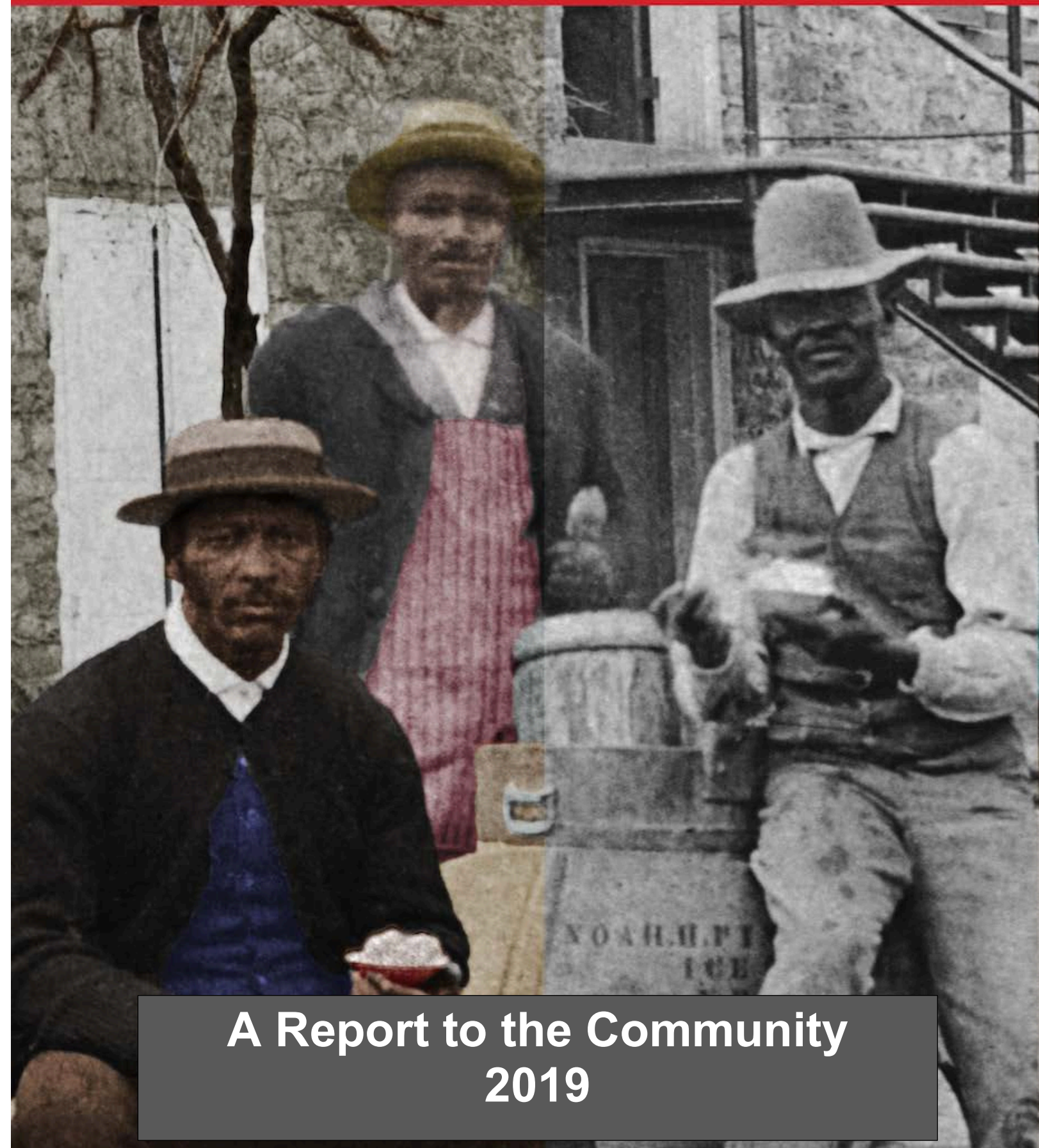


Dickinson & Slavery



**A Report to the Community
2019**

**Dickinson & Slavery
A Report to the Community
2019**

Prepared by the House Divided Project

Project Overview.....	3
Part 1 Our (Forgotten) History.....	4
Part 2 How Should We Remember?.....	21
Summary of Key Recommendations.....	30
List of Contributors	31
Endnotes.....	32

Overview

During the 2018-19 academic year, the House Divided Project at Dickinson launched an initiative designed to help get the community talking about the history of our college's ties to slavery and anti-slavery. The responses were sobering and inspiring at the same time. We collected numerous comments in person, online and by email. Many stood out, but one observation captures the essence of this initiative. An African-American student noted the following: "Each day I walk around campus with a slaveholder's name across my chest." Yet her point was not to demand that the name "Dickinson" be removed from the college or its sweatshirts. Instead, she wanted a deeper appreciation for the diversity of our school's past. "I must wrestle with the fact that founders like [Benjamin] Rush, and alumni like [James] Buchanan or past faculty like [Thomas] Cooper, never intended me to have this education," she observed. For that reason, she knew it was important to share information about the formerly enslaved families who had lived and worked on the campus. "Learning about the black people who helped to shape Dickinson College has helped me recognize my place here is not as an invader trying to make room in a system inherently built against me, but as a quasi-descendant continuing the legacy Black Dickinsonians started from the very beginning." She found hope in this story, not despair. "To see these men, women, and their stories honored alongside those of Rush and Buchanan would instill a sense of pride and acknowledgement in me," she observed. "It would also show that Dickinson is unafraid to self-reflect and to complicate its history."

“
Each day I walk around campus
with a slaveholder's name across my
chest.”
A student of color at Dickinson

Four hundred years ago this month, enslaved Africans were first recorded arriving in the Virginia colony. After 1619, race-based chattel slavery spread to every other British colony, including Pennsylvania. By the time of the American revolution, a strong anti-slavery movement had developed, but the new nation --which claimed to be so dedicated to the equality of mankind-- came into existence with slavery still poised for explosive growth. Millions of African Americans endured enslavement before it was finally abolished in 1865, including some who worked at Dickinson College or for leading Dickinsonians. Millions more African Americans then experienced discrimination after legal freedom, including some who lived and worked at Dickinson and in Carlisle. This report attempts to convey their stories while offering suggestions for how our community might work harder to remember them properly.

*Matthew Pinsker
Director, House Divided Project
August 2019*

Part One

Our (Forgotten) History

The following narrative derives from research and writing produced mostly by Dickinson faculty and students since the fall semester 2017 when History 311 “American Slavery,” first convened in the seminar room at the House Divided studio. Students from that course built web projects on the college’s ties to slavery and anti-slavery. Others have since continued their work in various types of academic and internship projects. The culmination of these various efforts came with the launching of the Dickinson & Slavery website (<http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/>) in fall 2018 and with the opening of the permanent “Dickinson & Slavery” exhibit in spring 2019 at the House Divided studio (61 N. West Street in Carlisle), now open to the public on most Wednesdays from 9am to noon.

The subject of slavery almost never gets discussed in any of Dickinson College’s many official publications and college histories. The first notable instance came from graduate (and Union army veteran) Horatio Collins King in his 1897 history of the college, but that slim volume merely mentioned a figure named John Nevin, a now-obscure man who had attended the school with Roger B. Taney (Class of 1795) and whom King identifies (incorrectly) as “author of the first anti-slavery publication in this country.”¹ Other works did not even include that fleeting reference. The most comprehensive modern history of the college, by Charles Coleman Sellers in 1973, did cover several aspects of the sectional debates over slavery and suggested in a few ways how the national crisis affected both students and faculty, but the author provided almost no details concerning slavery at Dickinson, nor anything regarding the lives of individuals who were actually enslaved.² Thus, despite almost 250 years of institutional history, it is clear that there have been entire categories of the school’s past that have been almost studiously ignored.

Founding Era

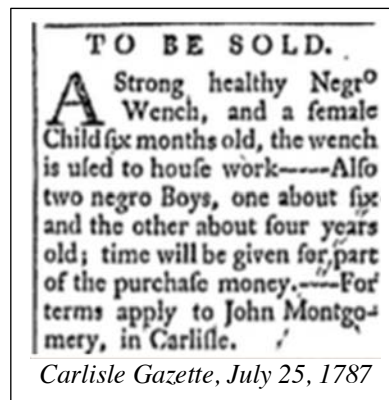
The founders of Dickinson College generally believed in the principles of the enlightenment and yet they still found ways to rationalize the ownership of other human beings. Some of the institution’s early leading men, such as John Dickinson and Benjamin Rush, managed to help spearhead the fight against eighteenth-century slavery, while they also continued to own slaves. It actually took each “abolitionist” years to fully emancipate his enslaved subjects. Enslaved labor then helped to construct some of the earliest college buildings, and slaveholders dominated among the original boards of trustees. One of the leading early trustees, a local Carlisle political figure named John Montgomery, was also an aggressive seller of slaves. Pennsylvania had adopted a pioneering gradual abolition statute in 1780, but there were individual slaves being held in Cumberland County and by Dickinsonians for decades afterward. This bothered some in the school’s wider community, such as Charles Nisbet, the college’s first president, who spoke out against slavery in his classroom lectures, but there was no consensus about the “peculiar institution.” The young college, like the nation at large, was bitterly divided over the controversial issue.

By 1780, during the year that Pennsylvania first adopted its gradual abolition statute (later amended in 1788), more than 300 enslaved people were living within the modern-day boundary of Cumberland County out of a total estimated enslaved population in the state of more than six thousand. We know this in part because the new law required slaveholders to register their slaves. In October 1780, for example, Rev. John King of Peters Township (in present-day Franklin County) did just that, while also submitting a registration for “Molatto wench Poll[y] about 35 years old,” a woman who belonged to his father-in-law, Dr. John McDowell. Both King and McDowell were among the original trustees of Dickinson College. Another founding trustee John Armstrong owned at least four human beings. At least 60% of Dickinson’s founding board of trustees (elected in 1783) were slaveholders.³ Armstrong was probably the best known trustee (besides Dickinson and Rush), because he had once been hailed as the “hero of Kittanning” during the French & Indian War. Armstrong had organized a brutal retaliatory raid in 1756 that destroyed an Indian village by burning Native American families inside their homes.

While most of these college trustees owned only one or two slaves, John Dickinson at one point held almost 60 enslaved people on his plantation in Delaware. Dickinson was born into a wealthy slaveholding family in 1732 in Maryland and continued to maintain his ownership of human beings well into his adulthood. But Dickinson married into a prominent Quaker family from Philadelphia just as the Protestant denomination was beginning to turn forcefully against slavery. Eventually, Dickinson also changed his mind about the moral legitimacy of owning humans. Between 1777 and 1781, Dickinson voluntarily manumitted or freed all of the enslaved people who lived on his Delaware plantation, including a woman named Dinah and two of her children, Jim and Nanny. However, that act was not entirely born out of benevolence or simple moral awakening. Dickinson at first insisted upon indenturing his freed slaves as servants, holding them to terms of between 7 to 21 years, as a kind of reimbursement for his role as their emancipator.⁴ This was not an uncommon practice for such eighteenth-century manumissions, but historians Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund write sharply that by this arrangement Dickinson had essentially “removed the stain of slaveholding from himself while keeping the profits of his blacks’ labor” until close to the end of his life. He did ultimately reconsider and freed everyone unconditionally by 1786.⁵

The next year, Dickinson tried to awaken other American founders to their hypocrisy over slavery. During his attendance at the 1787 federal constitutional convention in Philadelphia, Dickinson made clear his strong anti-slavery stance. At one point in the debates, he posed a difficult question for his fellow framers: “What will be said of this new principle of founding a Right to govern Freemen on a power derived from Slaves [?]” He warned them that nothing would cover up their contradictory views. “The omitting of the *Word* [slavery],” he wrote, “will be regarded as an Endeavor to conceal a principle of which we are ashamed.”⁶ Dickinson was certainly ashamed. He stood firmly against any protections for slavery, including the effort to extend the African slave trade and measures (known as the 3/5 compromise) designed to provide the slaveholding states with extra representation for their human property. But the experienced politician also swallowed some of that shame in the name of being practical. In September 1787, Dickinson endorsed a Federal Constitution that indirectly protected slavery in the states that still wanted to keep it.

Not everybody associated with Dickinson College felt as the school's namesake did. During the summer of 1787, while John Dickinson was busy making his antislavery arguments in Philadelphia, fellow trustee John Montgomery was trying to sell off various human beings in Carlisle. In July, he advertised in the local newspaper that he was hoping to sell "A Strong healthy Negro Wench and a female child six months old." He observed that the woman was "used to house work." In that same advertisement, Montgomery also offered for sale "two negro Boys, one about six and the other about four years old."⁷ They may well have been that poor woman's children, or perhaps someone else's.



Montgomery was an important figure at both Dickinson and in Carlisle, but he was not the only voice that mattered on the slavery question. Two years later, Charles Nisbet, the college's first president and an immigrant from Scotland, gave a series of lectures that challenged American sensibilities about enslavement. In one class held in March 1789, Nisbet warned students that the very presence of slavery portended violent consequences for the young nation. Slaves lived with "concealed hatred" and "masked resentment" towards their masters, Nisbet declared, predicting ominously that "the least spark may animate to destruction."⁸

Dickinson, Montgomery, and Nisbet were all vital figures in the college's early years, but no founder mattered more to the institution, or perhaps more fully embodied the central paradox of American freedom and its coupling with American slavery, than Dr. Benjamin Rush. The pioneering physician came from a slaveholding family, then married into a prominent slaveholding family from New Jersey (the Stocktons) and held both slaves and indentured servants within his own household as a leading doctor in Philadelphia. Rush owned at least one black man named William "Billy" Grubber, whom he had probably purchased sometime before July 23, 1776 (when he first mentioned Billy in a letter to his wife). Grubber was a household servant for Rush, and a trusted aide who traveled with him on occasion (such as when the doctor ventured out to Carlisle in 1784 for the inaugural Dickinson board of trustees meeting). Rush eventually manumitted or freed Grubber in 1788 (following passage of a key amendment to the state's gradual abolition act), but set the final date for Billy's freedom more than six years later, in 1794. He claimed that this delay was necessary so that he could receive a "just compensation for my having paid for him the full price of a slave for life."⁹ In this manner, he repeated the custom of indenturing that had animated John Dickinson in his own earlier manumissions. Grubber died in 1799 as a free man. However, following the news of his former servant's passing, Rush made a notation in his commonplace book that revealed a great deal about the underlying prejudices of that complicated era. The great enlightenment doctor observed that "when I first bought his time," (a misplaced euphemism for slavery), Grubber was "a Drunkard and swore frequently." Then Rush claimed in self-serving fashion, that within "a year or two he was reformed from both these vices, and became afterwards a sober, moral man and faithful and

affectionate Servant.” Grubber was so “faithful,” boasted Rush, that he had once “obtained some of my hair secretly, and had it put in a ring” as a souvenir.¹⁰ Whether or not such claims had any kernel of truth in them is almost impossible to know, because Grubber himself left no testimony of his own in the historical record –at least none that we have discovered yet.

The same year that Rush’s ex-slave Grubber died, enslaved labor was being put to work at his pet educational project in Carlisle. In June 1799, trustee John Montgomery laid the cornerstone for the first newly constructed building at Dickinson College. It was a major undertaking for the school that was not completed until 1803. Payment records indicate that that Carlisle slaveholder John Holmes had apparently hired out (or rented) his slave James for several aspects of the project. On July 26, 1799, the college treasurer paid out 15 shillings to “Black James, Mr. Holmes’s Negro” for initial work. When Holmes and James journeyed to Baltimore on behalf of Dickinson that year, Holmes billed Dickinson for 16 days of James’s time. Other Cumberland County slaves were also likely involved in the extended construction effort. In 1799, a man referred to as “Black Ned” was paid for his work on the building, but his status (as a free man working for wages or as an enslaved man being hired out) is left unspecified in the college records.¹¹ New College, as the building was originally called, essentially burned down soon after its completion in 1803 and was quickly rebuilt as West College (now known as “Old West”) by 1805. John Welch, a slaveholder from neighboring Franklin County, supplied wooden posts for the final round of construction at West College. Similarly, Charles McClure, a slaveholding trustee from nearby Middleton township, agreed to deliver 3,000 bushels of sand. Both men surely used enslaved labor in providing their services to the college.¹²

Contra		
1799	By Amount brought from folio (2)	336 12 0 1/2
July 25	By Cash paid to W. Miller for 3 1/2 yds Lincant for a flag post.	" 9 2 1/2
26	By Cash paid to Black James, Mr. Holmes's Negro	" 15 "
"	By Cash paid for two pieces Shoe Binding	" 5 6
"	By Cash pd. Rob. Faucet for his Order in fav. Jacob Brewer	3 3 9

Evidence of enslaved labor used in the construction of Dickinson College. On July 26, 1799, 15 shillings were paid to “Black James, Mr. Holmes’s Negro” for work on the first college building. (Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections)

In the spectrum of dramatic stories uncovered by other recent investigations of American colleges and their institutional ties to slavery, these fragmentary records do not seem to offer much new insight. At Georgetown, descendants and scholars have uncovered a wrenching tale of how the priests running the Catholic institution of higher education sold 272 enslaved people in 1838 in order to raise funds needed to keep the school afloat. Over the last two

decades, students and professors at northern schools like Harvard and Yale have documented the extensive reliance on household slaves kept by their earliest college presidents. There are no such comparable records at Dickinson. Charles Nisbet was opposed to slavery, and if any of the other early college presidents in Carlisle kept enslaved people within their household, we have not yet uncovered that information. But the few stories we have detailed within this initiative are essentially new. Never before in the history of the college has there been any serious attention devoted to figures such as “Billy” Grubber, “Black” James, Dinah and her children from the Dickinson plantation, or even the “Strong healthy” mother in the Montgomery household who was sold with (or perhaps without) her six-month-old infant daughter in the summer of 1787.

Sectional Crisis

In 1805, during the year that the West College building re-opened for business, a promising local student named Stephen Duncan graduated from Dickinson at the age of eighteen. Duncan’s extended family was quite important in Cumberland County, but he was restless and ended up leaving not long after graduation to help manage thousands of acres of the family’s property holdings in what was then the territory of Mississippi, just below Natchez. Duncan remained in Mississippi until the middle of the Civil War, becoming one of the state’s most successful planters. In fact, on the eve of the Civil War, the 1860 U.S. census identified Duncan as the nation’s second largest slaveholder. The Dickinson graduate owned 2,241 enslaved people, a massive workforce worth about \$1.7 million (or somewhere around \$52 million in today’s currency). However, if one adds up all of the enslaved people

“
...it is quite possible that
[Dickinson graduate Stephen Duncan]
owned more human beings than any
other individual in American history.”

bought and sold by the prominent Mississippi planter (who also served as one of the state’s leading bankers) over the course of his lifetime, it is quite possible that he owned more human beings than any other individual in American history.¹³ Yet despite all of his investments in

the institution of slavery, Duncan largely remained loyal to the Union during the Civil War. Both Duncan and his daughter Mary appealed to President Lincoln to refrain from applying the Emancipation Proclamation against loyal slaveholders in the South.¹⁴ But the self-serving request fell on deaf ears, and Duncan ultimately relocated to New York City during the final two years of the conflict. He died in 1867, still wealthy but without any enslaved labor supporting him.

During the nineteenth century, Dickinson College not only graduated one of the nation’s largest slaveholders, but also had on its faculty a man who became one of the country’s leading defenders of slavery. English-born, Thomas Cooper was a towering intellectual figure in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America. Identified as a Jeffersonian partisan, he was persecuted under the Sedition Law during the presidential election of 1800 and briefly jailed. Cooper was both a lawyer and a scientist, a true man of the Enlightenment, who taught Natural Philosophy and Chemistry at Dickinson from 1811 to 1815. He was

popular with students, but soon became embroiled in a feud with the college president. After leaving Dickinson, he served as a professor at the universities of Pennsylvania and Virginia before accepting the presidency of South Carolina College in 1821. During the 1820s and 1830s, while living in the Deep South, Cooper transformed his views and lifestyle. He became both a slaveholder and an ardent defender of slavery and states' rights. Most historians acknowledge him as one of the most influential pro-slavery ideologues of the nineteenth century before his death in 1839.¹⁵

In the years leading up to the Civil War, Dickinson was one of the few colleges in America with a student body about evenly composed of northerners and southerners. Thus, while there were always definite pockets of pro-slaveryism on campus, there was also notable anti-slavery and even abolitionist sentiment among the faculty and the graduates. John McClintock, for example, was a renowned professor who began teaching Latin and Greek at the college during the 1830s. This was a period when the school was reinventing itself as a Methodist institution (after having been originally affiliated with the Presbyterian Church) and was struggling to overcome a series of major financial setbacks. By the 1840s, however, the school's finances were more secure and McClintock was becoming celebrated in some circles (and vilified in others) for his attempts to align the Methodist movement against slavery. Then, on June 2, 1847, there was a violent fugitive slave episode that played out in Carlisle and involved the well-known professor. McClintock was seen observing a fugitive slave rendition hearing at the local courthouse not long before a riot broke out where black residents of Carlisle helped liberate some of the accused fugitives. The dramatic street action also resulted in the wounding of one of the Maryland slavecatchers (a man who later died). The episode created a national furor and McClintock was accused of orchestrating the resistance. He was indicted and got hauled into court, but was eventually acquitted. Eleven black men from Carlisle were convicted, however, and sentenced to solitary confinement in the state penitentiary (although their convictions were later overturned and they were released). The episode had a lasting impact on Carlisle's black community. Years later, in 1870, when African Americans in town held a parade celebrating ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment (granting black men suffrage or voting rights), one contingent held a sign honoring the recently deceased former Dickinson professor that read: IN MEMORY OF DR. MCCLINTOCK, PERSECUTED FOR OUR SAKE."¹⁶



The Slave Riot at Carlisle, Pa., is attracting great attention. The Hagerstown News says that Mr. Kennedy's wounds are more dangerous than was supposed. He was stabbed in the neck, and had his kneecap knocked off.
The News says the fray was general, and that the white citizens of Carlisle took part generally with the slaveholders. The southern students of Dickinson college were particularly active. But Prof. McClintock urged the negroes to the attack. For this rebellious proceeding of the learned professor, it appears that the aforesaid southern students have taken him in hand, and require that he shall leave or they will. They learned that trick of their fathers, who have always practised it.

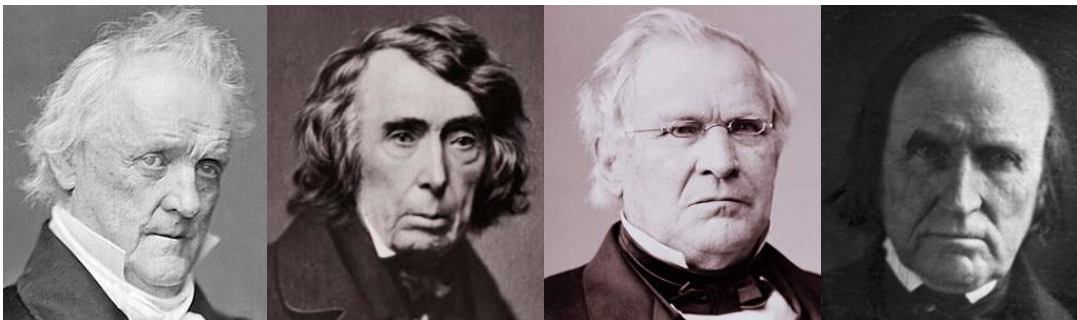
Professor John McClintock, c. 1860 (Library of Congress); (Boston, MA) The Liberator, June 18, 1847

Southern students on campus were initially outraged by McClintock's alleged involvement in the 1847 affair and threatened to leave campus until the professor convinced them he was not in favor of any violent resistance to the law. Yet one of those offended southerners, Moncure Conway (Class of 1849), later changed his own mind about slavery and became perhaps the nation's most visible southern-born abolitionist. A Virginian, Conway relocated to Massachusetts during the 1850s and helped protect fugitive slaves in Boston, including one (Anthony Burns) whom he had known as a child. During the Civil War, Conway preached abolition in Washington, DC as a leading Unitarian minister and personally lobbied President Lincoln on behalf of emancipation policies. He also helped guide many of his own family's former slaves to freedom in Ohio when he discovered that they had fled the Conway plantation for wartime refugee camps in Washington.¹⁷

The McClintock Slave Riot, as it was known in Carlisle, was just one of dozens of violent fugitive slave episodes that roiled the country during the 1840s and 1850s. There were prominent Dickinsonians on both sides of that sectional debate over runaway slaves, but perhaps nobody more important on the frontlines of that combat than Harrisburg attorney Richard McAllister (Class of 1840), who was one of the country's most prolific fugitive slave commissioners. McAllister presided over fugitive slave rendition hearings out of his office in Harrisburg for less than three years following passage of the notorious 1850 Fugitive Slave Act. He only served from September 1850 to May 1853, but in that short time span he apparently sent back more men, women and children into slavery than any other U.S. commissioner over the full fourteen-year period of the law's existence (1850-1864). McAllister was not only prolific in terms of case management, but also especially demeaning in the way he treated the black families who appeared in his hearing room and the attorneys who represented them (including some fellow Dickinsonians, like anti-slavery advocate Mordecai McKinney). Ultimately, McAllister's aggressive enforcement of the controversial federal law made him almost a pariah in Pennsylvania. He was forced to relocate to Kansas Territory and then Iowa, before reinventing himself as a mid-level Union military official under General Ulysses S. Grant's command in the Civil War.¹⁸

The fugitive slave crisis of the 1850s was one of the key elements of the antebellum sectional crisis, but the Dred Scott Case might well have been the defining legal decision of the period. In 1846, Dred and Harriet Scott, an enslaved couple living with their two daughters in St. Louis, Missouri, filed separate freedom suits in state circuit court claiming they had been held illegally as slaves in free states and territories. They lost the first round on a technicality, but won a later round. In 1852, however, the Missouri Supreme Court overturned their freedom suit victory, and threw out decades of precedent favoring the "once free, always free" doctrine of interstate comity. With episodes like the McClintock riot and other fugitive slave resistance episodes in mind, the state's chief justice noted pointedly, "Times now are not as they were." The Scott's attorney then took their case (now focusing on Dred Scott only, as the husband and father) into federal court.¹⁹ Eventually, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled against him in *Scott v. Sandford* (1857). It was Chief Justice Roger Taney (Class of 1795) who announced the court's sweeping 7-2 opinion against Scott on March 6, 1857. Taney's opinion for the majority ruled that blacks could not be considered U.S. citizens, that southern states did not have to honor northern laws regarding returned slaves

(comity); and that Missouri Compromise of 1820 had itself been unconstitutional because Congress lacked the authority to restrict slavery in the territories. He was joined in this verdict by fellow Dickinsonian, Robert C. Grier. Associate Justice Grier also took it upon himself during the final tense days of the court's deliberations to keep another Dickinson alum, President-elect James Buchanan, aware of the secret discussions. When the final verdict was announced in March 1857, there were also two dissenting justices. One of them, John McLean of Ohio, had his own Dickinson connection. He had been a member of the college's board of trustees for over two decades, from 1833 to 1855. Despite losing their final appeal, Dred Scott and his family received freedom in the spring of 1857. Taylor Blow, son of Scott's first owner and a resident of St. Louis, actually purchased and then manumitted the entire family. Dred Scott died the next year, a free man. His wife and daughters, however, survived the Civil War. Some of their descendants are still alive today.²⁰

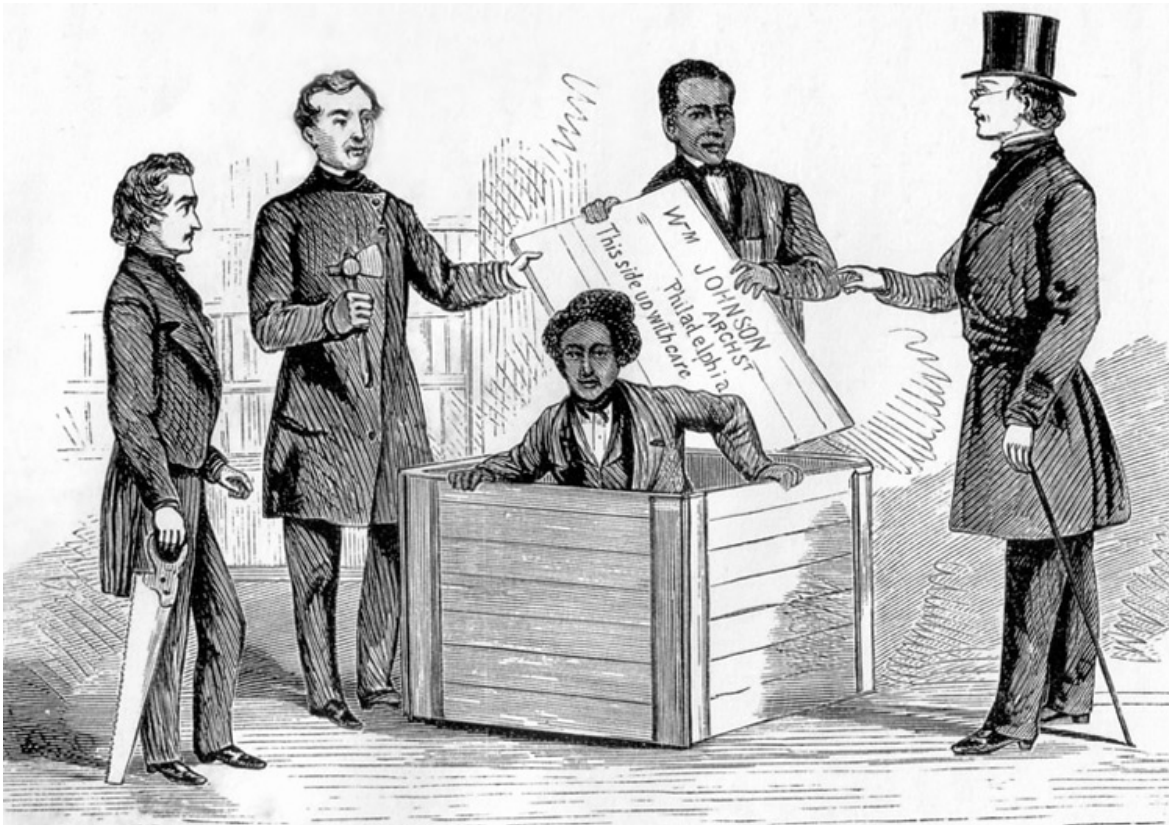


Four Dickinsonians were at the center of the infamous Dred Scott Case of 1857 (from left to right): President James Buchanan (Class of 1809), Chief Justice Roger B. Taney (Class of 1795), Justice Robert C. Grier (Class of 1812), and Justice John McLean (Trustee, 1833-55)

Both Taney and Buchanan are rightfully vilified for their role in the Dred Scott Case and for their bitter views about slavery and race. Yet each man considered himself a true patriot, and because of that belief, they viewed abolitionists and their assault on slavery to be dangerously unpatriotic. The two men embraced the idea that the U.S. Constitution protected the rights of slaveholders. In the Dred Scott majority opinion, Taney, for example, claimed that the Founders had believed that American blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Both Taney and Buchanan actually manumitted or freed slaves themselves. Originally from Maryland, Taney had been a slaveholder until he emancipated all of his enslaved people in 1818.²¹ A Pennsylvanian, Buchanan had never owned any slaves himself, but his sister had a husband who did, so in 1834, worried about the political ramifications of having slaveholders within his extended family, Buchanan bought and freed a woman named Daphne and her daughter Ann. However, just as John Dickinson and Benjamin Rush had done before him, Buchanan proved to be not such an easygoing liberator. He indentured the mother and daughter as servants in his household for combined total of 30 years to pay off their freedom.²²

James Miller McKim (Class of 1828) was one Dickinson alum who despised the views of so-called patriots like Taney and Buchanan. McKim was a noted abolitionist who headed the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and was involved in many of the most important moments in the history of slavery's demise in America. He helped runaway slaves such as

Henry “Box” Brown, who famously managed to escape to freedom inside a shipping crate that traveled over 24 hours from Richmond to Philadelphia. McKim was also the figure who helped recover John Brown’s body after his execution in 1859 following the failed raid on Harpers Ferry. McKim was also chosen to eulogize Brown at his burial in upstate New York. Then McKim, along with his daughter Lucy, bravely traveled to South Carolina during the Civil War to help organize support for thousands of formerly enslaved people after they had been liberated by the Union army.²³



The famous liberation scene in Philadelphia in March 1849 involved two Dickinsonians; From left to right: Lewis Thompson, James Miller McKim (Class of 1828), Henry “Box” Brown, William Still, and Charles Dexter Cleveland (former Dickinson professor)

Back in Carlisle, Dickinson College was also never immune from the turbulence of the sectional crisis. The 1860 commencement ceremonies, for example, were disrupted in part by a bitter argument over an anti-slavery speech.²⁴ Then once fighting erupted at Fort Sumter in April 1861, the fate of the college itself seemed in jeopardy. Southern students began mobilizing to leave the school and some reporting being harassed by local Carlisle residents furious over secession. Students gathered together to say their goodbyes and one group of friends shared parting thoughts with each other in an autograph book that remains in the College Archives. “If I wear the Phi Kap badge, don’t shoot me Frank,” wrote a Maryland student to a Pennsylvania classmate.²⁵ The college then struggled with falling admissions during the wartime period, various threatened Confederate invasions into Pennsylvania and even one brief enemy occupation of the campus (during the Gettysburg campaign in late June 1863). The financial struggles took a toll on the college president, Herman Johnson,

whose wife complained about their fate in a letter to President Lincoln on May 16, 1864. Lucena Johnson (who had previously been married to a southerner and had extended family in the South) wanted Lincoln to grant her permission to sell cotton from her family's Mississippi plantation, one that had been confiscated by Union troops under General Grant's command. She claimed her own family in Carlisle was desperate for funds. "My husband is President of this college but, since Christmas, nearly all the time absent," she wrote to Lincoln with some bitterness, "trying among those who are getting wealth by the war to get an endowment for the college, which is the Alma mater of many great and honorable in the land." Lucena Johnson did not mention any slaves in her appeal to sell cotton, but there is no doubt that enslaved labor had been previously used at this plantation. Perhaps the lack of commitment to the implicit question of how she would treat the liberated ex-slaves (along with the mixed reputation of the college's "great and honorable" alums) is what prompted the Republican president to ignore Johnson's request.²⁶

By contrast, in 1864, Lincoln was working in active and sometimes secret coordination with Dickinson graduate John A.J. Creswell (Class of 1848), who was a Unionist and anti-slavery congressman from Maryland. That year, Creswell and Lincoln plotted frequently behind-the-scenes to help secure the abolition of slavery in Creswell's home state. They had a number of meetings and exchanged several letters, including one where Lincoln wrote explicitly on March 17, 1864, "It needs not to be a secret, that I wish success to emancipation in Maryland. It would aid much to end the rebellion."²⁷ Maryland voters finally did approve a referendum in November 1864 abolishing slavery in their state. This was quite a transformation for Creswell, who had once been part of that contingent of unhappy southern students at Dickinson during the McClintock riot. The congressman then continued to work with Lincoln and other Republicans in January 1865 to help secure passage in the House of Representatives of the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery across the United States. Creswell was actually the first congressman to speak during the final round of House debates over the abolition amendment. "On the one side is disunion for the sake of slavery," he said, expanding eloquently upon the president's private comments to him, "on the other side is freedom for the sake of Union." The amendment passed the Congress and the states then ratified it in December 1865. The rebellion itself had been over for several months, but now slavery was finally abolished in the United States. As Lincoln and Creswell had predicted, the twin evils of American nineteenth-century life essentially perished together.²⁸

“
On the one side is disunion for the
sake of slavery ... on the other side
is freedom for the sake of Union.”
John Creswell (Class of 1848)

Freedom's Legacy

There were no enslaved people forced to work at Dickinson after the 1800s or 1810s, but there were a number of free black employees in the decades before the Civil War, receiving monthly wages, including some who lived among the students. Two of these regular staff members were brothers: Henry and Sam Watts. Henry, known as "Judge" Watts was the

college's principal janitor during the 1850s and 1860s. He kept things clean, provided firewood to heat the students' rooms, and performed various odd jobs around campus. Younger brother Sam provided general assistance as the college's sub-janitor. The two men were originally from Maryland but had been living in Adams County, Pennsylvania before they moved to Carlisle. Both became fast favorites of the students and the faculty.²⁹ Professor Charles Himes memorably photographed the Watts brothers around 1862 seated (probably in the basement of Old West) in their janitorial garb for a series of vivid stereoscopic (or three-dimensional) views. Himes was a devoted amateur photographer who took images all around Carlisle, but his carefully arranged compositions with the Watts brothers testifies to their relative popularity in the community.³⁰ Yet sometimes popularity collided with racist views about color, especially after the Civil War and during the bitter political period known as Reconstruction. Henry Watts lived and worked on campus until his retirement in the 1870s, proudly carrying diplomas during commencement ceremonies, but something tragic happened to his brother, Sam. The younger Watts brother was mysteriously dismissed from the college around 1876 and then saw his life spiral out of control. He became unemployed, then injured in Harrisburg, divorced from his wife and finally ended his life crippled and alone as a resident in the Carlisle poor house.³¹



Details from the stereocards probably taken in the basement of Old West, by Professor Charles Himes, featuring college janitors Henry Watts (left) and his younger brother, Sam (Library of Congress)

We don't know exactly what happened to Sam Watts, but it may have been a by-product of the poisonous post-war attitudes about race and equality. Slavery was gone but hatred seemed somehow on the rise. During the 1880s, a pro-civil rights newspaper in Ohio made a startling claim about the legacy of racism at Dickinson, a school it identified as beholden to its southern students. "Dickinson College is nothing if not notorious," the newspaper wrote. "It is not many years since a colored janitor was hung to a beam in one of the rooms of the college, raised and lowered repeatedly and at last driven out of Carlisle, all to extort a confession from him of a theft of which a senior was subsequently convicted." We don't know for sure, but if this story was true, then it may well have been Sam Watts who was threatened with lynching by some mean-spirited students. The college has no records of any such episode, however. We only discovered it accidentally as part of a search of historic newspaper databases.³²

own. Dickinson college is nothing if not notorious. It is not many years since a colored janitor was hung to a beam in one of the rooms of the college, raised and lowered repeatedly and at last driven out of Carlisle,

From "Barbarism in American Institutions of Learning," *Springfield (OH) Sunday Globe-Republic*, October 31, 1886 [Newspapers.com]

There is, however, a revealing internal document for one of the college's other African American employees, a fellow janitor who ended his employment around the same time as Sam Watts. On Monday, June 11, 1877, the minutes for the Dickinson College faculty meeting contained the following notation: "The death of Geo. Norris for eight years Janitor in charge of the Bell was announced. Born a slave, a servant in the confederate army during the early part of the war, he was one of a class rapidly disappearing & a fitting representative."



George Norris, Sr.

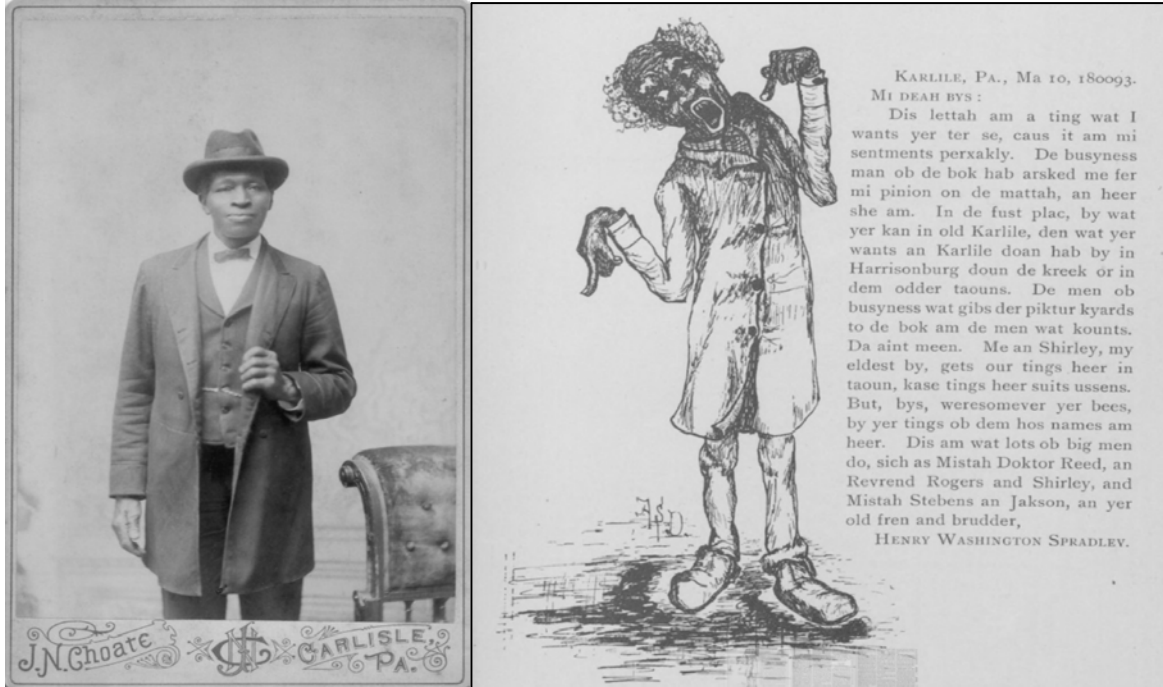
Just a few days later, the *Carlisle Herald* reported further that Norris had died from consumption and that his funeral was attended by many of the college's students. Norris was clearly an important, respected black figure on campus. But what makes the entry from the faculty minutes so noteworthy was its reference to Norris's experience as an enslaved servant to the Confederates "during the early part of the war." This suggests that Norris, born in Virginia, probably escaped from Confederate General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia sometime during its invasions of the Union, either in 1862 (Antietam) or 1863 (Gettysburg).

Again, we do not yet know all of the details. But we do know that a recollection put together by the Class of 1870 a few decades later called Norris, "an especial favorite" of their cohort. In the college archives, there is also a carte-de-visite (photographic card) for the popular janitor, standing with his broom and holding a gold pocket watch given to him by the students for his years of service. In physical appearance, Norris made a striking impression. The Class of 1870 recalled him as, "very tall, ungainly and loose-jointed," someone who "possessed the rather unusual ability of placing his hands upon his kneecaps when standing upright." They noted almost cruelly that "when a slave his master was accustomed to call him to the house to furnish amusement to his guests." The grown men from the Class of 1870 were not above remembering fondly how they also once mocked Norris. They recalled how they had given

him that gold watch at a special college ceremony, only to laugh uproariously as he delivered a solemn-sounding oration of gratitude written for him in a mishmash of slang and phony Latin by a supposedly witty classmate. By September 1877, following Norris's death, newspapers in nearby Harrisburg reported that "no less than twenty-five colored applicants" had materialized to fill his much sought-after position. At first, the job went to his son, George, Jr., but the younger Norris was eventually moved over to service at Metzger Hall, the women's dormitory (where he worked until 1912). In that janitorial capacity, George Norris, Jr. also became a popular figure around campus, and between father and son, a Norris man worked at Dickinson College for over forty years.³³

During the late 1870s, Henry W. Spradley, another formerly enslaved man from Virginia, also joined the Dickinson College staff as a janitor, probably filling the place left by the younger Norris. Spradley had been a stonemason from Winchester, a railroad junction town in the Shenandoah Valley. Like the elder Norris, he had somehow managed to escape during the war. Spradley then served in the Union army (briefly in 1865) and after the war settled in Carlisle with his wife Mina and their children. In 1879, Spradley took over the main janitorial post at Dickinson, where he served as the bell ringer of West College until his death in 1897. During that period, Spradley became if anything even more popular with the students than the elder Norris had once been. In 1885, the local newspaper even covered a dinner that he and his wife Mina hosted at their campus residence for the graduating seniors. "The class felt especially delighted upon the occasion," reported the *Carlisle Sentinel*, "as it was the first time in the history of the college –the first time in over a hundred years– that a class had been so honored." The reporter observed that the boys were "proud of each other" for being so "beloved" by their gracious African American host. "No more delicious turkey was ever eaten, nor more fragrant coffee ever drank," claimed the newspaper. The warm-hearted evening ended with toasts to Spradley and the other janitors, and even some original songs, included one with the refrain, "Here's to Mr. Spradley / Who never does things badly."³⁴

Sadly, that good spirit did not always prevail. In 1892, some Dickinson students falsely accused Spradley's 18-year-old son Shirley, who was helping out around campus, of stealing \$40 from someone's trunk. George Reed, the college president at that time, made a formal complaint to the Carlisle police, who then quickly arrested the young black man. Given the tales about an earlier near-lynching episode from the 1870s over a similar accusation of theft, one can only imagine how frightened the Spradleys must have been over the fate of their son. Yet, the story ended with some measure of justice. At a preliminary hearing the day after his arrest, Shirley was able to prove how he had obtained his cash and the charges were quickly dismissed.³⁵ It is not clear if President Reed ever apologized to the family, but the students seemed largely unrepentant. The college yearbook for 1892-93 contained an overtly racist cartoon of the elder Spradley combined with a vicious parody of a letter allegedly from the janitor that was full of offensive attempts at mocking African American dialect.



A dignified memorial card for college janitor Henry Spradley (left), c. 1897 was preceded by a racist depiction from the student yearbook (right), c. 1892-93 (Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections)

However, such indignities seemed the exception rather than the rule. In 1895, during the ground-breaking ceremony for Denny Hall, President Reed started with the shovel and then passed it along to various representatives from the institution, including the college janitors, led by Spradley. Perhaps even more revealing, when Spradley died in 1897, the college community came together to honor his memory with a gracious tribute. Concerned that the West Street A.M.E. Church was too small to hold the anticipated crowd, Dickinson College agreed to cancel classes one afternoon and host the memorial service inside the new Bosler Hall. Spradley's pallbearers were fellow janitors at Dickinson and other leaders of the local black community. The attendees included nearly the entire study body of the college, along with faculty and staff and extended family and friends from Carlisle. To commemorate his life and service, the college also commissioned a memorial card from local photographer J.N. Choate, featuring an image of Spradley in his younger days, taken sometime not too long after the end of the Civil War and the final abolition of slavery.³⁶

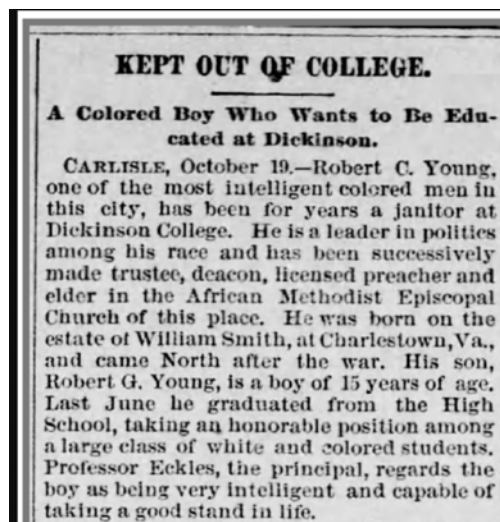
One of Spradley's pallbearers was fellow janitor Robert C. Young. Out of all of the formerly enslaved men who worked at Dickinson in the late nineteenth century, Young might well have been the most consequential to the history of the college. Young was known as an imposing figure, "great, stout" and "broad-shouldered," according to the students at Dickinson. He had been born enslaved in western Virginia around 1845. Then somehow, after the Civil War, still as a teenager, he found his way to Carlisle and got hired as a household servant to the president of Dickinson College, Robert Dashiell. Young made quite an impression at the college, "known to turn upon his tormentors with great vigor" whenever mischievous students tried pelting him with snowballs or other "convenient missiles." Before long, Young became the senior janitor at East College and raised a large

family in Carlisle with his wife Matilda. By the middle of the 1880s, Young and fellow janitor Henry Spradley seemed secure in their place on campus.³⁷



From left to right: college janitor Henry Spradley, son Shirley Spradley, and fellow janitor Robert Young, on the steps of Old West, c. 1885 (Cumberland County Historical Society)

But then the indomitable will of the broad-shouldered janitor set off an institutional crisis. His eldest son, Robert G. Young, had graduated from high school in Carlisle in 1885 and his father decided that he deserved an opportunity to get a college education. The school had never before had any student of color, but it was an era of change. Dickinson had just admitted its first female students. There was an Indian school now thriving in Carlisle. And, of course, the Constitution had been remade after the Civil War with the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments, all promising freedom and equality regardless of color. Yet most colleges and universities in America remained segregated. But Young believed it was time for change at Dickinson as well and pressed hard in the spring of 1886 for equal consideration. He wanted his son admitted to the Dickinson preparatory school, which was then a standard transitional experience for many students who were planning ultimately to graduate from the college. Nothing happened at first. School officials seemed determined to ignore this violation of their social norms. But Young persisted on behalf of his son and the stand-off soon made national news. “KEPT OUT OF COLLEGE,” reported the *Philadelphia Times* in October 1886, “A Colored Boy Who Wants to Be Educated at Dickinson.” The *Philadelphia North American* was merciless in its criticism. “The southern young



bloods who have been airing race prejudice at Dickinson College are evidently beginning to feel their inferiority to the negro.” The story earned coverage in Georgia, Ohio, Massachusetts, New York, North Dakota and elsewhere.³⁸

All of this attention put Dickinson officials on the defensive. They denied any interest in segregation, but claimed (weakly) that the Youngs had simply failed to make a proper application. One unnamed professor later wrote a letter to a Boston newspaper suggesting the whole affair was being over-hyped. “There has been some opposition on the part of some of the boys,” he wrote, “but a large number have kept agitating the matter in the boy’s favor, and it is from these that all these newspaper squibs originate.” Eventually, the Dickinson prep school admitted Robert G. Young, but he only seems to have lasted on campus for about a year. Why he left remains uncertain. The records don’t exist, and the newspaper coverage quickly died down. However, in 1940, while he was widowed and living with his daughter Mary in Newton, Massachusetts, 69-year-old Robert G. Young, was still proudly listing his educational experience as one year of college. The first actual black graduate of Dickinson (John Robert Paul Brock) would not receive his diploma until 1901. Esther Popel, the first black female Dickinsonian, graduated in 1919. Fortunately, father Robert C. Young lived long enough to see all of that. He died in 1922, after becoming the longest serving employee in the history of Dickinson College (up until recently), having worked for nearly four decades as domestic servant, college janitor, and eventually as the main campus policeman.³⁹



Noah Pinkney (standing center) selling ice cream in front of East College c. 1890; with Robert Young (seated, front) and Henry Spradley (leaning on cart) (Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections)

There was a striking photograph taken sometime in the summer of 1890 in front of East College showing Robert Young and Henry Spradley sharing ice cream with some other African American men. The vendor who was selling them their frozen treats was also a formerly enslaved man. His name was Noah Pinkney, or Uncle Noah as most of the students

called him. He had been born enslaved in Frederick, Maryland but somehow escaped to Harrisburg during the Civil War and joined the Union army where he served as a corporal in the 127th United States Colored Troops. Pinkney's regiment was one of seven all-black regiments present at Lee's surrender at Appomattox in April 1865. After the war, Pinkney returned to Harrisburg and started to raise a family, but eventually he became divorced from his first wife and relocated to Carlisle. By the mid-1880s, he was proving successful as an entrepreneur in town, someone who sold pretzels and all kinds of food to the students at Dickinson College. Pinkney started selling ice cream in 1888. For years, Pinkney was allowed to roam the campus selling his various treats, but by the mid-1890s he was ordered by college administrators to move off-campus and sell outside the campus walls. Eventually, Pinkney and his wife Carrie (or "Aunt Noah" as the students called her) opened a restaurant out of their residence on West Street. Their place became a favorite hangout for Dickinson students and Pinkney became a popular fixture in the memories of generations of Dickinsonians.⁴⁰

In fact, Pinkney was such a beloved figure that until quite recently, he was the only African American memorialized on the campus. In June 1951, there was a bronze plaque erected near East College in his honor. The plaque described Pinkney, who had died in 1923, as, "a former slave and Christian gentleman" who had served the college community for more than forty years. That memorial was apparently stolen in 1978, but eventually recovered and moved over to the College Archives. In 1999, however, the college installed a new marker (with some updated wording) to help honor Pinkney's legacy. To date, this remains the only official tribute at Dickinson College to a formerly enslaved person.



Noah Pinkney (standing center) with Carrie Pinkney (seated, right) in front of East College, c. 1880s (Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections)

Part Two How Should We Remember?

Re-Naming and Removing

There are dozens of buildings or memorials of various types situated across the Dickinson campus and designed to honor a wide range of historic figures who have been associated with the institution. Some of these tributes commemorate former slaveholders (although, of course, without acknowledging their slaveholding). Whether or not such forms of commemoration undermine the values of the modern-day institution is a topic that divides Dickinsonians, as it does most Americans. Some respondents to our surveys were quite adamant. One faction argued that no American slaveholder should ever be honored under any circumstances, no matter how great his or her other accomplishments. Another contingent rejected any efforts which sounded like an attempt to “erase” history or bow to “political correctness.” Here are two samples of these polarized positions:

“I think the college must rename the buildings or other commemorations of Dickinson slaveholders on campus and in the Carlisle community.... The college, and higher education at large, have gone far too long allowing the figures who helped form this country and these institutions live in glory and honor without addressing their complex lives.”

“While I agree the period of slavery was sad and regrettable, it has to be looked at in the context of their times.... To change building names of former slave holders would be wrong. These slaveholders made major contributions to our society or the landmark (or building) wouldn’t have been named after them. Some of the most celebrated people in our American history were slaveholders.... Where would we stop?”

Most respondents, however, tried to make some kind of distinctions and to set the debate into an evolving historical context. One person memorably claimed that buildings and memorials should be considered “innocent until proven guilty,” yet added that all “charges” should “be investigated.” The respondent remarked that some renaming or removing might well have to occur. “There is no question that slave ownership should be condemned,” he concluded, “but we need to judge each situation on a case-by-case basis.”

In that spirit, we have divided seven of the prominent former slaveholders who are currently being honored on campus into two categories. First, we identified slaveholders who either freed their own slaves or later came to oppose slavery (with the college commemoration in parentheses):

- **James Buchanan** (residential hall, library portrait)
- **John Dickinson** (college, section of campus)
- **Benjamin Rush** (statue, section of campus)
- **James Wilson** (residential hall)

Then, we identified slaveholders or pro-slavery figures who never renounced slaveholding (with the college commemoration in parentheses):

- **John Armstrong** (residential hall)
- **Thomas Cooper** (residential hall, science complex portrait)
- **John Montgomery** (departmental building, service scholarship)

We presented these categories to visitors over the past year and received a variety of thoughtful responses. Here is a brief sampling:

“I believe that anyone we are honoring on this campus should be held to the highest accountability. Anyone who kept, bought, sold, and refused to give up ownership of slaves should not be honored through their namesake being used on buildings. Dickinson, Rush, Wilson, and even to an extent Buchanan can be seen to have inherited a set of beliefs, but changed their beliefs once confronted with the opposing view. Armstrong, Montgomery, and Cooper’s beliefs, at least with the benefit of hindsight, I find inexcusable and should not therefore be honored on this campus. I can see commemorative plaques being used, perhaps as a reference to the former names of the buildings, to avoid covering up and forgetting this important part of our past, though. In the end, I think it comes down to this: Some of the people in Dickinson College’s past were successful at least in part because of the fact that they leveraged human lives to elevate their own. I think we can benefit from these slave owners’ lives, then, without celebrating them, just as they did to the people they enslaved.”

“Context matters when examining buildings named after slaveholders at Dickinson. While it’s important not to excuse slavery or slaveholders in any way, it’s equally necessary to recognize that slavery was not seen universally as a moral wrong. For that reason, owning a slave should not necessarily disqualify important figures in Dickinson’s history from being commemorated. As a community, Dickinson needs to evaluate the individual context of these figures and their relationship with slavery, and figure out whether or not it’s appropriate or worthwhile for that figure to have a building named after them. A slave-owner like Dickinson, who freed his slaves and spoke against slavery, should not be equated with a figure like John Montgomery, who actively participated in the slave trade and supported it throughout his life.”

“If we were commemorating Dickinsonians because of their contributions to the institution of slavery, i.e. something they did to promote the secular institution itself, I would say rename the building immediately.... [but not if] on balance, their positive contributions to our society far out-weigh the very real negatives of their slaveholding. This does not excuse ownership of human beings; rather it attempts to find a more nuanced way of judging how to move forward.”

Last year, the feelings in favor of removal seemed strongest about Thomas Cooper, whose historical connection to the college was perhaps the weakest (a faculty member for four years, from 1811-15), and whose name has only adorned a campus building since the early 1990s. One respondent called it especially “indefensible that Cooper's legacy remains palpable on Dickinson campus despite his limited impact on campus and support for the institution of slavery.” Student Senate debated a resolution specifically calling for the re-naming of Cooper Hall and prepared a report designating other more diverse choices from the college's past (including the very recent past) which they hoped would replace his designation. Before the end of the spring semester, the science faculty also decided to remove Cooper's portrait from the Rector Science Complex. The forlorn oil portrait currently occupies a space in the Dickinson & Slavery exhibit at the House Divided studio.

The truth is that when the college first selected Cooper to join a list of nine other historic names to be assigned to the previously numbered-only residential halls near the library (known then collectively as “The Quads”), nobody seemed concerned about his post-Dickinson career. Nobody really knew that after he had departed from Dickinson, Cooper became one of American slavery's leading apologists and intellectual defenders. His words from an 1826 pamphlet on political economy still sting. In *Two Essays: On the Constitution of the United States*, Cooper warned that “the emancipation of the Slaves would surely convert them into idle and useless vagabonds, and thieves.” He explained himself more fully in a private letter from that same year. “I do not say the blacks are a distinct species,” Cooper wrote, “but I have not the slightest doubt of their being an inferior variety of the human species; and not capable of the same improvement as the whites.”⁴¹

Of course, such views were not necessarily uncommon in the 1820s, but the harsh anti-black, pro-slavery evolution of Cooper's career was not even discussed when his name was first put on the Dickinson College residence hall nearly thirty years ago. The only issue that came up at that time was some slight resistance from faculty members to the perception that there was a noticeable lack of gender and color diversity to the historic figures being selected for the naming opportunities. Cooper was not a particular target of this concern –just one of nine white males paired with one white female (the college's first female graduate). The college dean who defended these naming decisions was blunt about what he considered to be their limited options. In an April 17, 1991 memo to the Planning & Budget Committee, the dean wrote: “I see no point in naming a building after the first black or the first native American

who attended Dickinson, nor the first woman professor. Given the heritage of this college, that leaves me only with other dead white men to choose among.”⁴²

That memo was certainly a relic of its own times, but what it really underscores is the fantasy that history is somehow sacred or fixed. The way the quad buildings got their names was almost arbitrary. The dean tried to be diligent and defended his choices by pointing out that he had read the only book-length modern history of the college (by Charles Sellers in 1973) and had drawn the names from there, after some additional consultation with the college archivist. But the Sellers history of Dickinson—a fine book published by an academic press—was limited in its perspective (as are all works of history), and almost totally ignored the slavery issue and the contributions of the college’s past African American employees. The result was an impression about “the heritage of the college” that left out a great deal.

Sellers, for example, was luxurious in his praise for Thomas Cooper. He described him as “a humanitarian idealist dedicated to progress in this world rather than the next, an inveterate agitator and reformer.” The author quoted Thomas Jefferson, who had once labeled the noted scientist as “the greatest man in America, in the powers of the mind.” Sellers acknowledged that Cooper ended up as a college president in South Carolina, but made no mention of his later role as a slaveholder or defender of slavery.⁴³ In other words, he left out some key details. Sellers was also something of a hagiographer with figures like John Montgomery and John Armstrong. He gently mocked Captain (later Colonel) Montgomery for being “less expert” with the pen “than with the sword,” but still praised him heartily as “a rock of conservatism in religion and politics, and a successful man.” He extolled General Armstrong as “a man of sophistication and power” who “was virtually the founder and father of Carlisle,” but ignored the fact that Armstrong had also originally opposed Benjamin Rush’s plan to transform the grammar school at Carlisle into a college. Sellers praised Armstrong as “urbane,” but mentioned nothing of his slaveholding, nor any details of his brutal tactics against Native Americans during the French & Indian War.⁴⁴ Yet we have a letter in Armstrong own handwriting describing his pride in how his men had burned out Indian families from the village at Kittanning:

As the Fire began to approach & the Smoak grew thick one of the Indian Fellows to show his Manhood began to sing. A Squa [squaw] in the same House & at the same Time was heard to cry & make a noise, but for so doing was severely rebuked by the Man, but by and by the Fire being too hot for them, two Indian Fellows and a Squa sprung out and made for the Corn Field, who were immediately shot down by our People (September 14, 1756).⁴⁵

The point is not that any of these men were all one thing or the other, but anybody who worries about “political correctness” run amok in 2019 should also wonder how a different form of self-censorship impacted older generations who always seemed to highlight some facets of their historical founders and heroes while ignoring many others. People are complicated and always have been. The names on residential halls or memorial plaques can never encapsulate all of that, but it seems more than reasonable to ask, especially in cases where the historical recognition dates back only to 1991 (by way of a monograph from 1973), why such decisions should ever be treated as sacrosanct?

Of course, the answer is that they shouldn't. Our recommendation to the President's Commission on Inclusivity is to take the academic year in 2019-20 as an opportunity to re-evaluate the existing campus commemorations for John Armstrong, Thomas Cooper and John Montgomery. Armstrong and Cooper have both had residence halls named after them since 1991. Montgomery Hall (current home to the Theatre & Dance Department) has a slightly longer lineage, but the name itself only dates back to the 1950s. The building is historic, but actually has nothing to do with the founding trustee. Montgomery has also been used as the namesake for the college's Montgomery Service Leaders program, which now seems, in light of his previously forgotten penchant for buying and selling human property, to be a particularly inappropriate tribute. The webpage for the service program describes Montgomery in this fashion:

John Montgomery was one of the three original founders and a U.S. congressman. A significant leader in the military, government and community, Col. Montgomery was a strong advocate for connection between the community and college when Dickinson College was formed in 1783.⁴⁶

Once again, all this is true and yet definitely not the full story. So our hope is that the President's Commission on Inclusivity will take each figure on a case-by-case basis, consult the companion Dickinson & Slavery website for more information, ask additional questions as needed and consult other experts before deciding whether or how best to recalibrate their commemoration in ways that suit the values of Dickinson College in the twenty-first century. That might mean removing all three figures from their namesake tributes. It might mean removing some tributes, but keeping (or even restoring) others. For example, Thomas Cooper's portrait in Rector actually seems, on the surface at least, as somewhat more appropriate for recognizing his career contributions than having his name on a residence hall. Perhaps the portrait of this great scientist and free speech martyr could be re-hung somewhere with an explanatory marker that also addresses his darker final chapter in South Carolina. Or perhaps the portrait is truly best left on the floor of the Dickinson & Slavery exhibit, as an illustration of how the perception of these memorials can change as our view of history evolves.

But what about the other slaveholders? What, if anything, should be done about Benjamin Rush's statue in the center of campus? What about the sweatshirts adorned with a slaveholder's name? How should the college acknowledge graduates like James Buchanan (Class of 1809) who freed (but then indentured) slaves owned by a family member, before adamantly protecting the interests of slaveholders as U.S. president? What about the man who was probably the college's most significant graduate –Roger Brooke Taney (Class of 1795), Chief Justice of the United States for nearly thirty years? This controversial figure was revered by many in his day but has essentially been left with no public recognition on campus because of the stigma now attached to his anti-black reputation. Taney freed his own slaves (a fact that most people don't know) but he opposed the general abolition of slavery and wrote arguably the worst, most overtly racist decision in the history of the federal courts (*Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 1857). In addition, during the Civil War, Chief Justice Taney was probably as dangerous a thorn in President Lincoln's side as almost any other single man.

Such questions are more complicated and probably deserve to become part of a longer deliberative process on campus. Nobody should be afraid to address these issues, but nobody should feel rushed into making judgments either. Some people on campus already do believe that the choices are clear, but most Dickinsonians are far more uncertain and feel they need better information and additional time to reflect. One way to build toward wider agreement about next steps would be for the President's Commission on Inclusivity to establish clear plans for investigating these and other evolving claims for historic diversity in our campus commemoration. An effective way to proceed would be to schedule a reevaluation of the first tier of slaveholder names for this year --John Armstrong, Thomas Cooper and John Montgomery—and then set a future date for reconsideration of the second tier.

A transparent process might reassure all sides of the argument that there will be enough opportunities to address concerns and to find generally equitable solutions. In some cases, these solutions might offer greater attention to context, such as with explanatory markers placed besides monuments or buildings. Some traditions will not require any change. Yet in other instances, there may emerge a clear majority to proceed with renaming or removals. However, in all cases, everyone within the college community should acknowledge that such revisionism is an inevitable component of history. New evidence almost always emerges. Perspective invariably shifts. But most important of all, values and priorities change. What was considered just or important to previous generations of Dickinsonians is not always regarded as just or important to current ones. That kind of sophisticated realization should also encourage current and future members of our community to have a deeper sense of modesty about their own judgments, especially on complex moral issues. Yet, it should also endow everyone on campus with a feeling of purpose. Our college's history is not a fixed thing, and we have every right to shape and reshape it, as long as we are being deliberate and fair-minded in the process.

New Names and Memorials

Removing some names associated with slavery from selected buildings on campus obviously means they would have to be replaced with other choices. During the nineteenth century, Dickinson had a number of black families from Carlisle some of whom provided long-serving and popular employees or vendors to the college, and even in one notable (but previously forgotten) case, a student. A few of these families also lived on campus. Over the previous year during the launching of this initiative, many Dickinsonians have become more familiar with these stories, especially those involving the Watts brothers, the Norris's, the Spradley's, the Young family, or Noah and Carrie Pinkney. Most respondents to our surveys last year observed how powerful a message it would be to substitute the names of some of these formerly enslaved people for any of the slaveholders previously honored by the college who were now being considered for "retirement" from public tribute.

"I strongly believe that Dickinson should change the names of the buildings named after slaveholders, and instead use names of formerly enslaved or free black men and women who contributed to Carlisle or the Dickinson community. The choice to name these buildings after slaveholders puts an ugly

face on the Dickinson community and it actively goes against the college's values. Instead, by including names of populations who have been underrepresented, such as Pinkney, Spradley or Young, Dickinson will be showing the world what it truly stands for- equality, education, justice, and civic engagement. Although some argue that this is "ignoring history", I would argue the opposite. We have ignored enslaved or formerly enslaved individuals in history for far too long, despite the incredibly positive impacts they have made on the community."

"I believe the college should consider renaming buildings and adding memorials to commemorating the contributions of past Black employees and enslaved people that worked here. It is important to honor the narratives of those who were forced to sacrifice the freedom of body and mind to lay the foundations of the institution we have today. The free black men who worked at Dickinson helped to insure that countless students at the time and in the future would receive a quality education all while they and their own children were barred from such classrooms. That should not be forgotten. To ignore or not celebrate their contributions to Dickinson is to white wash the history of this college."

"Without commemoration, the contributions of African Americans, both enslaved and free, remain invisible. The contributions of white Dickinsonians are highly visible, with buildings, scholarships or statues celebrating their achievements. This gives an impression that the contributions of other figures in Dickinson's history, specifically African Americans, do not have anything to be commemorated for, which could not be further from the truth. Robert Young played a large role in integrating the college, but is not commemorated visibly anywhere on campus. Without commemoration, Young's, and other African American's contributions go unnoticed to the Dickinson community at large."

"By providing memorials to commemorate free African Americans or enslaved black people, the college will provide the nuance and context necessary to deal with this college and its history that is just. While I don't think this truly does the work of embracing diversity in the present, it at least holds the institution accountable by addressing its historical ties with slavery."

“Even if individuals like Benjamin Rush or John Dickinson did do great things and upheld some of the values we believe in, holding them up as the ONLY icons of our community undoubtedly is not very welcoming or inclusive of students of color, and suggests that we can ignore these undesirable qualities just because those running this institution (who were and still are primarily white men) decided they weren’t as important. I don’t think this means we should never discuss people like Rush or even Cooper and the complications of their lives (and the times in which they lived), but just giving them a statue and saying they were great is not at all the type of open discussion that this campus is all about. I think including formerly enslaved or free Black men and women who were a part of the campus community would be a great change in direction. These individuals really embodied a lot of the values that we have been pushing on campus in recent years, and so sharing their stories can have a really great impact on Dickinson, the Carlisle community, and maybe even further. Commemorating these people shows that we value the lives and contributions of those with less privilege and power than the school’s founders, and it shows that we embrace diversity in our past and our present. Both of these ideas are very important in terms of shaping our campus values and the message we send to the public, and in terms of making more meaningful connections with the Carlisle community.”

There was a particular groundswell of support among respondents last year to substitute Robert Young or the Young Family name for Thomas Cooper on the former quad residential building now known as Cooper Hall. Here is one representative argument in favor of that proposed exchange:

“When it comes to Cooper Hall, I would support renaming the building in honor of Robert Young, a former slave who worked at Dickinson for more than four decades, and whose son temporarily integrated the school in the mid-1880s. Not only was he a pro-slavery writer, but Dickinsonians should also bear in mind that Thomas Cooper only taught at Dickinson for a relatively brief period (about four years), and left under a storm cloud after a protracted battle with the college’s president. As was recently uncovered, the building wasn’t even named after Cooper until the 1990s. I would respectfully suggest that the Dickinson community chose to honor Robert Young, who left a far more positive and impactful legacy on campus in over four decades of service to the college.”

Names on buildings are important, but as educational tools they are defective. Renaming Cooper Hall as the Young Family Hall will generate plenty of attention –at first. But then, inevitably, people will stop noticing the name and stop remembering the purpose behind the transformation. Eventually, the name will come to mean almost nothing to most passers-by and probably even to some residents. Ask any Dickinson student or faculty member to describe the historic figures whom the buildings on campus are named after and most will produce only blank stares and perhaps some awkward confusion of facts and memory.

For those who truly care about re-framing the story of Dickinson’s history, the only effective answer will be to continue to engage in dynamic public history and classroom efforts. In that regard, fortunately, we have already made a good start. Last year’s public programming around the Dickinson & Slavery initiative not only raised awareness, but also created some lasting legacies. The patio area behind the House Divided Studio is now named “Freedom Courtyard” and is adorned with murals devoted to the formerly enslaved people who worked at Dickinson during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The exhibit inside the studio will also remain in place for the indefinite future. The House Divided Project regularly hosts K-12 teacher workshops on campus on various slavery-related topics and also provides tours to groups of students and educators. Last summer, for example, the National History Academy, a group of 100 of the country’s most enthusiastic high school history students, visited the exhibit and spent the day on campus learning about slavery. We have also made special local outreach efforts, with open houses, presentations to the Carlisle Borough Council, and with participation in the 100th anniversary of the Carlisle YWCA. Finally, we have seen notable progress in raising awareness within our own classrooms on campus. Five different courses from various departments visited the exhibit last year. This semester, a first-year seminar also meets in the studio and uses the subject of “Dickinson & Slavery” as a gateway for understanding complicated debates about history and memory.

However, there is more to be done. Currently, the House Divided Project only has the resources to open the exhibit for public viewing about one morning each week. We should aspire to find ways to staff the exhibit space for daily public access. We need to continue to host K-12 teacher workshops and to expand our marketing efforts to bring more regional educators into our network. Five courses visiting the exhibit was a good start last year, but we can do better in engaging all of the Dickinson students, faculty, staff and alums with information from this report and from the initiative. Perhaps most important, we need to continue our efforts to engage local groups in learning more about not only Dickinson & Slavery, but also Carlisle & Slavery. We have created a travelling version of our exhibit, but we need to work harder to connect with groups that might want to host it. In addition, one critical new step would be for the college to invest in some additional wayside markers around campus that might highlight the stories of the Dickinson & Slavery initiative within the campus landscape itself. Most of these additional efforts will only require small increases in funding that might be spread across a variety of campus sources. Even more important than the money, however, is the commitment of time and energy. But that is the good news. After an initial year of activity, it seems clear that there is a groundswell building on campus to do better in our memory of this complicated and sometimes divisive but also vitally important story.

Summary of Key Recommendations

1. Create a deliberative process for considering when to rename campus buildings or remove memorials that might undermine college values.
 - a. Re-evaluate the existing campus commemorations for John Armstrong, Thomas Cooper and John Montgomery in 2019-20.
 - b. Schedule future plans for investigating other and evolving claims about controversial forms of campus commemoration.
2. Expand the efforts to commemorate the contributions of nineteenth-century African Americans to the Dickinson community.
 - a. Elevate one or more of the key nineteenth-century African American families associated with the college's history (e.g. the Norris, Pinkney, Spradley, Watts or Young families) to building-naming status.
 - b. Continue to develop engaging public history and classroom resources that can help raise greater awareness about the contributions of past African American staff to the college and the wider community.

List of Contributors

Dickinson & Slavery is a multi-year effort featuring this report (completed in August 2019), a permanent exhibit at the House Divided studio (61 N. West Street), and a companion website (<http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/>) originally built in 2018. The following people contributed to various aspects of the general initiative, although nobody beyond the faculty director is responsible for the final content, nor do any of the views or opinions expressed throughout the initiative necessarily represent the official policy or position of Dickinson College.

Faculty Director

Matthew Pinsker

Main student contributors

Sarah Aillon, '19
Amanda Donoghue, '19
Sarah Goldberg, '18
Frank Kline, '18
Rachel Morgan, '18
Rebecca Stout, '19
Naji Thompson, '19
Sam Weisman, '18
Cooper Wingert, '20

Technical Producer

Ryan Burke

Additional acknowledgments

Rick Beard
Lauren Benton
Christopher Bilodeau
Christine Bombaro
Michael Borsch
Lindsay Bowman
Ryan Bowman
Christina Braxton
Brenda Bretz
Madeline Brown
Luke Burstein
Ke'son Bullock-Brown
David Commins
Chris Cowoski
Trevor Diamond
Malinda Triller Doran
Margee Ensign
Tom Forte

James Gerencser
George Gilbert
Pentti Hanlon
James Hoefler
Leah Hotaling
Lynn Johnson
Craig Jurgensen
Harry Lewis
Jack Lodge
Jia Ma
Colin Macfarlane
Dana Marecheau
Jeffrey McCausland
Todd Mealy
Leah Miller
John Osborne
David Park
Greg Parker

Emily Pawley
John Pohanka
Cody Rosenbarker
Don Sailer
Ryan Schutte
Susan Segal
Abigail Stasior
Holly Tiley
Kevin Wagner
Sam Waltman
Bob Watson
Michael Watson
Craig Weeks
Lauren Weickert
Neil Weissman
David Williams
Cory Young

Endnotes

¹ Horatio C. King, *History of Dickinson College* (New York: American University Magazine Publishing, 1897), 12.

² Charles Coleman Sellers, *Dickinson College: A History* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973). For a survey of other college histories, dating as far back as 1811, see the Publications page on the Dickinson & Slavery website: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/publications/>

³ John King Slave Return, Clerk of Courts Records, Cumberland County Archives. For a complete list of trustees, consult the Dickinson Encyclopedia online. Cooper Wingert ('20) compiled the statistics on trustee slave ownership from various slave returns, registers and tax records. For further details (with direct links to online sources), see the Founding Era page at the Dickinson & Slavery website: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/our-research/college-founding/>

⁴ For the original manuscripts of John Dickinson's 1777 manumission of his enslaved laborers and for general background on his slaveholding, see Contradictions of Freedom in a New Nation, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, <http://digitalhistory.hsp.org/pafirm/doc/manumission-john-dickinsons-slaves-may-12-1777-march-27-1779>

⁵ Gary Nash and Jean Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 144-6. It should also be noted that Dickinson himself was born into a slaveholding Quaker family. His marriage to fellow Quaker Mary (Polly) Norris, however, marked a turning point in his engagement with the faith, though it is also true that Dickinson never formally became a member of the Society of Friends.

⁶ John Dickinson, "Notes for a Speech (II)," in James H. Huston, ed., *Supplement to Max Farrand's The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 158-9. James Madison, "Notes on the Debates in the Federal Convention," August 25, 1787, Avalon Project, Yale Law School, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/debates_825.asp

⁷ *Carlisle Gazette*, July 25, 1787 [Readex]

⁸ Samuel Mahon notebooks, Lecture 144, March 26, 1789, pp. 158-60, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections

⁹ Historian Gary Nash identifies the 1776 letter to his wife as Rush's first reference to Grubber as a servant or slave. However, recent Rush biographer Stephen Fried believes that notation referred to a different servant named Billy. Fried claims that Grubber did not appear in Dr. Rush's ledgers until December 1780. See Gary B. Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1740 to 1820* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 306n and Stephen Fried, *Rush* (New York: Broadway Books, 2018), 290. Either way, Grubber was enslaved by Rush at some point in the 1770s before his 1788 manumission papers set 1794 as his emancipation date. For the story of Rush's and Grubber's 1784 journey to Carlisle, see L.H. Butterfield, "Dr. Benjamin Rush's Journal of a Trip to Carlisle in 1784," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 74 (Oct., 1950): 443-456. The text of Rush's manumission papers for Grubber can be found at Rachel Morgan's ('18) student project website, Benjamin Rush: Rush and Slavery, <https://benjaminrush-slavery.weebly.com/rush-and-slavery.html>

¹⁰ Benjamin Rush Commonplace Book, June 17, 1799, in George W. Corner (ed.), *The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1948, reprint 1970), 246.

¹¹ Bill of John Holmes, April 16, 1799, RG 1/1 Board of Trustees Papers, Series 6.4.33, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections and Payment to “Black James, Mr. Holmes’s Negro,” July 26, 1799, Financial Ledger, RG 1/1 Board of Trustees Papers, Series 6.1.1, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections. Special thanks to Cory Young, PhD candidate in history at Georgetown University who first discovered the entry for “Black James” in the college records. See also payments to “Black Ned,” June 23 and December 13, 1799, Financial Ledger, RG 1/1 Board of Trustees Papers, Series 6.1.1, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections.

¹² Contracts for Goods and Services, West College 1803, RG 1/1 Board of Trustees Papers, Series 5.4.4, Dickinson College Archives & Special Collections; For McClure’s relationship to other board members and slave owners, see Carla Christiansen, “Samuel Postlethwaite: Trader, Patriot, Gentleman of Early Carlisle,” *Cumberland County History* 31 (2014): 34.

¹³ See Martha Jane Brazy, *An American Planter: Stephen Duncan of Antebellum Natchez and New York* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 2006) and especially p. 150 for an analysis of the 1860 census and the extent of Duncan’s slaveholding.

¹⁴ See Mary Duncan to Abraham Lincoln, May 24, 1863 and Stephen Duncan to Mary Duncan, August 25, 1863 in Abraham Lincoln Papers at the Library of Congress; Brazy, *An American Planter*, 154-8.

¹⁵ For more information on Cooper, see his profile page at Dickinson & Slavery, <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/thomas-cooper/> which includes research from Becca Stout’s (’19) 2017-18 student project on Cooper and the naming of Cooper Hall at Dickinson.

¹⁶ Martha C. Slotten, “The McClintock Slave Riot of 1847,” *Cumberland County History* 17 (2000): 14-33. Special thanks to Timothy Spaeth (’23) for noting the correct details on the sentence for the African American defendants in the case.

¹⁷ For more information on Conway’s extraordinary career, including a short biographical video produced by student Sam Weisman (’18), see Conway’s profile page at Dickinson & Slavery: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/moncure-conway/>

¹⁸ For more information on McAllister’s once controversial but now mostly forgotten career, see Cooper Wingert’s (’20) student project: <https://richardmcallister.weebly.com/>

¹⁹ Some of the key legal terms at stake in the Dred Scott case included “comity,” the practice of states respecting each other’s laws (such as ones regarding slavery) and “coverture,” the common law doctrine which made husbands legally responsible for their wives. It was coverture which encouraged the attorneys on both sides to agree to drop Harriet Scott’s original case and just proceed with her husband’s even though many scholars now believe that she was the driving force behind their decision to file suit. See Lea VanderVelde, *Mrs. Dred Scott: A Life on Slavery’s Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

²⁰ For a compact summary of the Dred Scott case with key documents, see James Basker, Matthew Pinsker, Nicole Ahlstrom, and Nicole Seary, eds., *Citizen or Slave: The Dred Scott Decision, 1857* (New York: Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, 2009), available partially online via Dickinson & Slavery, <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/files/2018/08/Pinsker-Pamphlet-Dred-Scott-2008.pdf>

²¹ See Timothy B. Huebner, “Roger B. Taney and the Slavery Issue: Looking Before –and Beyond—*Dred Scott*,” *Journal of American History* 97 (June 2010): 17-38.

²² Philip S. Klein, *President James Buchanan* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1962), 100-1.

²³ Despite his historical significance, there is no modern biography available for McKim. He appears prominently in James M. McPherson’s *The Struggle for Equality: Abolitionists and the Negro in the Civil*

War and Reconstruction (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964) but the most comprehensive source on McKim is a 1968 PhD dissertation by William Cohen (New York University) now available online at <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/james-miller-mckim/>. See also a recent student project from Becca Stout ('19), <http://blogs.dickinson.edu/hist-mckim/>

²⁴ “Pro-Slaveryism at Dickinson College,” *New York Daily Tribune*, July 24, 1860.

²⁵ Further details on the story of how the outbreak of the Civil War affected students at Dickinson, along with a companion video about the Frank Sellers autograph book (produced by students Rachel Morgan, '18 and Sam Weisman, '18) can be found at <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/our-research/sectional-crisis/>

²⁶ Lucena Johnson to Abraham Lincoln, May 16, 1864, Papers of Abraham Lincoln, Springfield, IL. For further details on the Johnson family during the Civil War, see Rachel Morgan's ('18) student project: <http://marydillonscarlisle.weebly.com/>

²⁷ Abraham Lincoln to John A.J. Creswell, March 17, 1864, Roy P. Basler, ed., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (8 vols., New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953), 7:251.

²⁸ Creswell quoted in James Oakes, *Freedom National: The Destruction of Slavery in the United States, 1861-1865* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), 454. For a full biographical treatment of Creswell, see Christine Bombaro and John M. Osborne, *Forgotten Abolitionist: John A.J. Creswell of Maryland* (House Divided Project e-book, Smashwords, 2015).

²⁹ For more details, see the individual pages on both Watts brothers at the Dickinson & Slavery site: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/henry-watts/> and <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/sam-watts/>

³⁰ The Library of Congress has digitized 127 stereo cards (three-dimensional views) produced by Charles F. Himes (Class of 1855) as part of his work with an amateur photographic club while he was a professor at Troy University in New York (1860-63); see <https://www.loc.gov/item/2001696374/>. Many of the views were from wartime Carlisle, however, including one of Henry, janitor at Dickinson College and another featuring Samuel Water [sic], sub-janitor. These elaborately staged portraits in the basement of Old West were actually of Henry and Sam Watts.

³¹ The full details on that story and the tragic fate of Sam Watts is featured on the “Freedom’s Legacy” page at the Dickinson & Slavery site: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/our-research/freedoms-legacy/>

³² For the original newspaper story about the alleged lynching at Dickinson, see the Cincinnati *Times-Star* quoted in “Barbarism in American Institutions of Learning,” Springfield (OH) *Sunday Globe-Republic*, October 31, 1886 [Newspapers.com].

³³ For more details on Norris, see his profile page at Dickinson & Slavery: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/george-norris/>

³⁴ For more details on Spradley, see his profile page at Dickinson & Slavery: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/henry-spradley/> as well as a short video documentary of the search for details about Spradley's life prepared by Colin Macfarlane ('12), “Henry W. Spradley, Citizen” available at the House Divided YouTube channel.

³⁵ “Theft at the College,” *Carlisle Weekly Herald*, December 22, 1892. See also *Harrisburg Telegraph*, December 21, 1892 and December 22, 1892. The college student who accused Shirley Spradley of stealing \$40 from his trunk was Robert H. Richards (Class of 1895) who later became the Attorney General of Delaware.

³⁶ For more details on the confusion surrounding the undated (and perhaps misdated) photograph of Henry Spradley, presumably used in his 1897 memorial card, see “Our Banner Image,” <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/our-banner-image/>

³⁷ For more details on Young, see his profile page at Dickinson & Slavery: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/robert-young/>

³⁸ For more details on the story of how Robert Young helped integrate Dickinson College in 1886 (at least temporarily), see the full story online at the “Freedom’s Legacy” page at Dickinson & Slavery: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/our-research/freedoms-legacy/>

³⁹ There has been at least one member of the Young family who did graduate from Dickinson College. Charlotte Young (McStallworth) graduated from the college in 1934. She was the daughter of one of Robert Young’s other sons (James Garfield Young) and his wife Mary Jane Jackson Young (who had attended Dickinson preparatory school). Charlotte Young married, became a public school teacher in Ohio, and eventually died in Las Vegas, Nevada in 2011. For details on Robert Young and his family, including a profile of his granddaughter Charlotte Young McStallworth (Class of 1934), written in 2001, see his profile page: <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/robert-young/>

⁴⁰ For more details on Pinkney, see his profile page <http://housedivided.dickinson.edu/sites/slavery/people/noah-pinkney/>

⁴¹ Thomas Cooper, *Two Essays* (Columbia, SC: D & J.M Faust, 1826), 46. Thomas Cooper to Mahlon Dickerson, March 16, 1826, in “Letters of Dr. Thomas Cooper, 1825-1832,” *American Historical Review* 6 (July 1901): 729.

⁴² George Allan to Planning & Budget Committee, April 17, 1991, Dickinson College Archives, digitized and available in a student project by Becca Stout (’18): <https://thomascooperdickinson.weebly.com/cooper-hall.html>

⁴³ Sellers describes Cooper in Chapter 7; the online version of the monograph is available at <http://chronicles.dickinson.edu/histories/sellers/index.html>

⁴⁴ Sellers describes Armstrong in Chapter 2.

⁴⁵ Quoted in James P. Myers, Jr., “Pennsylvania’s Awakening: the Kittanning Raid of 1756,” *Pennsylvania History* 66 (Summer 1999): 408.

⁴⁶ “Montgomery Service Leaders,” 2019, https://www.dickinson.edu/info/20209/community_service/1640/montgomery_service_leaders