the First Church of New Haven between 1700 and 1787 were all slaveholders. The first of them was James Pierpont, who secured the original charter for the school that became Yale.

The first significant cracks in the ethic of Christian slaveholding in New England came during the religious revivals of the 1730s and ’40s. Many enslaved Africans converted to Christianity, and a small number of ministers found it increasingly difficult to justify the slave trade. Samuel Hopkins, Class of 1741, was one of the first white activists to advocate immediate emancipation and the eradication of slavery. A slaveholder early in life, he had repented, manumitting a person he’d held in bondage and financially supporting him. Yet Hopkins and many others espoused sending emancipated Blacks back to Africa. In fact, New Haven and Yale would become a center of the Colonizationist movement.

Few white Christians today understand how Christians in the past failed to see that freedom is at the core of the Christian message. But there was nothing inevitable about white Christians’ eventual opposition to slavery, which came after a long and violent struggle over the meaning of the Christian faith. This struggle did not end with the Civil War. The Protestant supremacy that justified enslavement of the “heathen” turned into the white supremacy that remains with us today. Yale, like every institution with roots in early America, is entangled with this painful and lamentable Christian history. ■

**KENNETH MINKEMA**, executive editor of *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, is a research faculty member at Yale Divinity School. **CATHERINE BREKUS** '93PhD is the Charles Warren Professor at Harvard Divinity School.

Clockwise from top left: **James Pierpont** and his wife **Mary Hooker Pierpont**; the pastor of New Haven’s First Church and a founder of Yale, Pierpont was a slaveholder. Alumnus **Samuel Hopkins** was, too, but he repented and became an antislavery activist. New Haven Colony cofounder **Theophilus Eaton** kept people in slavery in the seventeenth century, when it was less common in New England.



## THE LAST SALE IN NEW HAVEN

By Adrienne Joy  
Burns

My great-great-grandmother was born in South Carolina and was an enslaved person. When I did research about her, in Charleston, South Carolina, I was able to go and see a slave market—unlike in New Haven, where you cannot see the place where Lois and Lucy Tritton were sold as enslaved people in 1825.

That was when the last sale of an enslaved person occurred in New Haven. It was on the New Haven Green. Many of us have stood at a certain bus stop at Temple and Chapel, and very close to that bus stop is the place where Lois Tritton and her daughter, Lucy, were sold and then immediately manumitted. Lucy's emancipation paperwork reads as follows:

Know all men by these presents that I, Anthony P. Sanford, of the City and County of New-Haven, in consideration of a valuable sum of money, received to my full satisfaction of Lucy Tritton, a Female colored Slave, belonging to me, do hereby release and forever Quit Claim to her the said Lucy all the rights and title which I have, or ought to have, to her and her services; and hereby emancipate and set her free.

What would it be like in the city, and on the Yale campus, if all of the history that we discussed in this conference on Yale and Slavery was set free? What would that history be like if it was visible and honest? If we were able to educate, engage, atone, and gather together—as members of the city, as members of the staff of the university, and as students—to talk about this history and bring it into the visible space?

When you walk around New Haven, you don't see a colonial city. You don't see a place that Indigenous people lived in. And you certainly don't see the presence of, or the creation by, all of those African Americans who contributed so much to the making of Yale University and to New Haven.

There's also the recent present. There's Corey Menafee in 2016, taking that broom to destroy the window in Calhoun College that showed enslaved people coming in from the cotton fields. There's 2015, and all of the unrest on campus as students of color called people out for wearing blackface or Indian dress as Halloween costumes—and in return they were called “snowflakes” for being “overly sensitive.” There are the recent petitions from students of the medical school and the School of Nursing, in which they asked to be seen, to have their humanity acknowledged, and not to be treated as if they were different but to be treated like their white peers.

But there's a New Haven teacher named Nataliya

Braginsky—who recently won a Teacher of the Year award from the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History—whose students have created podcasts and walking tours about New Haven history. There's something so honest that comes across when you take the tours and you listen to the students talk about their experience of New Haven and how they were able to learn this history and to bring it forward. Can we find creative ways to bring this history to the community? Can we have dialogues

### What would it be like if all this history were set free?

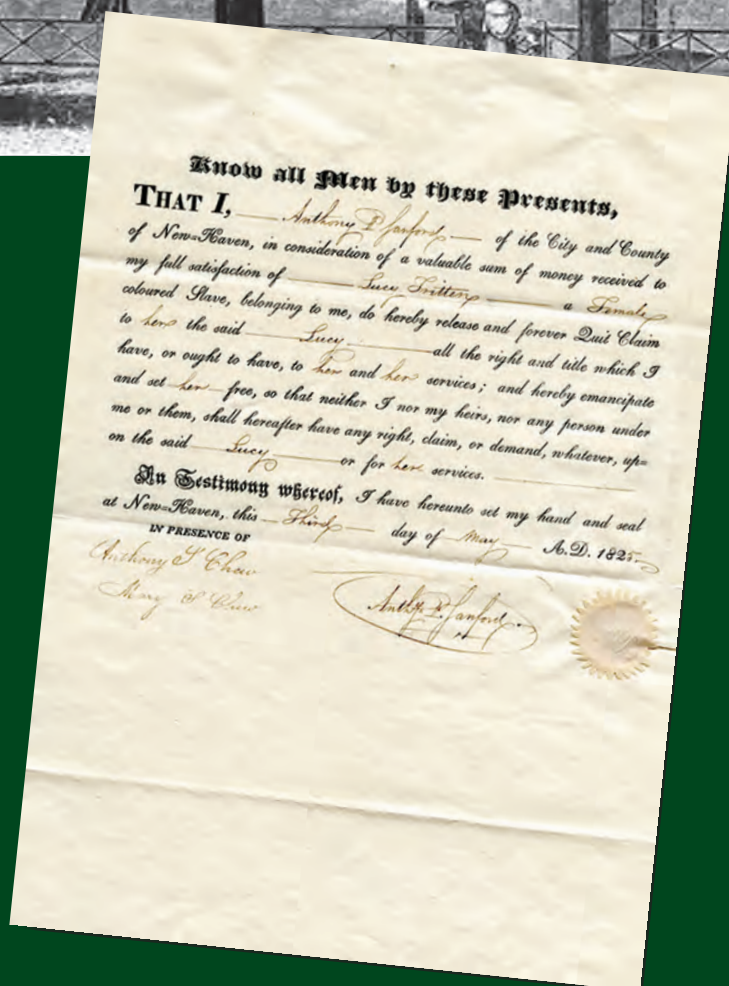
and interactions among New Haveners, and create public art in all kinds of spaces, all over the city, that will engage many different groups of people and draw them into a discussion about this history?

Think of the Witness Stones Project, founded by Dennis Culliton. I worked on a project with Dennis at the Pardee-Morris House in New Haven, in June of this year. Along with young people from the Cold Spring School and the Foote School, we put in stones—markers—with information about the enslaved people who had lived there. Can we put similar markers into public spaces in New Haven, inscribed with information that invites anybody to stop and read at any time of day? It would be wonderful to see Witness Stones on Chapel Street with information about the history of Connecticut Hall.

Recently I took a walk through Grove Street Cemetery. I visited the graves of Sylvia Ardyn Boone '79PhD and John Blassingame '71PhD and Benoit Mandelbrot—Mandelbrot because he created a fractal mathematics that looks like an explosion and that grows bigger, and Blassingame and Boone because I know that if they were here today, they would be saying, “Make this history known. Bring it to a place where anyone in the world can google Alexander Du Bois or Charles McLinn and find out about their history in this city. Bring it. Make it visible. Make the truth and reconciliation that all of us need in order to heal.”

It's overdue. And it's time. ■

ADRIENNE JOY BURNS is a physician assistant at the Yale Cancer Center.



At right: **emancipation papers** for Lucy Tritton, one of the last two people sold in New Haven, in 1825. Above: a nineteenth-century engraving of the **New Haven Green**, where the sale took place.

## THE BLACK COLLEGE THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

By Bennett Parten  
'23PhD

Reformer and abolitionist Simeon Jocelyn was the pastor at Temple Street Church—now Dixwell Avenue Congregational—in New Haven. In 1831, Jocelyn had the idea to build a college for freed people of color in New Haven. He took the idea to Peter Williams, a key Black leader in New York City, and a then-little-known abolitionist named William Lloyd Garrison. They enlisted the support of Arthur Tappan, a wealthy businessman from New York with a home in New Haven, and took their proposal to the First Annual Convention of the People of Colour. Its leadership included important free Black leaders such as William Whipper, Samuel Cornish, and James Pennington.

Jocelyn, Garrison, and Tappan wanted a college that would provide a scientific and agricultural education, a mechanical education—a practical education. The Black and white allies wanted to establish the college as soon as they could raise \$20,000. They chose New Haven for several reasons: it was a beautiful place, apparently cheap in terms of boarding and provisions. Connecticut's laws were “salutary and protecting to all, without regard to complexion,” and the New Haven residents seemed “friendly, pious, generous, and humane.” They thought Yale had created a “literary and scientific character” in the city that would support the college intellectually. Also, New Haven had ties to the West Indies, which might turn the college into a hub of Black learning for freed people from across the Atlantic.

The Colored Convention thought the school was a wonderful idea and started raising funds. The problem: Jocelyn and Garrison had severely misjudged the character of New Haven. On September 10, the mayor convened a town meeting. The college was voted down by a vote of 700 to 4.

Because a committee drew up resolutions against the college, we have a decent sense of why they opposed it. Six of the ten people on the committee were Yale graduates and prominent New Haveners (including three founders of Yale Law School). They argued that New Haven already had institutions of learning—Yale and a women's school—and that a college for freed people would be “destructive of the best interests of the city.” This was likely a euphemism for their real fear: race mixing.

The other argument, just as spurious, was that although slavery was gradually being abolished in Connecticut, it was legal in other states, and the college would be a step toward emancipation that might incite slaves in slaveholding states to rebellion. This, they said, would be completely irresponsible.

**THERE WAS IRRESPONSIBILITY, BUT FROM THE** other side. The college proposal sparked an active and violent anti-abolition element in the city. A mob descended on Tappan's house; one Black person's house was “leveled to the ground,” and another Black man was “knocked down in the streets.” Jocelyn would eventually be driven out of the city. And the idea of the college basically died. Jocelyn, Tappan, Garrison, and the Colored Convention tried to keep it alive for a year or two, but the momentum was gone. Fundamentally, the story of the New Haven Black college is the story of a project that failed.

But I would describe the proposal as a landmark moment in the history of abolitionism, because it forced people to make a choice. At the time, the white anti-slavery coalition aligned mostly with the idea of colonization: removing free Black people from the US. It had the support of a number of Southern slaveholders, and it was decidedly racist. It assumed Black inferiority. It also advocated gradual emancipation—but only if emancipation meant forcing enslaved people to leave the US.

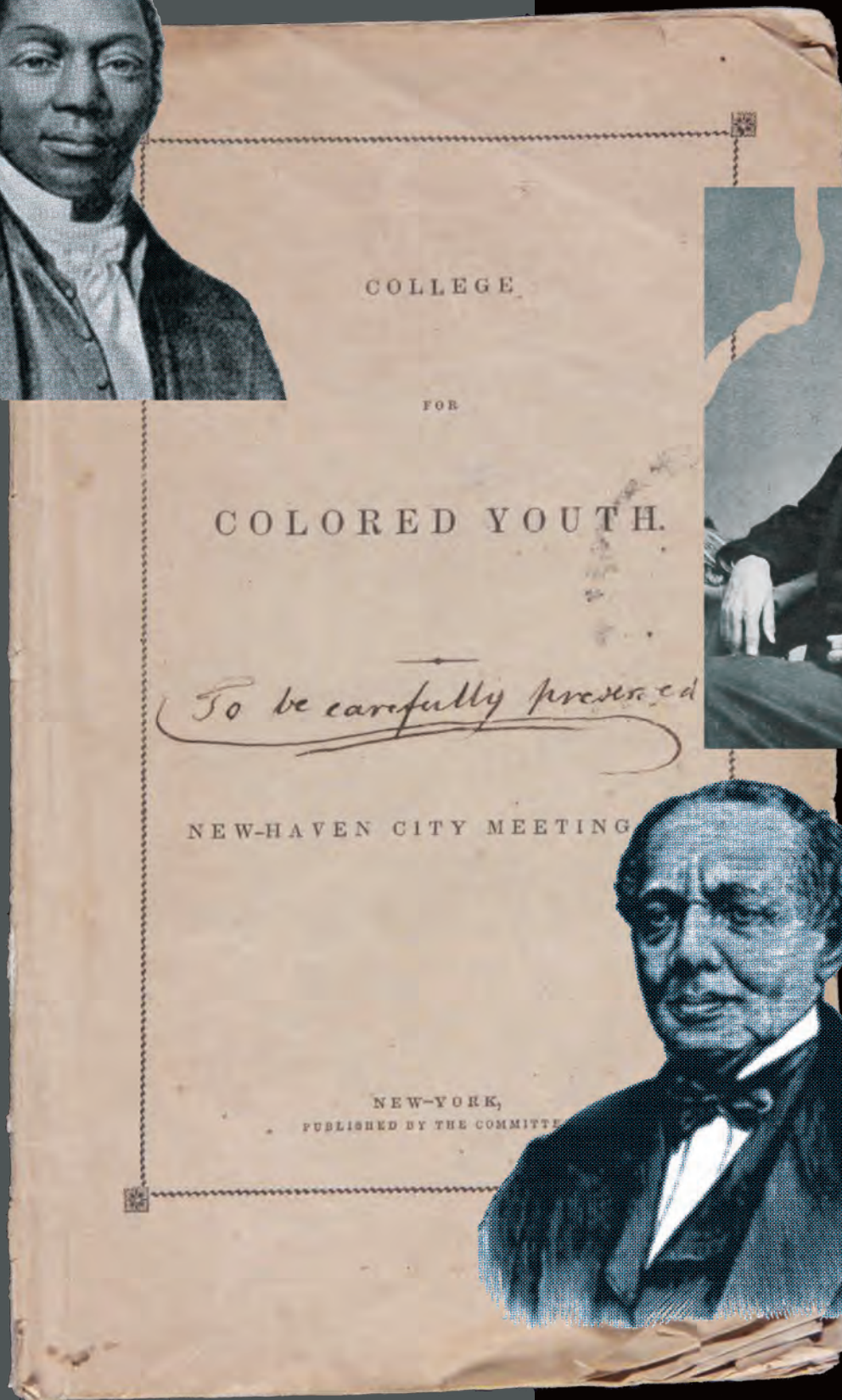
### A plan to educate Black people in New Haven met angry opposition.

Black abolitionists, of course, had been inveighing against colonization for years. Their activism was a driving force in the eventual turn against deporting Black people. The college proposal supported this idea. It assumed that Black people would eventually be free and equal citizens with a right to an education. It was a stark departure from the default position of many anti-slavery types—including such Yale faculty as the scientist Benjamin Silliman and the theologian Leonard Bacon. Even as just an idea, the college forced people to decide where they stood.

Finally, I think it's no coincidence that in 1833, many of the same Black leaders, and their white allies from the college effort, would meet in Philadelphia and found the American Anti-Slavery Society: a radical interracial organization that condemned slavery and demanded its immediate abolition. It was the first such organization in American history. ■

**BENNETT PARTEN** '23PhD is a doctoral candidate in history.

Facing page: an 1831 pamphlet documents the debate over the proposal for a Black college in New Haven. Among its proponents were (clockwise from top left) James Pennington, Simeon Jocelyn, and William Whipper.



PEACE CROWNS THEIR  
ACT OF SACRIFICE



## YALE COLLEGE

THEODORE WOOLSEY TWINING B.A. Class of 1858  
Adjutant Assistant Yeomanry Lt. N. Died off Regt West for August 14 1864  
CHARLES BOARDMAN WHITTLESEY B.A. Class of 1855  
Private Co. 155<sup>th</sup> Ohio Infantry Lt. V. Died at Nashville Tenn. Feb. 21 1864  
GEORGE BIBB BURNLEY Class of 1858 First Lieutenant Co. C 4<sup>th</sup>  
Regiment Ky. Infantry Lt. A. Died at Murfreesboro Tenn. January 3 1863  
CLAUDE GIBSON Class of 1858 Captain Miller Battery  
1<sup>st</sup> Artillery Lt. A. Died at New Orleans La. March 22 1863  
HERRICK HAYNOR Class of 1858 First Lieutenant 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment  
Cavalry Brigade New York Lt. V. Killed at Williamsburg Va. May 5 1862  
THOMAS CORDON POLLOCK Class of 1858 Capt. Co. 60<sup>th</sup> Regt. Inf.  
and Acting Inspector Gen. Staff of Gen. Heth Lt. A. Killed at Gettysburg Pa. July 3 1863  
EDWARD CARRINGTON B.A. Class of 1859 Lt. 143<sup>rd</sup> N.Y. Inf.  
and Aid de camp Lt. V. Killed at Natural Bridge Va. March 6 1865  
PETER VIVIAN DANIEL B.A. Class of 1859 Captain Company C  
9<sup>th</sup> Kentucky Infantry Lt. A. Killed at Chickamauga Ga. September 20 1863  
DIODATE CUSHMAN HANNAHS B.A. Class of 1859 Captain  
6<sup>th</sup> New York Cavalry Lt. V. Died at Williamsburg Va. September 10 1862  
CHARLES MORTIMER WHEELER B.A. Class of 1859 Captain  
Company K 126<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Lt. V. Killed at Gettysburg Pa. July 3 1863  
JOHN BETHEL BOWLES Class of 1859 Second Lieutenant Co. C  
2<sup>nd</sup> Ky. Cavalry Lt. A. Killed at Johnson's Island Ohio December 12 1864  
GEORGE WATERMAN ARNOLD B.A. Class of 1860 Sergeant Co.  
12<sup>th</sup> Rhode Island Infantry Lt. V. Died at Fairfax Seminary Va. December 8 1862  
HENRY WARD CAMP B.A. Class of 1860 Major 10<sup>th</sup>  
Connecticut Infantry Lt. V. Killed near Charles City Roads Va. October 3 1864  
DANIEL HEBARD B.A. Class of 1860 Assistant Adjutant General  
in Staff of General W. A. Gorman Lt. V. Died at New York N.Y. August 7 1862  
WILLIAM CURTIS JOHNSTON B.A. Class of 1860 Captain  
3<sup>rd</sup> Kentucky Infantry Lt. V. Died at Munfordsville Ky. December 3 1862  
FREDERICK CALLENDER OGDEN B.A. Class of 1860 Lt. 1<sup>st</sup>  
New York Cavalry Lt. A. Killed near Franklin Station Va. June 11 1864  
JAMES HENRY SCHNEIDER B.A. Class of 1860  
Captain 2<sup>nd</sup> Colored Infantry Lt. A. Died at Regt. West for April 26 1864  
WILLIAM MCALEER MARTIN Class of 1860 Captain Co. C 4<sup>th</sup>  
Regiment Mississippi Cavalry Lt. A. Killed at Hatterasburg Va. Jan. 14 1864  
JOHN NEWELL MANNAN B.A. Class of 1861 Private Company H  
5<sup>th</sup> Regiment Pennsylvania Cavalry Lt. V. Died at Portville Pa. Nov. 20 1863  
WILLIAM BARDWELL CLARK B.A. Class of 1861 Captain  
1<sup>st</sup> Massachusetts Infantry Lt. A. Killed at Fort Fisher Va. October 27 1864  
FREDERICK STANTON DAVIS B.A. Class of 1862 Lt. 1<sup>st</sup> Regiment  
New York Cavalry Lt. A. Killed at Fort Fisher Va. October 27 1864

IRA RUSH ALEXANDER B.A. Class of 1862  
16<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Cavalry Lt. V. Died at Mine Run  
WILLIAM WATSON HOUSE B.A. Class of 1862  
A 25<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry Lt. A. Died at New York  
ANDREW FREEMAN SHIVERICK  
Company 128<sup>th</sup> Wisconsin Infantry Lt. V. Died at New York  
RICHARD SKINNER B.A. Class of 1862  
of Musters Dept of the South Lt. A. Killed near New York  
FRANCIS NORTON STERLING B.A. Class of 1862  
128<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Lt. V. Died at Cape Hatteras  
DANIEL EGERTON HEMENWAY  
Sergeant 22<sup>nd</sup> Connecticut Infantry Lt. V. Died at New York  
WILLIAM M'CLURG Class of 1862  
1<sup>st</sup> New York Cavalry Lt. V. Died at Washington D.C.  
ALBERT GREGORY MARBLE Class of 1862  
Mississippi Battery Lt. A. Died at Atlanta Ga.  
WILLIAM HENRY MILLER Class of 1862  
Captain 44<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Lt. V. Died at Fort Fisher  
GROSVENOR STARR Class of 1862  
Adjutant 1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut Infantry Lt. V. Died at New York  
HARVEY HARRIS BLOOM B.A. Class of 1862  
5<sup>th</sup> New York Infantry Lt. V. Died at North Carolina  
CHARLES WEBSTER B.A. Class of 1862  
5<sup>th</sup> Army Corps Lt. V. Died at Washington D.C.  
GEORGE STANLEY DEWEY Class of 1862  
North Carolina Cavalry Lt. A. Killed at Chambersburg  
HENRY CLAYTON EWIN Class of 1862  
Major 44<sup>th</sup> Tennessee Infantry Lt. A. Died at Fort Fisher  
FRANCIS KERN HELLER Class of 1862  
9<sup>th</sup> Pennsylvania Infantry Lt. V. Died at New York  
ZALMON JOHN MAMASTER Class of 1862  
5<sup>th</sup> New York Cavalry Lt. V. Died at New York  
FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITESON  
Major 64<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry Lt. V. Died at Fort Fisher  
URIAH NELSON TARMELLE Class of 1862  
1<sup>st</sup> Connecticut Cavalry Lt. V. Killed at Fort Fisher  
CHARLES AVBY PARTRIDGE  
Lt. 1<sup>st</sup> New York Infantry Lt. V. Died at New York  
ARTHUR DE NEUVILLE TALCO  
16<sup>th</sup> Connecticut Infantry Lt. V. Died at Fort Fisher  
JOSEPH HAYNE TULLOSS Class of 1862  
Tennessee Light Artillery Lt. A. Killed at Fort Fisher  
RICHARD KIRTLAND WOODMAN Class of 1862  
1<sup>st</sup> New York Cavalry Lt. V. Died at Fort Fisher

## THE REPUBLIC AND THE CONFEDERACY

By Steven Rome '20

The year 1915 saw the dedication of Yale's Civil War memorial. It had begun in 1909, with a call from Yale alumni at that year's Commencement ceremonies to build a memorial in honor of *all* the Yale men who had fought and died in the Civil War: those who fought for the Union, and those who fought for the Confederacy. The

memorial was ensconced in the heart of the campus, the Woolsey Hall rotunda. The names carved on the marble panels weren't organized by their loyalty. They were organized by class year.

It was the first time a Northern institution of learning had done such a thing. All others built





## THE ONGOING AFTERLIFE OF SLAVERY

**By Willie Jennings**

We have to remember that we are living inside a much longer, older story than the one we experience at Yale today. It is the story of a certain kind of intellectual enlightenment, and that story of enlightenment is tied to a story of terror and enslavement. The challenge is to see both stories as something we're working within. To use a theological term, we're engaged in a kind of exorcism. We're seeking to exorcise the demons that have lurked inside the greed and the theft that originally made the university possible. We're seeking to understand both the theft and the gift that have been woven together: the stealing from and the offering to. In so many universities, and so much of education in this country, we do really well at honoring the gift of education. We don't do very well at understanding the theft.

How might we take both gift and theft and allow ourselves to think deeply, ethically, and morally at the very center of both—such that we don't live in the illusion that it's all a triumphal gift, but rather we

listen to the screams and the cries of those who suffer today? Those, for example, who feel the injustice of a criminal justice system that remains calibrated by the logic of slavery and the era of Reconstruction to treat Black and brown people as threats that must be controlled. That logic shows itself in a prison system that refuses restorative policies and practices and glories in punishment that borders on torture. That torture continues for the formerly incarcerated as they return to a society that has hollowed out their citizenship, keeping them from voting, holding public office, gaining meaningful employment, getting loans, and a whole host of other rights necessary to be made whole again. Their pain must be heard today.

The way to do that is to turn the gift of education, and with it reason, thinking, enlightenment, free-

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**WILLIE JENNINGS** is associate professor of systematic theology and Africana studies at the Divinity School.



dom, and speech, toward rectifying what was taken with theft. There is a danger of not taking slavery seriously as a crucial part of the intellectual work across the university—whether one is in history or calculus, in religion or chemistry. Thinking seriously about the ongoing afterlife of slavery, the disparagement and the poverty, is crucial to all our intellectual work. The accumulation of wealth for those who enslaved, and the denial of the opportunity to accumulate wealth for the enslaved and their freed children, mark two distinct trajectories of living that flow right into our moment and into the lives of all who inhabit universities.

Those trajectories brought with them not simply uneven development, but also developments in how we see or do not see the histories we and our scholarly work inhabit, and how we understand or do not understand our responsibilities in relation to that history. Either we do our work in the academy sustaining the trajectories of living that flow from the outrageous accumulations of wealth born of slavery, or we engage in scholarship and teaching that redirect those trajectories toward a meaningful reparation that restores to the university an authen-

tic partnership with all those seeking justice.

What Yale needs to do—quickly, clearly, and immediately—is to make New Haven a full and complete collaborator, a partner in the work. For too long, it's been obvious that at Yale, as at so many other universities, the vision of what the school is about has not included the very place that it's in. And so its moral footprint has not been at all shaped by that place.

There is really no future in deepening what we have to do without making the City of New Haven not merely a place that needs to be “managed,” but rather a partner in the work. We must allow the city to help shape the direction of the university. Across the country, almost every university treats its city as though the city serves it, instead of treating it as a conversational, an intellectual, and a moral partner. It's time we stopped treating New Haven as though New Haven were the backdrop for Yale. New Haven and Yale are one project. Until Yale starts to see New Haven as a shared project of education and the kind of work we want to do in this world, we will continue to recreate the very dynamic that was born of slavery and has lived in its aftermath. [Y]

**A bus stop** on the New Haven Green.