

*Activating  
History  
for Justice  
at Duke*

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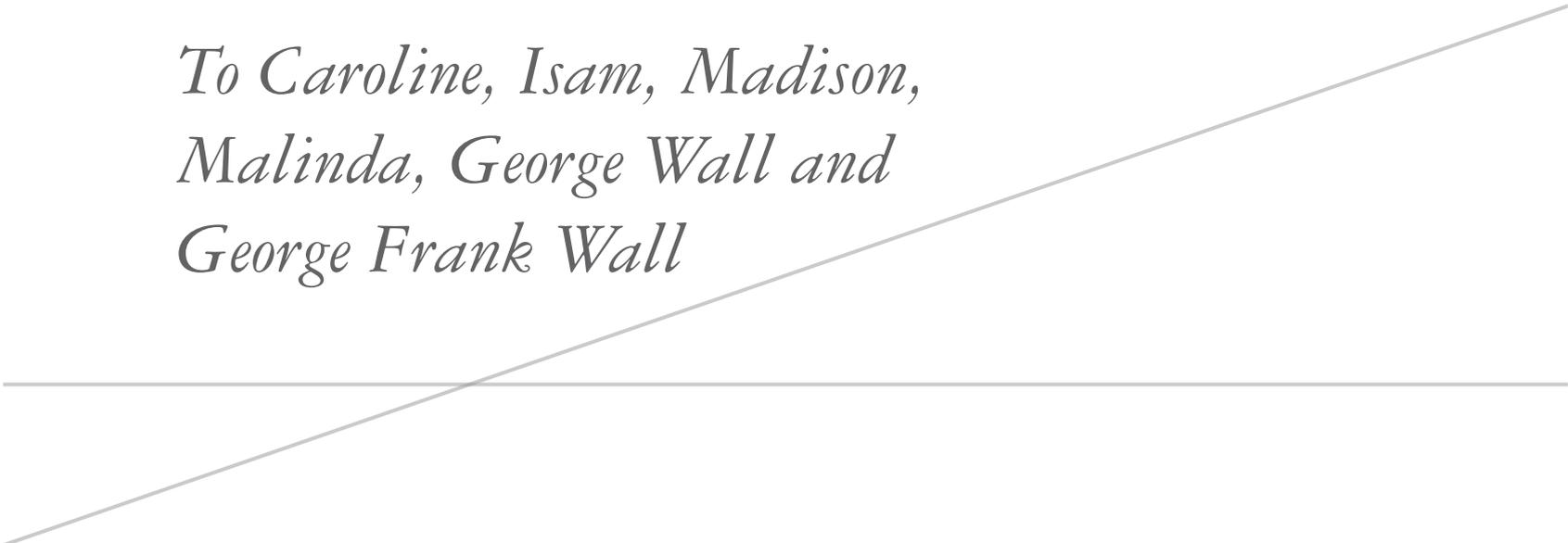
A REPORT BY  
CONSTRUCTING MEMORY AT DUKE

A BASS CONNECTIONS TEAM

The Odira mural is acrylic latex paint on wall, dimensions variable. Collection of and commissioned by the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University. Museum purchase with additional funds provided by Victoria Dauphinot, Kenneth W. Hubbard, and Tallman Trask III, Office of the Executive Vice President.

ODILI DONALD ODITA, Shadow and Light (For Julian Francis Abele), 2015 © Odili Donald Odita. Courtesy of the artist, Jack Shainman Gallery, New York and the Nasher Museum of Art, Durham.

*To Caroline, Isam, Madison,  
Malinda, George Wall and  
George Frank Wall*



TRUE EMANCIPATION LIES IN THE  
ACCEPTANCE OF THE WHOLE PAST,  
IN DERIVING STRENGTH FROM ALL  
MY ROOTS, IN FACING UP TO THE  
DEGRADATION AS WELL AS THE  
DIGNITY OF MY ANCESTORS.

PAULI MURRAY, *PROUD SHOES*

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report recommends that Duke University expand efforts to acknowledge, engage with and activate its past, and include ties to slavery, white supremacy and segregation; unfair and discriminatory labor practices; benefits from a lethal product, tobacco; and discrimination against women, LGBTQIA+ and disabled people and people of color. Duke should also seek to identify and celebrate our diverse forbears, among them those who integrated the university and pressed for justice, advocated for fair labor treatment and worked to better society.

A more intentional and inclusive process would reflect our highest goals as a university, to promote knowledge and put it at the service of society, including our own. In the words of Duke President Vincent Price, “only through empathy, righteous witness and a conviction to learn from the past can we ensure that the arc of the moral universe bends ever closer to justice.”

Addressing how the past appears on campus and should appear is part of that righteous witness. This process should include a review of the physical campus, with the purpose of evaluating existing sites and names and proposing new sites and names that more accurately convey the university’s deep values and educational mission. Our history also merits examination, for both the university’s long-standing commitment to the betterment of society and past injustices that continue to shape our present. This process should not be seen as a burden, but an opportunity to engage our community in constructive action to build a more equitable and just future. Engaging with the past is and should be an on-going, dynamic part of our educational mission.

That process is urgent. Students logged over 327 sites where Duke represents its history. At least 53 per cent represent white men. Among them are slave-owners and white supremacists, among them University President Braxton Craven and Julian S. Carr, whose name is on the East Campus Building housing the History department.

Women are represented in less than 15 per cent of Duke’s sites. Of all sites, only eight represent staff. As far as our data shows, all of those staff members were or are white.

Seventy per cent of Duke’s sites represent white people of any gender. Excluding repeats of individuals, less than 3 per cent of sites represent black people. Asians or Asian-Americans are represented in roughly 1 per cent of all Duke sites. Native Americans are represented in 0.003 per cent of sites (one student is named in a section of one exhibit). Apart from the Center for Gender and Sexual Diversity, there are two LGBTQIA+ sites: Walt Whitman, who had no relationship to Duke; and Prof. Reynolds Price, who is usually not recognized as queer, a term he preferred. We found no sites representing Latinx members of the Duke community.

This report shares some of the perspective of Duke’s Commission on Memory and History. In their final report, the Commissioners stated that Duke’s guiding principle when addressing its history “must be its commitment to teaching, learning, and scholarship.” The Commissioners recognize that the campus itself is a potent teaching tool, and that sites provide important and unique learning opportunities. The soaring spire of Duke Chapel conveys the high purpose of education. Statues of Washington, James B. and Benjamin Duke reflect valued roots in commerce and philanthropy.

But other sites honor slave-owners and white supremacists. Sites are in part a civic language, and in sites like these we continue to honor long-discredited ideas, among them white and male supremacy. As our Bass Connections team discovered during our research, as important as existing sites are the sites we wish were on Duke’s campus. So much of our history remains uncelebrated, a lapse we should be eager to rectify. As a community, we have an opportunity to create new sites to honor those pioneers and movements that transformed our university community for the better.

To be truly welcoming to a diverse faculty, staff and student body, the university must invest in physical changes that acknowledge the past and honor those who fought to make Duke University a better place. This could include the removal of some sites and names with appropriate context and explanation; the addition of new sites and names for overlooked or under-valued members of our community; new site and naming policies; and a robust program of education and information that includes tours, faculty and student orientation, public events and classes.

## REPORT METHODS

This report began as a Bass Connections project, “Constructing Memory at Duke and in Durham: using memory studies to create social justice.” This followed “Memory Bandits,” a series of courses examining the role of memory and archives in social justice offered in conjunction with the Duke Human Rights Center@the Franklin Humanities Institute, Cultural Anthropology and Duke’s Human Rights Archives. The name comes from Verne Harris, the archivist for the papers of Nelson Mandela and now director of the Memory Programme at the Nelson Mandela Foundation’s Centre of Memory and Dialogue. Harris sees himself as a “memory bandit,” a Robin Hood of the archiving world who “redistributes the rich seam of memory in the service of the oppressed.”

Our core team included ten undergraduates, a graduate student and a faculty coordinator. We explored human rights, memory studies and Duke’s history and campus over the course of two semesters. We counted on support from Dr. Alison Adcock, Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences at Duke, for her work on how people retain information from exhibits; Barbara Lau, Executive Director of the Pauli Murray Project; Tim Stallman, a cartographer; and Hannah Jacobs, in Digital Humanities. This report was designed by Rebekah Miel of Miel Design Studio. Students asked how,

why and where people around the world use the past for contemporary meaning; and how people absorb and retain information and meaning. They took Duke as a laboratory for how communities remember, embody and tell their stories — or leave some stories, including difficult or controversial ones, unrecorded in official accounts or physical sites.

For our project, we took as inspiration other universities’ efforts to understand and acknowledge their histories. To paraphrase the Brown University Slavery and Justice Committee, our report is a call and invitation to our community to engage in intentional reflection and fresh discovery without provoking paralysis or shame. We hope this report contributes to a deeper engagement with Duke’s history and concrete action on how that history is memorialized. As part of our project, we are proposing new sites, initiatives and interpretive plans to enrich and broaden an on-going discussion.



Students start work on Constructing Memory in the FHI Story Lab

Our team was interdisciplinary, with eager students from a variety of majors; a journalist and writer, a cartographer, a cultural anthropologist, a neuroscientist, a digital humanities specialist and university archivists. We also brought in invited speakers to explore processes at other universities, among them Brown, Winston-Salem State, Yale and the University of Illinois-Chicago. The report was researched and drafted by the students and compiled by faculty coordinator Robin Kirk, with assistance from the University Archives, among many others.

*“Understanding our history and suggesting how the full truth of that history can be incorporated into our common traditions will not be easy. But, then, it doesn’t have to be.”*

RUTH SIMMONS, PRESIDENT, BROWN UNIVERSITY, APRIL 28, 2004.

Students started the Duke-specific phase of our project by digitally mapping the campus, to show where and how Duke physically tells its story. To help make our case that important stories have gone undervalued or untold, we assembled a Story Bank drawn from the University Archives to show some of the key figures and moments that should be recognized at Duke. The Story Bank reflects the views of the students and their desire, more focused with each week of the project, to lift up forebears and honor the pathways they carved and that brought these students to Duke. Among those featured in the Story Bank are “firsts,” including women, African Americans and Native Americans; and examples of principled leadership, including among the students, faculty and staff who led the Silent Vigil, Student

Action with Farmworkers and the Anti-Sweat Shop campaign. We hope the Story Bank is a resource as the Duke community moves forward.

This report also includes eight proposed sites designed by students. Students chose these stories based on parts of history they felt had been erased, were underrepresented or needed to be emphasized. New sites would help reshape the campus into a place that more accurately honors the rich contributions made by many people, inspire current and future students to see themselves in this space and encourage all to strive to uphold our shared values.

Our students realized that they feel the weight of sites that celebrate white supremacy, violence and exclusion – and the accompanying weight of erasure and absence – every time they step on campus. The fact that others – including many white people – do not feel or even acknowledge that weight is not evidence that it doesn’t exist, but rather a powerful and shocking proof that sites and absences can corrode the perceptions of even the most well-meaning ally. To adequately address the past and move toward justice and equality, we must speak truth in both word, deed and brick and mortar. As President Price noted, we must to continue to build — not just metaphorically, but actually — a university that “lives up to our values, recognizing our past even as we strive to be better.”

# *Recommendations*

This report asks Duke University to publicly acknowledge and bear righteous witness to its own history. Specifically, the University should document that among Duke University's founders, leaders, faculty, supporters and students were slave owners. Others profited from a slave-based economy and used some of those profits to benefit the school. Those same groups helped craft, support and brutally enforce white supremacy well into the twentieth century.

Duke University also benefitted directly from the sale of tobacco, a product that continues to contribute to human mortality around the world; and unfair labor practices, including opposition to unions. For much of the twentieth century, the University discriminated against African Americans, women and LGBTQIA+ faculty, staff and students, among others.

While other institutions, among them churches and political parties, took action against injustice, the University mostly did not until very recently. Despite a rich history of activism, members of our community who spoke out for justice remain largely invisible and forgotten on our campus.

This report is one contribution among a growing number of efforts meant to address this critical issue. The following recommendations are meant to foster a process that is inclusive, broad and in-depth, with the goal of both educating our communities, including Durham, about the past; coming to consensus on how to move forward; and launching a more inclusive program of memorialization, education and community outreach.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

- Duke's president, supported by the Board of Trustees, should publicly acknowledge the participation of many of the university's founders, benefactors, trustees and faculty in the institution of slavery and the propagation of white supremacy, unfair labor practices, the sale of a lethal substance (tobacco) and the perpetuation of discrimination. This acknowledgement should come with an apology;

## **TELL THE TRUTH IN ALL OF ITS COMPLEXITY**

- Duke should convene a committee representing faculty, students, university archivists, administrators, staff and community members to plan a multi-year series that brings speakers, activists, films and art to campus and the broader Durham community to examine how others have thought about and used the past to acknowledge injustice. The purpose should be to educate and build a foundation to pursue equity, justice and activate change. Public events should vary, from small to large and in different venues and with different leaders, to best capture diverse constituencies and views. In all instances, the committee's primary task should be listening and capturing information for its work;
- This committee should solicit written or oral input from a broad range of stake-holders, making sure to put special emphasis on the opinions of staff and community members;
- Other areas of Duke's history should be addressed in this committee's work. They include the area's Native American history and Duke's relationship to those communities; the role of tobacco as a source of wealth, with its well-documented harm to human health; the history of Duke Campus Farm as a former plantation that used enslaved labor; and the environmental record of Duke Power, whose profits have contributed to the Duke Endowment;
- The committee should revise the current naming policy, channeled through a single person, the Secretary of the Board of Trustees. We believe a new group made up of faculty, students and staff should have the power to pro-actively propose new names, name changes and memorial sites and that these proposals should be made to the Provost, who should be empowered to act in consultation with but not limited by trustees. Public criteria for naming should draw on the principles established by other universities and include questions like: Is a principal legacy of the namesake in support of or at odds with the educational mission of the university? Did the namesake advance society with their work, whether against controversy or supported by their peers? Did the university at the time of a naming honor someone for reasons that are fundamentally at odds with the educational mission and values of the university?;

- This committee should prepare a report with recommendations on what steps the university should take, including investment in faculty and student recruitment, the construction of new sites, a proactive naming policy, resource support for a digital tour of campus, orientation events and classes and a plan to improve signage and maps installed near walkways, to make the campus more welcoming;
- Once the committee has completed its work, faculty, students and staff should convoke a standing committee to monitor the implementation of recommendations, with the power to publicly call on university trustees and administrators to fulfill its commitments;

## **MEMORIALIZATION**

- In collaboration of the University Archives, Duke should set up an expanded, permanent, accessible and centrally-located exhibit about its past, including information on the university's connections to slavery, white supremacy, unjust labor practices, the health effects of tobacco, discrimination against specific groups as well as examples of activism that reflect our shared values;
- Duke should rename the Carr Building and East Residence Hall, preserving the record of their former names as part of an education exhibit in those buildings and as part of a larger, permanent exhibit. There is ample precedent in the removal of the Aycock name and other changes, among them the decision to replace East Campus Science Building (old Art Museum) with the name of pioneering anthropologist Ernestine Friedl;
- Duke should revise official histories to include specifics about the university's ties to slavery and white supremacy. This should be posed in the context of a vibrant community tackling tough issues, with the goal of shaping a truly equitable and just community. In the short term, this would mean providing resources for brochures, web content and a virtual tour. Duke can take inspiration from initiatives like the Monuments Lab in Philadelphia and Mic's Black Monuments Project to engage the creativity of the Duke and Durham communities to visualize a changing campus;
- Duke should include this information in orientation materials for new students, staff and faculty, and ensure that all have access to information about the past, including Duke's record of activism and engagement for positive change;

- Duke should partner with North Carolina Central University, the City and County of Durham and the Durham Herald Sun to sponsor a competition for artists and others to propose new memorials to unrepresented or underrepresented stories from its past;

## **EDUCATION AND RESEARCH**

- Duke should sponsor an annual lecture and day of remembrance around these themes, including cross-campus and community engagement, discussion and attendance, including staff, to encourage on-going and evolving discussion of these issues;
- Duke should find ways to connect and expand initiatives on slavery, white supremacy and discrimination, and support scholars engaging around issues of public memory, memorialization and human rights;
- Duke should establish fellowships for post-graduate and senior scholars to research Duke's history and the history of North Carolina, with the purpose of bringing to light unknown or under-represented facets of this history;
- Duke should expand funding for undergraduate research into Duke's past, building on successful initiatives like the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Legacy Project, Duke History Revisited and Story +; support an annual symposium to present research on Duke and North Carolina; and establish an annual prize for best paper or project;
- Duke should fund public programming and outreach by this Center that includes events that are held in Durham communities;

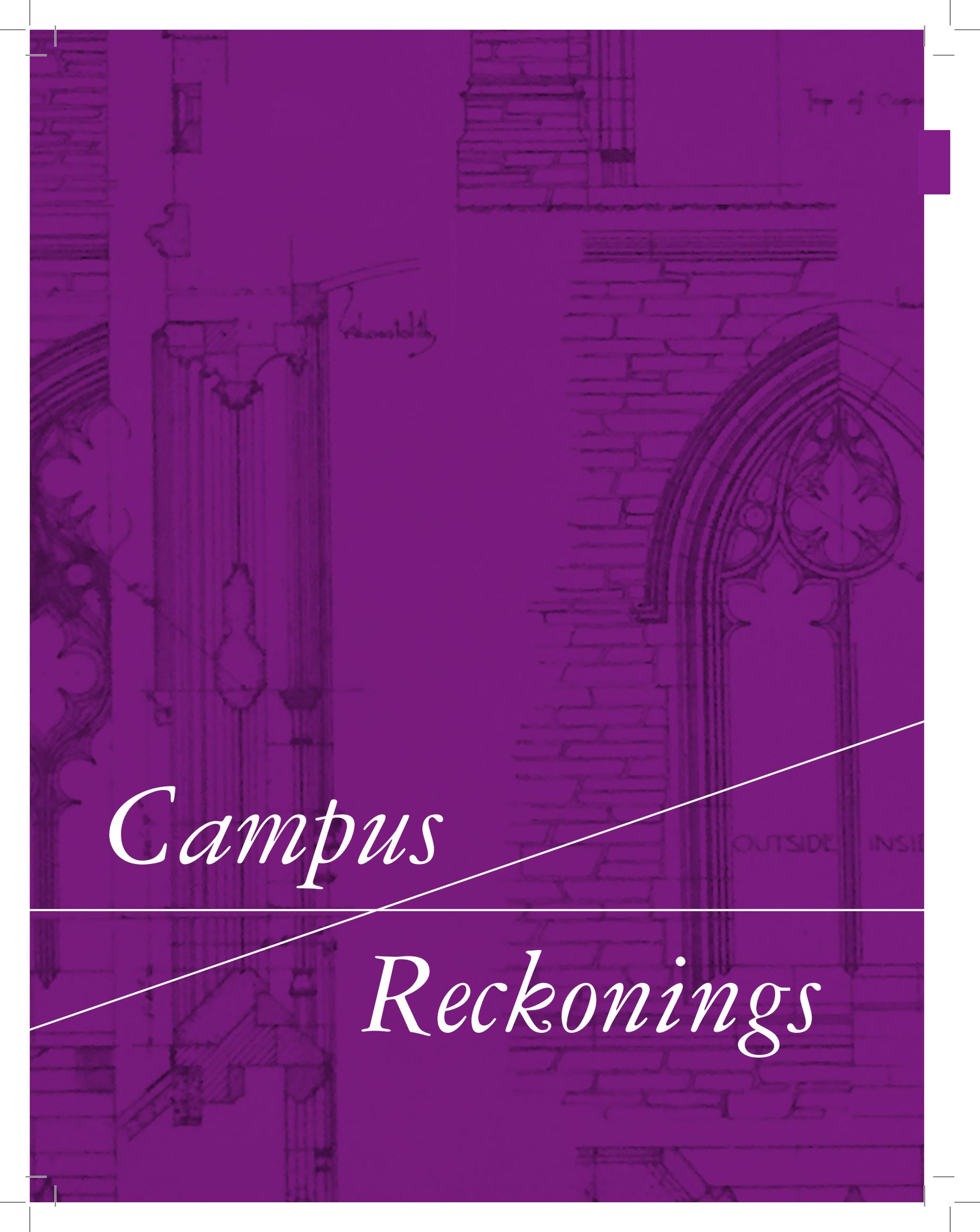
## **REPARATIONS**

- Duke should expand funding for the Program in Education, with the goal of improving North Carolina-specific curricula and contributing to the improved education of the state's children, with the hope that this creates models for national use;
- Duke should endeavor to implement and maintain high standards in regard to investments and gifts, recognizing that in the past the university benefitted from slavery, white supremacy, unfair labor practices and discrimination;

- With support from the Duke Endowment, Duke should support a scholarship program to Duke that covers the full cost of tuition, room and board for the children of hourly employees;
- Living arrangements for on-campus students continue to reinforce racism. Duke should abolish the policy of giving fraternities preferential housing and carry out a serious inquiry into how some Greek organizations continue to discriminate during rush based on race. Housing should be apportioned equitably to independent students and selective living groups;

## **COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT**

- Duke should partner with the city and county of Durham to create a third-space location where the university can partner in research, education and public events;
- Duke should continue to expand its partnership with Durham, working with communities to ensure affordable housing, health care, access to education and a living wage;
- In former tobacco buildings, Duke should honor the memory of tobacco workers with permanent exhibits and public art that highlights their contributions to the wealth that helped found the university.

The background is a deep purple color overlaid with faint, light-colored architectural sketches. On the left, there are vertical sketches of Gothic columns with intricate capitals and tracery. On the right, there is a large, detailed sketch of a Gothic window with a pointed arch and a complex tracery design. The sketches are rendered in a fine-line, hand-drawn style. A white diagonal line runs from the bottom left towards the top right, bisecting the page. The text 'Campus' is positioned in the upper left quadrant, and 'Reckonings' is in the lower right quadrant, both in a white, elegant script font. There are also some small, faint handwritten annotations in the sketches, such as 'Top of Cap...' in the upper right and 'OUTSIDE INSIDE' near the window sketch.

*Campus*

*Reckonings*

# Campus Reckonings

## CHALLENGE OF SITES

Americans have always clashed over history, how it is taught and how it is represented in metal and stone. Into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, dominant groups — mostly white, male, wealthy and politically powerful people — retain the most influence over what and who is remembered, how sites are designed and where they are located.

But in the latter half of the twentieth century, new thinking around sites has emerged. For the purposes of this report, we use the word “sites” to mean memorials, monuments, statues, named areas and buildings, plaques, portraits and any location designed to honor persons or events from the past. “In contexts as diverse as Bosnia, Cambodia, Chile and Sierra Leone, imaginative thinking is emerging about how best to deal with the symbols and monuments,” memorialization scholar Louis Bickford has written. “Not only are these movements proposing different figures to celebrate; they are also crafting memorials that recognize the role collective action plays in creating positive change.”<sup>1</sup>

It’s important to distinguish between the practice of history, which should strive for depth and precision, and sites. The purpose of sites is to convey values connected to historical moments or figures. Sites are symbols of what we as groups wish to uplift or honor. Necessarily, inevitably and correctly, these sites are subject to revision, deletion, evolution, addition and reinterpretation.

In the university context, the institution itself speaks in part through sites, lifting up forebears who reflect our values or have, through their work, example and support,

advanced the educational mission. The same can be said for events, movements or historical moments, among them the West Campus wall commemorating the military service of Duke students.



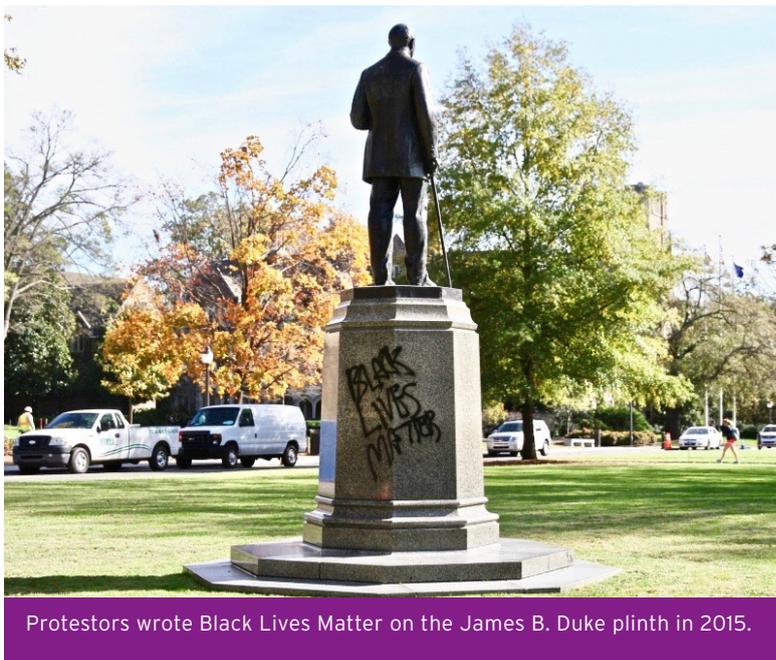
Embedded with brass plaques featuring the names of Duke men who died as servicemen, the wall is east of the Chapel.

However, when only one type of person, event or moment is represented to the virtual exclusion of others, we fail at a central part of our educational mission. That failure is especially grave when we continue to honor people who advocated violence against current members of our

<sup>1</sup> In Chile, for example, the government-sponsored Museum of Memory makes visible the legacy of secret detention, torture and the execution of thousands of citizens that was a part of the “dirty war” in the 1970s. South Africa’s transition from apartheid to democracy would be unthinkable without a dramatic restructuring of sites like the Constitutional Court and detention centers, among them Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela was held. Bickford, Louis, “Monuments and Memory,” *The New York Times*, November 19, 2007.

community, creating at best an insensitive and at worst a profoundly hostile landscape for those who still experience and fear the legacy and persistence of that violence.

As importantly, no single site can carry the complex weight of communicating information and meaning. As we learned from our work with the Adcock Lab at Duke, people ingest and retain information in a variety of moments, ways and contexts. A key factor in retaining information is engagement, supporting materials and repetition, meaning that sites have to be included in on-going teaching. More and better sites amplify and engage across time and publics.



Protestors wrote Black Lives Matter on the James B. Duke plinth in 2015.

During our research, students became passionate about Duke's history. Much of that history was both new to them and deeply shocking, particularly the University's direct ties to slavery and white supremacy and the persistence over time of racism and violence against women. A few weeks into our project, students realized they had become used to seeing infamous Confederates like Robert E. Lee celebrated even as their own likenesses, struggles and accomplishments are invisible in Duke's buildings and permanent public art. When explaining our project to one professor, two of our students – both black and one

an international student -- were dismayed when this scholar played down the violence of slavery, claiming that it wasn't so bad that the Duke family owned a slave, Caroline. The scholar added that she was inside, keeping house for the family, after all.

One of the most hurtful aspects of this issue is that not only are figures who celebrated violence lifted up. To this day, the campus allows few glimpses of those who were harmed by that violence. Indeed, that deliberate, devastating violence continues to be minimized, explained away or utterly erased; and significant contributions made to Duke's current prominence and prosperity made by their descendants is almost ritually ignored. Once seen, the combination of uplifting violence, minimizing its impact and erasing presence is impossible to not see.

Students also realized that there is much to admire and celebrate about Duke history: achievement, courage, activism and leadership. However, stories about the Duke ancestors who fought to bring our current community to campus and lead by example remain largely invisible on campus. That invisibility is not only painful; it is baffling to our students. For decades, Duke University has rightfully addressed equity and justice in admissions and hiring. But the campus itself remains virtually unexamined as a learning opportunity and a site of expression of our values.

As the campus expands with dozens of new dorms and buildings, we are also expanding "history deserts," with only a superficial at best attempt to engage with the past and honor our diverse forebears. Like a "food desert," defined as an urban area without access to affordable or fresh food, a "history desert" is a place without sites expressing our values through history. Just as we need food to live, we need access to the past through sites that mark where we've been and where we may choose to go. Writing about the legacy of the Civil War, Robert Penn Warren wrote, "History cannot give us a program for the future, but it can give us a fuller understanding of ourselves, and

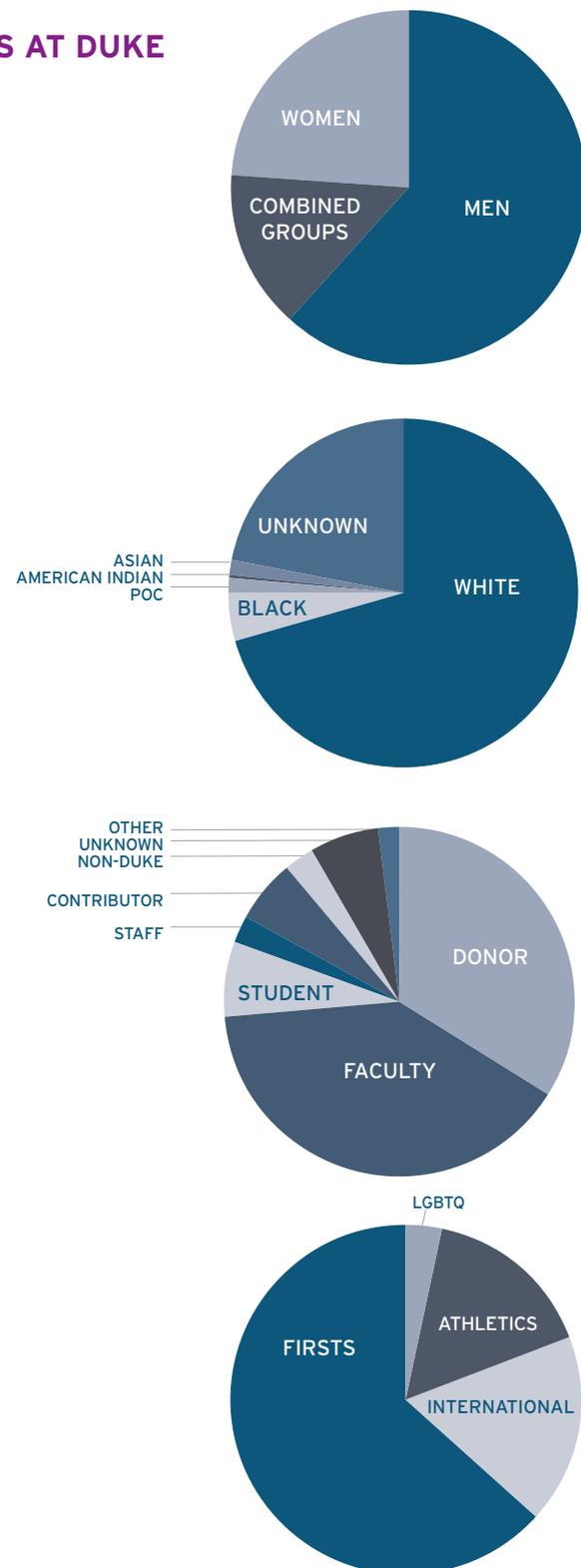
of our common humanity, so that we can better face the future.”<sup>2</sup>

Duke continues to construct new spaces that offer ample opportunity to innovate with new and meaningful sites. However, that opportunity has largely gone unfulfilled. As one example, Trinity Residential House (Megadorm) — a new building named for Duke’s precursor school — has every amenity, but only a single photograph, without context or explanation, linking Duke to its past as a segregated college for white men. The Rubenstein Arts Center (Ruby), named for a donor and with marvelous design and technology, has not a single site that we could find that pulls the past into the present or celebrates our values in relation to the arts.<sup>3</sup>

To be sure, recognizing donors is fundamental to the modern American university. This report does not argue against ever naming buildings for donors. We do call for a revised naming policy that weighs financial support against other university values in choosing names. Donors are only one part of the university’s long history and present success. While our students were not surprised by the preponderance of sites honoring white men, they were troubled by some of the histories embodied in these sites as well as the glaring absences of other faces, histories and accomplishments. Our full data is included in Appendix Two.

One example of how representation can enrich our campus is at the Nasher Art Museum. “Shadow and Light (For Julian Francis Abele),” by Odili Donald Odita, is now a permanent installation at the entrance to the auditorium. This colorful puzzle of triangles references Abele’s design for West Campus, making it fresh and provocative. Odita also painted a similar mural on the exterior of the downtown Durham YMCA, a powerful statement on the connection between town and gown, between art and study and between diverse communities.<sup>4</sup>

## SITES AT DUKE



These charts are based on data students collected, available in Appendix 2.

<sup>2</sup> Warren, Robert Penn and Howard Jones, *The Legacy of the Civil War*, Lincoln: Bison Books, 1998.

<sup>3</sup> In our map of where and how Duke tells its history, we list alumni like David Rubenstein once, as donors. Many alumni and donors also fund sites that honor their spouses or families. Other criteria are included in Appendix Two.

<sup>4</sup> Hower, Wendy, “Shadow and Light (For Julian Francis Abele),” *The Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University* (blog), July 31, 2015, <http://nasher.duke.edu/2015/07/shadow-and-light-for-julian-francis-abele/>.

## A CONFEDERATE LEGACY

In the United States, the debate over Confederate sites is emblematic of the international debate over the practice of history and the creation of sites. Mostly erected decades after the Civil War ended, these sites were not meant to convey the facts of a complex conflict but rather a romanticized and nostalgic view promoted by the losing side and their sympathizers. That view, as many scholars of the period have noted, served white supremacy and was one part of a larger, organized assault on African Americans and other people of color.

Far from a relic of the past, these sites continue to feed racist violence, as events in Charleston and Charlottesville tragically show.<sup>5</sup> These sites also represent a very narrow and deliberate twisting of history, promoting falsehoods and wiping out contradictory stories and facts that largely remain invisible in the public square. Announcing the plan to remove Confederate statues from city-owned spaces in New Orleans, Mayor Mitch Landrieu pointed out that “there are no slave ship monuments, no prominent markers on public land to remember the lynchings or the slave blocks; nothing to remember this long chapter of our lives; the pain, the sacrifice, the shame... For those self-appointed defenders of history and the monuments, they are eerily silent on what amounts to this historical malfeasance, a lie by omission.”<sup>6</sup>

For many Americans, the relentless repetition of Confederate sites has worked all too well. “White Southerners used the commemoration of the Confederacy to promote a degree of white cultural unity that had never existed in the region either

before or during the Civil War,” Fitzhugh Brundage, a scholar of the Civil War, notes. In part, this fortified animosity toward and attacks against African Americans. “An observer scanning the commemorative landscape of North Carolina will see little evidence of the tens of thousands of white North Carolinians who fought for the Union, the even larger number of white North Carolinians who actively opposed the Confederacy, or the tens of thousands of African Americans who escaped slavery and joined the Union army.”<sup>7</sup> This erased history is especially relevant to Duke, since the University’s roots lie in anti-slavery, pro-Union Randolph County.

Acknowledging the complexities of the past and raising up hidden stories is not simply a scholarly exercise. As the Southern Policy Law Center (SPLC) argues in a recent report on the teaching of slavery in the United States, understanding American slavery is vital to understanding contemporary racial inequality. “The formal and informal barriers to equal rights erected after emancipation, which defined the parameters of the color line for more than a century, were built on a foundation constructed during slavery,” writes Prof. Hasan Kwame Jeffries in the forward. “Our narrow understanding of the institution, however, prevents us from seeing this long legacy and leads policymakers to try to fix people instead of addressing the historically rooted causes of their problems.”<sup>8</sup>

Some universities have begun to address this twisting of the past with new sites. In 2006, the University of Mississippi installed a statue of James Meredith, who

5 A white gunman radicalized by white supremacist websites killed nine worshippers at Mother Emanuel AME Church in Charleston on June 17, 2015. Neo-Nazi and neo-Confederate marchers rallied in Charlottesville in August 2017, leading to the murder by one marcher of resident Heather Heyer. Ghansah, Rachel Kaadzi, “A Most American Terrorist: The Making Of Dylann Roof,” *GQ*, August 21, 2017, <https://www.gq.com/story/dylann-roof-making-of-an-american-terrorist>; and Heim, Joe, “How a Rally of White Nationalists and Supremacists at the University of Virginia Turned into a ‘Tragic, Tragic Weekend.’” *Washington Post*, August 14, 2017, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/local/charlottesville-timeline/>.

6 Landrieu, Mitch, “Speech on the Removal of Confederate Monuments in New Orleans,” *The New York Times*, May 23, 2017, [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/23/opinion/mitch-landrieus-speech-transcript.html?_r=0).

7 Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, “I’ve Studied the History of Confederate Memorials. Here’s What to Do about Them,” *Vox*, August 18, 2017.

8 Forward by Hasan Kwame Jeffries in Costello, Maureen, “Teaching Hard History,” Southern Poverty Law Center, January 31, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/20180131/teaching-hard-history>.

integrated the campus amid violence and legal challenges in 1962.<sup>9</sup> At the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, leaders installed the “Unsung Founders” site in 2005 to honor the enslaved and free African Americans who build the campus. Created by artist Do-Ho Suh, the piece features bronze figures lifting a metal table, symbolizing the enslaved people who helped build the campus.<sup>10</sup>

However, much is left to be done. Americans continue to experience the damaging consequences of bad instruction on American history and “Lost Cause” propaganda. Texas, for example, has adopted school textbooks that portray states’ rights and not slavery as the major cause of the Civil War.<sup>11</sup> In North Carolina, few high schoolers ever learn about the state’s anti-slavery past or the 1890s Fusion movement, among the most successful in the country in mobilizing black-white political alliances. Until recently, the Wilmington coup d’etat – to this day, the only violent takeover of a large city in American history – was omitted from state textbooks.

Instead of encouraging more and more diverse sites, in 2015, the North Carolina General Assembly prohibited the removal of any public “objects of remembrance,” including Confederate memorials, a decision that perpetuates the white supremacy that animates these sites.<sup>12</sup> “Silent Sam,” the Confederate soldier site on the UNC campus, remains a hotly contested site since the university claims it cannot remove the statue due to this law despite protests from faculty, students and staff.<sup>13</sup>

In response to Charlottesville, University of Texas at Austin removed three Confederate

monuments. In a letter to the Texas campus community explaining his decision, President Greg Fenves wrote that it had become clear to him “that Confederate monuments have become symbols of modern white supremacy and neo-Nazism.” Erected in the midst of Jim Crow and segregation, he noted that the statues represented “parts of our history that run counter to the university’s core values, the values of our state and the enduring values of our nation.”<sup>14</sup>



“Unsung Founders” has prompted questions about its small dimensions and placement, which have led some to treat it as a planter or lunch table.

Sites celebrating the Confederacy are only one category worth exploring at Duke. Our campus also contains sites that celebrate slave-holders like President Braxton Craven as well as violent white supremacists like Julian S. Carr. As important are the missing sites: to the enslaved people whose labor enriched the university, to the “firsts” who broke barriers and to the activists and visionaries who often risked their careers to put in practice the righteous witness we rightly celebrate at today’s Duke.

9 Gambrel, Ashley, “James Meredith Statue Still Meaningful Nine Years after Campus Installation,” *Oxford Stories* (blog), October 17, 2015, <https://oxfordstories.net/2015/10/17/james-meredith-statue-still-meaningful-nine-years-after-campus-installation/>.

10 “Unsung Founders, Bond and Free,” Public Art at Carolina, <https://museum.unc.edu/exhibits/show/public-art/unsung-founders--bond-and-free>.

11 Wray, Dianna, “5 Reasons the New Texas Social Studies Textbooks Are Nuts,” Houston Press, July 9, 2015. <http://www.houstonpress.com/news/5-reasons-the-new-texas-social-studies-textbooks-are-nuts-7573825>.

12 Tyson, Timothy B, “Commemorating North Carolina’s Anti-Confederate Heritage, Too,” *News and Observer* (Raleigh), August 16, 2015, <http://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article31123988.html>.

13 Irizarry, Ana, “Anonymous Faculty Group Threatens to Take down Silent Sam,” *The Daily Tar Heel*, February 26, 2018, <http://www.dailytarheel.com/article/2018/02/silent-sam-takedown-0225>.

14 Bromwich, Jonah Engel, “University of Texas at Austin Removes Confederate Statues in Overnight Operation,” *The New York Times*, August 21, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/21/us/texas-austin-confederate-statues.html>.

### “THREE MEN OF PROMINENCE IN THE SOUTH”

The University emerged within a society where slavery, white supremacy and discrimination were not only normal, but embedded. The crop the Dukes parlayed into a fortune, tobacco, is deeply tied to slavery, depended on systematic inequalities and labor exploitation and is lethal to humans.

Evidence of this past is visible in multiple ways, but nowhere more clearly than in the statues of “three men of prominence in the South” at the Duke Chapel entrance. The story of how those statues came to be installed illustrates not only how casually sites can be erected, but also how invisible they can be to some even as they remain highly visible and offensive to others.

*Abele also designed Philadelphia’s Free Library. Only after Trumbauer’s death did Abele sign his drawings. Of the Free Library, Abele once said, “The lines are all Mr. Trumbauer’s, but the shadows are all mine.”*

Once James B. Duke endowed Trinity College, the university’s leaders selected for the task of building a new campus an architectural firm Duke knew well. Horace Trumbauer and his Philadelphia-

based company had already built a New York mansion for Duke. Trumbauer’s chief designer, Julian F. Abele, an African American trained in Philadelphia and Paris, modeled the Upper East side building on the 18th century Chateau Labottiere in Bordeaux, France.<sup>15</sup>

The style of campus, however, would be quite different from the New York mansion. Duke wanted the university named in his family’s honor to evoke the Gothic spires of other institutions, among them Princeton University and the University of Chicago, themselves inspired by Britain’s Oxford and Cambridge Universities. For Duke, the Chapel at the center was to be “a great towering church which will dominate all of the surrounding buildings.”<sup>16</sup>

However, neither Abele, the stone carvers or Donnelly and Sons, the construction firm hired to build the campus, received guidance on what statues to place in niches designed for the Chapel entrance. Gothic churches typically feature saints. However, the Dukes were Methodists. According to John Donnelly Jr., the construction company owner, “It took little time for me to learn that Saints would certainly be out of place.”<sup>17</sup>

Donnelly went to Trumbauer for instructions. He was met with “high amusement” and no guidance. Donnelly then contacted a professor at Vanderbilt University, in Nashville, Tennessee, for advice. Like Duke University, Vanderbilt was endowed with a private fortune, in this case belonging to shipping magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt. Vanderbilt was a northerner who intended to use his money to help heal the wounds of the Civil War.<sup>18</sup>

15 Trumbauer had no formal education as an architect and relied heavily on the formally trained Abele. “Julian Francis Abele (1881-1950),” University of Pennsylvania University Archives; and Gray, Christopher, “Streetscapes/The Duke Chateau; A Grand, Sophisticated 1912 House Crumbling Away,” *The New York Times*, January 23, 1994. <https://www.nytimes.com/1994/01/23/realestate/streetscapes-the-duke-chateau-a-grand-sophisticated-1912-house-crumbling-away.html>.

16 Blackburn, William, *The Architecture of Duke University*, Duke University Press, 1939, p. 17.

17 Donnelly wrote a memoir titled “My Anecdote” that contains this story. “John Donnelly folder,” Box 8, Biographical Reference Collection, Duke University Archives.

18 An early university leader made the decision about the campus’s architectural style, modeled on his alma mater, the University of Virginia, and its Jeffersonian “academical village” of brick buildings and classical pillars. Kreyling, Christine,

The Vanderbilt professor recommended that some niches be filled with American Methodist notables, among them John Wesley. For the entrance, he suggested “three men of prominence in the South”: Thomas Jefferson, Robert E. Lee and Sidney Lanier.<sup>19</sup>

None were Methodists or had any connection to the University or the Duke family. Of the three, only Lanier — known as the “poet of the Confederacy” — had spent much time in North Carolina. A Georgia native and Confederate veteran, Lanier suffered from tuberculosis and died while seeking treatment near Asheville in 1881.<sup>20</sup>

Of the three, Lee is by far the most frequently honored Confederate veteran in the United States. “By the 1920s,” Fitzhugh Brundage writes, “Lee had become “a convenient icon of reconciliation who was depicted as having reluctantly fought to protect his native state — not slavery— and then after the war devoted himself to the uplift of the South and to binding the nation’s wounds. For white Northerners, Lee was a military hero who could be venerated without having to embrace the Confederate cause in its totality.”<sup>21</sup>

That Lee was a slave-holder and fought to defend slavery is beyond doubt. But the widely-held view that he was a reluctant champion of slavery is a carefully cultivated myth. Lee owned at least 150 enslaved people and was still in the market for more as late as 1860. While in his letters he acknowledged that “there are few I believe, but what will acknowledge, that slavery as an institution, is a moral

& political evil in any Country,” he also consistently defended slavery as “a greater evil to the white man than to the black race.” For Lee, the “painful discipline (slaves) are undergoing, is necessary for their instruction.”<sup>22</sup>

Even by the standards of the time, contemporaries considered Lee cruel. According to historian Elizabeth Brown Pryor, Lee opposed his wife’s family’s tradition of respecting slave families by not hiring members off to other plantations. By 1860, he had broken up “every family but one on the estate, some of whom had been together since Mount Vernon days.”<sup>23</sup>



Display of Trumbauer blueprints by the Duke University Archives in 2017

“Great Aspirations,” *Vanderbilt Magazine*, Fall 2000, pp. 20-23.

19 Donnelly memo, Duke University Archives.

20 Like his literary peers, Lanier wrote about the supposed danger black men posed to white women. Although he died well before the progressive Fusion movement emerged, he might have been a supporter, since his post-Civil War writings show a willingness to see an alliance between black and white farmers. Poetry Foundation, “Sidney Lanier,” <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poets/sidney-lanier>; and L. Moody Simms, “A Note on Sidney Lanier’s Attitude Toward the Negro and Toward Populism,” *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 52, no. 3 (1968): 305–7.

21 Brundage, W. Fitzhugh, “I’ve Studied the History of Confederate Memorials. Here’s What to Do about Them,” *Vox*, August 18, 2017.

22 Fortin, Jacey, “What Robert E. Lee Wrote to The Times About Slavery in 1858,” *The New York Times*, August 18, 2017, <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/18/us/robert-e-lee-slaves.html>; and Pryor, Elizabeth Brown, *Reading the Man: A Portrait of Robert E. Lee through His Private Letters*. Viking, 2007, pp. 141-154.

23 Pryor, pp. 260-261.

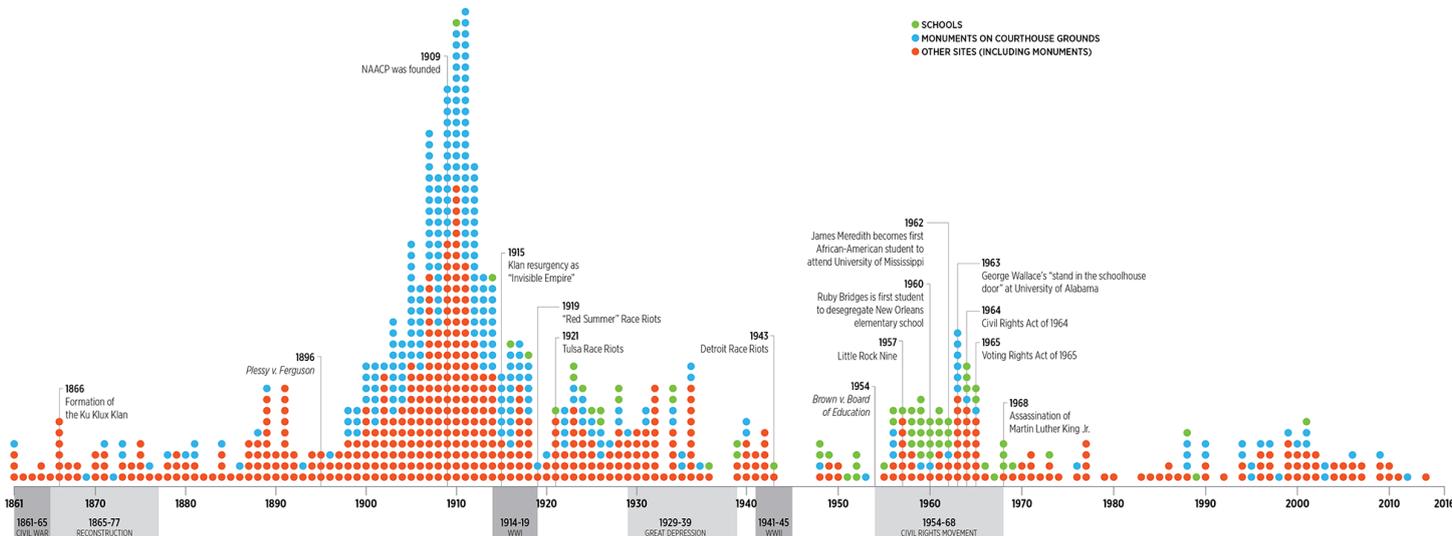
In one instance, Lee either beat two captured runaways or ordered the overseer to “lay it on well.” One of the runaways, Wesley Norris, later wrote that “not satisfied with simply lacerating our naked flesh, Gen. Lee then ordered the overseer to thoroughly wash our backs with brine, which was done.”<sup>24</sup>

Lee’s violent behavior did not stop once he was in charge of the Army of Northern Virginia. While in Pennsylvania, Lee kidnapped free blacks and forced them back to the South as slaves. According to Pryor, “virtually every infantry and cavalry unit in Lee’s army” abducted free black Americans under the supervision of senior officers.<sup>25</sup>

The installation of the three statues was by no means unusual for the time. According to the SPLC, between 1900

and into the 1930s, Americans in both North and South erected hundreds of Confederate monuments. Currently, there are at least 718 monuments and statues to Confederates in the United States. Of those, nearly 300 are located in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina (see chart).

According to the SPLC, “Despite the well-documented history of the Civil War, legions of Southerners still cling to the myth of the Lost Cause as a noble endeavor fought to defend the region’s honor and its ability to govern itself in the face of Northern aggression. This deeply rooted but false narrative is the result of many decades of revisionism in the lore and even textbooks of the South that sought to create a more acceptable version of the region’s past. The Confederate monuments and other symbols that dot the South are very much a part of that effort.”<sup>26</sup>

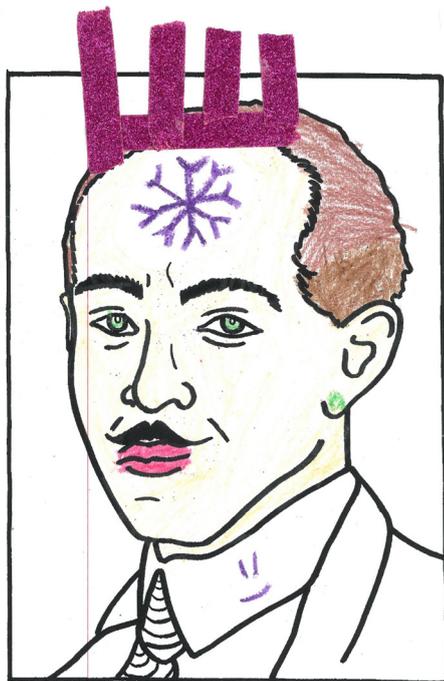


SOUTHERN POVERTY LAW CENTER, APRIL 21, 2016. [WWW.SPLCENTER.ORG/20160421/WHOSE](http://WWW.SPLCENTER.ORG/20160421/WHOSE)

24 Ibid.

25 Pryor, p. 350.

26 “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 21, 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.



Prominent Black architect Julian Francis Abele was the designer of West Campus (1934-54).

Sally

To show how we can engage different communities, including children, in exploring Duke history, we designed a coloring book with an Abele page and provided markers, glitter and glitter tape.

## "A VICTIM OF APARTHEID"

Abele's role had largely been forgotten until his great grand-niece, Susan Cook, enrolled as an undergraduate. During her sophomore year in 1986, students protesting the university's investments in apartheid South Africa erected a shantytown in front of Duke Chapel, with the support of Duke Trustee Nathan Garrett.<sup>1</sup> The protest, one student complained in the *Duke Chronicle*, violated "our rights as students to a beautiful campus." Cook's response noted Abele's role in building the campus occurred when he was barred from enrolling as a student, teaching as a faculty member and eating at a restaurant or hotel with white administrators. Abele, Cook wrote, was "a victim of apartheid in this country" and would likely have supported the protest.<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, the Board of Trustees voted 21-3 to divest.<sup>3</sup>

1 Eisinger, Jana, "The Divestment Campaign at Duke University: The stepchild of the Civil Rights Movement," p.81, Box c.1, University Archives, David. M Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Durham, NC. October 12, 2016.

2 Abele also designed Cameron Indoor Stadium, Baldwin Auditorium and the Allen Building, where his portrait is hung. Tift, Susan E., "Out of the Shadows." *Smithsonian*, Feb. 2005, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/out-of-the-shadows-85569503/>.

3 "Duke University would sell its Holdings in South Africa," *New York Times*, May 4 1986. <http://www.nytimes.com/1986/05/04/us/duke-would-sell-its-holdings-in-south-africa.html>.

## UNIVERSITIES AS “SITES OF CONSCIENCE”

In important ways, Duke has taken initial steps to activate its past and reshape campus. The removal of the name of Gov. Charles Aycock from a Duke residence hall is a milestone. In announcing the decision in 2014, President Richard J. Brodhead noted that “it is no longer appropriate to honor a figure who played so active a role in the history that countered those values.”<sup>27</sup>

In 2016, the school renamed the West Campus main quadrangle for Abele and installed a commemorative plaque.<sup>28</sup> After the Lee statue in the Chapel entrance was defaced in 2017, Duke removed it and

convoked a commission to review the principles that should guide memorials and facility names and recommend options to the president for the former Lee niche.<sup>29</sup> As Duke alumnus, faculty member and mayor of Durham, Steve Schewel noted, the removal of the statue made the Chapel “a site of conscience in the ongoing struggle for racial equality.”<sup>30</sup>

Sites of conscience are part of the movement to rethink sites from a human rights and social justice perspective. They include locations like New York City’s Lower East Side Tenement Museum; Chile’s Museum of Memory; Russia’s Gulag Museum at Perm-36; and the Terezín memorial, outside Prague, the Czech Republic, among others.<sup>31</sup>

But much more than removing or replacing a single statue needs to be done. Duke should join peers like Brown, Georgetown, Yale and Columbia Universities as well as neighboring institutions like the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, Davidson College and Wake Forest University to mount a sustained, rigorous and scholarly inquiry into the past. Constructing a more complete representation of Duke’s history should be seen as an integral part of our educational mission. A university’s physical setting is a daily, indeed minute-by-minute, reminder of who we are and what values we uphold and aspire to. When the physical setting skips over or erases members of our community; uplifts only certain kinds of people; and continues to hold up as icons people who enslaved others or advocated for segregation, we not only miss an opportunity for learning. We perpetuate the legacies of those people and ideas we abhor.

*Duke installed the Jefferson, Lee and Lanier statues during a national upswing in the installation of these monuments, coinciding with a resurgence in Ku Klux Klan activity and devastating violence against black communities in places like Tulsa, Oklahoma and Rosewood, Florida.*

<sup>27</sup> Like the persons represented in the Chapel entrance, Aycock had no relationship to Duke University. Letter from President Richard J. Brodhead, “*Duke Today*, June 17, 2014, <https://today.duke.edu/2014/06/aycockletter>.

<sup>28</sup> Sadly, only two years after installation, the plaque has become worn, with many scratches. Abele chose not to sign his drawings until Horace Trumbauer died in 1938. For a retrospective of Abele’s work at Duke, see <https://spotlight.duke.edu/abele/>. The video of the plaque dedication is available at [https://www.youtube.com/watch?time\\_continue=11&v=idKRp2nxsAk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=11&v=idKRp2nxsAk).

<sup>29</sup> The faculty leader of this project and two students met with the Commission during their deliberations and provided some of our research and conclusions. Report: Commission on Memory and History, Duke University, 2017, <https://memoryhistory.duke.edu/report/>.

<sup>30</sup> Schewel, Steve, “2018 Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration,” January 14, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1P5U8R1N2k>.

<sup>31</sup> The Pauli Murray Project, part of the Duke Human Rights Center@the Franklin Humanities Institute, is part of the International Sites of Conscience Coalition, <http://www.sitesofconscience.org/en/home/>.

In this section, we outline two initiatives at peer institutions that can provide a model for Duke. While these experiences do not mirror Duke's unique challenges, they provide a rich set of examples and best practices.

Ties to slavery are by no means unique to Southern universities. The sale of human beings to benefit Georgetown University makes the link between human bodies and a university's fortunes brutally clear. In 1838, Georgetown University sold 272 men, women and children to pay off debts.<sup>32</sup> At Columbia University, "slavery was intertwined with the life of the college," according to that university's inquiry. Of the ten men who served as president between 1754 and 1865, "at least half owned slaves at one point in their lives. So did the first four treasurers." Enslaved people were housed at the college and profits from the slave trade and labor benefitted the school.<sup>33</sup>

Finally, these efforts are not restricted to American universities. In South Africa, an ongoing grassroots movement to decolonize university education led to the removal of a statue of apartheid architect Cecil Rhodes from the University of Cape Town. For protesters, the statue was much more than a relic. Students claimed the "statue represented much about the university that still celebrates white culture – its curriculum is Eurocentric, its governing council is mostly white, and its financial and mental-health support for black students is weak."<sup>34</sup>

The Rhodes statue was later removed. As writer Amit Chaudhuri noted in an essay in *The Guardian*, at the heart of the Rhodes issue — and the issue of these memorials in general — is not the separate historical figures, but the underlying "ethos that gives space and even preeminence" to them. In South Africa, that ethos remains rooted

in an educational system still confined by colonization and an open racism that seems to be on the rise, in South Africa as well as the United States.<sup>35</sup>



Statues of Thomas Jefferson, Robert E. Lee and Sidney Lanier in the Chapel entrance before and after the removal.

32 Swarns, Rachel L, "272 Slaves Were Sold to Save Georgetown. What Does It Owe Their Descendants?" *The New York Times*, April 16, 2016, <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/17/us/georgetown-university-search-for-slave-descendants.html>.

33 "Eric Foner Report," Columbia University and Slavery at <https://columbiaandslavery.columbia.edu/content/eric-foners-report>.

34 Fairbanks, Eve, "Why South African Students Have Turned on Their Parents' Generation," *The Guardian*, Nov.18, 2015, <http://www.theguardian.com/news/2015/nov/18/why-south-african-students-have-turned-on-their-parents-generation>.

35 Chaudhuri, Amit, "The Real Meaning of Rhodes Must Fall," *The Guardian*, March 16, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2016/mar/16/the-real-meaning-of-rhodes-must-fall>.

## BEGIN WITH A CLOCK

The movement to reexamine university histories had a milestone in the 2003 decision by Brown University President Ruth Simmons to create a committee to provide a “thoughtful inquiry using intellectual resources” into the historical relationship between Brown and slavery. The decision followed campus unrest over the slavery reparations debate and what committee member Prof. Brenda Allen characterizes as a “place of tension,” with students in particular pushing for an acknowledgement of past injustice.<sup>36</sup>

In *Slavery and Justice: Report of the Brown University Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice* (2006), the Brown committee detailed the school’s broad and deep ties to an industry that permeated every aspect of Rhode Island life: ship builders and seamstresses, coopers and tax collectors, grocers, blacksmiths and bakers.<sup>37</sup> Among the school’s first financial supporters was Esek Hopkins, hired by the slave-owning and trading Brown brothers to captain the “Sally” on a voyage to West Africa in 1764. “At least 109 of the 196 Africans that Hopkins purchased on behalf of the Browns perished, some in a failed insurrection, the balance through disease, suicide, and starvation,” the report noted. The Brown brothers later split over the issue of slavery, mirroring the debate that would eventually divide the United States.

Comprised of faculty, administrators and students, the Brown University committee worked with students who contributed research on materials in the University archives. The committee also sponsored town hall meetings and a series of lectures and conferences, to engage both a university and community audience. During their four-year process, they regularly shared their findings with the public. For Allen, “No

one is better prepared than the university to engage in a rigorous intellectual process related to these issues. Recommendations emanating from the process should keep in mind that the primary roles of the university is to educate and further knowledge production.”<sup>38</sup>

The committee’s final report included robust recommendations: tell the truth in all its complexity; commission relevant memorials; create a center for continuing research on slavery and justice; maintain high ethical standards in regard to investments and gifts; expand opportunities at Brown for those disadvantaged by the legacies of slavery and the slave trade; use the resources of the University to help ensure a quality education for the children of Rhode Island; and to appoint a committee to monitor implementation. Many recommendations have been implemented, and the university continues to develop and deepen its commitment to exploring this past.<sup>39</sup>

## WRITING NEW HISTORIES

Protests by students, faculty and staff propelled Yale University to review the name of one of its residential colleges, Calhoun. As Prof. Tina Lu, the head of the new Pauli Murray College, noted in her talk at Duke, residential colleges are at the center of the university’s undergraduate life. New Haven’s vibrant African-American community had been concerned about the Calhoun name for years. “Community activists and student activists had very convergent interests,” Lu noted in a talk at Duke.<sup>40</sup>

In 1933, when Yale created its first dormitories, the college named the building for U.S. vice president, secretary of state, secretary of war and South Carolina senator John C. Calhoun, a leading slavery advocate.

<sup>36</sup> Commission member Prof. Brenda Allen talked about her experience in a talk at Duke on February 7, 2017, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ovN3pF0m0S4>.

<sup>37</sup> The full report is available at [http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery\\_Justice/documents/SlaveryAndJustice.pdf](http://www.brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/documents/SlaveryAndJustice.pdf).

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> An update is available at [https://brown.edu/Research/Slavery\\_Justice/report/update.html](https://brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/report/update.html).

<sup>40</sup> Prof. Tina Lu’s talk about the Calhoun name change and establishment of Benjamin Franklin and Pauli Murray Colleges is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=doXF4VGsmuI&t=512s>.

Calhoun, who graduated from Yale in 1804, owned enslaved people and famously asserted that slavery was a “positive good,” benefiting both slaves and slave owners.<sup>41</sup>

Organized protests against the Calhoun name started in the late 1980s, when some students began referring to the building, which featured stained glass depictions of enslaved people carrying bales of cotton, as “Calhoun Plantation.” One stained-glass window showed an enslaved man in shackles kneeling at Calhoun’s feet.<sup>42</sup>

Then-Master Prof. Jonathan Holloway, a black professor of African-American history, argued at the time that the name should remain “as an open sore, frankly, for the very purpose of having conversations about this. I’ve seen too many instances where Americans have very happily allowed themselves to be amnesiac and changed the name of something and walked away.”<sup>43</sup> Protests took on renewed vigor in the wake of the 2015 attack in Charleston’s Mother Emanuel AME Church. While Yale students pressed for Calhoun’s name to be removed, alumni largely opposed any change. In the words of one alumnus, retaining the Calhoun name was to “accept the wide range of humanity and recognize that we are all situated in a particular historical reality.”<sup>44</sup>

In 2016, Yale President Peter Salovey reasserted that the university would not change the Calhoun name. In a letter to the Yale community, Salovey wrote, “Retaining the name forces us to learn anew and confront one of the most disturbing

aspects of Yale’s and our nation’s past. I believe this is our obligation as an educational institution.”<sup>45</sup>

At the same time, the university announced that it would no longer refer to faculty at the residential colleges as “masters.” Two new residential colleges would be named for Benjamin Franklin and Pauli Murray, a Durham native and human rights leader who was the first African American to graduate from Yale Law School in 1965.<sup>46</sup>

*In conjunction with the school’s 250th anniversary, Brown unveiled a new memorial to mark its relationship to the slave trade: a partially buried ball and chain and a related stone plinth with engraved text. Designed by Martin Puryear, the memorial is near University Hall, the oldest building on campus in part constructed by enslaved people.*

“MARTIN PURYEAR: SLAVERY MEMORIAL,” AT [WWW.BROWN.EDU/ABOUT/PUBLIC-ART/MARTIN-PURYEAR-SLAVERY-MEMORIAL](http://WWW.BROWN.EDU/ABOUT/PUBLIC-ART/MARTIN-PURYEAR-SLAVERY-MEMORIAL)

41 Calhoun, John C. 1837, “‘Positive Good’ Speech,” available at <https://www.stolaf.edu/people/fitz/COURSES/calhoun.html>.

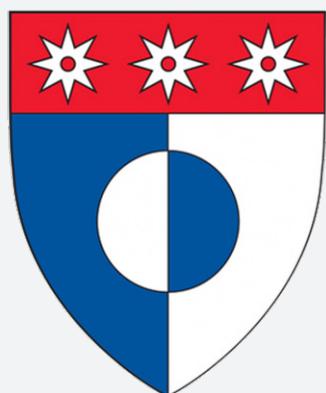
42 As a result of the 1980s protest, Yale removed the glass image of the enslaved man, leaving Calhoun’s figure in front of the US Capitol. For an image of the stained glass with the cut-out, see the second image at <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/11/us/yale-protests-john-calhoun-grace-murray-hopper.html>.

43 As Prof. Lu points out, most of the names associated with Yale’s residential colleges, including Stiles, were either former slave owners or people who profited from slavery. Branch, Mark Alden, “Renewed Debate over Renaming Calhoun,” *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Sept.-October 2015, <https://yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/4153-calhoun-college-renaming>.

44 Kovacs, Stephen, “Letter,” *The Calhoun Debate*, *Yale Alumni Magazine*, Nov./Dec. 2015, <https://yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/4173-the-calhoun-debate>.

45 Mother Emanuel AME Church is itself on Calhoun Street and sits a block from Charleston’s monument to Calhoun. Stanley-Becker, Isaac, “Yale Keeps the Calhoun Name despite Racial Concerns, but Ditches the ‘Master’ Title,” *Washington Post*, Apr. 27, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2016/04/27/yale-keeps-the-calhoun-name-despite-racial-concerns-but-ditches-the-master-title/>.

46 Murray also received an honorary doctor of divinity degree from Yale in 1979. “Anna Pauline (Pauli) Murray, Yale 1965 J.S.D., 1979 Hon. D.Div.,” Office of Public Affairs & Communications, May 5, 2015, <https://communications.yale.edu/anna-pauline-pauli-murray-yale-1965-jsd-1979-hon-ddiv>.



Yale adopted this shield for Pauli Murray College.

Is a principal legacy of the namesake fundamentally at odds with the mission of the university?

Was the relevant principal legacy significantly contested in the time and place in which the namesake lived?

Did the university at the time of a naming, honor a namesake for reasons that are fundamentally at odds with the mission of the university?

Does a building whose namesake has a principal legacy fundamentally at odds with the university's mission, or which was named for reasons fundamentally at odds with the university's mission, play a substantial role in forming community in the university?\*

\*<http://president.yale.edu/advisory-groups/presidents-committees/committee-establish-principles-renaming-0>

The decision fueled controversy and more debate. Yale professor Matthew Jacobson wrote an open response to Salovey, who is Jewish, challenging him to ask “how it might feel to go to school and be assigned to a residential college named for Joseph Goebbels.” Yale professor Glenda Gilmore also advocated for a name change, citing “the pain inflicted every day on students who live in a dormitory named for a man distinguished by being one of the country’s most egregious racists.”<sup>47</sup>

Apart from the protests, Calhoun staff member Corey Menafee smashed a stained-glass panel in the Calhoun dining hall that showed enslaved people carrying baskets of cotton.<sup>48</sup> Menafee was fired, then rehired. “It’s 2016; I shouldn’t have to come to work and see things like that,” Menafee told reporters after the incident.<sup>49</sup>

In the wake of protests, President Salovey convened a committee of faculty, students and staff to discuss principles to guide the university in deciding whether to remove a historical name from a building or other prominent structure or space on campus.<sup>50</sup> As Prof. Lu points out, the decision to revisit the names was not an inclusive, open one, but was made by the Yale Corporation, made up of university trustees. “At one point, students protested by throwing Monopoly money during an event,” to show their disdain for a process too dependent on the university’s image and donors.

Ultimately, Yale chose to remove Calhoun’s name from the college and replace it with Grace Murray Hopper, a computer scientist and Yale alumna who had served as a rear admiral in the US Navy.<sup>51</sup>

47 “What’s in a Name?” *Yale Alumni Magazine*, May/June 2016, <https://yalealumnimagazine.com/articles/4301-whats-in-a-name>.

48 Greenberg, Zoe, “Yale Drops Case Against Worker Who Smashed Window Depicting Slaves,” *The New York Times*, July 12, 2016, <https://www.nytimes.com/2016/07/13/nyregion/yale-worker-john-c-calhoun-window-slaves.html>.

49 Bever, Lindsey, “A Yale Dishwasher Broke a ‘Racist’ Windowpane. Now, He’s Fighting to Reclaim His Job,” *Washington Post*, July 19, 2016, <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/grade-point/wp/2016/07/12/yale-dishwasher-resigns-after-smashing-racist-very-degrading-stained-glass-window/>.

50 The full report is available at [http://president.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/CEPR\\_FINAL\\_12-2-16.pdf](http://president.yale.edu/sites/default/files/files/CEPR_FINAL_12-2-16.pdf)

51 The official announcement can be found at <http://news.yale.edu/2017/02/11/yale-change-calhoun-college-s-name-honor-grace-murray-hopper-0>.

Yale continues to promote faculty scholarship and archival materials related to slavery. However, at the time of this writing, we are aware of no further efforts by Yale University to engage with its many ties to slavery, including exploring the history of namesake Elihu Yale. Yale was a successful slave trader for the East India Company and profited from a booming trade in human beings that “was larger in duration and scope than its Atlantic counterpart,” according to Yale PhD student Joseph Yanielli. Those profits were what made him able to financially support the precursor to Yale University.<sup>52</sup>

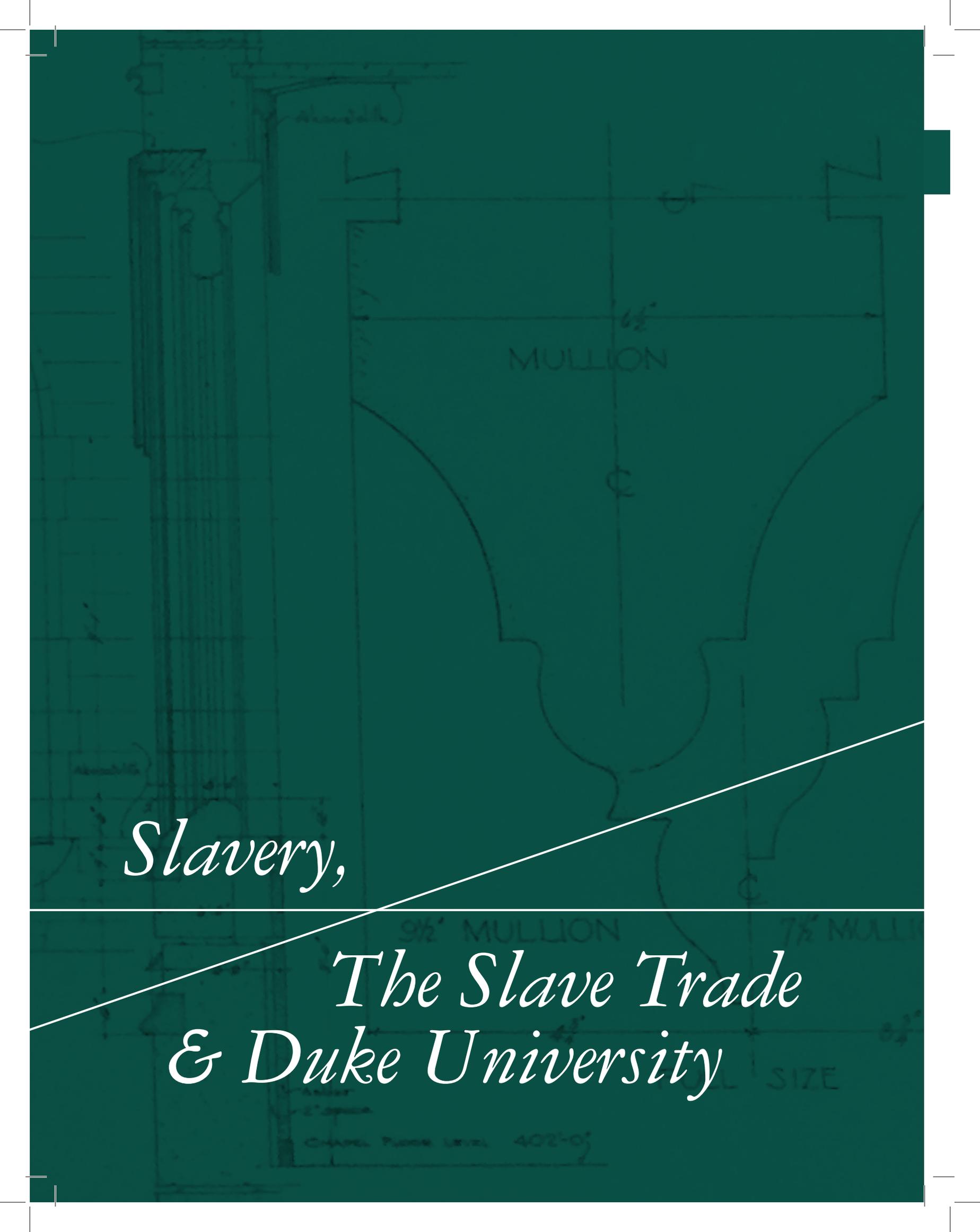
As importantly, Yale engaged in the slave trade even as world opposition to slavery grew. A largely unacknowledged aspect to this debate is that opposition to slavery was as present as support for slavery during these times, albeit with less financial backing. Yanielli notes that in 1688, less than a year after Yale became governor of the state of Madras, a group of Quakers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, issued a statement condemning slavery in the colonies. When Yale College honored Yale by renaming the institution, opposition to slavery was widespread across the British Empire.<sup>53</sup>

*Now tho they are black, we can not conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying that we shall doe to all men licke as we will be done ourselves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. and those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alicke?*

FROM QUAKER PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY IN THE NEW WORLD, GERMANTOWN (PA.) 1688 AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://TRIPTYCH.BRYNMAWR.EDU/CDM/REF/COLLECTION/HC\\_QUAKSLAV/ID/11](http://triptych.brynmawr.edu/cdm/ref/collection/hc_quakslav/id/11)

<sup>52</sup> Yanielli, Joseph, “Elihu Yale Was a Slave Trader,” *Digital Histories @ Yale* (blog), November 1, 2014, <http://digitalhistories.ycl.org/2014/11/01/elihu-yale-was-a-slave-trader/>.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

The background is a dark teal color with a faint, light-colored architectural drawing of a window. The drawing shows a central mullion, decorative glass panes with curved and scalloped patterns, and various technical annotations. A white diagonal line runs from the bottom left towards the top right, crossing the text.

*Slavery,*

*The Slave Trade  
& Duke University*

# Slavery, The Slave Trade & Duke University

## FOUNDATION OF PROSPERITY

Slavery has a central and violent place in the origins of the United States. Slavery fueled the early American economy, enriching both North and South. Many industries — among them, cotton and cotton-based textiles, banking, shipping, food processing and the cultivation of food and commercial crops like sugar and tobacco — depended on enslaved labor. Prior to the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, traders forcibly brought millions of enslaved African men, women and children to the Americas.<sup>54</sup>

All 13 colonies originally allowed the enslavement of Africans and Native Americans. Their labor directly benefitted slave owners and their families and enriched virtually every part of the US economy. Slave traders, largely based in the North, used Northern financial institutions, including banks and insurance companies, to build the profits they gleaned from selling slaves to southerners for their plantations and businesses.<sup>55</sup> As the Brown University report notes, the profits from slavery enriched virtually every part of the American economy.

By the time the Civil War started in 1861, there were almost 4 million enslaved people in the United States, 12.6 per cent of the total population. As historian David Brion Davis notes, “If by the 1850s the North seemed well launched on an alternative

road of industrial capitalism, the two sections were closely linked in terms of trade, finance, insurance, family bonds, and even the slave-grown cotton, rice, hemp, tobacco and sugar that Northerners consumed in exchange for all the products they sold in the South.”<sup>56</sup>

Economically, it is impossible to extricate American wealth from slavery. It is just as impossible to remove the reality of slavery from wealth donated by individuals who profited from slavery to institutions of higher learning, among them Duke.

American slavery lasted for two and a half centuries. Yet to date only one federal site commemorates the millions of enslaved people who contributed to our country and prosperity, the new National Museum of African American History and Culture. No site recognizes the contributions enslaved people made to the state of North Carolina, Durham — or Duke University. On the other hand, there are more than eighty national parks and monuments — and hundreds of other federal memorials — dedicated to the Civil War.<sup>57</sup> As noted earlier, there are over 700 monuments and statues to Confederates in the United States, not counting named buildings, streets and parks. Of those Confederate monuments, nearly 300 are located in Georgia, Virginia and North Carolina, including on the Duke campus.<sup>58</sup>

54 Likely, explorers brought the first African slaves to Spanish Florida as early as the 1560s. The first recorded sale of enslaved people took place at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619. The National Archives (United Kingdom), “Black Presence,” a web portal available at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/pathways/blackhistory/rights/abolition.htm>.

55 Among the most comprehensive works on slavery in the United States are Curtin, Philip D, *The Atlantic Slave Trade; a Census*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969; Davis, David Brion. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008; and Eltis, David, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas*. Cambridge, U.K. Cambridge University Press, 2000.

56 Davis, David Brion. *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 175.

57 Schulz, Kathryn, “The Underground Railroad’s Troubling Allure,” *The New Yorker*, August 22, 2016, <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2016/08/22/the-perilous-lure-of-the-underground-railroad>.

58 “Whose Heritage? Public Symbols of the Confederacy,” Southern Poverty Law Center, April 21, 2016, <https://www.splcenter.org/20160421/whose-heritage-public-symbols-confederacy>.

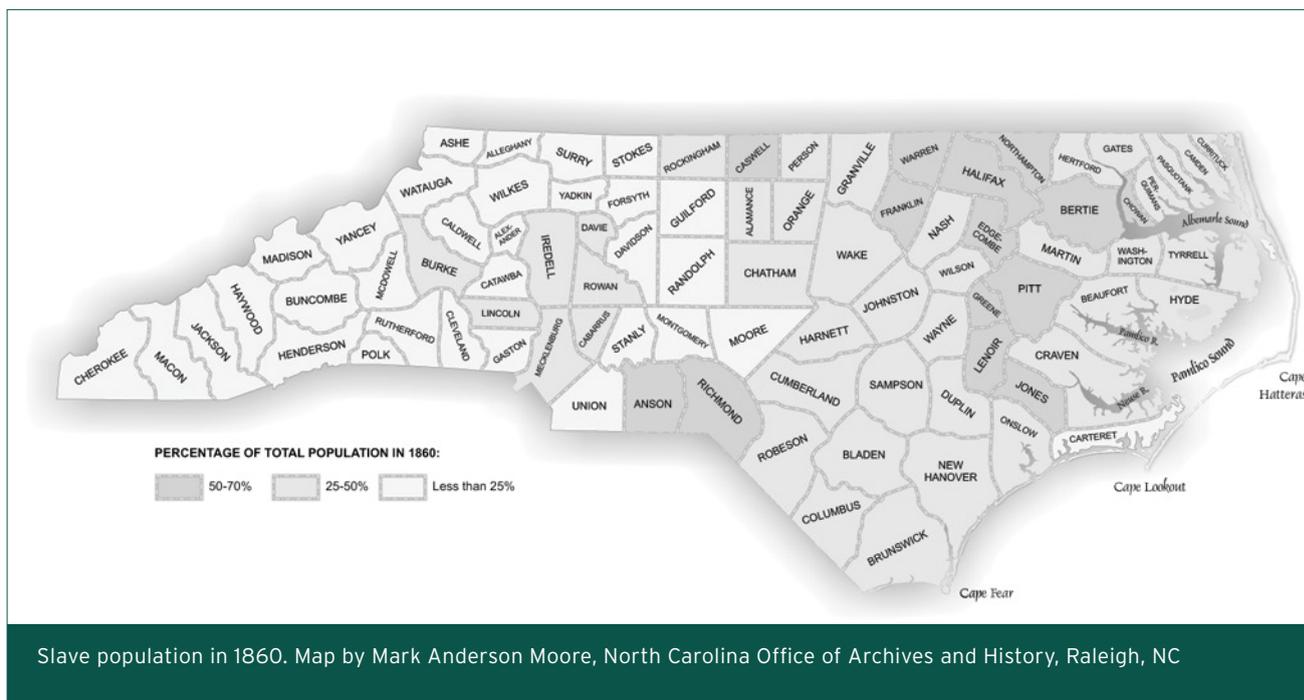
## “DOLEFUL PRAYERS”: NORTH CAROLINA AND SLAVERY

The enslavement of Africans and their descendants has been a part of North Carolina’s history since its settlement by Europeans. Wilmington was a primary slave port, and the city itself was built in part with skilled labor provided by enslaved craftsmen.<sup>59</sup>

White plantation owners in Eastern North Carolina depended on enslaved labor for their rice plantations. As tobacco became an important cash crop, farmers brought slaves into the Piedmont. In the mountainous west, enslaved people worked in manufacturing, mining, construction and livestock. By the mid-1800s, enslaved people worked fields, built homes and furniture, raised children, prepared food, cured tobacco, forged tools, cared for people and animals — all under threat of violence and death. Most were poorly fed and housed, denied appropriate medical care or legal protections, barred from education and prevented from protecting or even keeping together their families.<sup>60</sup>

It’s important to underscore that most of the state’s yeoman farmers — the majority of the state’s population — did not own slaves. Most could not afford the cost. Some also opposed slavery. By 1860, most farmers in the North Carolina owned no slaves. Concentrated in the Piedmont and western North Carolina, yeoman farmers included Methodists and Quakers, many of whom opposed slavery as a matter of faith. However, even though yeoman farmers were in the majority, their political and economic power fell far short of wealthy slave owners.<sup>61</sup>

Among the state’s wealthiest plantation owners were the Camerons, whose financial empire included Stagville and Fairintosh, northeast of Durham, as well as large holdings in Mississippi and Alabama. In 1860, Paul Carrington Cameron was the richest man in the state and its largest slave holder. He once boasted that he owned 1,900 human beings.<sup>62</sup>



59 Seapker, Janet, and Beverly Tetterton, *A Guide to Wilmington’s African American Heritage.*, City of Wilmington, NC, 2013.  
 60 Crow, Jeffrey J., Paul D. Escott and Flora J. Hatley, *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*, N. C. Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1992, pp. 48-69.  
 61 Ibid.  
 62 Cameron Indoor Stadium is named for longtime Athletic Director and basketball coach Eddie Cameron. Cameron Street on the UNC-Chapel Hill campus is named for Paul Cameron. Escott, pp. 120-121.

## A SCHOOL'S BEGINNINGS

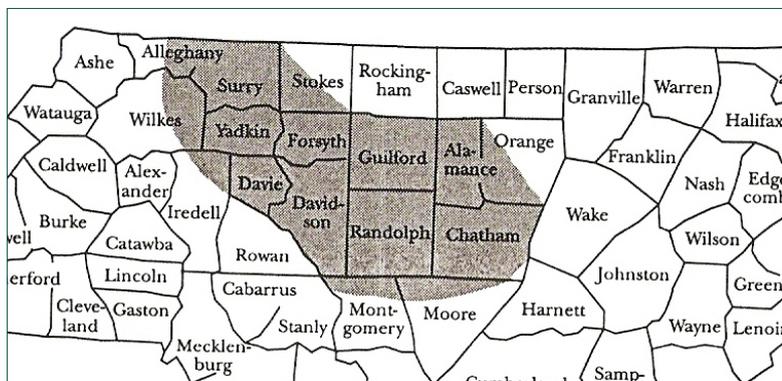
Duke University traces its origin to Brown's School in North Carolina's Randolph County. Part of the so-called "Quaker Belt," Randolph County was largely populated by white Quaker and Methodist yeoman farmers, most of whom either owned no slaves or were opposed to slavery.<sup>63</sup>

These families challenge assumptions that the South was monolithic and uniformly pro-slavery. The Quaker Belt had a strong tradition of dissent, fed in part by abolitionists who "opposed slavery before the Civil War, supported the Union during the war, became Republicans during Reconstruction, and joined the People's party in the Gilded Age," according to Trinity Professor John Spencer Bassett. Combined with the western third of the state, also dominated by small farmers, the Quaker Belt helped divide North Carolina on the question of slavery.<sup>64</sup> Prof. Bassett once speculated that if secession had not occurred, North Carolina's anti-slavery majority would have eventually "removed the stain of slavery from the State."<sup>65</sup>

The founders of the Methodist Church, John and Charles Wesley and Francis Asbury, were also anti-slavery. Early Methodist churches included both free and enslaved blacks. However, an 1844 dispute over slavery split many congregations, with the Wesleyan Methodists remaining abolitionist and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South allowing its congregants to continue to buy, sell and own human beings.<sup>66</sup> As Prof. Bassett noted, some southern Methodists defended slavery as "a means of converting the Africans."<sup>67</sup>

*The keep of a negro {in North Carolina} does not come to a great figure, since the daily ration is but a quart of maize, and rarely a little meat or salted fish. (At sales,) often the husband is snatched from his wife, the children from their mother, if this better answers the purpose of buyer or seller, and no heed is given to the doleful prayers with which they seek to prevent a separation."*

FROM JOHANN DAVID SCHÖPF, *TRAVELS IN THE CONFEDERATION, 1783-1784* (CAMPBELL, 1911).



Vicki Bynum, based on research in *Unruly Women: The Politics of Social and Sexual Control in the Old South*; and William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters and Draft Dodgers*.

63 Starting as Brown's Schoolhouse, the institution became Union Institute from 1841 to 1851, Normal College until 1859, then Trinity College until 1924, when it became Duke University.

64 Auman describes the Quaker Belt as a "hotbed of dissent and disorder in the eighteenth century. Armed farmers known as Regulators ended by open revolt a decade-long protest against unfair taxes and unscrupulous, exploitative county officials. Governor Tryon's army defeated them at the Battle of Alamance in 1771. Their leader, Herman Husband, a Quaker resident of the Sandy Creek section of Randolph County (then western Orange County), fled to western Pennsylvania where in 1793 he was condemned to death for his leadership in the Whiskey Rebellion. Hundreds of his Regulator followers likewise abandoned their farms in central North Carolina and fled to Tennessee and Kentucky to avoid prosecution for "rebellion." Auman, William T., *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters and Draft Dodger*, Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014. pp. 9-10.

65 Bassett, John Spencer, "Anti-Slavery Leaders of North Carolina," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, vol. series XVI, June 1898, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/nc/bassett98/bassett98.html>.

66 "Site of the Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," <http://www.gcch.org/research/travelers-guide/site-of-the-organization-of-the-methodist-episcopal-church-south>.

67 Bassett also saw slave ownership as sometimes benevolent, a way of protecting slaves from leaving "their old homes for

## “BRILLIANT SUN OF SCIENCE”

The Quaker Belt became home to a number of schools organized to educate the sons of yeoman farmers. Then as today, they saw education as way to improve their children’s prospects. In 1838, Quakers and Methodists set up Brown’s Schoolhouse for elementary and high school students. At a time when the United States had no public schools, churches were a leading supporter of education for the mostly illiterate population of whites and freed blacks.<sup>68</sup>

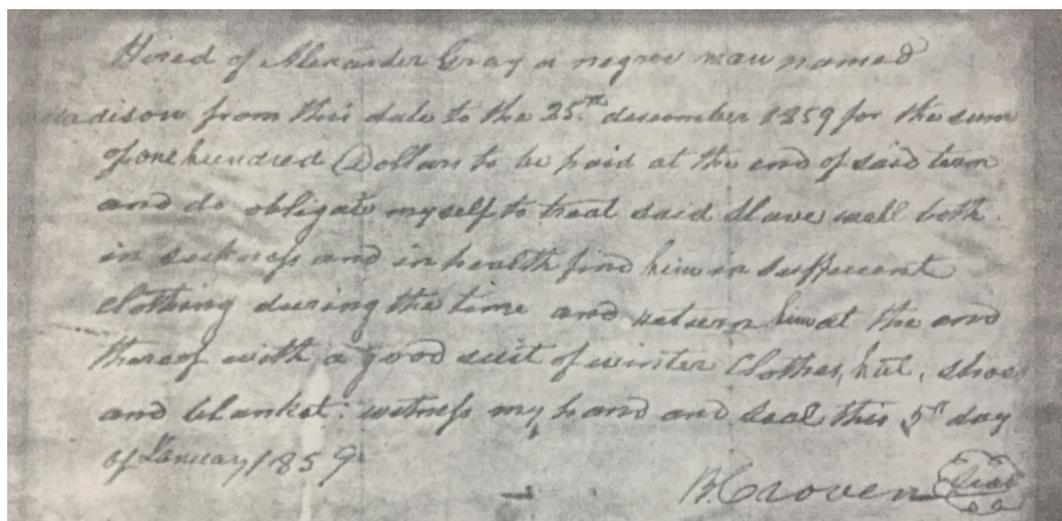
Notably, in the writings of Duke’s founders, African Americans are barely even mentioned except a stray reference as chattel. It’s as if their very existence was invisible even as the monies collected to pay for buildings and supplies was largely fruit of their labor. As colonization was the “ethos that gives space and even preeminence” to the Rhodes site in South Africa, so too was slavery the ethos that made Duke possible.

At the time, education among whites was largely segregated by gender, with women attending separate schools. Unique

among its peers, Brown’s Schoolhouse briefly included women as teachers and students.<sup>69</sup> The school soon changed its name to Union Institute and gained a new principal, Brantley York, a local who was largely self-taught.<sup>70</sup>

Despite its humble architecture, the Union Institute had aspirations well beyond the confines of the schoolhouse walls. In their constitution, the 23 trustees pledged to dispel “that dismal gloom which has, with raven pinions, brooded over our country for ages, eclipsing the brilliant sun of science.”<sup>71</sup>

As noted earlier, the slave economy that fueled Southern prosperity was deeply entwined in Duke’s beginnings. Like UNC, the early founders of Brown’s School and Union Institute included slave owners. Among them was General Alexander Gray, a veteran of the war of 1812 who owned 188 slaves, the largest single holding in either Randolph or Guilford Counties. Gray also lent his slaves to the school for construction and other tasks.<sup>72</sup>



“Hired of Alexander Gray a negroe man named Madison from this date to the 25th december 1859 for the sum of one hundred Dollars...” (signed) B(raxton) Craven January 5, 1859. Duke University Archives

the colder climates of the free States.” Bassett, John Spencer, “North Carolina Methodism and Slavery,” in *Trinity Alumni Register*, Vol. v.2 (1916/1917)., Series IV, Historical Society of Trinity College, pp. 1-11.

68 It was illegal to teach enslaved people to read or write. Chaffin, pp. 3-4, 12.

69 Among the teachers was Irene Leach, who later married Braxton Craven. Chaffin, pp. 40, 52.

70 York, Brantley, *The Autobiography of Brantley York, Vol. 1*, Leopold Classic Library, 2015, p. 45.

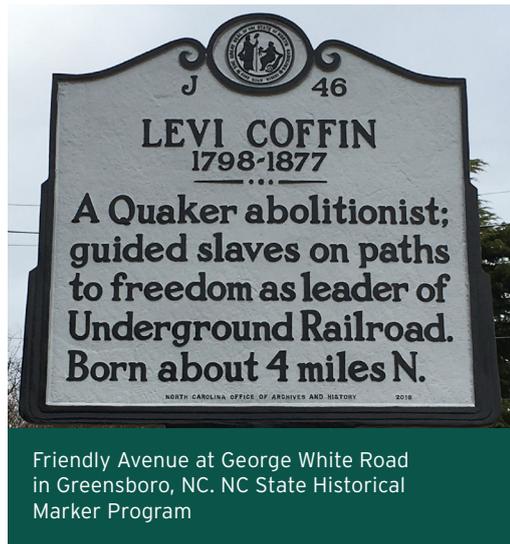
71 “Transcript of the Constitution of the Union Institute Society,” October 12, 2013, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/archives/history/articles/uisc-transcript>.

72 Chaffin, p. 31.

Unlike his successor, Braxton Craven, York opposed secession and was dubious about slavery, “the cause of many and enormous sins.” Prophetically, he wrote in his autobiography that in North Carolina, “those who had the least interest in slavery would have to face the danger and make the greatest sacrifice of health and life” to defend it.<sup>73</sup>

### THE PRESIDENCY OF BRAXTON CRAVEN

As president of the school from 1842-1882, Braxton Craven took the precursor to Duke University through some of its most difficult times: the Civil War and Reconstruction. His legacy is mixed. Duke rightfully celebrates Craven for his lifelong devotion to building a college and promoting education. At the same time, as a slave-owner and supporter of violent white supremacy, he made personal and professional choices that put him at odds with his own family, his church, his neighbors, his county and his country. While he presided over an institution of higher learning, Craven owned enslaved children and helped promote and institutionalize the violence of white supremacy during and after the Civil War.<sup>74</sup> Twelve residential houses combine on Duke’s West campus to make up Craven Quad.



Orphaned and reared by a Quaker foster family, Craven taught himself to read, then convinced his foster family to let him study at a local school. As an adult, he hired himself out as a teacher and also preached as a Methodist minister. He enrolled as a student, then later taught at Union Institute. At the time the school hired Craven in 1842, he was nineteen. Union Institute was floundering financially. The trustees hoped Craven would establish a more stable financial footing for the school and recruit more and better students.<sup>75</sup>

Between 1843 and 1850, the number of students enrolled averaged just over one hundred per year. To make ends meet,

## THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

Underground Railroad co-founders Levi and Vestal Coffin were born and raised in North Carolina’s Quaker Belt. In his memoirs, Levi recounted how he once saw a coffle of enslaved people on the road to Salisbury, “chained in couples on each side of a long chain which extended between them; the driver was some distance behind, with the wagon of supplies... I turned to my father and asked many questions concerning them, why they were taken away from their families, etc. In simple words, suited to my comprehension, my father explained to me the meaning of slavery, and, as I listened, the thought arose in my mind – “How terribly we should feel if father were taken away from us.” The Coffins helped found the North Carolina Manumission Society in 1816 to spread the antislavery cause, then helped create the Underground Railroad.

<sup>73</sup> York, p. 80.

<sup>74</sup> Craven remains the university’s longest-serving president.

<sup>75</sup> Chaffin, pp. 54-61.

Craven farmed and boarded students. Craven also bought at least three enslaved people, among them at least two children. It is important to underscore that this was not normal for the time, place or Craven's service as a Methodist minister. Craven had been raised in a staunchly abolitionist family in a heavily abolitionist and anti-slavery county. As Prof. John Spencer Bassett noted, "The spirit of the (Methodist) church was undoubtedly against" the holding of slaves by ministers.<sup>76</sup>

One of the children was a boy named Isam, registered as part of the Craven household in 1854. Craven bought a teenage girl named Malinda — between fourteen and eighteen years of age — in 1857.<sup>77</sup> Craven

Know all men by these presents that I Ralph Garrison of the County of Guilford for and in consideration of the sum of his hundred fifty dollars to me in hand paid by B Craven the receipt and pay ment of which is hereby acknowledged have given & granted and bargain'd sold & delivered to the said B Craven a negro girl by the name of Malinda supposed to be from fourteen to eighteen years of age to have and to hold to him & his heirs and assigns forever  
and I do hereby warrant said good Malinda to be a slave for life and to be bound in body & mind so far as I know  
Given under my hand & seal this 27th day of September 1857  
Test  
Julius L. Garrison  
Ralph Garrison

On September 27, 1857, President Craven completed the purchase of "Malinda supposed to be from fourteen to eighteen years of age to have and to hold to him and his heirs and (illegible) forever." In papers of Braxton Craven, Duke University Archives

intended to buy more children, but later decided not to since they "brought larger prices than I was willing to give."<sup>78</sup>

Slave sales could be horrifying spectacles. W. L. Most, a former enslaved man who worked at a hotel in Newton, west of Randolph County, told a Works Project Administration interviewer that he witnessed enslaved people in coffles on their way to be sold:

Lord child, I remember when I was a little boy, 'bout ten years, the speculators come through Newton with droves of slaves. They always stay at our place. The poor critters nearly froze to death. They always come 'long on the last of December so that the niggers would be ready for sale on the first day of January. Many the time I see four or five of them chained together. They never had enough clothes on to keep a cat warm. The women never wore anything but a thin dress and a petticoat and one underwear. I've seen the ice balls hangin' on to the bottom of their dresses as they ran along, jes like sheep in a pasture 'fore they are sheared. They never wore any shoes. Jes run along on the ground, all spewed up with ice. The speculators always rode on horses and drove the pore niggers. When they get cold, they make 'em run 'til they are warm again. The speculators stayed in the hotel and put the niggers in the quarters jes like droves of hogs. All through the night I could hear them mournin' and prayin'. I didn't know the Lord would let people live who were so cruel. The gates were always locked and they was a guard on the outside to shoot anyone who tried to run away. Lord miss, them slaves look jes like droves of turkeys runnin' along in front of them horses. I remember when they put 'em on the block to sell 'em. The ones 'tween 18 and 30 always bring the most money. The auctioneer he stand off at a distance and cry 'em off as they stand on the block. I can hear his voice as long as I live.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>76</sup> Craven and others relied on a loophole devised by the Methodists in 1816, allowing ministers to own slaves in states that required freed slaves to leave the state, a requirement throughout the South. Bassett, John Spencer, "North Carolina Methodism and Slavery," in *Trinity Alumni Register*, Vol. v.2 (1916/1917), Series IV, Historical Society of Trinity College, pp. 1-11.

<sup>77</sup> Chaffin, p. 64.

<sup>78</sup> Craven wrote about this in a document currently housed at the NC State Archives. Personal communication with Valerie Gillispie, Duke University Archivist.

<sup>79</sup> This interview was taken from the over 2300 former interviews of slaves collected during the Great Depression by members of the Federal Writers' Project, a New Deal agency in the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Black interviewees often referred to themselves with terms that in some uses are considered offensive. Interview with W. L. Bost, "Emancipation through Union occupation and victory: Selections from the WPA interviews of formerly enslaved African Americans, 1936-1938," *The Making of African American Identity: Volume I, 1500-1865*, National Humanities Center, 2009.

As befits the head of a school, Craven was deeply interested in the issues of the day. He founded a magazine, *The Southern Index*, later converted into *The Evergreen*. In both, he addressed social issues, among them the need to educate laborers – but not enslaved ones. Craven also defended the South against the North, claiming that Northern oppression prevented the South from improving its lot. He never decried slavery as a problem. Craven laid the blame for the South’s ills squarely on a “tyrant” to the North.<sup>80</sup>

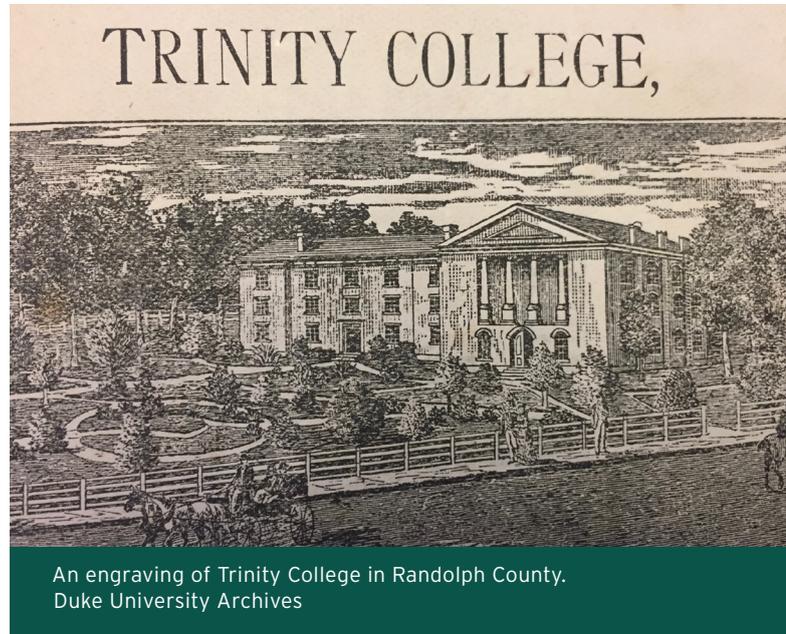
Craven successfully gained the support of the state legislature to convert Union Institute into a teacher’s college in 1851, to train young men for the ministry. Renamed Normal College, the institution erected new buildings and recruited male students from seven Southern states. In 1852, the college’s Hesperian Literary Society sponsored a debate on the question of slavery, reflecting the majority views of the students at the time. Students agreed that the South would be justified in seceding from the Union if the Congress repealed the Fugitive Slave Act. They also resolved that, among oppressed people, the American Indian and not the African had received greater abuse.<sup>81</sup>

### THE “INNER CIVIL WAR”

By 1860, Craven was a comfortably settled land owner with a substantial personal estate. His wife, Irene Leach, had been a Union Institute teacher. They had three children and owned at least three slaves, two of whom had been purchased as or were children.<sup>82</sup>

At that time, roughly one third of the state’s population was enslaved. In part because of its Quaker and Methodist roots,

Randolph County had a slave population of slightly less than 10 percent of the total of residents, dramatically lower than even neighboring anti-slavery counties. In other words, Trinity’s home was among North Carolina’s most persistently anti-slavery and pro-Union counties.<sup>83</sup>



Randolph County’s white male voters expressed their views through their votes, overwhelmingly opposed to leaving the Union. However, with the secession of most Southern states, the failure of negotiated solutions, the firing on Fort Sumter and the call by President Lincoln on each state for troops to force seceded states back into the Union, many Tar Heel Unionists—including those in the Quaker Belt—felt compelled to choose between state and country. On April 20, 1861, North Carolina was the last southern state to secede from the Union.<sup>84</sup>

Like many, Craven initially opposed secession since he opposed war. But his support for the South and slavery remained

<sup>80</sup> Chaffin, pp. 85-86.

<sup>81</sup> Durham was separated from Orange County until 1881. Chaffin, pp. 89-160, 125-126.

<sup>82</sup> The name change to Trinity came on the eve of the Civil War and honored Trinity College, Cambridge, Chaffin, pp. 176, 179; and Population and Slave Schedules, 1860 Federal Census, Randolph County, North Carolina.

<sup>83</sup> In the coastal plain, the location of most of the large plantations in the state, enslaved people comprised 44 percent of the population; in the Piedmont section, they were 24 percent; and in the mountain region, 10 percent. The Quaker Belt counties, which for the most part lay outside the cotton- and tobacco-producing areas of the piedmont, had a population of 21 percent enslaved people. Auman, p. 32.

<sup>84</sup> Auman, p. 30.

strong, unusual for the region and his own upbringing as the foster son of an abolitionist Quaker family. His pro-slavery arguments to colleagues and students hewed closely to those of Alexander H. Stephens, the firebrand secessionist from South Carolina and future vice-president of the Confederacy. In his “Corner Stone”



Trinity Home Guard (pictured) helped quell pro-Union protests in 1861. In 1861, President Craven reported to Gov. Clark that his students “very promptly responded to the call of Davidson [county authorities] for help. In two hours after receiving the notice we were on the way. I stationed a strong guard in Thomasville ... and with the remainder of the Company marched throughout the country ... and visited nearly all the houses. That country will be perfectly quiet.”

William T. Auman, *Civil War in the North Carolina Quaker Belt: The Confederate Campaign against Peace Agitators, Deserters and Draft Dodgers* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2014), p. 36.

speech in 1861, Stephens called slavery the “proper status of the negro in our form of civilization” and stated that the Confederacy’s “foundations are laid, its corner-stone rests, upon the great truth that the negro is not equal to the white man; that slavery subordination to the superior race is his natural and normal condition. This, our new government, is the first, in the history of the world, based upon this great physical, philosophical, and moral truth.”<sup>85</sup>

Writing to a South Carolina colleague in 1860, Craven expressed admiration for Stephens and his support of slavery, noting, “If the North will improve the Fugitive Slave Law, crush their personal liberty laws, and put the territories out of Congress, we would do far better to stay in the Union.”

Craven decried the North’s “Puritan fanaticism,” adding “If left to me, I should say to the North, ‘Without difficulty or delay, restore our fugitives, put the territories out of Congress, and stop all your anti-slavery movements, and we will remain.’ If she said “No!” to any item, I should then say “Revolution and defiance, a new republic or nothing!”<sup>86</sup>

Once the state voted to secede, North Carolina provided between one-sixth and one-seventh of the Confederate Army’s military manpower, more troops per capita than any other state.<sup>87</sup> Dozens of Trinity students enlisted to fight for the Confederacy.<sup>88</sup> Other North Carolinians fought for the Union.<sup>89</sup>

Worried about the college’s finances, Craven created the Trinity Home Guard to keep more students from leaving.<sup>90</sup> Home Guard units were armed paramilitaries

85 The full text is available at <https://www.ucs.louisiana.edu/~ras2777/amgov/stephens.html>.

86 Chaffin, p. 219.

87 Slave owners and overseers with more than twenty slaves were exempt from the draft. The Quaker Belt had markedly lower enlistment because of opposition to slavery and the Confederacy as well as high desertion rates. Home Guard units also forcibly conscripted young men for the Confederate military. Auman, 3

88 We were unable to find any record of Trinity students who enlisted in the Union army.

89 Four regiments of white North Carolinians served the Union during the Civil War: the 1st and 2nd North Carolina Union Volunteer Infantry in the Coastal Plain and the 2nd and 3rd North Carolina Union Mounted Infantry in the Mountains. The Union also recruited the African Brigade, which consisted of ex-slaves. Current, Richard Nelson, *Lincoln’s Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

90 Chaffin, p. 221-222.

whose job was to capture deserters and escaped slaves, punish dissenters and seize supplies for the army.<sup>91</sup>

Maintaining order was a challenge in a region with fervent pro-Union sentiment. The Quaker Belt became one of the most troublesome regions in all of the South. Pro-Union groups like the Heroes of America, also referred to as the “Red Strings,” acted as spies; support for deserters, draft-dodgers, and escaped Federal prisoners; and assisted on Underground Railroad routes to Federal lines.<sup>92</sup>

Torture, arson, assault and robbery characterized this internal conflict. Craven himself seemed to want more action. In a letter to Governor Clark on March 13, 1862, he warned that “something much more severe is needed” to keep opposition to the Confederacy in check. “Deep, inveterate hate to this government abounds and the authorities of the County will never crush it.... My position is such that I can do considerable and I could do more if I were to advance the bounty,” referring to the payment for the capture of pro-Union residents.<sup>93</sup>

Craven also negotiated for students to serve as guards at a military prison in Salisbury, meant for captured Union soldiers. Early in the war, conditions were decent. But by October 1864, after Craven was relieved of command, the inmate population had grown to at least 10,000, for a facility intended to hold 2,500. Prisoners lived in desperate conditions, with one in four perishing of hunger, disease and exposure.<sup>94</sup>

Craven tried not to neglect his teaching duties while at Trinity. During the war, he rewrote some textbooks to ensure that they reflected a “Southern” perspective without an “unjust opinion” about slaveholding

society. By 1862, “textbooks with a distinct Southern bias” were being printed and distributed in North Carolina.<sup>95</sup> As noted earlier, this bias remained pronounced well into the twenty-first century.

Received (sic) of Brackson (sic) Craven fifteen dollars from his boy Isam for wheat fifteen bushels John Meredith Craven papers, (signed) John Meredith. Duke University Archives

Despite Craven’s efforts to keep the school afloat, enrollments plunged during the war. Especially during the summers of 1863 and 1864, the Confederate Army had to rush hundreds of troops to the Quaker Belt to suppress revolts by armed deserters. For historian William Auman, the landscape was one of “overzealous troops and marauding bands of deserters (who) destroyed an uncounted number of homes, barns, crops, and other properties. Thousands of people of all ages and stations in life suffered murder, torture, abuse, rape, intimidation, threats, and deprivation. The deep physical and psychological scars inflicted during the inner civil war led to hatreds that resurfaced after the war in numerous court battles between wartime antagonists, and between Scalawags and their former Confederate tormentors in the vicious politics of the Reconstruction era.”<sup>96</sup>

Craven’s tenure ended temporarily with his 1864 resignation under a financial cloud. Foreshadowing the Chapel statue decision 60 years later, Trinity students in the Hesperian Literary Society inducted General Robert E. Lee and North Carolina

91 King, Stefanie Alyson, “Consent and Coercion in the Central Piedmont of North Carolina during the Civil War Era,” Thesis, North Carolina State University, 2015.

92 The county also had a large number of pro-reunionist Copperheads who advocated for a peace settlement that might have preserved slavery. The term evokes a venomous snake native to the South. Auman, pp. 24-25, 39.

93 Auman, p. 40.

94 “Salisbury Prison (Civil War),” *North Carolina History Project*, <http://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/salisbury-prison-civil-war/>.

95 Chaffin, pp. 231-232.

96 Auman, p. 8.

Governor Zebulon Vance, also a slave owner and Confederate soldier, as honorary members. Retreating Confederate soldiers camped on the campus. Confederate General William J. Hardee claimed to have been the last general to lower Trinity's Confederate flag.<sup>97</sup>

## RECONSTRUCTION

In North Carolina, the war's end came most visibly at Bennett Place, a farm in modern-day Durham. There, soldiers under the command of Union General William T. Sherman and Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston camped as their commanders signed surrender papers for Southern armies in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida.<sup>98</sup> Emancipation freed an estimated 360,000 enslaved people in the state.<sup>99</sup>

In 1866, Braxton Craven found Trinity College in deplorable condition, rooms stripped and books pilfered. He resumed travel in search of funding and students. Slowly, the college rebounded.<sup>100</sup> At some point, Craven joined the Conservative (later Democrat) party, which bitterly opposed Reconstruction and equal rights for blacks.<sup>101</sup> Writing in his diary, Craven argued that Reconstruction constituted "the greatest outrage that ever happened in North Carolina" and those who supported it "will do all in their power to ruin this country."<sup>102</sup>

Even as the Federal government acknowledged the rights of African Americans on paper, in practice Conservatives

and many white people were determined to use virtually any means to block the exercise of those rights. North Carolina's leaders moved quickly to establish "Black Codes" to maintain white supremacy and retain pre-war laws limiting the rights of those citizens. The General Assembly also approved new restrictions, including preventing a black person from testifying in court if the case involved a white person.<sup>103</sup>

Nevertheless, African Americans, often at risk of life and home, attended meetings, organized and voted where possible to elect Republicans and African Americans to local school boards, the courts, law enforcement and to the legislature. Newly freed, these citizens were leaders of their own freedom campaigns, aware not only of the stakes in the South but also the profound racism and hostility in most of the North. African Americans allied with the Federal government when necessary but also defied white control when it clashed with their goals.<sup>104</sup>

Within the South, North Carolina has a relatively successful Reconstruction, with some African-American men able to vote and dozens of African-American candidates elected to state, county and local offices.<sup>105</sup>

Randolph County opened at least two schools for blacks by December 1865.<sup>106</sup> While a few white colleges in the North began admitting black students, Southern schools, including Duke, would delay change until the 1960s.<sup>107</sup>

97 Between 1865-1866, the College suspended activities. Chaffin, pp. 237-248.

98 NC Historic Sites, "Bennett Place," <http://www.nchistoricsites.org/bennett/>.

99 Crow, Jeffrey J., Paul D. Escott, and Flora J. Hatley Wadlington. *A History of African Americans in North Carolina*. Raleigh: N. C. Dept. of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, 1992.

100 Chaffin, pp. 251-252.

101 The party changed its name to Democrat in 1876.

102 Craven, B. (Braxton), 1822-1882. "Braxton Craven Records and Papers, 1839-1882." Box 1, no. ALEPH:003185233 (n.d.), Duke University Archives.

103 Public Laws of North Carolina, session of 1866, p. 99; and Senate Ex. Doc. no. 26, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., p. 197. March 10, 1866.

104 For a fascinating look at one North Carolina activist, Abraham Galloway, see Cecelski, David S, *The Fire of Freedom: Abraham Galloway and the Slaves' Civil War*, Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

105 Personal interview with Prof William Chafe; and Foner, Eric, "Rooted in Reconstruction: The First Wave of Black Congressmen," *The Nation*, October 15, 2008, <https://www.thenation.com/article/rooted-reconstruction-first-wave-black-congressmen/>.

106 Alexander, Roberta Sue, *NC Faces the Freedmen: Race Relations During Presidential Reconstruction, 1865-67*, Duke University Press, 1985, pp. 155-157, 166.

107 The Story Bank features entries about Cherokee students and at least one Chinese student enrolled at Trinity. These were special cases that did not result in regular admissions broadened beyond white men. There is no indication anyone at Trinity ever raised the possibility of admitting on an equal basis African Americans and women.

Instead, blacks formed their own schools with their own funds. One, the Raleigh Institute, eventually became Shaw University, the South's oldest four-year historically black university. Another, the National Religious Training School and Chautauqua for the Colored Race, later became North Carolina Central University, the first public liberal arts institution for African Americans in the nation.<sup>108</sup>

Throughout these developments, Craven remained a white supremacist. In his diary, he described blacks and Quakers as "Radicals" while "the white people of respectability generally voted the Conservative ticket."<sup>109</sup>

As new black citizens exercised their rights, North Carolina became an increasingly volatile and dangerous place. The Piedmont, once known for its abolitionist and pro-Union sympathies, became a hotbed of Ku Klux Klan activity, in part because so many Quaker and pro-Union families had left. White people who might have been sympathetic to their black neighbors faced Klan repression if they spoke out.<sup>110</sup>

In 1868, North Carolina rejoined the Union. A white-black coalition won the state governorship for Republican William W. Holden and elected Republicans to more than two-thirds of the legislature's seats. They crafted a new constitution that granted all men the right to vote. For the first time in the state's history, they mandated a statewide system of public schools. Craven was unhappy with these developments. Unsuccessful in his attempt to win the post of secretary of education for the Conservatives, he lamented the state's "wild" politics and noted that he had to admonish Trinity students for disrupting a "negro meeting."<sup>111</sup>

*Trinity College was considered progressive on the issue of educating women. In 1878, the college awarded Mary, Persis and Theresa Giles degrees, 52 years before the Women's College was founded. Instead of attending classes with men, the sisters paid tuition and received private instruction with Trinity professors willing to teach them. They never formally enrolled.*

MARY ZILPHA GILES PAPERS, BOX 1, DUKE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

Reconstruction was short-lived in North Carolina, ending in about 1877. The backlash for African Americans and their white allies was swift, pervasive and violent. Conservatives took a variety of measures to suppress Republican and black votes. Prime among them was violence, including by armed Klan gangs who threatened, beat, tortured, burned out and murdered hundreds of black North Carolinians and white Republicans. Even in formerly abolitionist and pro-Union Randolph County, institutions were "almost entirely governed by the Klan," according to one local observer in a letter to Gov. Holden.<sup>112</sup>

Violence peaked at decade's end. North of the Trinity campus, the Klan lynched Wyatt Outlaw, a former slave, Union soldier and political leader. Klansmen also killed a white man, state senator

108 "About NCCU," <http://www.nccu.edu/discover/index.cfm>.

109 Chaffin, pp. 259-260.

110 The Ku Klux Klan started during Reconstruction as a vigilante group to intimidate blacks and any whites who allied with them. Many of its leaders and members were prominent whites in influential positions, including law enforcement, business and government. Escott, 158-159; and Tara McAndrew, "The History of the KKK in American Politics," *JSTOR Daily* (blog), January 25, 2017, <https://daily.jstor.org/history-kkk-american-politics>

111 Chaffin, p. 261.

112 Escott, p. 160.

*North Carolinian Robert Falls learned that he was free from his master, Mr. Goforth.*

*I remember so well how the roads was full of folks walking and walking along when the niggers were freed. Didn't know where they was going. Just going to see about something else somewhere else. Meet a body in the road and they ask, "Where you going?" "Don't know." "What you going to do?" "Don't know." And then sometimes we would meet a white man and he would say, "How you like to come work on my farm?" And we say, "I don't know." And then maybe he say, "If you come work for me on my farm, when the crops is in I give you five bushels of corn, five gallons of molasses, some ham-meat, and all your clothes and vittals while you works for me." Alright! That's what I do. And then something begins to work up here (touching his forehead with his fingers). I begins to think and to know things. And I know then I could make a living for my own self, and I never had to be a slave no more.*

ON THIS FEDERAL WRITERS' PROJECT, INTERVIEWEES OFTEN REFERRED TO THEMSELVES WITH TERMS THAT MAY BE CONSIDERED OFFENSIVE. INTERVIEW WITH ROBERT FALLS, "EMANCIPATION THROUGH UNION OCCUPATION AND VICTORY: SELECTIONS FROM THE WPA INTERVIEWS OF FORMERLY ENSLAVED AFRICAN AMERICANS, 1936-1938," *THE MAKING OF AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY: VOLUME I, 1500-1865*, NATIONAL HUMANITIES CENTER, 2009.

and Freedmen's Bureau agent John W. Stephens, who had been organizing the black population in Caswell County. Gov. Holden declared martial law and sent in state militia to arrest dozens of Klansmen. But resentment at what was perceived as interference spurred a reaction

that gave Conservatives the advantage in 1870 elections. They won the legislature, impeached Gov. Holden and implemented the violent segregation that would last well into the 1960s.<sup>113</sup>

Trinity did not stand apart from this violence. One Trinity student and later Trinity and Duke professor was William Howell (W. H.) Pegram. Pegram Residence Hall is named in his honor. Pegram details in the *Trinity College Historical Society Journal* how Federal troops arrested him and his brother in 1870 as suspected Klansmen.<sup>114</sup>

1870 was precisely the time when the Klan engaged in widespread attacks on black families. Pegram described how he witnessed the Klan riding toward the home of Wyatt Prince, a black farmer, near his home in Buckhorn, Orange County. At the time, as Pegram was on vacation from his studies as a student at Trinity.<sup>115</sup>

Black witnesses named his brother, John, as a Klansman. Arriving at the Pegram home, Federal soldiers arrested both men, taking them to a Raleigh jail with a dozen other suspects. Pegram portrayed the group as merry pranksters who converted their detention into a kind of celebration, with ample food and drink supplied by supporters. All were later released, with no punishment.

Writing in the Trinity Historical Society's *Annual Review*, fellow alumnus Sanders Dent admitted that the North Carolina Klan did commit violence, but overall was a necessary force that taught blacks "the needed lessons of self-control, industry, respect for the rights of property and general good behavior." Terrorized black families were under the sway of "bad white men" while the Klan was "almost a necessity at the South during Reconstruction for the

<sup>113</sup> Escott, 162-163.

<sup>114</sup> Pegram taught chemistry, astronomy, geology and English during his long tenure at Trinity, eventually moving to Durham with the school. A North Carolina native, Pegram had served as a Confederate soldier, worked closely with Braxton Craven and married Craven's daughter, Emma.

<sup>115</sup> Pegram, W.H., "A Ku Klux Raid and what became of it," *Historical papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*, Durham, N.C., 1897. 21 cm. ser. 1, p. 65-70. The paper is available online at <https://archive-org.proxy.lib.duke.edu/stream/historicalpapers01trin#page/n5/mode/2up>.

protection of life, liberty and the rights of prosperity.”<sup>116</sup>

For Escott, “A protracted propaganda campaign and massive use of physical intimidation had enabled the conservative elite to regain the political and social control which they believed was rightfully theirs.”<sup>117</sup> Hundreds of black citizens suffered beatings, whippings and shootings, and armed gangs burned homes and school houses to the ground.<sup>118</sup>

While Pegram and Dent’s views on the Klan were shared by many educated whites, others, including members of the African-American community, documented and protested this violence. Overall, however, white supremacy was the default for Trinity students and the scholarly community.<sup>119</sup>

By the time Reconstruction ended, violence against African Americans had become a daily feature of life throughout the South and in North Carolina.<sup>120</sup>

### “THE LURE OF THE SOUTH”

By the time Craven died in 1882, Trinity College was faced with shrinking enrollment and uncertain funding. After a series of temporary leaders, the college inaugurated a new president, John Franklin Crowell, in 1887. A 29-year-old Yale-educated economist, Crowell was the first Northerner to lead Trinity.<sup>121</sup> Six houses combine to make up Crowell Quad on West Campus, named in his honor.

On campus, Crowell found a handful of buildings but no dormitories, library or

laboratories. A total of seven male faculty greeted him. Miles from any railroad, telegraph or telephone, Trinity appeared to him to be a “small and almost forgotten college.”<sup>122</sup> Among the predominately African-American staff was George Wall, a former slave. Wall worked as a janitor and bell-ringer. His owner had emancipated Wall as a teenager.<sup>123</sup> Wall’s son, George Frank Wall, also worked for the University as a janitor.<sup>124</sup>



Born in 1871, George Frank Wall helped his father clean and make beds for students and later worked in a dining hall. In his will, Wall allocated \$100 (now the equivalent of \$1,200) to the university. He wanted to “impress on other colored men, the fine and good relations between Christian White people and Christian Negroes. For seventy-five years I have been employed by said institution and never a cross word but Christian Harmony.” Duke University Archives

116 Dent, Sanders, “The origin and development of the Ku Klux Klan,” in *Historical papers of the Trinity College Historical Society*. Durham, N.C., 1897, pp. 10-27.

117 Escott, p. 170.

118 Crow, p. 90.

119 Craven’s grandson, Bruce, joined the Klan during his eight-year term as mayor of Trinity, the town where the college had been located (1914-1922). While he continued to praise the Klan chapter he organized in High Point, he denounced the national Klan in 1921. Tomlin, Jimmy, “The Trinity Man Who Took on the Klan,” *Washington Times*, June 21, 2015, <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jun/21/the-trinity-man-who-took-on-the-klan/>.

120 Crow, pp. 92-94.

121 Crowell, John Franklin, *Personal Recollections of Trinity College, North Carolina, 1887-1894*, Duke University Press, 1939, p. 27.

122 Crowell, pp. 27, 38-40.

123 Wall may have been the only employee other than Crowell to move to Durham with the college. He settled into the neighborhood now named after him, Walltown. Anderson, Jean Bradley, *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina*, Duke University Press, 2011, p. 258.

124 Van Brocklin, Elizabeth, “The Legacy of Duke’s First Janitor,” *Duke Magazine*, March 3, 2015, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/the-legacy-of-dukes-first-janitor>.

Crowell saw the moment as one of great turbulence that also brought opportunity. “At no other period in the country’s history had the education institutions of higher learning taken a more active part in the discussion” facing the state and nation, he later wrote in his memoir. For him, the new universities being founded — Cornell, the University of Chicago, Johns Hopkins, Clark and Stanford — represented the power of research and criticism to provide new leaders with “constructive suggestion and appeal.” While black colleges had to bring in qualified Northerners to teach, the practice was rare among institutions that educated white men. But it was in part “the lure of the South” that convinced Crowell to accept Trinity’s offer in 1887.<sup>125</sup>

On his first day on campus, Crowell learned that the state’s racial politics were treacherous. He described a less than successful inaugural dinner, where he “learned never to discuss slavery and the

*Crowell’s views on race might be best described as enlightened white supremacy. “My opportunity was with the whites alone, officially; but one could not help realising that in order that the white civilisation might do the best for its responsibilities of supremacy, there must be a development and a diffusion of useful intelligence on the part of all classes and conditions.”*

JOHN FRANKLIN CROWELL. *PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF TRINITY COLLEGE, NORTH CAROLINA, 1887-1894.*, PP. 21-22.

Civil War in North Carolina except among students in the classroom.”<sup>126</sup>

Crowell’s vision for the school was ambitious. Committed to the German university model, which emphasized research, Crowell led a major revision in the curriculum, established the first campus-wide research library and persuaded the trustees to explore moving the college to a more urban area to attract student, faculty and financial support. He also turned the school toward addressing the greatest needs of the state, including social and economic problems.<sup>127</sup>

Crowell travelled widely, speaking with both white and black churches as well as farmers’ conventions, civic groups and schools. Among the causes he championed was the “restoration of citizenship” to Governor Holden, impeached by a Democratic legislature as punishment for implementing Reconstruction and trying to eradicate the Klan.<sup>128</sup>

Like most whites, Crowell strongly supported the Democratic party, still engaged in a broad campaign of violence against African Americans. Among the leaders who welcomed Crowell to the state was Josephus Daniels, then publisher of the *Raleigh News and Observer* and one of the state’s most virulent white supremacists.<sup>129</sup>

Crowell also recounted how the sight of black children going to school prompted whites to reconsider keeping their children uneducated. Paraphrasing one foreman he’d spoken to, Crowell wrote, “This thing will never do; if the coloured children go to school and we whites work ours in the mill, it won’t be long before the blacks are more intelligent members of the community than the whites. And what will become of white supremacy?”<sup>130</sup>

<sup>125</sup> Crowell, pp. 4, 7, 16, 20.

<sup>126</sup> Crowell, p. 32.

<sup>127</sup> Chaffin, pp. 383-410.

<sup>128</sup> Crowell, pp. 399-400.

<sup>129</sup> Daniels later became a forceful critic of the school, especially when it was led by President John C. Kilgo, a Republican, and as a result of the Bassett Affair. Crowell, pp. 45-46.

<sup>130</sup> Crowell, pp. 22-23.

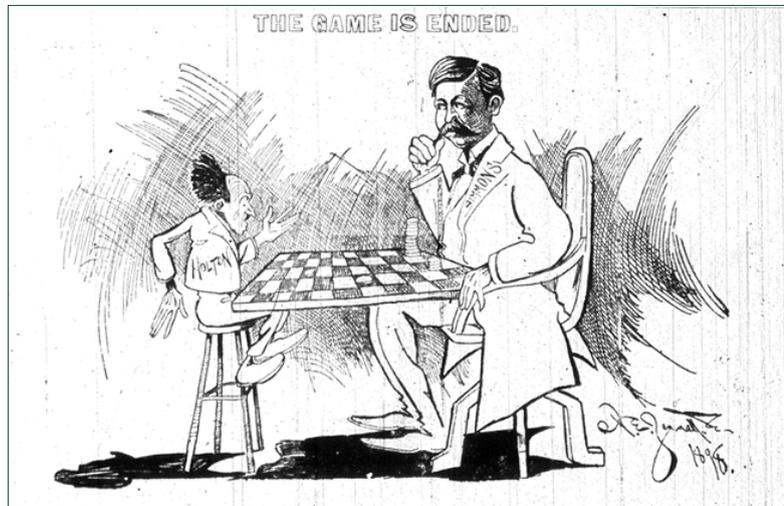
Women's education was also a frequent topic of discussion. Although it wouldn't be until the move to Durham that Trinity officially accepted female students, Crowell noted that young men often advocated that their sisters and not they receive the benefit of education. "Such a quality is one of the rare and noble flowers of a Christian civilisation and it is based on the conception of the exaltation of motherhood."<sup>131</sup>

Politically, Crowell had to navigate one of the state's most turbulent and violent periods. More than a decade after the end of Reconstruction, a new movement emerged joining populists, farmers, African Americans and Republicans across the South and West. Called the Fusion movement, its members numbered in the hundreds of thousands at the movement's peak.<sup>132</sup>

Democrats feared the alliance since it fractured the white vote along class lines, making it possible to mount a potent electoral challenge. Voters began sending Fusion candidates to the state legislature in 1890, and representatives quickly passed legislation to charter new banks, increase taxes to support public education and establish new schools for blacks and women, among other achievements.<sup>133</sup>

Among Trinity's faculty was well-known Fusionist Prof. Nereus C. English. English taught English, and in 1892 expressed publicly his interest in running for the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction. Enraged, the Democrat-run and white supremacist *Wilmington Messenger* demanded President Crowell fire him as part of the threat of "Republicans and Negroes who ruined the state between 1866 and 1870... No man," the paper declared, "should have charge of North Carolina children who would help return Negroes to power or by any combination destroy the government of the whites."<sup>134</sup>

Crowell himself was a Democrat, like most whites in the state. But he refused to dismiss English, replying that Trinity was not "a school of political cowards." Trinity was, in Crowell's view, a beacon of "freedom and thought."<sup>135</sup> That was true so long as the thinkers and students Crowell was defending were white and male.



This cartoon shows Simmons playing checkers with former NC Governor William H. Holden. It was published immediately after the Wilmington coup d'etat. *Raleigh News and Observer*, November 10, 1898

The 1892 election also saw the emergence of a powerful white supremacist voice, Furnifold Simmons, a Trinity graduate (1873), US senator, leader of the segregationist Democratic Party and member of the Trinity Board of Trustees. Simmons, born in 1850, was the son of a Jones County plantation owner who owned "a hundred Negro slaves or more" before the Civil War.<sup>136</sup>

In his memoirs, Simmons repeatedly derides African Americans as "ignorant, brutal and violent." Without evidence, he charges that "whole families of whites were wiped out during the night" following the Civil War. "No white person went to bed without a gun in reach."<sup>137</sup>

<sup>131</sup> Crowell, p. 23.

<sup>132</sup> Escott, p. 23.

<sup>133</sup> Escott, p. 245.

<sup>134</sup> Crowell, pp. 122-123.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Prather, H. Leon. *Resurgent Politics and Educational Progressivism in the New South, North Carolina, 1890-1913*. Fairleigh Dickinson Univ Press, 1979, p. 134; and Simmons, Furnifold McLendel, *F.M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South: Memoirs and Addresses*, edited by James Fred Rippy, Duke University Press, 1936, p. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Simmons, p. 4.

**NEGRO CONGRESSMEN, NEGRO SOLICITORS, NEGRO REVENUE OFFICERS, NEGRO COLLECTORS OF THE CUSTOMS, NEGROES in charge of white institutions, NEGROES in charge of white schools, NEGROES holding inquests over the white dead, NEGROES controlling the finances of great cities, NEGROES in control of sanitation and police of cities, NEGRO CONSTABLES arresting white women and men, NEGRO MAGISTRATES trying white women and white men, white convicts chained to NEGRO CONVICTS and forced to social equality with them.**

SPEECH BY SEN. FURNIFOLD SIMMONS, REPRODUCED IN CROW, JEFFREY J., PAUL D. ESCOTT, AND FLORA J. HATLEY WADELINGTON. *A HISTORY OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN NORTH CAROLINA*. RALEIGH: N. C. DEPT. OF CULTURAL RESOURCES, DIVISION OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY, 1992.

One of the main organizers of the 1892 election campaign, Simmons was forthright in his approach to race. “The keynote of the campaign was White Supremacy, and I believe I was chiefly responsible for the choice of the issue.”<sup>138</sup>

In 1894 — two years after Trinity moved from Randolph County to its new Durham campus — the Fusion movement swept state offices, bringing approximately 1,000 elected or appointed black officials, to public service. This was revolutionary, with Populists and Republicans winning control

of the North Carolina Supreme Court, the General Assembly and most of the state’s seats in Congress.<sup>139</sup>

Josephus Daniels, of the *News and Observer*, denounced the newly-elected lawmakers as “low-born scum and quondam slaves,” a Latin term meaning “former.” For the Democrats, the issue of race was most obvious way to split a progressive alliance. “Accordingly, the Democrats began laying plans for the most massive white supremacy campaign the state had ever seen,” writes historian Paul Escott.<sup>140</sup>

The Democrats’ 1898 “White Supremacy Campaign” aggressively used identity politics to split white from black voters and direct violence at blacks. Newspaper editor Daniels whipped up anti-black sentiment through fulminating editorials while Trinity trustee Simmons, the leader of the Democratic Party, was, according to Daniels, “a genius in putting everybody to work — men who could write, men who could speak, and men who could ride — the last by no means the least important,” meaning violent groups spread across the state to attack black and white Fusionists. As the state-sponsored report of the Wilmington coup d’etat later noted, “victory was to be achieved through the unification of newspapers, traveling campaign speakers, and violent bands of men behind a singular argument - white supremacy.”<sup>141</sup>

Simmons was in many ways the glue of a violent campaign centered on the belief that “this is a white man’s country and white men must control and govern it.” For him, Wilmington — the state’s largest city, governed by Fusionists, with a large black voting population — was a “perfect test case.” As the Wilmington report notes, Simmons’ strategy in print, speeches and campaign materials “focused on the city with claims that it was under ‘negro domination’.” In addition, Simmons deployed speakers, among them Charles B. Aycock, the future

<sup>138</sup> Simmons, p. 26.

<sup>139</sup> *The North Carolina Election of 1898*, North Carolina Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, <http://www.lib.unc.edu/ncc/1898/1898.html>

<sup>140</sup> Escott, pp. 247-253.

<sup>141</sup> “1898 Wilmington Race Riot Report: State Publications.” Accessed October 9, 2017. <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p249901coll22/id/5842>.

Trinity honoree, who proudly proclaimed Wilmington “the centre of the white supremacy movement.”<sup>142</sup>

After months of extremist rhetoric by Simmons and others, white men marched on the Wilmington office of *The Daily Record*, a black-owned and operated newspaper. As the state’s Wilmington report lays out, what happened next was far from a riot. Violence was meticulously planned and organized by prominent white men to ensure “that there shall be no further negro rule.”<sup>143</sup>

A white mob set fire to *The Daily Record* on November 10. For two days, whites murdered blacks and set fire to dozens of black businesses and homes. As many as sixty people were killed. Later, that same group ousted the Fusion-allied board of alderman, completing what is to date the only armed coup d’état of a major city in American history.<sup>144</sup>

Wilmington stands as one of the earliest coordinated on black communities after the Civil War, to be followed by Phoenix, South Carolina the same year; Atlanta, Georgia in 1906; Tulsa, Oklahoma in 1921 and Rosewood, Florida, in 1923, among others.<sup>145</sup> Throughout, Simmons remained a celebrated graduate of Trinity, then Duke University for many years. His successor in the US Senate, Josiah Bailey, publicly thanked Simmons for championing white supremacy. “The negroes have been disenfranchised and removed from activities which were ever a source of harm to them as well as of horror to white people; white men rule in North Carolina, and white supremacy is as securely established as the Constitution itself. The Black Peril has been left behind us. We are a delivered people.”<sup>146</sup>

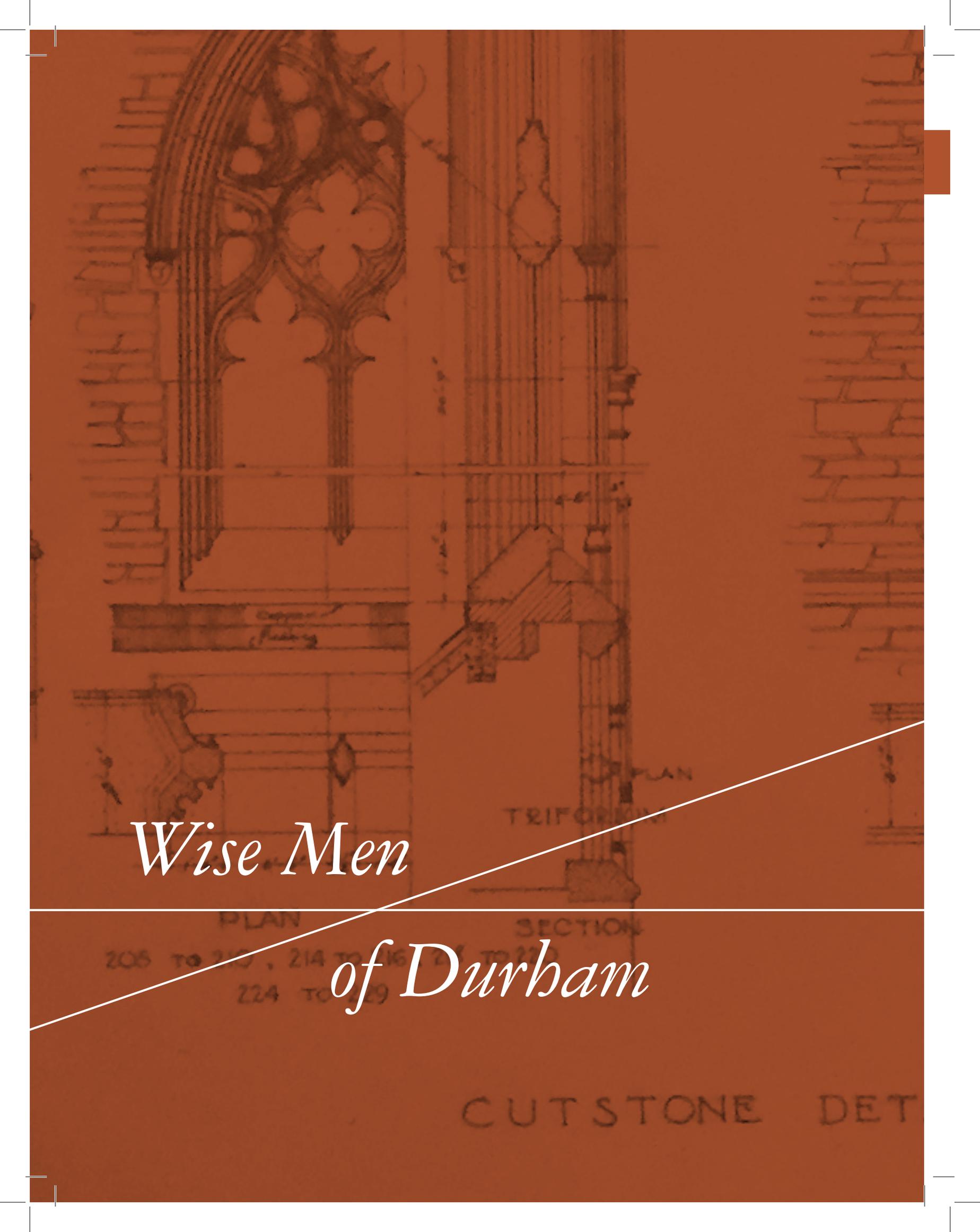
142 Ibid.

143 Ibid.

144 Ibid.

145 Ibid.

146 Crusading newspaperman Louis Austin, who ran the Durham-based *The Carolina Times*, an African-American newspaper, was unsparing after Bailey helped kill an anti-lynching bill in 1938. Austin observed that the state’s “liberty loving senators” helped win for the white man “the right to lynch.” Placed beside a photograph of a naked African-American man hung from a tree by a lynch mob, Austin wrote, “Thank God the right to lynch is a white man’s right. He alone enjoys the lust of human blood. He alone enjoys carrying in his pockets human toes, fingers, etc., of a dead Negro, as a reminder that he is the supreme ruler of this nation.” “Louis Austin: A Courageous Voice for Black Freedom,” Museum of Durham History, <https://www.museumofdurhamhistory.org/blog/louis-austin-a-courageous-voice-for-black-freedom/>.

The background is a sepia-toned architectural drawing. On the left, a large Gothic window is shown in elevation, featuring intricate tracery with multiple tiers of pointed arches and circular openings. To the right, a vertical section of a triforium is depicted, showing a series of pointed arches supported by a central pier. The drawing includes various technical annotations and labels. At the bottom left, the text 'PLAN' is followed by '205 TO 210, 214 TO 216' and '224 TO 229'. At the bottom right, the text 'SECTION' is followed by 'TRIFORM' and 'CUTSTONE DET'. A diagonal white line runs from the bottom left towards the top right, bisecting the drawing.

*Wise Men*

*of Durham*

CUTSTONE DET

## "Wise Men of Durham"

By the time the state of North Carolina separated Durham County from neighboring Orange County in 1881, 16 years had passed since the signing of the Civil War surrender at nearby Bennett Place. There, soldiers from both sides bought the tobacco sold by J. R. Green to smoke and pass the long hours. Once they returned home, they sent orders for more leaf to Durham Station. William T. Blackwell bought Green's Bull Durham Tobacco company, taking on as a partner Julian Shakespeare Carr, who also owned large parts of the city and operated textile mills.<sup>147</sup>

Washington Duke also saw Durham as a promising place for business. With his sons, he began marketing the tobacco that would become the foundation of the family fortune. At a time when African Americans were looking for work, a booming, new industry of tobacco and textiles needed workers. Within a decade, Durham was the richest municipality in the state and home to prosperous white and black populations.<sup>148</sup>

While on one of his frequent preaching tours in 1882, Braxton Craven visited Durham Methodists, not realizing how influential the city would be to Trinity College's future. Carr and Duke were both active in their Methodist churches.<sup>149</sup> Over the next decades, the Dukes would pledge some of their fortune to bring Trinity College to Durham. With Trinity came a legacy of slavery and white supremacy; the Quaker Belt and the "inner Civil War"; racist violence in cities like Wilmington; the inequities of the tobacco industry; and the segregation that continues to shape Durham.



Blackwell letterhead, Duke University Archives

### BULL CITY

Durham was a lonely railroad stop when Union and Confederate armies negotiated the final surrender at Bennett Place in 1865. By the time Trinity College moved to the city 28 years later, Durham was growing based on the new industries of cigarettes and textiles.

Since the city had not existed prior to the Civil War, historian Leslie Brown writes, Durham lacked some of the barriers that regulated race in other parts of the South. Both white and black mavericks could prosper. "Ambition could overcome racial restrictions and challenge power wielded historically by planters. Industrial capitalism provided the foundation upon which a new kind of society might be built, and as brick factories replaced log cabins, black and white entrepreneurs built themselves into positions of influence."<sup>150</sup>

Among those entrepreneurs was Richard Fitzgerald, an African-American businessman and Pauli Murray's great-uncle. Many of the bricks used to build the

<sup>147</sup> Anderson, Jean Bradley, *Durham County: A History of Durham County, North Carolina*, Duke University Press, 2011, pp. 147.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid

<sup>149</sup> Chaffin, p. 265.

<sup>150</sup> Brown, Leslie, *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South*, Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2008, p. 41.

tobacco warehouses, offices and homes came from his brickyards, and may include the bricks used to construct the Crowell Building on East Campus.<sup>151</sup> John Merrick, a freed slave and popular barber, bought land in what is now south Durham.<sup>152</sup> Along with Dr. Aaron Moore, Merrick helped establish North Carolina Mutual and Provident Association, for many decades the largest black-owned business in the United States.<sup>153</sup>



Built in 1906, Smith was the largest of the Duke & Sons warehouses, used for the storage of tobacco prior to processing. Open Durham, [www.opendurham.org/buildings/smith-warehouse](http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/smith-warehouse).

Black and white women often outnumbered the men flooding into Durham's factories and mills, part of the raw material that helped the Duke family build its fortune. Women were also the backbone of Durham's community institutions and activist groups.<sup>154</sup>

Nationally, Durham was viewed as a symbol of African-American ingenuity and economic power. Both Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois agreed that Durham was exceptional. For

Washington, Durham was "the city of cities to look for the prosperity of Negroes." Du Bois also praised Durham. For him, the city characterized "the progress of the Negro American."<sup>155</sup>

The achievements of the black community came despite the formidable realities of violent segregation. Blacks and whites educated themselves, relaxed and worshipped in largely separate worlds, enforced by law. African Americans who violated — or who were seen to violate — segregation could face fatal punishment. In 1944, a white bus driver shot and killed black soldier Booker T. Spicely, after Spicely refused to sit in the segregated section of the bus. An all-white jury later pronounced the bus driver not guilty.<sup>156</sup> The year before, a black woman was sent to jail for not moving to the back of the bus quickly enough, demonstrating the high cost of even seeming to cross the color line.<sup>157</sup>

In terms of wealth, black workers were enmeshed in a system that kept many poor no matter how hard they worked. Unlike their white counterparts, they couldn't even dream of sending a child to a segregated institution like Duke. "Industrialists managed the labor market in ways that sorted whites and blacks hierarchically into skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled positions, creating an employment paradigm that favored whites over blacks and men over women."<sup>158</sup>

As Brown shows, a kind of "secret game" meant that white leaders looked to black leadership — especially in NC Mutual — to keep the peace and observe the strictures of segregation. For black leaders,

<sup>151</sup> Personal communication with Valerie Gillispie, University Archivist.

<sup>152</sup> Brown, pp. 41-42.

<sup>153</sup> "North Carolina Mutual Life." *North Carolina History Project*, <http://northcarolinahistory.org/encyclopedia/north-carolina-mutual-life/>.

<sup>154</sup> Greene, Christina, *Our Separate Ways: Women and the Black Freedom Movement in Durham, North Carolina*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2005.

<sup>155</sup> Weare, Walter B., *Black Business in the New South: A Social History of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company*, Duke University Press, 1993, pp. 3-5.

<sup>156</sup> "Louis Austin: A Courageous Voice for Black Freedom," Museum of Durham History. <https://www.museumofdurhamhistory.org/blog/louis-austin-a-courageous-voice-for-black-freedom/>.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Brown, p. 44.

this meant they invested in what Brown calls "upbuilding" the South "as a tactic of resistance and as a strategy to outwit Jim Crow."<sup>159</sup> Washington Duke supported black business quietly, and possibly with some investment, but records on that are thin.<sup>160</sup> John Merrick, his barber, often travelled with Duke and contracted with American Tobacco to dismantle old barns to resell wood and build housing for workers.<sup>161</sup>

Durham — and the university it hosted — escaped some of the violence prevalent in other areas. That "peace" should not be mistaken for equality or justice - or the consent of the African-American population. Until federal courts forced integration, Duke not only enforced segregation on campus, but contributed to perpetuating segregation in North Carolina and Durham. Many whites looked down on African Americans with at best paternalism, urging black people to remain docile and subservient to white control.

### A GENEROUS WHITE SUPREMACIST

Although the Duke family's support came to be most influential, Julian Shakespeare Carr's early role in bringing Trinity College to Durham and donating valuable land was possibly more definitive, since that timely assistance may have saved the college from bankruptcy. Carr is memorialized in the name of the East Campus building that houses Duke's History Department.

Born in Chapel Hill, Carr attended the University of North Carolina and served in the Third North Carolina Cavalry of the Confederate Army. His family owned enslaved people, though Carr himself was too young to own any before Emancipation. After the war, he bought a third interest in W. T. Blackwell and Company, the original producer of Bull Durham Tobacco,

AS THE STATE LEGISLATURE DEBATED FUNDING WHAT WAS TO BE THE PRECURSOR TO NORTH CAROLINA CENTRAL UNIVERSITY IN 1925, THE DURHAM MORNING HERALD WROTE:

*Negroes of the 'black Mammy' type and those who, during the war between the states, protected the house holds of southern soldiers fighting in the armies of the Confederacy, received arm tribute during the discussion in the house today. (Representative Paton of Durham said) "They stayed at home and protected the hearthstones of our fathers, while they were away at the front fighting... we can't afford to break faith with them."*

THOMAS H. HOUCK, "A NEWSPAPER HISTORY OF RACE RELATIONS IN DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA, 1910-1940," A THESIS, 1941, P. 53. LOCATED IN DUKE UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES.

the first nationally-marketed brand of tobacco products. The business made Carr one of the richest men in the state. He later invested in banking, textile mills a railroad, electric and telephone companies and a Durham newspaper.<sup>162</sup>

Carr was a committed philanthropist and gave generously to the Methodist Church, white and black colleges, Durham's first public library and Confederate veterans, among others. As a Trinity College trustee, he led the effort to move the college to Durham and helped ensure the college's

<sup>159</sup> Brown, p. 19.

<sup>160</sup> Weare, pp. 33-34.

<sup>161</sup> Weare, p. 8.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid

financial stability.<sup>163</sup> Sometimes referred to as a “generous white supremacist,” Carr served on the Board of Trustees at both the University of North Carolina and Duke University.

Carr was also a very public, consistent and aggressive white supremacist. He advocated and supported violence against blacks as well as the repeal of the 15<sup>th</sup> Amendment, guaranteeing the right to vote. As early as 1888, Carr’s newspaper, the *Durham Tobacco Plant*, warned white voters against black candidates. “Will you allow negro rule or a white man’s government?” asked one editorial.<sup>164</sup>



Protests at the “Silent Sam” statue on the campus at UNC-Chapel Hill. *Raleigh News and Observer*

His support of white supremacy went far beyond Durham — and legal means. In 1894, Carr — who ran once unsuccessfully for the U.S. Senate — helped Josephus Daniels purchase the *Raleigh News and Observer*, which Daniels used to foment violence against blacks and white Republicans and Fusionists. Working with Trinity alumnus and trustee Sen. Furnifold Simmons, Daniels “introduced the white supremacy issue to its readers, fed stories to other papers, and worked the

reading public into a frightened and tense frenzy.”<sup>165</sup>

With Carr’s financial support, Senator Simmons also had the Democratic party buy *News and Observer* subscriptions for poor whites prior to the 1898 elections, so that they would “understand the horrible conditions of misrule, corruption and extravagance under the Fusionists (and) they would certainly cast their votes to discontinue in power this unholy combination.”<sup>166</sup> In numerous speeches, including to black colleges, Carr suggested that African Americans were better-off enslaved. He often celebrated lynching as a just punishment for so-called attacks against “pure (white) women.”<sup>167</sup>

His white supremacist convictions were on public display in 1913, when Carr spoke at the dedication of a statue of a Confederate soldier donated to UNC-Chapel Hill by the Daughters of the Confederacy. At the time, Carr was a trustee at Trinity College. Carr called the statue fitting to honor men who “fought, not for conquest, not for coercion, but from a high and holy sense of duty.”

Some have defended Carr for his philanthropy and support for black entrepreneurs like Durham’s Merrick and contributions to black institutions. Carr also hired black workers.<sup>168</sup>

However, historian William Sturkey points out that Carr committed abhorrent acts “that are not only deplorable today, but were illegal and belligerent in his own time. Carr committed treason against the United States of America, advocated the murder and disfranchisement of African Americans, and helped lead a racially

163 There is a building named after him on both campuses. Carr also sponsored Trinity College’s first international student, Charles J. Soong who later returned to China and became an influential businessman and politician. Chaffin, pp. 329-381.

164 Brown, p. 48.

165 *Wilmington Report*

166 *Wilmington Report*.

167 Carr’s papers are housed at UNC. Many speeches have been digitized and are online at <http://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/00141>. “Col. Carr on the Race Question,” a speech at NC Negro Mechanical and Agricultural College, reprinted in the *Atlanta Constitution*, May 28, 1899.

168 Coclanis, Peter, “Julian Carr Did Wrong, but Also a Good Deal Right,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, September 26, 2017. <http://www.newsobserver.com/opinion/op-ed/article175617056.html>.

divisive and violent political campaign that shattered democracy in North Carolina for over 60 years.”

Carr was not merely “a man of his times,” Sturkey writes, but rather an architect of his times. “He was an enemy of enlightenment and democracy whose rhetoric and actions, both then and now, cast dark shadows over the civil and political life of the state and retard our ability to move forward from the legacies of slavery and Jim Crow. Continuing to celebrate those who most actively sought to divide us is a surefire way to guarantee we remain so deeply divided.”<sup>169</sup>

### PRO BONO PUBLICO

Washington Duke appeared to be the right man at the right place and time for Trinity College. At first glance, Carr and Duke seem similar. Both were white men of the South, from slave-owning families, pious Methodists, Confederate veterans, land-owners and philanthropists. Both were born and raised in North Carolina with a strong sense of family duty and civic responsibility.

Like Carr, Duke had a talent for seizing business opportunities and helped build a tobacco empire. Both Duke and Carr built business relationships across the color line, including with John Merrick. But Duke was never a public advocate for white supremacy. We found no record that the Dukes supported white supremacy campaigns or advocated for violence against African Americans.

Another contrast is their early life. Carr was born to wealth. Duke, twenty-five years older than Carr, was a self-made man. Born in North Carolina’s Piedmont in 1820,

*One hundred yards from where we stand, less than ninety days perhaps after my return from Appomattox, I horse-whipped a negro wench until her skirts hung in shreds, because upon the streets of this quiet village she had publicly insulted and maligned a Southern lady, and then rushed for protection to these University buildings where was stationed a garrison of 100 Federal soldiers. I performed the pleasing duty in the immediate presence of the entire garrison, and for thirty nights afterwards slept with a double-barrel shot gun under my head.”*

JULIAN S. CARR, 1913, CONFEDERATE SITE DEDICATION, 1913  
THE FULL SPEECH IS AVAILABLE AT [HTTP://HGREEN.PEOPLE.UA.EDU/  
TRANSCRIPTION-CARR-SPEECH.HTML](http://hgreen.people.ua.edu/transcription-carr-speech.html)

Duke received only a few months’ schooling before he married and, with a gift of land from his first wife’s family, started a farm.<sup>170</sup>

Unlike Carr, Duke personally owned an enslaved person. He bought Caroline for \$601 in 1855. She was likely a housekeeper, cook and child-minder.<sup>171</sup>

No records exist showing how Duke managed his farm. However, other farmers with Piedmont holdings left records that demonstrated how slavery permeated daily life, particularly the cultivation of tobacco. Among them was Nicholas Breyer Massenburg, who farmed tobacco on a small plantation near Durham, in Franklin County. Massenburg owned about 20 enslaved men, women and children. Like Duke, Massenburg also hired enslaved people from their owners at peak harvest.<sup>172</sup> Tobacco in particular created a dramatic shift in Massenburg’s use of enslaved labor.

169 Sturkey, William, “Carr Was Indeed Much More than Silent Sam,” *Durham Herald Sun*, October 31, 2017, <http://www.heraldsun.com/opinion/article181567401.html>.

170 Durden, Robert F., *Bold Entrepreneur: A Life of James B. Duke*, Carolina Academic Press, 2003, pp. 4-7.

171 Duke likely sold or freed Caroline prior to the 1860 census since she no longer appears as part of the household. According to the Duke Homestead, a black woman named Caroline Barnes worked for the Dukes after they moved from the homestead to the city of Durham. Though it’s not clear, they may have been different people. Durden, pp. 7-8.

172 While some enslaved people may have been paid for such work, others were “lent” so would have labored as if they had remained on the farms of their owners. Massenburg never records paying borrowed enslaved labor. Kukis, Margaret. “Master and Slaves at Work in the North Carolina Piedmont: The Nicholas Bryor Massenburg Plantation, 1834-1861.” Thesis, Rice University, 1993. <https://scholarship.rice.edu/handle/1911/13748>, pp. 19-25.

The leaf demands intensive care, especially in the finishing process. By 1850, the introduction of “bright” tobacco — a new variety perfect for the state’s soil, cured with charcoal fires and in great demand among smokers — made tobacco farming even more attractive and dependent on enslaved labor.<sup>173</sup>

By the time the Civil War started, Duke was twice-widowed with four children. He was a substantial landowner by local standards, with plantings in corn, wheat, oats and tobacco. According to several biographers, he opposed secession.<sup>174</sup> Yet like so many North Carolina men, he was compelled to enlist after the second Confederate Conscription Act passed in 1862, increasing the draft-eligible age to 45. He served in the Confederate Navy

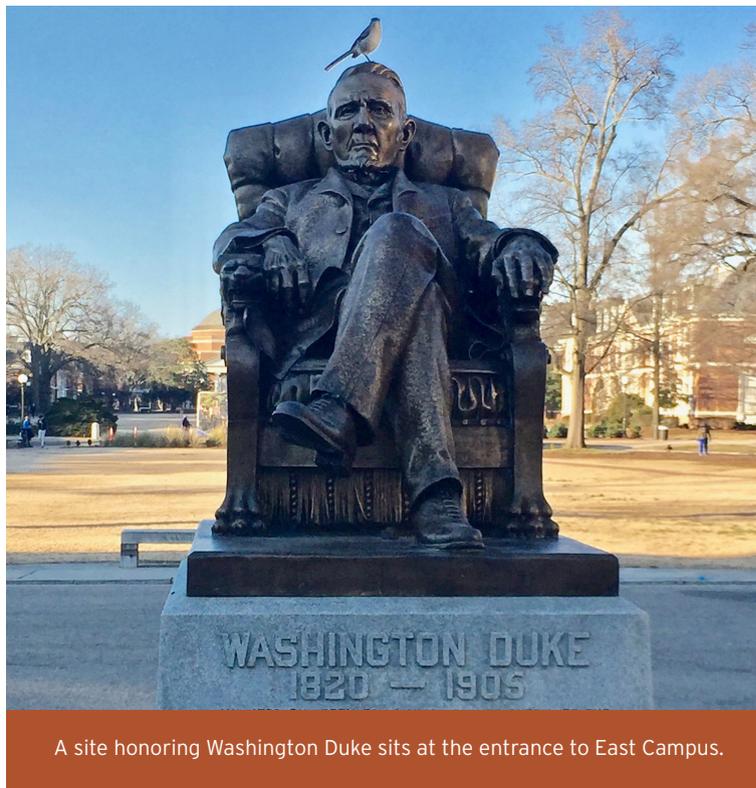
until his capture by Union forces in April 1865. After a brief stint in Federal prison, Duke was paroled and sailed for New Bern, then walked 134 miles back to his farm.<sup>175</sup>

Duke found the farm looted but for a store of tobacco. He used that supply to launch a new brand, Pro Bono Publico (for the public good). Unusual for a white man of his status, Duke joined the Republican party, serving as the registrar for the population of Durham in 1868.<sup>176</sup> This put him at odds with men like Craven, Crowell, Carr and Simmons, outspoken Democrats and white supremacists.<sup>177</sup>

Duke and his sons developed a prosperous business with Durham as a hub. Under the leadership of Washington Duke’s younger son, James B. “Buck” Duke, the family formed the American Tobacco Company in 1890, at the time the state’s largest company and one of the country’s first corporate monopolies. The Dukes later left tobacco for utilities, founding a company, Duke Power, that remains one of the largest electric providers in the United States.<sup>178</sup>

While we found no record that the Dukes publicly supported white supremacy — certainly not at the level of their business competitor, Carr -- the Dukes segregated their tobacco warehouses, designating the roughest and lowest-paid jobs to black women. Just above them were black men, assigned to unskilled tasks below whites.<sup>179</sup>

The Dukes also started manufacturing cigarettes, hiring both white and black workers and bringing to Durham Jewish immigrants from New York and Eastern Europe.<sup>180</sup> At the turn of the century, 40 percent of Durham’s workforce was



A site honoring Washington Duke sits at the entrance to East Campus.

173 Kukis, pp. 19-25.

174 Porter, Earl W., *Trinity and Duke; 1892-1924: Foundations of Duke University*, Duke University Press, 1964, p. 23.

175 Duke fought in the defense of Richmond, VA. Durden, Robert F. *Bold Entrepreneur: A Life of James B. Duke*. Carolina Academic Press, 2003, pp. 7-8; and Winkler, John K. *Tobacco Tycoon the Story of James Buchanan Duke*. Random House, 1942. p. 2

176 Brown, Leslie. *Upbuilding Black Durham: Gender, Class, and Black Community Development in the Jim Crow South*, The University of North Carolina Press, 2008, p. 41.

177 Durden, p. 3-4.

178 Along with research into the state’s Native American history, we advocate for research into the role of tobacco as a source of wealth, with its well-documented harm to human health; and the environmental record of Duke Power, whose profits contribute to the Duke Endowment. Durden, pp. 56-81, 177-198.

179 Brown, pp. 44-45.

180 Durden, pp. 15-16.

made up of black people. However, fierce segregation and low wages meant few of these families could escape poverty.<sup>181</sup>

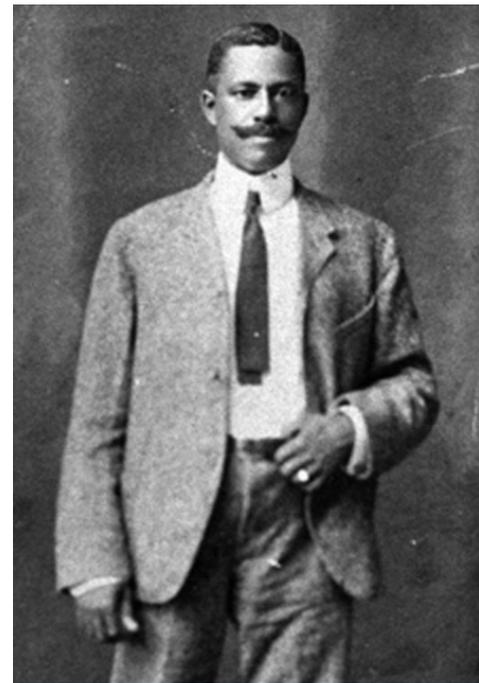
After an intense competition between Piedmont cities, Durham won the bid to host Trinity College, bolstered by a donation of \$85,000 from Washington Duke with more to follow. For his part, Carr pledged the land that is now East Campus. Duke's additional gift of \$100,000 was contingent on upon the college admitting women "on equal footing with men."<sup>182</sup>

Despite the desire by so many African Americans for education, there is no record that Duke or his sons ever advocated for their admission to Duke.

As Duke biographer and Duke professor Robert Durden notes, with the Dukes' financial support, the university quickly became "one of the strongest liberal arts colleges in the South."<sup>183</sup> The school hired African Americans, albeit in low-status jobs many whites scorned.

However, for decades Duke's relationship with African Americans did not escape the bonds of paternalism. As noted earlier, Washington Duke, at least in public, never espoused the vitriolic and violent racism that characterized Carr. His attitudes were racially charged, but nostalgic. For example, at the turn of the century, Dr. Aaron Moore, a black physician, proposed a new hospital to serve Durham's African-American population. In keeping with the self-sufficiency ethos of Durham's black community, Moore argued for a facility where African-American physicians and nurses could care for African-American patients.

At the time, Washington Duke intended to build a monument to thank Negro slaves for their loyalty during the Civil War. Moore successfully appealed to the Dukes to shift their generosity to the hospital, bolstering his argument by pointing out to the Dukes that blacks worked with whites in intimate spaces, so high rates of disease would affect the health of whites. Moore also gained the support of Dr. A.G. Carr, Julian Carr's brother and the Duke family physician; businessman John Merrick, who was also Duke's barber; Duke's butler, W. H. Armstrong; and his cook, Addie Evans.<sup>184</sup>



Although John Merrick (1859-1919) had little formal education, he became a very influential businessman with close ties to whites like Julian S. Carr and Washington Duke. Durham County Courthouse

Lincoln Hospital became a critical hub not only for medical care but also for training in nursing, residency and surgery programs.<sup>185</sup> The original intent of the Duke gift remained enshrined in a plaque marking the cornerstone:

*With grateful appreciation and loving remembrance of the fidelity and faithfulness of the Negro slaves to the Mothers and Daughters of the Confederacy during the Civil War, this institution was founded by one of the Fathers and Sons: BN Duke, JB Duke, W. Duke. Not one act of disloyalty was recorded against them.*<sup>186</sup>

181 Brown, pp. 44-46.

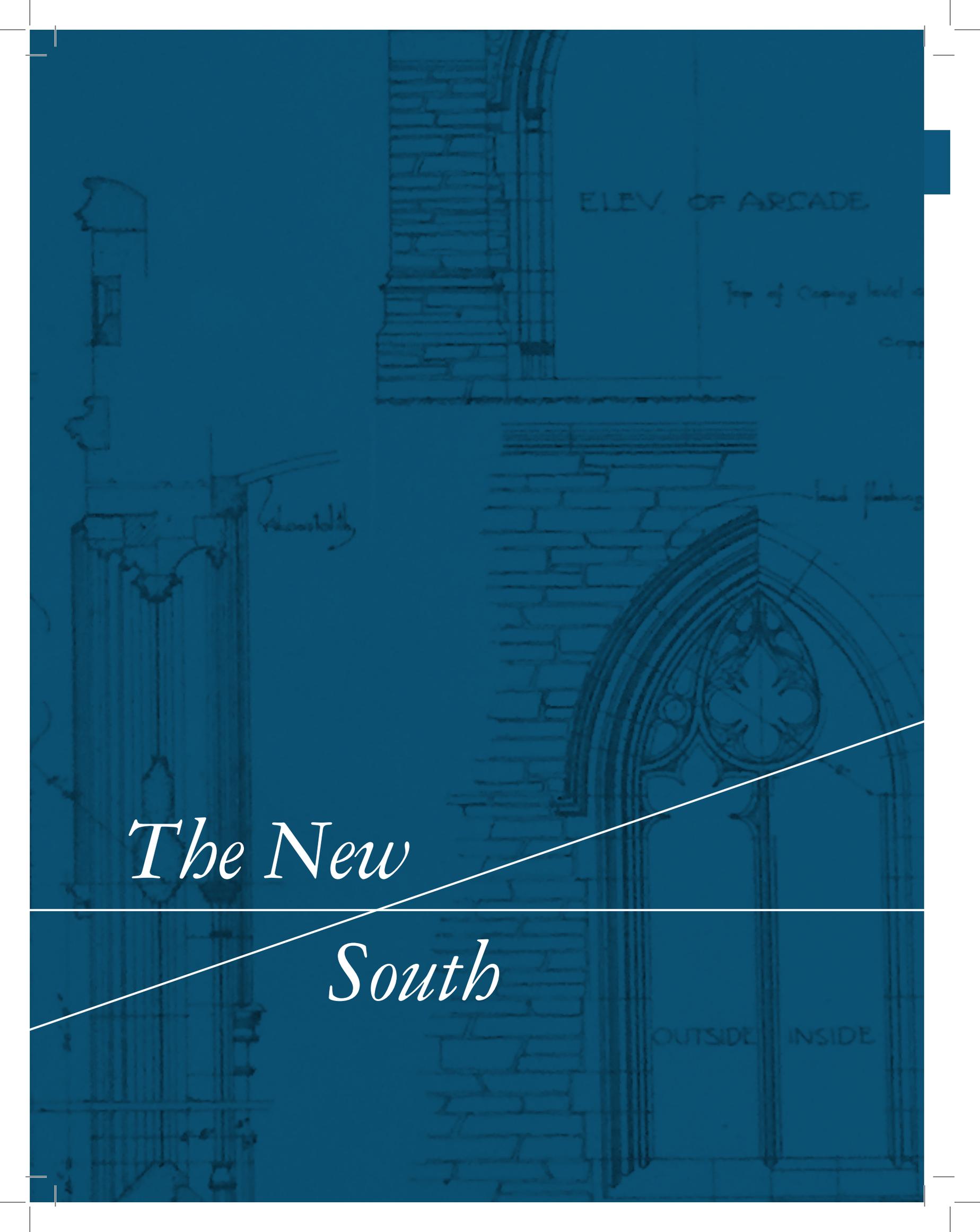
182 At the time, allowing women as students was seen as acceptably progressive Brown School and Union Institute allowed one female student and faculty member: Irene Leach, who became Braxton Craven's wife. The Giles sisters began taking private lessons under Trinity faculty in the mid-1870s, graduating in 1878. They are remembered in the name of one of the East Campus Dormitories. McDonald, Amy, "Washington Duke and the Education of Women," August 12, 2013, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/uarchives/history/articles/washington-duke-women>.

183 Durden, pp. 90-92.

184 "LINCOLN HOSPITAL (1901-1924)," Open Durham, <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/lincoln-hospital-1901-1924>; and Brown, pp. 219-221.

185 Duke and Carr also contributed to build St. Joseph AME, currently the home of the Hayti Heritage Center. Brown, p. 69.

186 After the original hospital burned down in 1922, the Dukes helped rebuild the hospital. Reynolds, Preston. *Durham's Lincoln Hospital*, Black America Series, Arcadia Publishing, 2001.

The background is a dark blue architectural drawing. On the left, a column is shown with a decorative capital. To the right, a pointed Gothic arch window is detailed with tracery. The drawing includes various annotations in a light blue, handwritten style. A horizontal white line runs across the middle of the page, and a diagonal white line crosses it from the bottom left towards the top right.

*The New*

*South*

ELEV. OF ARCADE

Top of Coping level of

Coping

sculpture

lead flashing

OUTSIDE INSIDE

# The New South

## A NEW VISION

With the move to Durham complete, Trinity reopened its doors in 1892. The new campus occupied a 62-acre plot donated by Carr.<sup>187</sup> In 1912, the university named a dormitory for Charles Aycock, a white supremacist and former North Carolina governor. Supported by Trinity President John C. Kilgo, Aycock campaigned for public schools, at the time segregated between white and black, and the building name was seen as a memorial to him after his death in 1912.<sup>188</sup>

As noted earlier, Aycock supported violence against African Americans as a way of maintaining white control of government and other institutions. After white mobs attacked and murdered over ninety black people in Wilmington in November 1898, for example, Aycock described himself as “proud of my State... because there we have solved the negro problem... We have taken him out of politics and have thereby secured good government...”<sup>189</sup> He was elected to the governor’s office after running a campaign that raised fears about black men raping white women.<sup>190</sup>

After student protest, in 2014, Duke’s Board of Trustees voted to remove Aycock’s name from the dormitory and return it to its former name, East Residence Hall.<sup>191</sup> This vote came only after Duke Student Government, the Black Student Alliance and others demanded that Aycock’s name be removed. “We cannot afford to accept

history as something that is static, nor can we afford to gloss over the inconvenient truths of our own history as an institution,” senior Jacob Tobia wrote in a *Duke Chronicle* opinion piece. “The reality is that for years and years, Duke was a university that condoned racism and racial exclusion. But times change and thankfully, our University has changed with them.”<sup>192</sup>

The presidents who followed Crowell — John C. Kilgo and especially William P. Few — continued to court the Duke family. James B. Duke formalized the family’s support in 1924, a year before his death, by placing \$40 million in The Duke Endowment. Funds were meant to benefit Carolinas hospitals, orphanages, the Methodist Church and Trinity College.<sup>193</sup>

In recognition of Duke’s support, the trustees renamed the school Duke University. With its rapid growth, Duke became a leader among institutions of higher learning in the South. At the same time, the university reflected the engrained white supremacy that characterized much of American society, especially in the South. The university enforced segregation in hiring and admissions. With few exceptions, segregation was espoused, praised and reinforced in scholarship published by Duke faculty.

As the original blueprint of the Union building demonstrates, builders constructed

187 Crowell, 168-169.

188 Personal communication with Valerie Gillispie, University Archivist.

189 As governor, Adcock became known for his support of education. Aycock, Charles B., (1903), in *The Life and Speeches of Charles Brantley Aycock*, ed. D. W. Connor and Clarence Hamilton Poe, Doubleday, Page & Company, 1912, 161–163.

190 Tyson, Timothy, “Ghosts of 1898,” *Wilmington’s Race Riot and the Rise of White Supremacy*, a series by the News and Observer (Raleigh), available at [media2.newsobserver.com/content/media/2010/5/3/ghostsof1898.pdf](http://media2.newsobserver.com/content/media/2010/5/3/ghostsof1898.pdf).

191 Students supported the decision, later confirmed by the trustees, to install a plaque explaining the reasons for the name change, so that this history not be erased. Baccellieri, Emma, “Aycock Renamed Following Student Leaders’ Call For Action,” *Duke Chronicle*, June 17, 2014.

192 Tobia, Jacob, “What’s in a Name?” *Duke Chronicle*, February 4, 2014, [https://issuu.com/dukechronicle/docs/140204\\_news](https://issuu.com/dukechronicle/docs/140204_news).

193 The fund also supports Davidson College, Furman University and Johnson C. Smith University, a historically black institution. “About the Endowment,” The Duke Endowment. January 10, 2009. <http://dukeendowment.org/about/about-the-endowment>.

segregated areas for white and black staff in the basement. Until Prof. Samuel Dubois Cook was hired in 1966 only whites — and mainly men — were allowed to teach. Leading historian Professor John Hope Franklin and other black academics did do research at Duke in the 1940s, at a time when they would not have been allowed to enroll or teach.<sup>194</sup>

Some scholars also produced work that supported white supremacy, among them professor Jerome Dowd, who argued that African Americans lacked the “constitutional and hereditary physical and moral” fitness to work in manufacturing.<sup>195</sup> Although Prof. Bassett, who also graduated from Trinity College, is best known for defending academic freedom and had a somewhat progressive position on race,

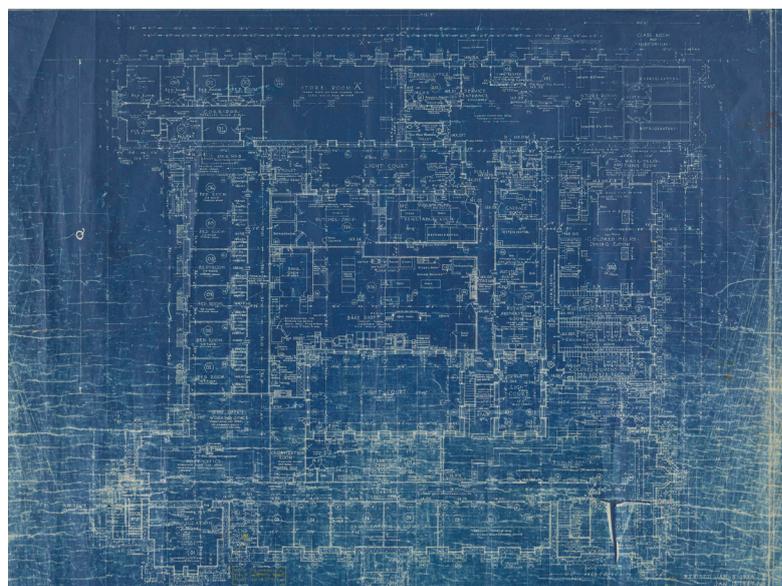
he remained a segregationist. During the hard-fought 1894 election campaign, when Fusionists, including African-Americans, won a majority in the state legislature, Bassett agreed with alumnus Sen. Furnifold Simmons that Democrats should “ally all white men against the presumed threat of ‘Negro Rule.’”<sup>196</sup> Bassett called the participation of African Americans in politics “nauseating.”<sup>197</sup> Bassett Residence Hall on East Campus is named in his honor.

The biographer of Trinity alumnus Furnifold Simmons, Duke professor J. Fred Rippy, continued to publish glowing accounts of Simmons’ white supremacy campaign well into the 1930s.<sup>198</sup>

### “SILENT UNHAPPINESS”: CIVIL RIGHTS

Like other Southern universities, Duke fought desegregation, including efforts from within.<sup>199</sup> The first organized movement to integrate campus started in the Divinity School in 1948. One hundred-seventy students signed and presented a petition to Dean Harold Bosley in May 1948.<sup>200</sup>

In June 1949, Dean Bosley sent a statement on behalf of the Divinity School faculty encouraging President Arthur Hollis Edens to present the petition and the committee’s findings to the Board of Trustees, who had the authority to authorize the admission of black students. President Edens declined the request, citing that “the interests of either the negro race or of Duke University” would not be served by discussing



Close examination of some blueprints, including that of the original West Union building, reveal purpose-built segregated areas. Duke University Archives

194 After a distinguished career, Franklin became the James B. Duke Professor of History at Duke University. In 1985, he took emeritus status from this position. Franklin was also Professor of Legal History at the Duke University Law School from 1985 to 1992. Several Duke centers are named after him. Personal communication with Valerie Gillispie, University Archivist.  
195 Dowd also supported limited suffrage for non-whites beyond the United States. Brown, p. 84; and Prince, K. Stephen. *Stories of the South: Race and the Reconstruction of Southern Identity, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014. p. 244.

196 Porter, Patrick G. 1969. “Origins of the American Tobacco Company.” *The Business History Review* 43 (1):59–76. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3111987>.

197 After the Bassett affair, Bassett left Trinity for Smith College in Massachusetts. Smith, John David, *An Old Creed for the New South: Proslavery Ideology and Historiography, 1865-1918*. Southern Illinois University Press, 2008, pp. 145-148.

198 Rippy, James Fred, ed., *F.M. Simmons, Statesman of the New South: Memoirs and Addresses*. Duke University Press, 1936.

199 In the north, universities tended to use quota systems to limit the number of blacks, Catholics and Jews. Harris, Leslie M. “The Long, Ugly History of Racism at American Universities.” *The New Republic*, March 26, 201

200 Kean, Melissa. “The Early, Unsuccessful Effort to Desegregate Duke University.” *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* 62, Winter (2008): 84-86. Black Studies Center. p.1.

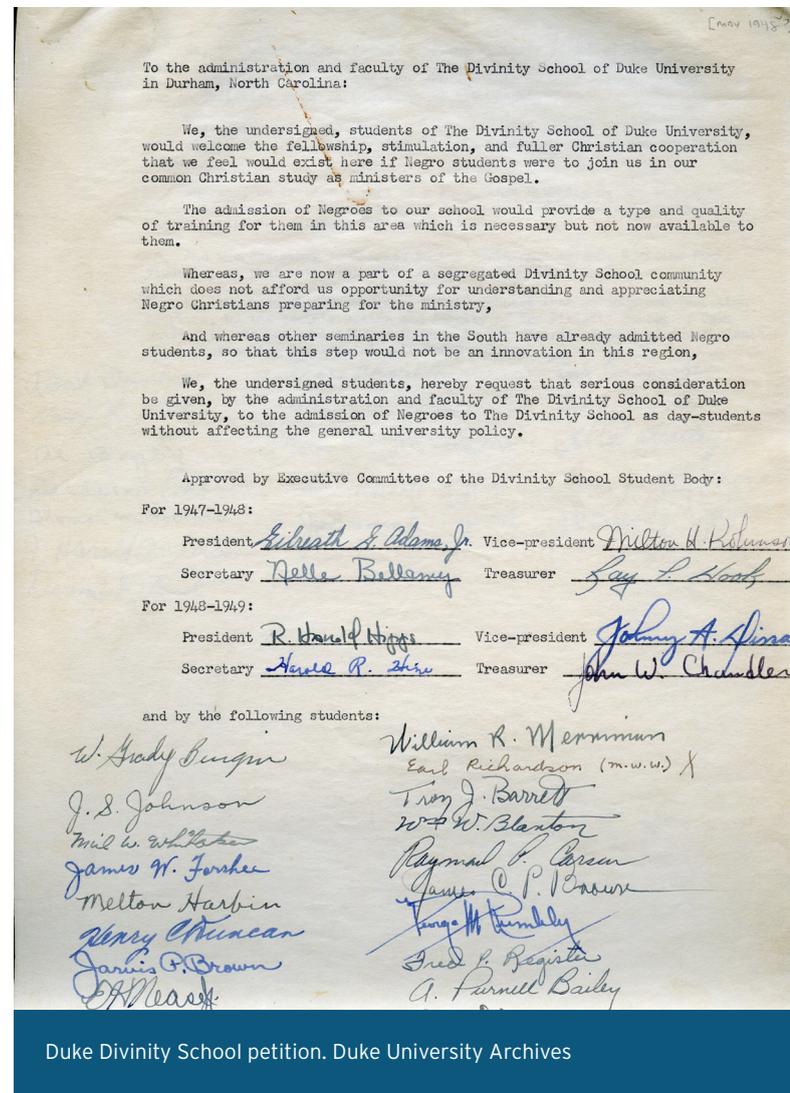
desegregation.<sup>201</sup> Eleven houses combine to make up Edens Quad on West Campus.

Similarly, after another Divinity School petition made the Board of Trustees' agenda in 1959, Edens and other trustees again rejected it. Universities and Methodist churches nationwide condemned the decision, asserting that this would "hurt the university's position in the academic world" and put Duke behind on America's "social clock."<sup>202</sup>

Reflecting this stance, Duke, Emory and Tulane were among the last private universities in the United States to desegregate. Only in 1963 did the first black undergraduates enroll at Duke. Nevertheless, when the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King came to campus the following year, he was barred from the Chapel and ended up speaking in Page Auditorium.<sup>203</sup> In 1966, political scientist Samuel DuBois Cook became the first African American to hold a regular and/or tenured faculty appointment at a predominantly white southern college or university when he joined Duke's Political Science department.<sup>204</sup>

Opposition to integration came at a time when the state and the city of Durham were the frequent sites of protest and calls for equality. Durham native and lawyer Floyd B. McKissick Sr., a director of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), and the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were among those organizing regular, large protests.<sup>205</sup> One target was the Carolina Theater, a city-owned entertainment venue.

Demonstrators from black high schools and colleges along with white students from Duke and the University of North Carolina took part. Blacks lined up at the white ticket window to buy tickets. When the ticket seller refused them, they would go to the back of the line and start over again. In 1963, a new mayor, Wense Grabarek, brokered the theater's integration.<sup>206</sup>



<sup>201</sup> Edens, Hollis, "Letter to Dean Harold A Bosley," June 24, 1949. Duke Rubenstein Library.

<sup>202</sup> Moll, Richard W., "Letter to A. Hollis Edens. 8, May 1959," Duke Rubenstein Library; Holden, John. Letter to Duke University Board of Trustees. 14 May, 1959. Duke Rubenstein Library; and Christian Century, "Duke Divinity School Denied Integration." March 25, 1959 et al Cushman, Robert E. Letter to A. Hollis Edens.

<sup>203</sup> Price, Vincent, "2018 Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration," January 14, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1P5U8R1N2k>.

<sup>204</sup> Duke established the [Samuel DuBois Cook Society](https://socialequity.duke.edu/about-samuel-dubois-cook) and a postdoctoral fellowship in his honor in its Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Social Sciences. "About Samuel DuBois Cook," The Cook Center on Social Equity. <https://socialequity.duke.edu/about-samuel-dubois-cook>.

<sup>205</sup> Fowler, Glenn, "Floyd McKissick, Civil Rights Maverick, Dies at 69," *The New York Times*, April 30, 1991, <http://www.nytimes.com/1991/04/30/obituaries/floyd-mckissick-civil-rights-maverick-dies-at-69.html>.

<sup>206</sup> Wise, Jim, "Carolina Theatre Commemorates Historic Past," *News and Observer* (Raleigh), March 4, 2014, <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/community/durham-news/dn-community/article10295882.html>.

However, integration remained unpopular with many white members of the Duke community, including the Board of Trustees, some of whom abstained rather than vote to support the inclusion of black students. “This was not a unanimous decision; there were abstentions from the vote, and a good deal of silent unhappiness among alumni and others in the region,” wrote President Douglas M. Knight at the time.<sup>207</sup>

Duke’s new students quickly organized, forming the Association of African Students (AAS) in 1967. The AAS and later Black Students Association (BSA) took on the challenge of pushing for an Afro-American studies program, a cultural center and increasing the number of black faculty and students.<sup>208</sup> In large part due to their activism, the university created outreach events for prospective black students and established the Reggie Howard Memorial Scholarship Program, honoring the university’s first African-American student government president.<sup>209</sup>

Despite the decision to integrate, Duke continued to allow faculty, students and staff to support segregated activities. Crucial in changing these practices

were protests by students and faculty. While the university banned the use of segregated facilities by faculty and staff groups in 1967, this didn’t extend to student groups. In response, students held a Study-In in the Allen Building to protest a banquet sponsored by the Duke Alumni Association honoring the football team at the all-white Hope Valley Country Club. At the time, the team had on its roster two black players, Allen Parks and William Turner. Although hundreds of picketers protested the event, administrators did not take immediate action.<sup>210</sup>

Finally, on November 13, 1967, around 30 students occupied the office of President Douglas Knight. Just four days after the Study-In, Knight issued a policy banning all university groups from using segregated facilities.<sup>211</sup>

Protests continued in 1968 with the Silent Vigil, which combined a response to the assassination of the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. with an on-going campaign to support Duke employees and their unionization efforts. Students marched on the home of President Douglas Knight the day after King’s murder, and an estimated

## THE DUKE TOUR BY HELEN YU

During our research, six students took the official Duke tour on different days in 2016 to assess how the university’s history is told to prospective students and their parents. We were struck by how little guides talked about the university’s history. Guides rarely mentioned figures like Julian Abele even after the Main Quad was renamed in his honor. Guides rarely pointed out student organizations that serve minorities, among them Mi Gente, the Asian Students Association and the Black Students Alliance. One student compared the tour to “a multi-sensory version of a Duke pamphlet.” In contrast, the student’s experience with the UNC-Chapel Hill tour covered the university’s history and a legacy of student activism.

207 Timeline, “Celebrating the past, charting the future: Commemorating 50 years of black students at Duke,” <http://spotlight.duke.edu/50years/timeline-2/>

208 For a summary of this history by the Black Students Association, see <http://www.dukebsa.org/history.html>

209 This scholarship is offered to incoming students of African descent. Reginaldo Howard Memorial Scholarship. <http://www.reggies.duke.edu/>.

210 Gillispie, Valerie, “The Allen Building Study-In,” *The Devil’s Tale Blog*, November 9, 2010. <https://blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2017/11/09/allen-building-study-in/>.

211 Ibid.

250 individuals entered. Leaders presented the president with four demands: that he sign a newspaper ad calling for a day of mourning and asking Durham citizens to work diligently to bring about racial equality; resign from the segregated Hope Valley Country Club; prioritize a \$1.60 minimum wage for non-academic workers at Duke; and accept collective bargaining for non-academic workers.<sup>212</sup>

Bolstered by the chairman of the Board of Trustees, who flew to Durham to urge that students be evicted, Knight refused to accede. Due to Knight's poor health, students moved their protest to West Campus and the Chapel steps. Students maintained silence, talking and socializing only to announce intervals for breaks and meals. Over time, the numbers of protestors grew to an estimated 2,000 people. Ultimately, administrators announced plans to phase in wage increases and study the university's relationship with staff.

However, as Theodore Segal points out in his History Honors Thesis on the events, the Silent Vigil's gains were minor. "The Vigil ended without any dramatic and forceful action by the administration on the issues raised. Collective bargaining was never instituted, and the concession to the pay raise was a small one."

For Segal, the Silent Vigil's greatest significance lay in the choice it delineated for the generation living in the tumultuous year of 1968. "On which side of the cultural divide will we live? Will our lives be spent in pursuit of growth and change, or will we fall into stagnation in the name of the status quo?"<sup>213</sup>



Students protest during the Silent Vigil. Duke University Archives

To date, the Silent Vigil is the largest student demonstration in Duke's history. Duke continued the activist tradition of activism in 1969, when members of the AAS occupied the Allen Building and demanded the creation of a department of Afro-American Studies and the admission of more black students. As a result, the university increased and expanded recruitment and support for black students, including the creation of the Department of African and African American Studies and the Mary Lou Williams Center for Black Culture.<sup>214</sup>

That same year, some students took part in a Selective Buying Campaign, boycotting 29 white-owned businesses in Durham to protest economic, social and political disparities between whites and blacks as well as "the general lack of responsiveness on the part of the white power structure to the legitimate appeals of black citizens."<sup>215</sup> Their demands included an increase in employment and private housing for black people, more access to public education and an opportunity for equal justice.<sup>216</sup>

212 Segal, Theodore David, "A 'New Genesis': The 'Silent Vigil' at Duke University, April 5th-12th, 1968," History honors thesis, April 23, 1977.

213 Segal, Theodore David, "A 'New Genesis': The 'Silent Vigil' at Duke University, April 5th-12th, 1968," History honors thesis, April 23, 1977.

214 Williams was Duke University's first Artist in Residence and was one of the first recipients of the Trinity Award for Service to the university. While at Duke, she taught a course on the history of jazz and wrote for and conducted the jazz orchestra. This information is based on student research done as part of the University Archives Duke History Revisited program. Maram Elnagheeb, "Claiming Spaces," <https://sites.duke.edu/claimingspaces/>.

215 Handout for Duke Students for Selective Buying Campaign. 25 Sept 1968. Box 1, c. 1, Black History at Duke reference collection, 1948-2001 and undated, Duke University Archives, David. M Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Durham, NC. 19 Sept 2016; and Flier for Black Days. Undated, Box 1, c.1, Black History at Duke reference collection, 1948-2001 and undated, Duke University Archives, David. M Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Durham, NC. Sept 19, 2016.

216 Handout for Duke Students for Selective Buying Campaign, Sept 25, 1968. Box 1, c. 1, Black History at Duke reference collection, 1948-2001 and undated, Duke University Archives, David. M Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Durham, NC.

Racism and racial profiling remains a central issue on campus that should be addressed in multiple ways, including through a site that promotes equity and justice. With disturbing regularity, incidents roil the campus, then provoke calls for change. Some demands have been met, but students are often struck by how many demands are repeated but never met over several decades.<sup>217</sup>

These incidents are too numerous to list. Some examples recovered by the students who worked on this report include the 1997 detention by Duke police of freshman Calvin Harding, an African American;<sup>218</sup> a *Duke Review* article alleging that Duke employees are lazy and overpaid;<sup>219</sup> the attempted attack on freshman Winston Chi in 1998;<sup>220</sup> the Duke Lacrosse case in 2006;<sup>221</sup> and the appearance of a noose hanging from a tree near the student center in 2015.<sup>222</sup>

Students were especially interested in researching the history of repeated racist and offensive parties hosted by some Duke fraternities. In September 2003, for example, the Sigma Chi fraternity threw a “Viva Mexico” party that perpetuated stereotypes of Mexicans as undocumented immigrants. Invitations were “designed to look like expired green cards, and the party security called themselves “border patrol.”<sup>223</sup>

Student groups Mi Gente and the NAACP chapter wrote an open letter to the *Duke Chronicle* proposing twelve demands to aid in reducing “racially insensitive incidents” and supporting minority groups. Among them were calls to strengthen Latino and Sexual Studies and create programs in Native American and Asian American studies. The groups also called for the “implementation of a minority faculty initiative” modeled on the Black Faculty Strategic Initiative and encompassing more minority groups.<sup>224</sup>

## REYNOLDS PRICE & THE FOUNDER’S DAY SPEECH

Prof. Reynolds Price is known for his 1993 Founder’s Day speech, a robust call to the university to improve its intellectual environment:

“Is our administration really interested in responding to the profound dissatisfaction of a large number of students and their teachers? Is the faculty conscious of its collusion in the ongoing failure to focus our energies? Is our endlessly rescrambled residential system remotely adequate to student needs? Should we continue to surrender to fraternities their all-male hegemony over a large percentage of prime campus real estate? Aren’t a great many students agreeing to lock themselves into a ruinous collaboration with the worst enemies of their last chance at an advanced academic education? Is the University so fragmented and somnolent that it cannot gather its wits and determination and find long-term solutions to these problems?”

217 The 2016 Allen building takeover, for example, featured many similar demands. Hathi, Gautam and Rachel Chason, “Latest Coverage of the Allen Building Sit-In.” *Duke Chronicle*, April 1, 2016. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2016/04/nine-students-initiate-allen-building-sit-in-plan-to-occupy-building-until-demands-are-met>.

218 Donovan, Doug, “Blacks protest attitude at Duke,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, Black History at Duke reference collection, 1948-2001 and undated, Box 1.

219 Black History at Duke reference collection, 1948-2001 and undated, Box 1.

220 Stroup, Katherine, “Alleged Racial Incident Prompts Major Meetings,” *The Chronicle*, April 9, 1998.

221 Smolkin, Rachel, “Justice Delayed,” *American Journalism Review*, September 2007, <http://ajrarchive.org/article.asp?id=4379>.

222 Stroup, 1998; and Stancill, Jane, “Duke University Says Student Admitted Hanging Noose in Tree,” *Raleigh News and Observer*, April 2, 2015, <http://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/education/article17231810.html>.

223 “Freshman Year 2003-2004,” *Duke Chronicle*, Friday, May 11, 2007. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2007/05/freshman-year-2003-2004>.

224 Garinger, Alex, “Responding to Sigma Chi party, community members present demands of administration”, *Duke Chronicle*,

President Nannerl Keohane and other administrators offered two changes: regular meetings between student affairs administrators and student organization leaders from the President's Council; and an offer for new language clarifying the Community Standard and conditions warranting punitive action.<sup>225</sup>

Despite these actions, racially insensitive fraternity parties continue. In 2013, Duke University's Kappa Sigma (KSIG) fraternity held a party originally titled "Asia Prime," where participants dressed in stereotypical Asian garb, including conical straw hats, sumo wrestler bodysuits and geisha kimonos. The invitation featured deliberately misspelled words to imitate an Asian accent, starting off with the line, "Herro Nice Duke Peopre!!"<sup>226</sup>

The original name of this party was deemed inappropriate by the Office of Fraternity and Sorority Life, so Kappa Sigma changed the title to the "International Relations" party, still featuring the same dress-like-an-Asian theme. Duke's Asian Students' Association protested, dubbing the party a #RacistRager and convening a protest. KSIG's national parent organization officially suspended the Duke chapter for "Conduct Unbecoming a Chapter of Kappa Sigma."<sup>227</sup>

## "EFFORTLESS PERFECTION": WOMEN AT DUKE

Women had been a part of Duke's story since Brown's School, the Giles sisters and Washington Duke's insistence that women

be included as Trinity College students. Some female leaders – among them Dean Alice Baldwin, President Nannerl Keohane and Dean Ernestine Friedl – have been honored by building names. To date, however, recognition of women lags far behind men in terms of sites.<sup>228</sup>

Until recently, Duke women did not occupy leadership roles equivalent to their numbers in the university population. As the Women's Initiative found in 2003, there was "a striking absence of information" about the situation of women at Duke until well into the 1990s.<sup>229</sup>

Research by student Peyton Schafer described the second-class status female students experienced even after the merger of Trinity and the Women's Colleges in 1972. As staff, many women worked in support positions as secretaries, housekeepers and cafeteria workers, usually at lower wages than male workers.<sup>230</sup>

Under the leadership of Duke's first female president, the Women's Initiative compiled information from a yearlong study of the status of women at Duke. President Keohane was only the second woman to lead a major private U.S. research university. The 2003 report found that students, graduates, and faculty and staff members continued to face "lingering stereotypes and prejudicial expectations about what they can accomplish." Often, the report noted, women felt pressured to conform to powerful social norms often at odds with their own desires. Only in the

September, 30, 2003. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2003/09/responding-sigma-chi-party-community-members-present-demands-administration>.

225 In 2016, administrators announced three new programming spaces for Asian-American, Latinx, and Native American students in the expanded Center for Multicultural Affairs. Most other demands remain unmet. The other administrators involved were Peter Lange, Larry Moneta and William Chafe. Collins, Andrew, "Administrators react to demands," *Duke Chronicle*, October 22, 2003, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2003/10/administrators-react-demands>; and Editorial Board, "A bigger, better CMA", *The Duke Chronicle*, March 8, 2016. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2016/03/bigger-better-cma>.

226 Kingkade, Tyler, "Duke University Kappa Sigma Fraternity Draws Accusations Of Racism With 'Asia Prime' Party," *Huffington Post*, February 6, 2013, [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/02/06/duke-kappa-sigma-party\\_n\\_2630598.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2013/02/06/duke-kappa-sigma-party_n_2630598.html).

227 Ibid.

228 Ernestine Friedl was Duke's first woman dean of Trinity College and the faculty of arts and sciences from 1980 to 1985. During her tenure as dean, the Women's Studies Program at Duke was established. Baxter, Missy, "Renovated Humanities Building Named after Ernestine Friedl," *Duke Today*, February 20, 2008. <https://today.duke.edu/2008/02/friedl.html>.

229 Roth, Susan, *Women's Initiative: The Steering Committee's Report*. Duke University, 2003, p. 5.

230 This information is based on student research done as part of the University Archives Duke History Revisited program. Peyton Schafer, "Herstory Revisited: a Zine," <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/sites/default/files/rubenstein/uarchives/HERSTORY%20REVISITED.compressed.pdf>.

2000s did women's enrollment across the colleges draw near to equal with men.

The presence of female faculty, however, lagged well behind female students well into the 2000s. At the time the Women's Initiative report was released, only 23 percent of Duke's tenured and tenure-track faculty was female. The problem, the report notes, is akin to a series of "durable blockages, at points when a faculty member wins tenure then faces a promotion to full professor or a move into administration."<sup>231</sup> Overall, women reported that they faced "lingering, subtle but nonetheless pervasive and debilitating stereotypes and prejudicial expectations" about what they can accomplish. The report introduced the phrase "effortless perfection" into the Duke lexicon, a suffocating expectation that women dress, behave, spend and excel in their studies at unsustainable or damaging levels, including as sexualized objects for male consumption. The experiences of white women varied from women of color and gay or transgender women, identities that remain marginalized and sometimes the object of discrimination.<sup>232</sup>

*Duke has, for many decades, described itself as a "co-educational university," but it is abundantly clear... that disparities in the experience of Duke women and men, as students, faculty members and employees, make this term only partially appropriate.*

WOMEN'S INITIATIVE REPORT, 2003

One area where women continue to lead men is in being the targets of sexual assault. A 2014 Duke Inquiries in Social Relations report revealed that sexual violence remains a prevalent issue for women, and the majority of assaults may not be reported.<sup>233</sup>

Many of the Women's Initiative recommendations have been implemented, with tangible gains in terms of women's presence, leadership and safety on campus. However, the students who contributed to this report marked the incidence of sexual violence in particular as still largely unresolved and an ingrained feature of Duke student life.

### **"MOVING FORWARD": LGBTQIA+ COMMUNITIES**

Others who have faced persistent discrimination include Duke's LGBTQIA+ members. In the 1960s, the University Security Division, a precursor to the Duke University Police, explicitly targeted homosexual men, arresting over 60 individuals who were profiled as gay. A memo from Duke's chief of security indicated that Duke Security had been following a recommendation from the FBI to report guilty individuals to the State Department.<sup>234</sup>

The security division's activity report for 1962-63 and 1963-64 documented a combined forty-two investigations into homosexual behavior, an offense listed alongside theft, abduction and arson. In 2014, President Richard Brodhead acknowledged this past. "This university regrets every phase of that history," he said. In part spurred by the Duke community, the university is the first to have an LGBTQIA+-inclusive admissions question on the undergraduate application and the fourth university nationwide to make explicit mention of sexual orientation and gender identity on the application.<sup>235</sup>

<sup>231</sup> Roth, p. 6.

<sup>232</sup> Roth, pp. 5-8.

<sup>233</sup> Zhang, Jenna, "Survey Highlights Campus Inequities among Genders," *Duke Chronicle*, April 22, 2014. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/articles/2014/04/22/survey-highlights-campus-inequities-among-genders>.

<sup>234</sup> Booher, Bridget, "Queering Duke History," *Duke Magazine*, September 25, 2014, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/queering-duke-history>.

<sup>235</sup> "A notable presence on campus," Duke Student Affairs, <https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/csgd/about-us/notable-presence-campus>

One of the University's most celebrated alumni and professors, writer Reynolds Price, did not hide his sexual orientation as a gay man, but neither did he announce it publicly until 2009, two years before his death. As one writer put it, Price was "of the old Southern school of homosexual discretion."<sup>236</sup> Nevertheless, in his official obituary, the University describes Price as disabled but not as queer.<sup>237</sup>

Duke students also discriminated against their LGBTQIA+ peers. In 1983, student government abruptly de-chartered the Duke Gay Lesbian Alliance, arguing that the group "promoted ideologies and activities that were deemed illegal under North Carolina state law." In 2018, the Duke Student Government Senate passed a resolution to acknowledge the injustice and appropriated money to install a commemorative plaque in the offices of Blue Devils United (BDU), an LGBTQIA+ group. "We are at a point where the opinions of most students and individuals in the United States have changed so that these amends are possible. We can definitely move forward," a representative for BDU commented.<sup>238</sup>

As of this writing, Divinity School students continue to protest what they describe as entrenched homophobia and discrimination within their school.<sup>239</sup>

## "SEPARATE AND PERIPHERAL": HOUSING

For most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Duke considered itself as a "separate and peripheral figure" to Durham and its housing issues. Yet

the university's action was a part of the segregation that shaped Durham.

Student research shows that as late as 1969, Duke Forest lots sold by the university to faculty included deed language prohibiting sales to African Americans. Also, deeds barred African Americans from sleeping on these properties overnight unless they were employed as household help. Duke included this language even though it had been outlawed since 1948. When nine faculty members protested in 1961, Assistant Provost Frank de Vyver responded that the language appeared in all 337 Duke Forest lots. "We believe Duke University does not have the right to strike from [sic] this covenant from any deeds. In other words, nothing can be done about the past."<sup>240</sup>

Administrators apologized to homeowners in 1989, saying, "Duke University regrets the presence of this ugly specter from the nation's and the University's past. Just as Duke must bear responsibility for its prior action in creating these covenants, we now wish to do what we can to eliminate their vestiges."

However, nothing was done to remove that language, as the *Duke Chronicle* noted. "18 years later, the covenants remain in homeowners' deeds. This failure to act may be less serious because these provisions haven't been enforceable for more than half a century, but that would only be partly true. This University has the legal means to remove these objectionable clauses, and yet it has consistently-and inexplicably-chosen not to do so."<sup>241</sup>

<sup>236</sup> In his memoir, *Ardent Spirits* (2009), Price wrote for the first time about being queer — he preferred to that description — after decades of keeping his sexuality private. Triplett, Michael R., "Reynolds Price and His 'Queer' Identity," *The NLGJA Blog* (blog), January 24, 2011, <https://nlgjareact.wordpress.com/2011/01/24/reynolds-price-and-his-queer-identity/>.

<sup>237</sup> "Reynolds Price, author and long-time Duke English professor, dies," Office of News and Communications, January 20, 2011, <https://today.duke.edu/showcase/reynoldsprice/>.

<sup>238</sup> Duke students continue to protest what they see as unequal treatment, including in the Divinity School. Pousoulides, Stefanie, "DSG Senate Makes Amends to BDU for De-Chartering Group 35 Years Ago at Wednesday Meeting," *Duke Chronicle*, February 22, 2018, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2018/02/dsg-senate-makes-amends-to-bdu-for-de-chartering-group-35-years-ago-at-wednesday-meeting>; and Cai, Kenrick, "LGBTQIA Duke Divinity Students Protest Treatment, Issue List of Demands," *Duke Chronicle*, March 2, 2018, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2018/03/lgbtqia-duke-divinity-students-protest-treatment-issue-list-of-demands>.

<sup>239</sup> Cai, Kenrick Cai, "LGBTQIA Duke Divinity Students Protest Treatment, Issue List of Demands," *Duke Chronicle*, March 1, 2018, <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2018/03/lgbtqia-duke-divinity-students-protest-treatment-issue-list-of-demands>.

<sup>240</sup> Butler, Kristin, "Era of Institutionalized Racism," *Duke Chronicle*, January 16, 2007. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2007/01/era-institutionalized-racism>.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

Another student research project illuminated the complexity of the university's relationship to Durham and its housing needs. In the 1960s, Durham faced a crisis. Of the city's 32,000 housing units, 29 per cent were considered substandard, the majority in African American neighborhoods.<sup>242</sup> While certainly not exclusive to Durham, racial discrimination in the housing market was rampant. In one report, the authors concluded that Durham had "two parallel housing markets" and that "substantial segments of existing housing [were] unavailable to the nonwhite minority group."<sup>243</sup>

Community leaders objected to city's plan to locate new housing near existing African-American neighborhoods, arguing that this served to "expand and enlarge the great Negro ghetto." Separately, the university, also in the hunt for housing, made plans to purchase a complex called Damar Courts. A conflict erupted with activists, who had identified this location as ideal to expand public housing outside traditional black areas. "When word spread of Duke's intention to purchase the complex," Tan-Delli Cicchi notes, "the university found

itself implicated in the racial tension embedded within the housing crisis."

Duke eventually sold the location to the city for affordable housing.<sup>244</sup>

Duke's relationship with Durham underwent a profound change beginning with the leadership of President Keohane and now includes a commitment of resources and sustained community engagement. The creation of the Duke-Durham Neighborhood Partnership Initiative (NPI) in 1996 continues to pioneer ways for the university and community to work together. Duke took out long leases in many areas, integrating its employees into the city as opposed to keeping them walled off on the campus.

## SERVING SOCIETY

Since Divinity School students pioneered the integration of Duke, Duke students have engaged in tangible, consistent efforts to better the lives of people outside the university. One example is Students Against Sweatshops (SAS). Formed in 1997, the group pushed the university to adopt a code of conduct policy that would require the companies that manufactured Duke apparel and merchandise to uphold workers' rights and eliminate the use of sweatshops. This is especially important for a Division 1 school, since apparel sales during annual tournaments can amount to millions of dollars in revenue, especially if a team wins a berth in a tournament finals.

Led by student Tico Almeida, SAS succeeded in convincing the administration to require Duke-licensed companies to: (1) Have a minimum wage requirement for employment, (2) Set wages and benefits, (3) Provide a healthy and safe working environment for its workers, (4) Prohibit harassment, abuse, or forced



Tico Almeida (center) with other student members of Students against Sweatshops. Duke University Archives

<sup>242</sup> This information is based on student research done as part of the University Archives Duke History Revisited program. Andy Tan-Delli Cicchi, "Neighbors: A Narrative and Visual History of Duke's Influence on Durham's Low-Income Housing" (StoryMap): <https://dukeuniv.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=aa14bdb633c04694b93d48355f3624ca>.

<sup>243</sup> Morton Hoffman & Co., "Study of Housing in Durham," May 1968, Folder 984, NCF Papers: VIII-3. (Lyons).

<sup>244</sup> Beyer, Adam, "From Mill Village to Student Housing." *Duke Chronicle*, October 11, 2017. <http://www.dukechronicle.com/article/2017/10/from-mill-village-to-student-housing>.

labor, (5) Recognize employees' rights to create a union, and (6) Participate in a compliance monitoring program. Those companies that violated these standards would have their contracts terminated if they did not promptly change their practices.<sup>245</sup> The SAS later grew into a national organization.<sup>246</sup>

Also notable is the work of Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF), started by Duke

professors Robert Coles and Bruce Payne. Over the years, students worked with farmworkers in North Carolina and Florida to document their lives and advocate for services. SAF was incorporated as a nonprofit in 1992. SAF has since brought over a thousand students and summer volunteers to work with farm workers and their families.<sup>247</sup>

## CONCLUSION

In his remarks at Duke Chapel for the celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day in 2018, Duke President Vincent Price paraphrased the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., when he said, "Only through empathy, righteous witness and a conviction to learn from the past can we ensure that the arc of the moral universe bends ever closer to justice."<sup>248</sup>

This report is offered to the Duke community in the spirit of "righteous witness." We take that phrase to mean not only seeing and acknowledging injustice. President Price urges us to take action to address injustice and build a more equitable Duke.

Those who defended slavery, segregation and discrimination are largely gone. However, the legacy of that violence remains a powerful force in society, including at Duke. That is why it is imperative for Duke to embark on a bold plan to rethink the physical campus, with new sites and names that reflect our aspirations for the future.

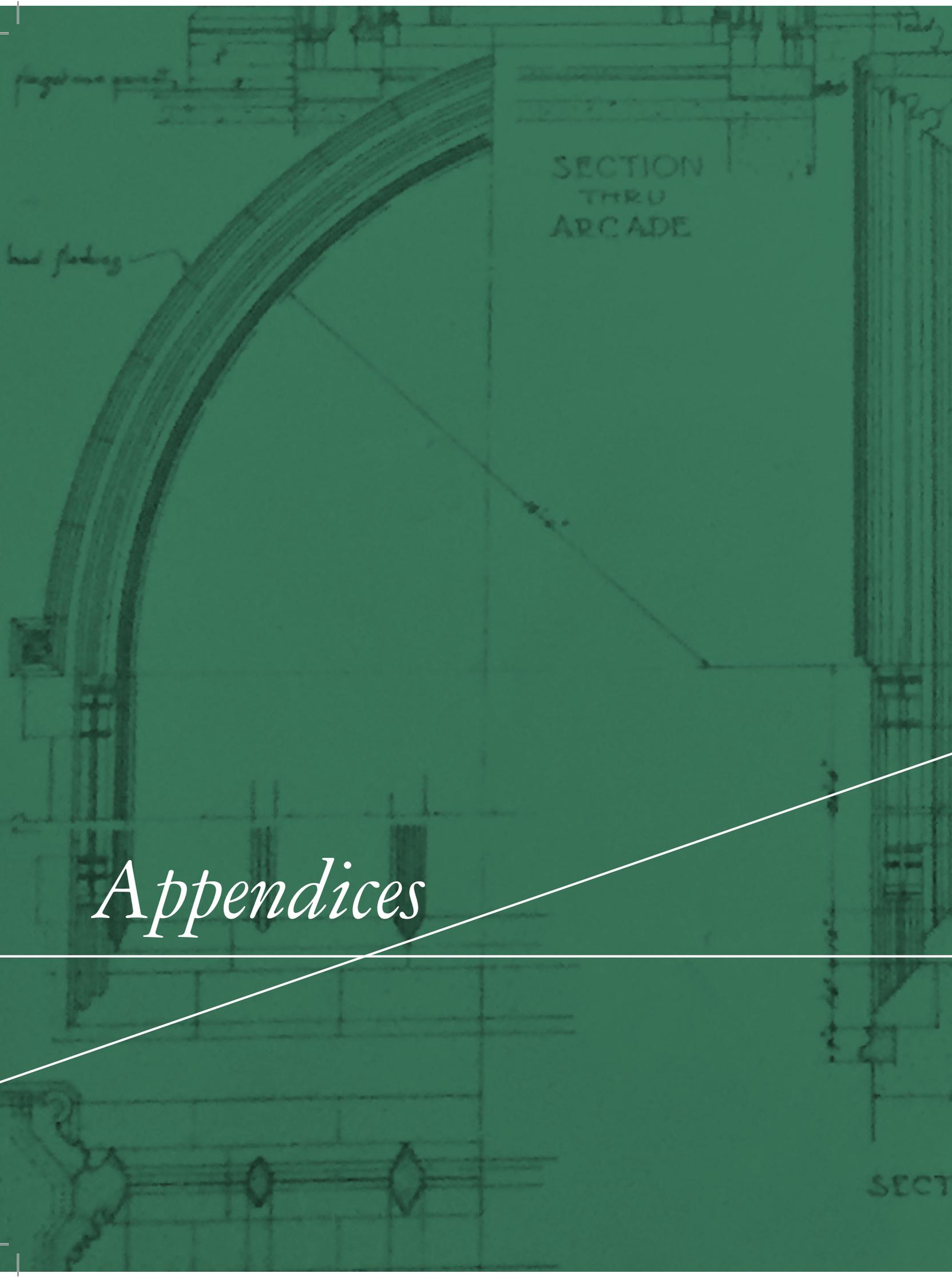
We call on Duke leadership to not only mark historical moments when the right thing is done. We must also acknowledge and examine those times when unjust decisions were made. In the words of Pauli Murray, we must accept both the "degradation and the dignity" of the past. Future generations of students, staff and faculty must be able to see themselves in both the line and shadow of Julian F. Abele's Quadrangle. Visibility is crucial in the classroom as well as a Chapel niche; on a leadership committee as well as a portrait wall; and in dormitory as well as a bas-relief plaque. As President Price noted, we must to continue to build — not just metaphorically, but actually — a university that "lives up to our values, recognizing our past even as we strive to be better."

<sup>245</sup> "Duke Students Campaign against Sweatshops, 1997-1999," *Global Nonviolent Action Database*. <https://nvdatabase.swarthmore.edu/content/duke-students-campaign-against-sweatshops-1997-1999>.

<sup>246</sup> United Students Against Sweatshops is the nation's largest youth-led, student labor campaign organization, with affiliated locals on over 150 campuses. <http://usas.org/>

<sup>247</sup> SAF's organizational papers are deposited at the Duke Human Rights Archive. "History & Accomplishments," Student Action with Farmworkers. <https://www.saf-unite.org/content/history-accomplishments>.

<sup>248</sup> Price, Vincent, "2018 Martin Luther King Jr. Commemoration," January 14, 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D1P5U8R1N2k>.



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SECTION  
THRU  
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*Appendices*

SECT

Students under the supervision of PhD. Candidate in Cultural Anthropology Matthew Sebastian and working in collaboration with the University Archives assembled this Story Bank as a resource for the Duke community's discussion about future sites. These stories represent little known or unexamined parts of Duke's history that students felt were worth considering. Students prepared proposed memorials and sites for some of these stories, contained in Appendix Three. This is not meant to be a comprehensive list. In our research, we were struck by how many stories have gone unmarked and the richness yet to be expressed about Duke's history and values.

## SLAVERY

### CAROLINE AND THE DUKE FAMILY

Washington Duke is remembered as an “able industrialist and a conscientious Methodist philanthropist.”<sup>249</sup> He also profited from an economy founded on slavery. Duke owned at least one slave, Caroline. According to the Duke Homestead State Historic Site, Caroline cared for the Duke children and kept house.<sup>250</sup> Duke also hired slave labor from neighboring owners for farm chores. Prior to his enlistment in the Confederate Navy, Duke hosted an estate sale that included “some eight or ten likely NEGROES.”<sup>251</sup> Duke should recognize the contributions that Caroline and other enslaved people — among them Isam and Malinda, enslaved children owned by Braxton Craven, and George Wall, an enslaved man who after being freed worked for Trinity College — made to the wealth and development of the institution.

## WHITE SUPREMACY AND SEGREGATION

### THE INTEGRATION OF DUKE'S PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS

BY NATALIA ESPINOSA

In 1948, the Divinity School was the first to press for integration. However, leadership opposed admitting black students until 1961, when Ruben Lee Speakes and Walter Thaniel Johnson Jr. enrolled in the Divinity School and David Robinson enrolled in the Law School.<sup>252</sup> Johnson later became North Carolina's first black assistant district attorney and played a key role in desegregating Greensboro schools. For his part, Speakes served as a board director on the Durham Committee on Negro Affairs during his studies as well as serving as chairman of the executive committee of the NAACP. Sites at the Law and Divinity schools should be installed to honor these three “firsts.”

249 Durden, Robert Franklin. *The Dukes of Durham: 1865-1929*. 1987. 7th ed., Durham, Duke University Press, 2001, p. xi.

250 Site History. <http://dukehomestead.org/history.php>.

251 Durden, pp. 7-8.

252 Legacy, 1963-1993 (Durham: Duke University, Office of the University Vice President & Vice Provost, 1995), 22.



Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, Nathaniel White, Jr. and Mary Mitchell Harris were the first African-American undergraduates to receive their degrees from Duke in 1967. Duke University Archives

## FIRST BLACK STUDENTS ADMITTED BY HADEEL ABDELHY

In the fall of 1963, Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, Mary Mitchell Harris, Gene Kendall, Cassandra Smith Rush and Nathaniel White, Jr. were the first black undergraduates enrolled at Duke, among the last segregated schools in the South.<sup>253</sup> Some trustees opposed their admission, as President Douglas Knight noted. “There were abstentions from the vote, and a good deal of silent unhappiness among alumni and others in the region.”<sup>254</sup> In September 1964, Nigerian student Anthony Oyewole transferred to Duke as a junior, graduating in 1966 as the first black undergraduate to earn his degree from Duke. These “firsts” should inspire a memorial because of their bravery in integrating a hostile campus and paving the way for the thousands of students who followed.

## GREENSBORO KU KLUX KLAN MURDERS BY MUMBI KANYOGO

On November 3, 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina, Ku Klux Klan and American Nazi Party members murdered five people at a “Death to Klan” protest.<sup>255</sup> Among the dead were Cesar Cauce, a Duke alumnus and Duke Hospital employee; and Michael Nathan, a Duke Medical School graduate.<sup>256</sup> A jury later acquitted six Klan defendants.<sup>257</sup> Duke’s Black Student Alliance and the United Duke Students Coalition protested the verdicts and called on the university to publicly express a “thoughtful, responsible reaction to the events in question.”<sup>258</sup> No statement was made despite Duke’s ties to two of the victims. The case later resulted in the first American Truth and Reconciliation Commission, held in Greensboro.<sup>259</sup> We believe these Duke victims should be remembered with a site that also references the persistence of Klan activity in the state.

## DURHAM

### RIGSBEE CEMETERY BY MARY ALINE FERTIN

Rigsbee Cemetery is tucked among the parking lots of Wallace Wade Stadium. “A three-foot high stone wall and steel gate encloses approximately 12 graves set around two small pine trees.” This is the cemetery of the Rigsbees, sweet potato farmers who helped organize Durham’s earliest schools and municipal government.<sup>260</sup> As part of the sale agreement, the Rigsbees specified that the graveyard be surrounded by a “brick enclosure and cared for by family descendants.”<sup>261</sup> As such, this remains the only private property on the Duke campus. One grave belongs to Jack Rigsbee, who died during the Civil War. Three others

253 <http://www.dukebsa.org/history.html>

254 <https://spotlight.duke.edu/50years/timeline-2/>

255 The five individuals killed were Jim Waller, William Sampson, Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan and Sandy Smith. Bands, Lou, “400-500 Rally Against Verdict,” *The Herald*, November 20, 1980, Associated Students of Duke University records, 1965-1993, Box 65.

256 Killian, Joe, “Nov. 3, 1979: A Day That Still Divides City.” *Greensboro News & Record*, January 25, 2015. [http://www.greensboro.com/news/nov-a-day-that-still-divides-city/article\\_729b27d0-a316-11e4-9db0-4f4dd8dd7f09.html](http://www.greensboro.com/news/nov-a-day-that-still-divides-city/article_729b27d0-a316-11e4-9db0-4f4dd8dd7f09.html).

257 “Rally is forum for student outrage with trial verdict”, p.2, *Duke Chronicle*, November 19, 1980.

258 “A Resolution of the Associated Students of Duke University: Concerning the Greensboro Verdict,” 18 November 1980, Associated Students of Duke University records, 1965-1993, Klan and Nazi Activities folder, Box 65.

259 “The Greensboro Truth and Reconciliation Commission,” available at <http://www.greensborotrc.org/>.

260 Turken, Sam, “Tombstones in the Blue Zone,” *The Duke Chronicle*, February 24 2016.

261 “The Rigsbee Graveyard,” Building Reference Collection, Duke University Archives, 1972-ongoing.

belong to unnamed Confederate soldiers found in the forest.<sup>262</sup> We believe a site honoring the Rigsbees would emphasize the continuing ties between Duke, Durham and the state of North Carolina.

### TOBACCO WORKERS

Much of the Duke family's wealth came from tobacco. Following the Civil War, North Carolina became a center of tobacco production, then cigarette production, with many African-American and white workers employed in warehouses and offices.<sup>263</sup> In 1881, the Dukes brought to Durham approximately 125 Eastern European Jewish immigrants from New York because of their experience in hand-rolling cigarettes. Before the manufacture of cigarettes was automated, most rollers were women. Skilled rollers could roll around 2,000 cigarettes in "a good day's work."<sup>264</sup> Eventually, machines eliminated rolling jobs. A plaque addressing the contribution of tobacco workers should be erected in Smith Warehouse, the largest of the Dukes' tobacco-storage facilities.<sup>265</sup>



Many African-American women worked as stemmers. They were among the most organized and engaged in defending worker rights according to historian Leslie Brown. Durham Historic Photographic Archives

### THE SECRET GAME BY HELEN YU

On March 12, 1944, the Duke School of Medicine's all-white intramural basketball team secretly played North Carolina College for Negroes' all-black team.<sup>266</sup> The Duke players drove to the other campus on a Sunday morning, when most people were in church. The Eagles were led by 28-year-old John B. McLendon, who would later be inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame.<sup>267</sup> The Eagles beat the Blue Devils 88-44. As much pride as Duke students have in their men's basketball team, few know of the Secret Game, which quietly shattered social norms in the Jim Crow South. We believe a memorial to this event should be placed at the Cameron entrance, paying tribute to people-to-people initiatives that helped end segregation.

### MARY DUKE BIDDLE TRENT SEMANS (1920-2012) BY HELEN YU

Semans shaped Duke and Durham through her public service and philanthropy. As the great granddaughter of Washington Duke, Semans lived a life of immense wealth and privilege; however, she used her privilege to elevate others.<sup>268</sup> Semans served as a trustee of The Duke Endowment for fifty-five years and was its first female chair from 1982 to 2001.<sup>269</sup> She also served on the Duke University Board of Trustees from 1961 to 1981, on the Lincoln Community Hospital Board of Trustees from 1948 to 1976, and was mayor pro tem of

262 Pyatt, Tim, "T. J. Rigsbee Family Graveyard, Selections from the University Archives," *Duke Magazine*, January 31, 2009.

263 "The End of Tobacco Road: Scenes from Liggett & Myers Tobacco Company's Final Days in Durham, North Carolina, 1999." *Durham County Library*. <https://durhamcountylibrary.org/exhibits/tobacco/>; and "North Carolina & Tobacco: Historical Background," *PBS*. <http://www.pbs.org/pov/brightleaves/historical-background/>

264 *Ibid*.

265 "Smith Warehouse," *Open Durham*, <http://www.opendurham.org/buildings/smith-warehouse>

266 Ellsworth, Scott, *The Secret Game: A Wartime Story of Courage, Change, and Basketball's Lost Triumph*, Back Bay Books, 2016.

267 Jacobs, Barry, "An Overdue Honor for Basketball Coach John B. McLendon | News & Observer," *News and Observer (Raleigh)*, April 15, 2016, <http://www.newsobserver.com/sports/college/article72065627.html>.

268 Duke Today Staff, "Mary Semans, Champion of Duke and Durham, Dies," *Duke Today*, January 25, 2012.

269 "Trent Semans Center," *Duke University School of Medicine* (Accessed 2018 Feb. 16).

Durham from 1953 to 1955.<sup>270</sup> In 1951, Semans and Kathrine Evere became the first two women elected to Durham City Council. Semans ran on a platform to ensure African American voting rights.<sup>271</sup> Several named buildings honor her. We believe her accomplishments merit a statue or other dedicated site.

## PEOPLE OF COLOR AND LGBTQAI+

### NATIVE AMERICAN STUDENTS BY MUMBI KANYOGO

In 1880, twelve children from Eastern band of the Cherokee nation enrolled within Trinity College's special "Cherokee Industrial School." At a time when the college needed funds,



Joseph Maytubby, Duke University Archives

the federal government paid the college to clothe, board, and instruct the students, some as young as eight. Students also worked. Some didn't speak English, struggled to wear different clothing and refused to eat college food. At least one student escaped, traveling over a hundred miles back to his home. Joseph Maytubby, an Oklahoma-born member of the Chickasaw nation, enrolled much later, the first Native American to graduate from Trinity College, in 1896.<sup>272</sup> Maytubby later practiced law in Oklahoma and was elected the first mayor of Tishomingo, Oklahoma.<sup>273</sup> Despite the fact that North Carolina has the highest Native American population east of the Mississippi River, the university has never had many Native American students.<sup>274</sup> A memorial would mark this moment and remind the university community of its complex relationship with groups here prior to European colonization.

### CHARLES J. SOONG

Charles J. "Charlie" Soong, born in China, was Trinity College's first international student. He enrolled in a special course of study in 1881, after converting to Methodism in Wilmington, North Carolina. There, a benefactor introduced him to Braxton Craven and Julian Carr, who paid his tuition. At the time, almost all of Trinity's male, white students were from the south, principally North Carolina. Soong overlapped with the early Cherokee students, also enrolled in special courses. In 1882, Soong transferred to Vanderbilt where he graduated in 1885.<sup>275</sup> After he returned to China, he began printing copies of the Bible with machinery shipped by Carr. His daughters married powerful political and financial figures, including President Sun Yat-sen and Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, who later led the nationalist army against the Communists.<sup>276</sup> Given the large number of international students who are part of Duke's community, Duke should honor Soong with a statue.

270 Duke Today Staff, "Mary Semans, Champion of Duke and Durham, Dies," *Duke Today*, Jan. 25, 2012.

271 Taylor, Alicia, "Mary Duke Biddle Trent Semans: Foundation Leader," *North Carolina Heritage Calendar* (2016 Sept.).

272 Francis, Kyle, "Native Americans at Duke: The First Native American Students in Duke's History," Duke University, <https://sites.duke.edu/nativeamericansatduke/>.

273 Gillispie, Valerie, "Retro: When Native Americans Began Excelling on Campus," *Duke Magazine*, February 7, 2018, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/retro-when-native-americans-began-excelling-on-campus>.

274 Birrell, Abby, "The Importance of a Story," November 25, 2014, <https://sites.duke.edu/whatisnativeamerican/author/amb149duke-edu/>.

275 McDonald, Amy, "Charlie Soong at Trinity College," *The Devil's Tale*, May 22, 2014, <https://blogs.library.duke.edu/rubenstein/2014/05/22/charlie-soong-at-trinity-college/>.

276 King, William E., "Charles Soong," *Duke Dialogue*, January 30, 1998. Available at <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/uarchives/history/articles/soong>.

### HARAMBEE BY MUMBI KANYOGO

On February 5, 1969, Duke's Afro-American Society published *Harambee*. The name is derived from the Kiswahili word "harambe," meaning "pull together." The publication was meant to "educate and dispel myths about black people" and unity and opposition to white supremacy. At the time, the Duke community's idea of integration could be described as tolerance, according to Celeste Wessen, a writer for the *Duke Chronicle*.<sup>277</sup> *Harambee* was a precursor to the list of demands presented to Duke's administration during the 1969 Allen Building takeover. *Harambee* should be recognized because it reflects the demands of Duke's African-American community for equity and justice.

### REGINALDO "REGGIE" HOWARD BY NATALIA ESPINOSA

In March of 1976, Reginaldo Howard became the first elected black student body president.<sup>278</sup> Shortly after, Howard was killed in a car accident. In his honor, the university started a scholarship fund for students of African descent. The scholarship faced a threat when the endowment was set to end, but students raised the \$25,000 minimum necessary for it to continue. In addition to the scholarship, Duke should dedicate a site to Howard.

### GAY MARRIAGE BY JAIR OBALLE

In 1995, Duke leaders supported a ban on celebrating same-sex unions at the Chapel.<sup>279</sup> Student organizations and some faculty protested. Despite the university's nondiscrimination policy, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation in any university program or activity, the ban remained in effect for five years.<sup>280</sup> After a committee recommended a change in 2000, the Chapel allowed same-sex unions.<sup>281</sup> We believe the Chapel should install a stained-glass panel recognizing and celebrating a same-sex marriage.

### RACE AND SPACE ON CAMPUS BY HELEN YU

Decades after integration, Duke's campus remained self-segregated. Students perceived Central Campus as "predominantly black."<sup>282</sup> The 1993 undergraduate Student Government president, Hardy Vieux, noted that "the majority of [his] African-American peers move(d) to Central Campus" because they felt unwelcome elsewhere.<sup>283</sup> One reason was that most Interfraternity Council organizations, composed predominantly of white students, had housing on West Campus.<sup>284</sup> Central Campus was also cheaper, meaning that poorer students moved there.<sup>285</sup> Especially since Central Campus is about to be demolished and rebuilt, planners should include sites that encourage conversation and connection, remembering the past while also building in ways to unite students across race and class.

277 Wessen, Celeste, "Harambee Debut Opens Black Week", *Duke Chronicle*, Feb 5, 1969.

278 Reggie Howard, Box 2, Associated Students of Duke University records, 1965-1993, Duke University Archives, David. M Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Durham, NC. 28 Nov. 2016.

279 "A Matter of Justice," *Duke Chronicle*, October 27, 1995.

280 Duke University Non-Discrimination Policy

281 Staff Reports, "At Last, Same-Sex Unions," *Duke Chronicle*, December 7, 2000.

282 Young, Jennifer, "Student Discuss Discomfort in Race Relations Forum," *Duke Chronicle*, 1995.

283 Corey, Mike, "West-Central Shuffle." *Duke Chronicle*, 2004.

284 Brackets in original Chronicle story. Corey, Mike, "West-Central Shuffle." *Duke Chronicle*, 2004.

285 Collins, Andrew, "A New Inequity on Central," *Duke Chronicle*, 2004.



Reynolds Price. Duke University portrait.

## REYNOLDS PRICE

A Duke student and later James B. Duke Professor of English, Price was an acclaimed novelist, poet and member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters. As an openly gay man who also used a wheel-chair later in life, he faced multiple challenges at a conservative institution like Duke. As his official Duke obituary notes, Price delivered a “fiery Founders’ Day speech” in 1992, taking aim at what he deemed a lack of intellectual life in the University. The speech helped convince administrators to recruit a more diverse student body. While his University obituary mentions the cancerous tumor that paralyzed him, no mention is made that Price was an openly gay man.<sup>286</sup> Duke features one portrait of Price in the library, but we feel that a more prominent site is needed to honor the contributions of both LGBTQIA+ and disabled members of our community.

## ACTIVISM

### REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. BY MARY ALINE FERTIN

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., made five public appearances in Durham between 1956 and 1964. His penultimate visit was to Duke, where he spoke in Page Auditorium on November 17, 1964.<sup>287</sup> Dr. King had planned to make an additional visit to Durham in 1968, but cancelled the trip to travel to Memphis, where he was assassinated at the Lorraine Motel. Duke should invest in a site that recognizes Dr. King’s presence and contributions to justice.

### MALCOLM X LIBERATION SCHOOL BY HADEEL ABDELHY

Malcolm X Liberation University was an experiment in education that started in 1969. Established by black students, including Duke students, and with the support of North Carolina Central University and the community, MXLU set out to teach black history and provide technical training.<sup>288</sup> Three years after moving to Greensboro, MXLU was forced to close due to lack of funding.<sup>289</sup> Honoring MXLU would reflect the activism of black students who stood up for education and a partnership with students from other institutions, like NCCU. This site should be installed along with a permanent bus route between Duke and NCCU, modelled on the Robertson Bus between Duke and UNC-Chapel Hill.

286 “Reynolds Price, author and long-time Duke English professor, dies,” Office of News and Communications, January 20, 2011, <https://today.duke.edu/showcase/reynoldsprice/>.

287 The University Archives have complete recordings. However, copyright issues mean this material cannot be shared publicly. The audio can be listened to at the Archives. “Martin Luther King Jr. Speaks at Duke (1964),” [Soundcloud.com/dukeuniversity](https://soundcloud.com/dukeuniversity).

288 Wooten, James T., “Malcolm X University to Open in Durham as Militants’ School,” *New York Times*, October 28, 1969.

289 Oral History Interview with Howard Fuller, December 14, 1996. Interview O-0034. Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007). Documenting the American South, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

### THE ALLEN BUILDING STUDY-IN BY HADEEL ABDELHY

On Monday, November 13, 1967, thirty-five African American students from the Afro-American Society staged a “study-in” in front of President Knight’s office to denounce the continued use of segregated facilities by student groups as well as Dr. Knight’s membership in the segregated Hope Valley Country Club.<sup>290</sup> This protest led to Knight’s withdrawal from the club and a university anti-segregation policy. This event is worth memorializing because the segregation of Duke did not end with the acceptance of the first black students; rather, it remains an ongoing struggle that merits recognition.

### DIVINITY SCHOOL AND DESEGREGATION BY MUMBI KANYOGO

The Duke Divinity School was the first school at Duke to demand desegregation. In 1948, 170 students signed a petition demanding that black students be enrolled as day students. 170 students signed the petition and presented it to the Dean at the time, Harold Bosley in May 1948.<sup>291</sup> Dean Bosley later asked President Edens to consider the admission of black students. Edens declined, claiming that neither “the interests of either the negro race or of Duke university” would be served by raising the question of desegregation.<sup>292</sup> Edens had a history of opposition to integration, clear in his position on Duke’s Law School, where he argued that segregation had no negative impact. In 1959, Divinity School students circulated another petition directly to the Board of Trustees, which rejected it. Universities like Yale as well as important Protestant congregations condemned the decision as an act that would only serve to “hurt the university’s position in the academic world”.<sup>293</sup> This story is important as it highlights Duke’s reluctance to integrate despite widespread acceptance of this important change.

### TAKE BACK THE NIGHT MARCH BY HADEEL ABDELHY

In 1987, the Coalition for a Women’s Center at Duke sponsored the “Take Back the Night” march to support women’s right to walk unafraid and unescorted. Many campuses hosted similar marches. “We are angry at the restrictions imposed by the violence surrounding us, and the consequent limitations we face. We know that we cannot eliminate in one day, with one march, the fear and anxiety women feel, but we can help to educate the general public of this fear, its effect on women, and its origin in the widespread violence in our society.”<sup>294</sup> The march recognized how women are vulnerable to their own classmates on campus, including by fraternities that, in the words of the administration, demonstrate a “general spirit of tolerance ... in accepting reprehensible behavior.”<sup>295</sup> Duke continues to be a place where women are at risk of assault. A site honoring this march would recognize the important contributions of the Women’s Center and highlight the vital continuing work combatting sexual assault.

290 *The Duke Chronicle*, Volume 63, Number 29. “Afro-Americans hold sit-in by Knight’s office: SFAC acts on use of segregated facilities in response to protest.” November 13, 1967, Duke University Archives, [http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/sizes/dukechronicle\\_dchnp09028\\_dchnp090280010/](http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/sizes/dukechronicle_dchnp09028_dchnp090280010/)

291 Kean, Melissa, “The Early Unsuccessful Effort to Desegregate Duke,” p.1.

292 Letter to Dean Harold A. Bosley, June 24, 1949, from Hollis Edens.

293 Letter to Board of Trustees, May 14, 1959, from John Holden Associate Pastor, First Presbyterian Church.

294 Take Back the Night: Statement of Purpose, <http://contentdm.lib.duke.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15957coll13/id/40368/rec/5>.

295 “Date rape more common than perceived,” *The Duke Chronicle*, April 13, 1988.



Giles Sisters. Duke University Archives

## LEADERS

### THE GILES SISTERS BY MARY

#### ALINE FERTIN

Mary, Persis, and Theresa Giles were the first women awarded degrees by Trinity College in 1878, 52 years before the Women's College was founded. Giles Residence Hall is named for them. As Mary Giles wrote, "Trinity was a male school and we were barred."<sup>296</sup> For the most part, the sisters attended private "classes of three" with willing Trinity professors. They paid tuition, but never formally enrolled.<sup>297</sup> After they completed the requirements for graduation, the board

of trustees recommended them for "full and regular graduation to the Degree of Bachelor of Arts."<sup>298</sup> A reporter for the *Wilmington Morning Star* wrote that this "was unprecedented in the history of North Carolina colleges."<sup>299</sup> Mary wrote, "We were very ambitious and we thought we could do anything anyone else could... I don't think the word 'modern' was coined then, but I suppose we were curiosities."<sup>300</sup> The sisters should have a more prominent presence on East Campus as a representation of their persistence in pursuing an education in an exclusionary space.

### THE BASSETT AFFAIR BY HELEN YU

Trinity Prof. John Spencer Bassett founded and edited the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Bassett Residence Hall is named for him. In 1903, Bassett published an article praising leading African American scholars, among them Booker T. Washington, who he considered "the greatest man, save General Lee, born in the South in a hundred years."<sup>301</sup> Bassett believed Washington was an exception to the general inferiority of blacks. Josephus Daniels, owner and editor of the Raleigh-based *News & Observer*, called for Bassett to be fired for this opinion, claiming that his statements would "damn the state of North Carolina" and "destroy the civilization of the South."<sup>302</sup> Another calling for his dismissal was Trinity alumnus and trustee Sen. Furnifold Simmons, an aggressive supporter of white supremacy and violence against African Americans. Bassett tendered his resignation even though every teaching faculty member and most students supported Bassett.<sup>303</sup> Trustees voted to support Bassett. Students later lit a bonfire and hung an effigy of Daniels.<sup>304</sup> A site should honor freedom of expression as a core value at Duke.

<sup>296</sup> Mary Zilpha Giles Papers, Box 1, Duke University Archives

<sup>297</sup> Ibid.

<sup>298</sup> Ibid.

<sup>299</sup> Wright, Margaret. "Misses Persis, Mary and Theresa Giles Were First Women Graduates of Trinity College for Men -- They Took A Diploma From a Man's College When Such a Things Just Simply Wasn't Done", Mary Zilpha Giles Papers, Box 1, Duke University Archives.

<sup>300</sup> Mary Zilpha Giles Papers, Box 1, Duke University Archives.

<sup>301</sup> Bassett, John Spencer, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (1903): 297-305.

<sup>302</sup> Daniels, Josephus, "Stirring Up the Fires of Race Antipathy," *News & Observer*, Nov 1, 1903.

<sup>303</sup> Spence, Hersey E., *I Remember: Recollections and Reminiscences of Alma Mater* (Durham: NC, 1954), 22-25.

<sup>304</sup> "Academic Freedom Upheld," *The Baltimore News*, Dec 3, 1903.

## ALICE M. BALDWIN, DEAN OF THE WOMAN'S COLLEGE

BY HELEN YU

Baldwin served as the Dean of the Women's College from 1924 to 1947.<sup>305</sup> At the time, the Women's College was a "coordinate college," where women were educated separate from men. Baldwin was determined to give the women access to the same academic and social opportunities as men and ensure that women alumni and faculty were recognized as part of the University.<sup>306</sup> She often negotiated with President Few to grant more freedoms to women students (to attend off-campus events, for example) and allow women to access academic facilities on the men's campus.<sup>307</sup> In 1926, she became the first and only woman at the time to offer an upper-level course to mixed classes of men and women.<sup>308</sup> Baldwin was also integral to Duke's development in the arts, overseeing the creation of the Department of Aesthetics, Art and Music in 1943.<sup>309</sup> Duke has since honored her with the Baldwin Scholars program for undergraduate women and Baldwin Auditorium. We believe a statue erected near the Baldwin steps would be an important way of highlighting her legacy.

## SAMUEL DUBOIS COOK BY NATALIA ESPINOSA

Political scientist, educator and civil rights activist, Cook became Duke's first tenured black professor and first to hold a regular faculty appointment at any predominantly white college in the United States in 1966.<sup>310</sup> Along with his scholarship and teaching, Cook was a civil rights leader. Cook helped form a community for black students and supported civil rights activism, including the Silent Vigil, what he described as a perfect combination of "idealism, realism, and humanism."<sup>311</sup> Cook's commitment to social justice during and after his time at Duke calls for a prominent monument.<sup>312</sup>

## BRENDA ARMSTRONG BY CHRISTINE KINYUA

Dr. Brenda Armstrong was among the first African-American students to attend Duke.<sup>313</sup> She later became the second black woman in the US to become a board-certified pediatric cardiologist.<sup>314</sup> Armstrong and her peers established the Afro-American Society (AAS) in the spring of 1967 and Armstrong served as the AAS president.<sup>315</sup> Armstrong helped organize protests of President Knight's membership in the segregated Hope Valley Country Club and the subsequent study-in in Knight's office in 1967.<sup>316</sup> A site honoring Armstrong's activism and medical service should be included within the Duke Hospital complex.

305 It's worth noting that this dissertation refers to women and the Women's College, but never clarifies that only white women were admitted until Duke desegregated. Brandstadter, Dianne Puthoff. *Developing the Coordinate College for Women at Duke University: The Career of Alice Mary Baldwin, 1924-1947*, a dissertation, 1977.

306 Ibid., p 58

307 Ibid., p 80

308 Ibid., p 68

309 Ibid., p 156

310 "About Samuel DuBois Cook," The Samuel DuBois Cook Center on Social Equity at Duke University, <https://socialequity.duke.edu/about-samuel-dubois-cook>.

311 Samuel DuBois Cook, "Spirit of the Vigil," *Duke Chronicle*, February 20th, 1973

312 In 1997, Duke University established the [Samuel DuBois Cook Society](#), and in 2006, Duke established a new postdoctoral fellowship in his honor in its Center for the Study of Race, Ethnicity and Gender in the Social Sciences. The Ohio State University has established the Samuel DuBois Cook Summer Academy and the Samuel DuBois Cook graduate fellowship in Political Science.

313 "Legacy, 1963-1993: Thirty Years of African-American students at Duke University." Legacy, 1963-1993: Thirty Years of African-American students at Duke University. Accessed December 29, 2016. <https://archive.org/stream/legacy19631993th00duke#page/60/mode/2up>.

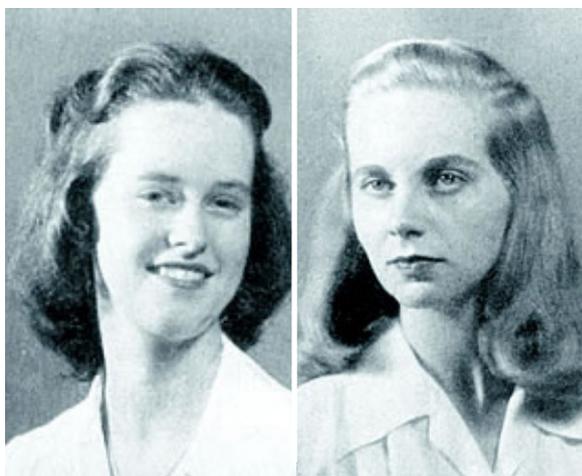
314 "Legacy, 1963-1993: Thirty Years of African-American students at Duke University." Legacy, 1963-1993: Thirty Years of African-American students at Duke University. Accessed December 29, 2016. <https://archive.org/stream/legacy19631993th00duke#page/60/mode/2up>.

315 Ibid.

316 Ibid.

## KATHERINE EVERETT GILBERT BY HADEEL ABDELHY

In 1930, Katherine Everett Gilbert was hired to be the first woman full professor at Duke, working on research on the philosophy of aesthetics. In 1938 during Duke's centennial year, The Gilbert-Addoms Residence Hall is named after her and her colleague, Ruth Margery Addoms, who taught botany at Duke for over twenty years.<sup>317</sup> We believe an additional statue, possibly at The Ruby Arts Center, would both address an obvious "history desert," honor her contribution and highlight Duke's long-standing promotion of the arts.



Marie Foote Reel and Muriel Theodorsen Williams.  
Duke University Archives

## REEL AND WILLIAMS: ENGINEERS BY CATHERINE B. FARMER

Marie Foote Reel enrolled in the Woman's College in 1943 hoping to become a teacher.<sup>318</sup> Despite opposition from administrators, faculty and male students, she decided to transfer to the College of Engineering, where she excelled, graduating magna cum laude.<sup>319</sup> Her contemporary, Muriel Theodorsen Williams, faced similar obstacles.<sup>320</sup> After graduation, Williams praised Duke for convincing us "and consequently other people at Duke that women in engineering are not undesirable, inept intruders in a traditionally all-male field; but, rather, that we are able co-workers who can carry our own weight and sometimes even excel in this field of untold importance to humanity."<sup>321</sup> The University should create a site in the Pratt School of Engineering that recognizes their accomplishments and shows women they have a place in engineering.

## IDA STEPHENS OWENS

In 1967, Ida Stephens Owens was the first black woman to receive a Duke PhD., in Biochemistry and Physiology. Dr. Owens worked at the National Institutes of Health, exploring the human body's detoxifying system. She has been recognized as a key figure in studies surrounding genetics and enzyme systems. Owens served on both the Trinity College Board of Visitors and the Women's Studies Advisory Council. In 2013, she became Duke's first recipient of the Graduate School Distinguished Alumni Award. An installation to commemorate such a groundbreaking figure would acknowledge the role of gender and race in the academic pursuits of all underrepresented students, particularly those in STEM.<sup>322</sup>

317 McDonald, Amy, "Gilbert-Addoms Residence Hall," February 27, 2014, <https://library.duke.edu/rubenstein/uarchives/history/exhibits/building-names/east/gilbert-addoms>.

318 Chunn, Brenda, "Duke's First Women Engineers Remembered," *Duke Engineer*, vol. 49, no. 1, Fall 1986, p. 29, Duke University Libraries, [contentdm.lib.duke.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15957coll16/id/6761/rec/2](https://contentdm.lib.duke.edu/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p15957coll16/id/6761/rec/2).

319 Ibid.

320 Cochrane, Dorothy, "Meet the Curtiss - Wright Aeronautical Engineering Cadettes," Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum Archives, edited by Aeronautics Department, Smithsonian Institution, March 6, 2013, [airandspace.si.edu/stories/editorial/meet-curtiss-wright-aeronautical-engineering-cadettes](https://airandspace.si.edu/stories/editorial/meet-curtiss-wright-aeronautical-engineering-cadettes).

321 Ibid.

322 "Ida Stephens Owens Named First Recipient of The Graduate School Distinguished Alumni Award," Duke: The Graduate School, March 16, 2013, <https://gradschool.duke.edu/about/news/ida-stephens-owens-named-first-recipient-graduate-school-distinguished-alumni-award>.

## STAFF

### THE WALLS BY MUMBI KANYOGO

George Wall was a former enslaved person who worked at Duke as a janitor and general handyman for sixty years.<sup>323</sup> He was hired at Trinity College in 1870 as a fourteen year-old boy by then-President Braxton Craven and was one of the few employees who moved with Trinity College to Durham County in 1892.<sup>324</sup> His son, George Frank Wall, born in 1871, helped his father clean and make beds for students at Trinity and later worked in a dining hall. In his will, Wall allocated \$100 (now the equivalent of \$1,200) to the university. He wanted to “impress on other colored men, the fine and good relations between Christian White people and Christian Negroes. For seventy-five years I have been employed by said institution and never a cross word but Christian Harmony.”<sup>325</sup> The money would later be added to a scholarship fund at a time when Duke did not admit any African-American students.<sup>326</sup> This story is important because it celebrates the contributions African Americans have made to the University even when they were barred from enrolling. The multigenerational aspect of the story also is a powerful reminder of how Duke still needs to foster an equitable, just work place for its staff.

### LILLIAN GRIGGS: LIBRARIAN LEADER BY JAIR OBALLE

Griggs was the first professionally trained public librarian in the state and the first librarian in Duke’s Women’s College, serving from 1930-1949.<sup>327</sup> She started the first bookmobiles in the country, bringing books to underserved and rural areas. Griggs also established branch libraries in Durham’s mill district and high school, and assisted in setting up the Durham Colored Library for the African-American population in 1916.<sup>328</sup> The concept of open stacks was an anomaly at the time, but despite opposition, Griggs fought for students to have direct access.<sup>329</sup> Reaching out to local furnishing companies, Griggs acquired art and furniture to create “booklover’s rooms,” where “poetry, drama, and music evenings were held for the students.”<sup>330</sup> To commemorate her contributions within Durham and Duke, a memorial statue should be placed in Griggs’ honor, perhaps near Lilly Library.

323 “Faithful Employee Bequeaths Hundred Dollars to University,” *Duke Alumni Register*, July 1946

324 Gillispie, Valerie, “One Hundred Reasons,” *Duke Magazine*, October 4 2012, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/one-hundred-reasons>; and Brocklin, Elizabeth Van., “The Legacy of Duke’s first Janitor,” *Duke Magazine*, March 3, 2015, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/the-legacy-of-dukes-first-janitor>.

325 “Faithful Employee Bequeaths Hundred Dollars to University,” *Duke Alumni Register*, July 1946

326 Gillispie, Valerie, “One Hundred Reasons,” *Duke Magazine*, October 4 2012, <http://dukemagazine.duke.edu/article/one-hundred-reasons>

327 Biographical Reference Collection 1972 – 2004, Box 12, Duke University Archives.

328 See Fuller to Bertram, 16 December 1916, Board of Trustees Correspondence, Box 1, DCL Archives.

329 Woman’s College Library planning, 1930-1934, Guide to the Lillian Baker Griggs Papers, 1930 - 1949 Box 3.

330 Biographical Reference Collection 1972 – 2004, Box 12.



Duke janitor Oliver Harvey (center) was among the most prominent organizers of Local 77. Bill Boyarsky

## THE SILENT VIGIL BY HELEN YU

Official accounts of the 1968 Silent Vigil often fail to properly recognize the role played by the university worker's union, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 77. Founded in 1965, this majority African-American union for years pressured the administration to respond to workers grievances.<sup>331</sup> In 1966, forty-two maids – all black women – submitted grievances about their impossible workload, all of which the administration dismissed at the beginning stages of the grievance process.<sup>332</sup> Duke janitor Oliver Harvey was among the most prominent organizers. Local 77 also published a newspaper by and for Duke workers to advocate for worker's rights.<sup>333</sup> Over the course of our research, we found that staff contributions to Duke are grossly overlooked. An installation commemorating Duke's first labor union, the striking maids and

Oliver Harvey would not only place staff as an integral part of life on campus, but also recognize their activism for equity and justice.

## HOWARD LEE BY JAIR OBALLE

Howard Lee was Duke's Director of Employee Relations for Non-Academic Employees in the 1960s. After a heated election, Chapel Hill elected Lee mayor, the "first predominantly white town below the Mason-Dixon line to elect a black mayor" and the first to do so in the post-Reconstruction South.<sup>334</sup> After a two more terms, Lee was appointed to lead the North Carolina Department of Natural Resources and Community Development, then was elected to the North Carolina Senate, where he served from 1990 to 1994 and 1996 to 2002 as a champion for public education. Lee hoped to be a beacon, stating that his "successes help make it possible for other blacks and other minority groups to hold high-ranking positions."<sup>335</sup> A site honoring Lee would stand for the contributions staff have made to education and service to the state of North Carolina.

331 Ludwig, Erik, "Closing in on the 'Plantation': Coalition Building and the Role of Black Women's Grievances in Duke University Labor Disputes, 1965-1968," *Feminist Studies* 25, no. 1 (1999): 79-94.

332 Ibid

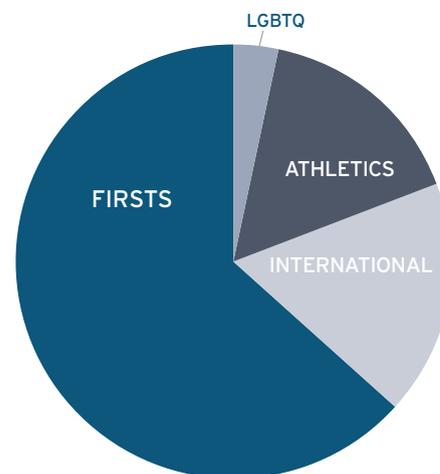
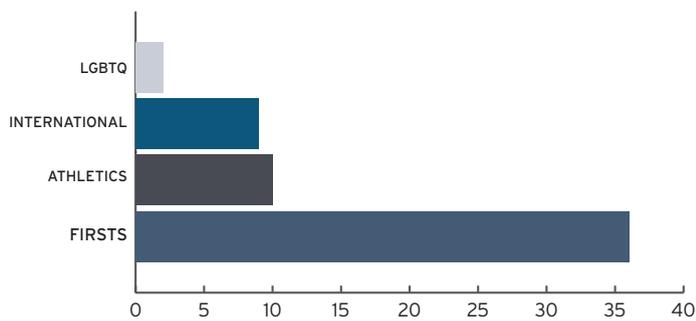
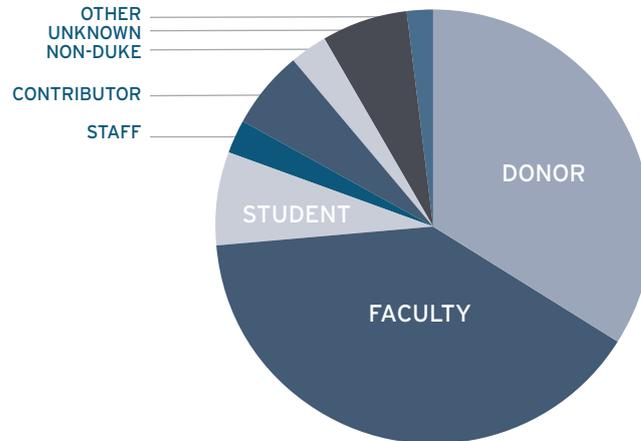
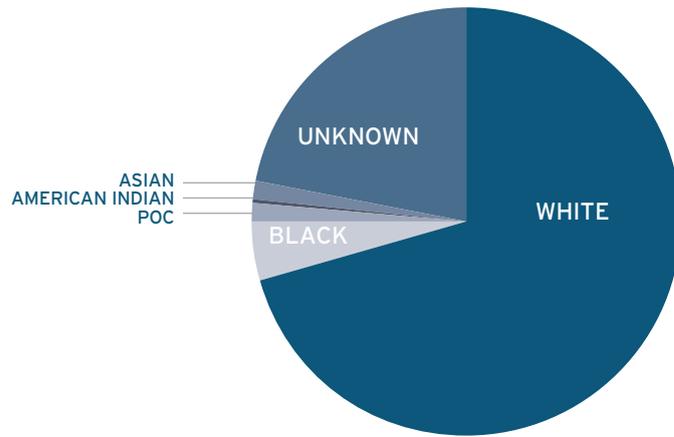
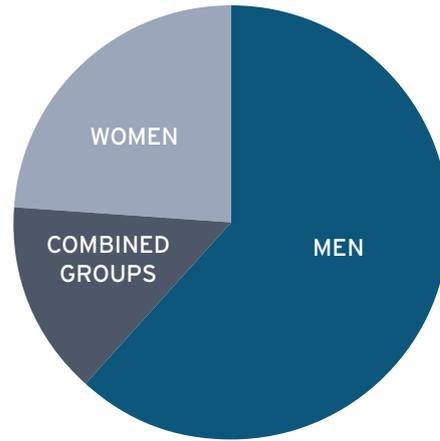
333 Sorensen, David, "Duke Labor Union Publishing Newspaper," *Duke Chronicle*, 28 July 1982, Labor Unions Reference Collection, 1958-2001. Duke University. University Archives. Box 1, Duke University Archives.

334 Lee, Howard, Biographical Reference Collection 1972 - 2004 Box 17 Krzyzewski-Lincoln.

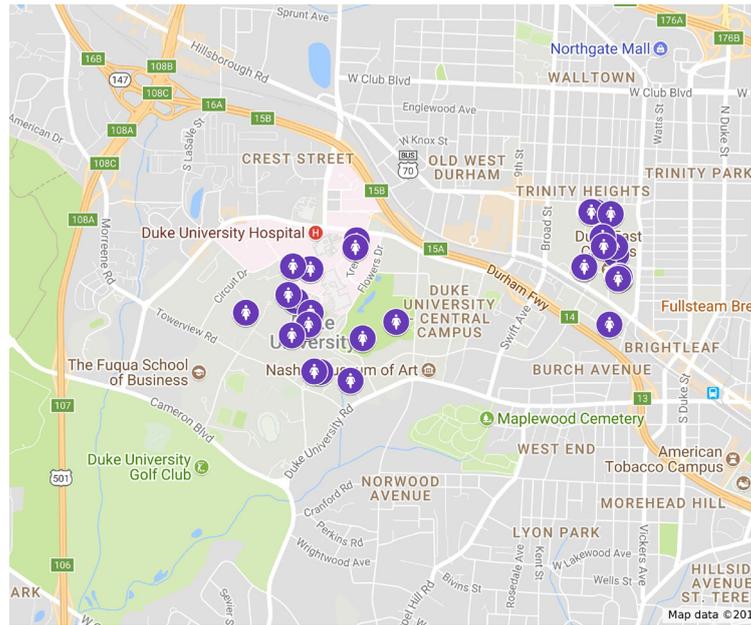
335 "Howard Lee: A Historical Mayoral Election," [http://docsouth.unc.edu/highlights/howard\\_lee.html](http://docsouth.unc.edu/highlights/howard_lee.html).

APPENDIX TWO: MAPPING THE CAMPUS

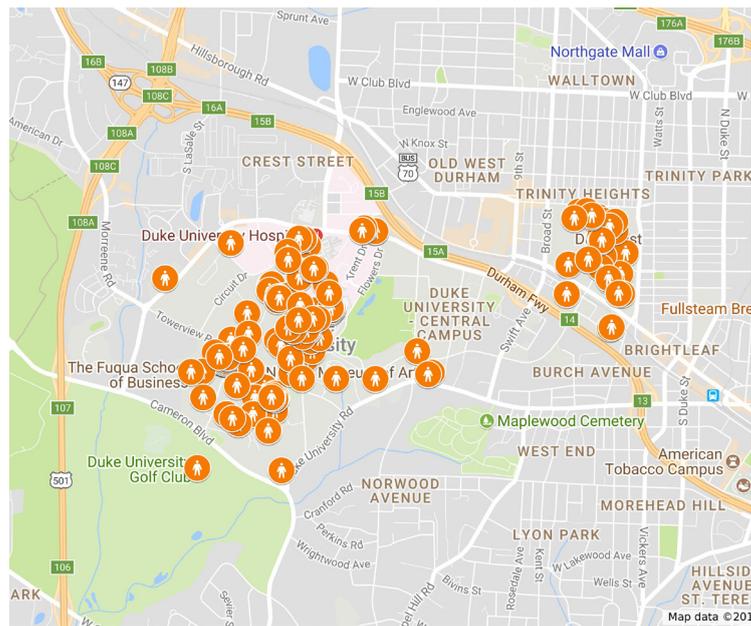
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<b>Gender</b>	
MEN	202
WOMEN	47
COMBINED GROUPS	78
<b>Race</b>	
WHITE	231
BLACK	15
ASIAN	4
AMERICAN INDIAN	1
POC	5
UNKNOWN	71
<b>Role</b>	
DONOR	111
FACULTY	129
STUDENT	23
STAFF	8
CONTRIBUTOR	19
NON-DUKE	9
UNKNOWN	21
OTHER	6
<b>Other Identifiers</b>	
LGBTQ	2
INTERNATIONAL	9
ATHLETICS	10
FIRSTS	36



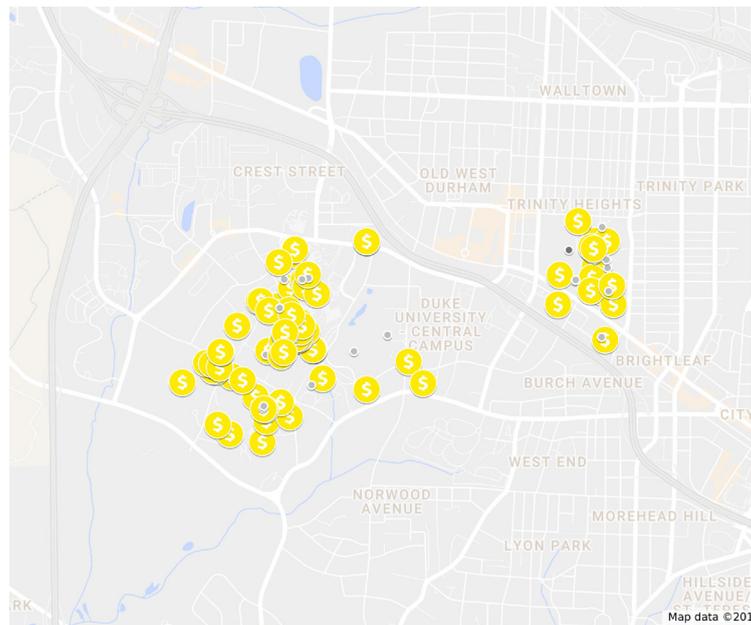
**SITES: WOMEN**



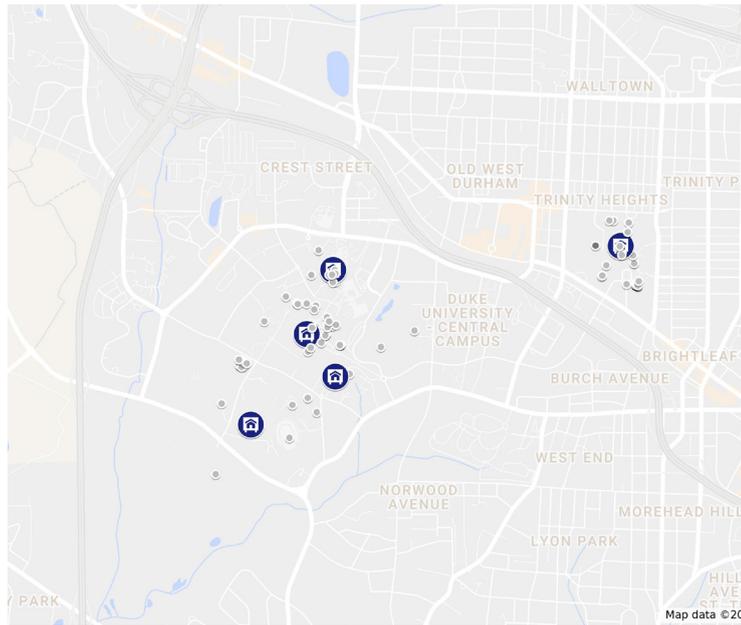
**SITES: MEN**



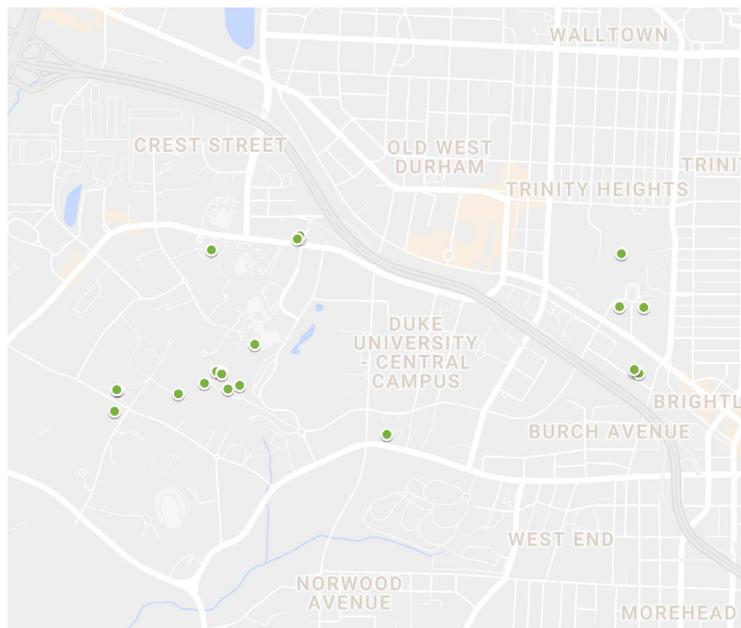
**SITES: DONORS**



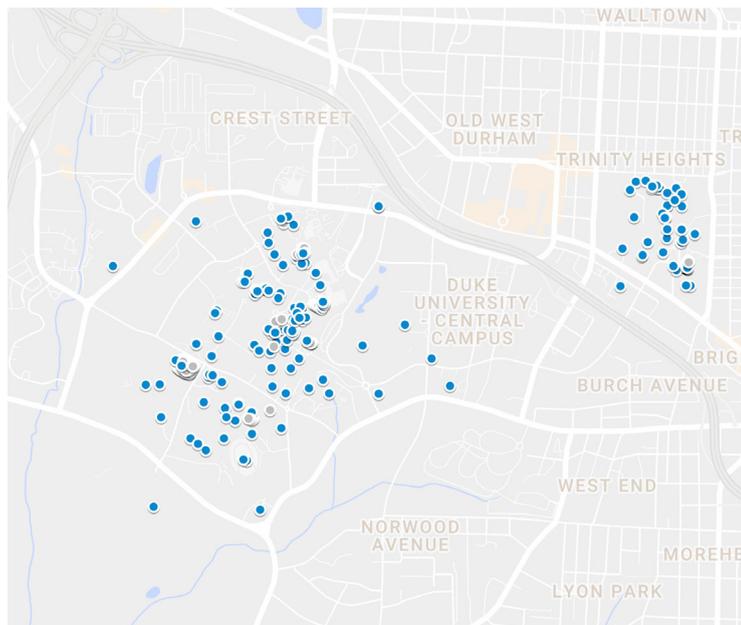
**SITES: STAFF**



**SITES: POC**



**SITES: WHITE**



**APPENDIX THREE: PROPOSED NEW SITES**

**The Story of Duke’s First Labor Union**  
by Catherine Farmer

**HISTORY**

The Duke Employees Benevolent Society was created by workers in February 1965 and was led by civil servant Oliver Harvey. The labor union (later recognized as the Local 77 chapter of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees or AFSCME Local 77) was organized in response to Duke’s refusal to pay their workers the federally-mandated minimum wage. The union, largely comprised of black women, demanded wage increases, and improved the work conditions and medical benefits for all employees. Although written off as a spontaneous burst of student activism, the Silent Vigil of 1968 was provoked by both the death of Dr. King and by AFSCME’s tireless efforts as they brought to light the injustices that workers faced. Yet even with this triumph, the union was not recognized on campus until 1971.

Staff members’ contributions to life and general advancement at Duke are grossly overlooked. Memorials dedicated to workers make up few sites on campus. An installation commemorating Duke’s first labor union would not only remind staff members that they are an integral part of life on campus, but it would also legitimize all future efforts to unionize.



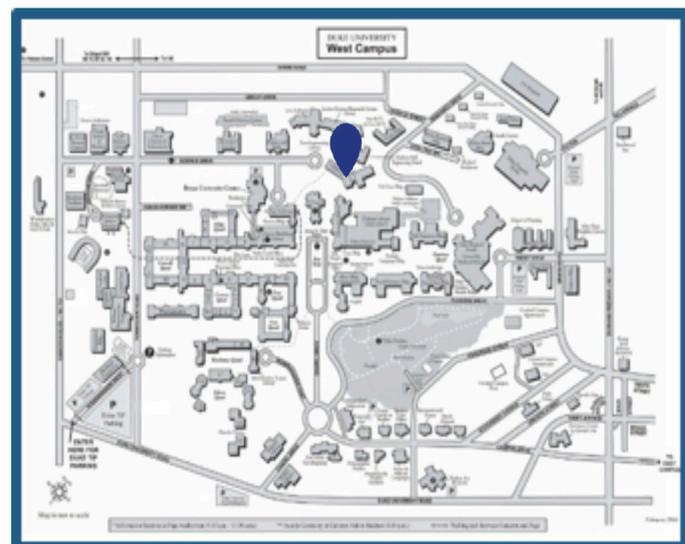
*Students, faculty, and staff congregated on the Campus Quad for the Silent Vigil*

**INSTALLATION PROPOSAL**



*Mosaic Draft recounting AFSCME’s history and suggesting future possibilities*

The proposed installation is a mosaic situated at the Bovender Terrace at the Divinity School. It will retell the inception of Local 77 by depicting its seal. This symbol will cast its rays upon black protesters in uniforms, depicting their essential contribution to this movement. At the front, there will be a faceless figure marching onwards, hinting at future possibilities for student-staff cooperation and relationships.



*Proposed location of installation*

## Caroline and the Duke Family

### HISTORY

Washington Duke is remembered as an “able industrialist and a conscientious Methodist philanthropist.” Lesser mentioned in the chronicles of his achievements is how he profited from an economy based on slavery. Duke, who was twice-widowed, also owned at least one slave by the name of Caroline.

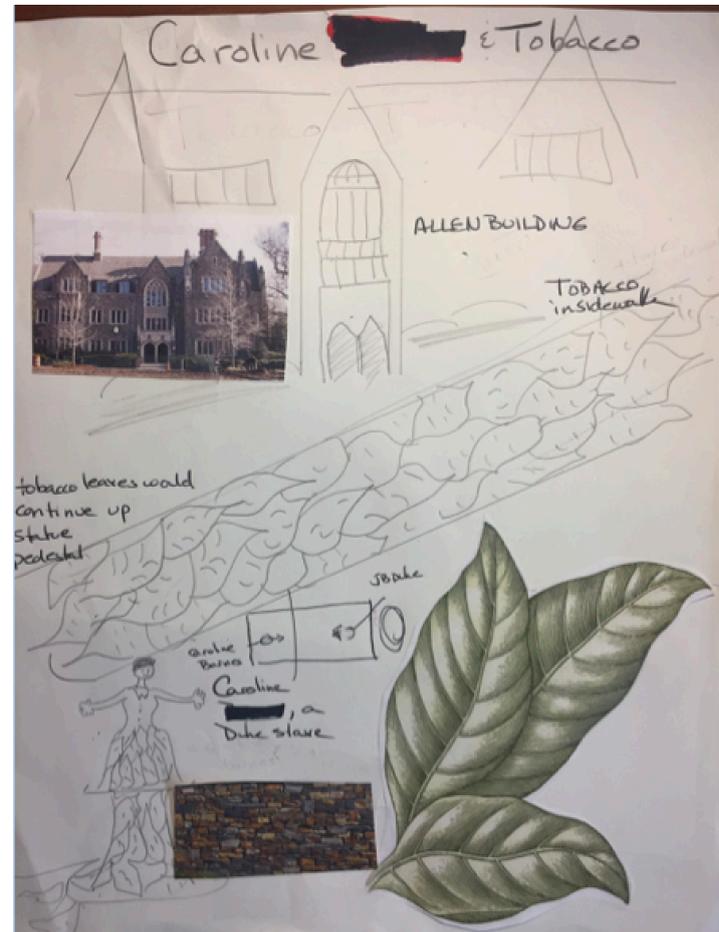
According to Duke Homestead State Historic Site, Caroline “cared for the motherless Duke children and... later followed their careers with pride.” Duke also hired slave labor from neighboring slave owners to complete chores on his farm. Prior to his enlistment in the Confederate Army in 1863, Duke hosted an estate sale that included “some eight or ten likely Negroes.”

Duke was not the only man associated with the University to have owned slaves. Records show that former president Braxton Craven owned two child slaves, Isam and Malinda.



Existing statue of James B. Duke in front of the Chapel on West Campus, holding a cigar in his left hand

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



Sketch of proposed installation of Caroline and the tobacco sidewalk, located adjacent to the Allen Building and across the quad from the statue of James B. Duke

A statue devoted to Caroline should be erected to acknowledge the slave labor that has contributed to the prestige and wealth that the University enjoys today. Caroline’s statue should stand at the West Campus bus stop, looking directly at the state of James B. Duke, which stands in front of the Chapel. Leading to Caroline’s statue should be a path etched to show the texture of tobacco leaves ~ a recognition of the slave labor-intensive industry that gave Duke enough wealth to found this institution.

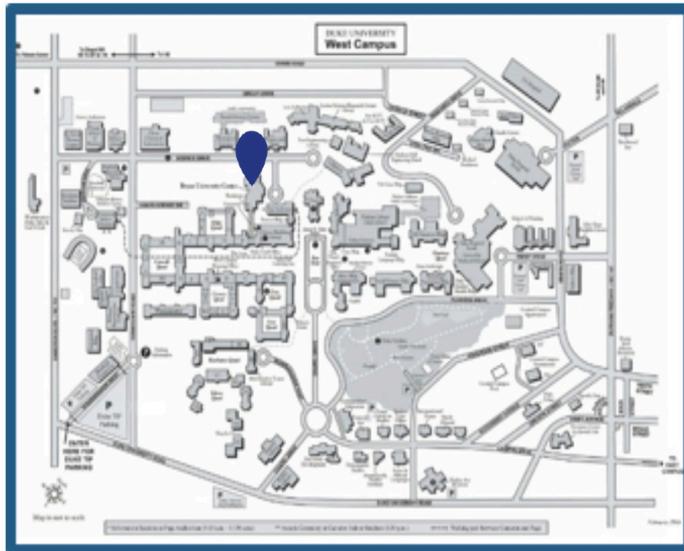
At such a popular location, people will be compelled to reckon with this lesser known history that complicates the existing narrative of the Duke family.

## Chronicle Ad Protest by Christine Kinyua

### HISTORY

On March 19, 2001, Duke student newspaper, *The Chronicle*, published a paid advertisement titled, “Ten Reasons Why Reparations for Slavery is a Bad Idea - and Racist Too.” The article incited controversy due to its problematic content, which divided the student body in support and opposition of this advertisement’s message. Furthermore, it raised the then-ignored issue for underrepresentation of minorities at Duke.

Since then, incidents similar to this one have occurred on campus, all contributing to greater self segregation and interracial tensions within the Duke community. In moments like these, we have the opportunity to remind the student body, through art, to work on issues of unity, continuously.



*Proposed installation location at Bryan Center Plaza*

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



The proposed installation is a globe held up by a hand. The globe itself serves as a metaphorical representation of students, Duke life, and the world. The distortion of the globe’s spherical shape plays on the idea of students being pulled in different directions despite the supposed collective nature of the student body. The entire monument, supported by the arm that is Duke University, despite its elegant aesthetic, represents conflict within the Duke bubble.

The Bryan Center Plaza sees constant student traffic, ensuring consistent engagement with the physical space there. The memorial in this location would provide a valuable place for students to congregate with friends or muse in quiet contemplation.

## The First Five by Hadeel Abdelhy

### HISTORY

On June 2, 1962, the Board of Trustees announced that undergraduate students would be admitted without regard to race.

The following year in 1963, the first five black undergraduate students enrolled at Duke University: Mary Mitchell, Gene Kendall, Wilhelmina Reuben-Cooke, Cassandra Smith Rush, and Nathaniel White, Jr.

Mitchell and White both grew up near Durham. Kendall received a full scholarship to study mechanical engineering. Reuben-Cooke was a student at the Divinity School. Rush applied to Duke three times – two times during the university’s segregation – and majored in zoology.

MARY MITCHELL	GENE KENDALL	WILHELMINA REUBEN-COOKE	CASSANDRA SMITH RUSH	NATHANIEL WHITE, JR.
				
An honors student at Durham's Hillside High School, Harris knew by 10th grade	The mechanical engineering degree candidate chose Duke because it	Reuben-Cooke hesitated to attend the same school as her father, who was	The zoology major applied to Duke twice. She was denied admission	Growing up three miles from campus, White said attending Duke was "like going

Names, pictures, and brief descriptions of Duke’s first black undergraduate students.

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL

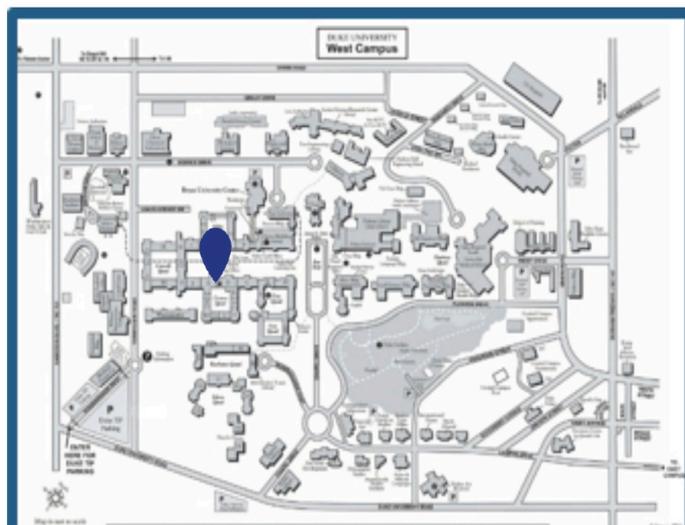


The proposed installation is statues of the first five students, drawing inspiration from:

(Left) The statue of Rudolph Antorcha, the first black student at Saint Leo University. The figure on the right represents the Benedictine monks at the school who chose to admit Antorcha.

(Right) The statue of Barbara Jordan at the University of Texas Austin, as the first African American elected to the Texas Senate and the first Southern African-American woman elected to the US House of Representatives.

(Bottom) The statue of James Howard Meredith, the first African American student admitted to the previously segregated University of Mississippi.



Proposed installation location on Craven Quad, by dormitories

## Freedom of Expression

### HISTORY

From the Bassett Affair to student protests and marchers, Duke University has been the frame for those pressing for social justice. Abele Quad is often the site for such protest, either in front of the Chapel or at the Allen Building. This lawn at the heart of social and academic life at the University has seen the largest protest to date ~ the Silent Vigil of 1968. Through the years, it has also seen protests against unfair labor conditions and apartheid, as well as those in support of immigrants, Tibetans, human rights, among many others.



In December of 2014, around 120 students congregated in front of the Chapel to stage a die-in, in protest of the death of Black men to police brutality



In Spring of 2016, eight students occupied the Allen Building to protest for fair treatment and wages for campus workers. Many more students camped in tents outside the building in solidarity.

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



Sketch of Speaker's Circle with a circular bench surrounding, near the Allen Building. The Speaker's Circle has a quote on top and is made of Lapis lazuli, a dark blue metamorphic rock to represent Duke Blue

The proposed installation would celebrate the University's rich history of protest and encourage continuing activism in line with our shared values by providing a place to memorialize such movements. Modelled on the Speaker's Corner in London, this site would be a permanent free speech area where anyone could stand and speak about the issues they feel impassioned by. The site would also include a permanent circular bench to offer opportunities for the University's community members to congregate and have open discussion.

## The Giles Sisters: First Women Award Degrees by Trinity College by Mary Aline Fertin

### HISTORY

Duke University used to be an all-male boarding college, originally founded in 1838 as Brown's school-house - a small academy located in Randolph County, about 90 miles from our current location in Durham.

This academic institution was renamed Trinity College in 1859, remaining that way until 1924, when it was renamed after Washington Duke.

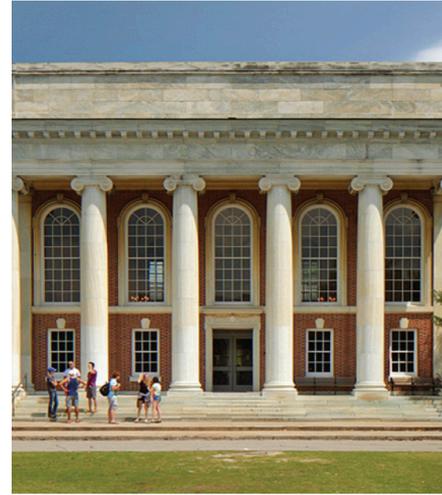
Having been barred from Trinity College because of their gender Mary, Persis, and Theresa Giles still found ways to study through the university. They aspired to be teachers and are cited to have seen a university education as the only way they could “really and truly” prepare themselves for their occupational endeavors. Law professor Lemuel Johnson agreed to tutor them, instructing them in the afternoons before other professors joined in to teach them. The only instructor to allow these sisters into his regular class of Metaphysics was then-president Braxton Craven. The sisters still paid the same tuition as other full-time Trinity students at the time.

In 1878, the Giles sisters became the first women to receive degrees from Trinity College, still 52 years before the Women's College was founded. The Board of Trustees had recommended them for a “full and regular graduation to the Degree of the Bachelor of the Arts.” All three sisters went on to obtain a Master of Arts and then opened the Greenwood Female College in South Carolina.



*The dorm that bears the Giles sisters' names.*

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



*A set of three Georgian pillars, like the ones pictured above, in a triangle formation on the quad*

The Giles sisters' namesake currently only exists by a freshman dorm on East Campus. There is little to no public knowledge of who they are, nor any explicit monument or representation for women who blaze trails in North Carolina higher education. This proposed installation is a set of three Georgian pillars in a triangle between Marketplace and Lilly Library. Each pillar would represent Mary, Persis, and Theresa respectively, and would be inscribed in a manner quite similar to statues of the Duke family, reading: Trailblazer, Student, and Educator.



*Proposed location of installation*

## From Farm to Fork: Student Action with Farmworkers by Natalia Espinosa

### HISTORY

Since 1992, Student Action with Farmworkers (SAF) has worked with farmworkers, students, and advocates in the Southeast and nationwide to create a more just agricultural system. Although some students may be aware of SAF or of the agricultural justice movement, many are unaware of its history at Duke.

In the fall of 1973, YM-YMCA followed the lead of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) and helped to organize a boycott of non-union iceberg lettuce on campus. The goals of the boycott were to gain higher wages and better working/living conditions for farmworkers. With the support of other students and faculty, notably Duke Dining Hall's director Ted Minah, eventually the cafeterias began to sell union lettuce only. Although the official boycott did not last for a full academic year, Duke had made a worthy move in advancing farmworkers' rights.

The lettuce boycott, along with the grape and meat boycotts are important events to commemorate in Duke history because they represent a *sacrifice*. It is significant that the student body voted to do so, as influenced by their peers. Moreover, it was significant that Duke students chose to prioritize farmworkers' rights, an issue often forgotten by general consumers and perhaps by today's students.



The UFW lettuce boycott poster (left) and a poster for Duke University's Student Action with Farmworkers (right)

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



Bulletin board exhibit of archival documents and photos relating to the lettuce boycotts and farmworker solidarity movements

West Union/The Brodhead Center is the perfect place for a monument to SAF and the boycott movements. A reminder of the activism that was once so strong on our campus can be easily integrated in this space. A permanent collection of archival photos and documents on a wall would be informative for students sitting there can view it easily, including:

- The Boycott Lettuce pin from the UFW, which student activists on campus wore
- The UFW boycott poster
- The official boycott ballot, which students in each dorm voted with in 1973
- A picture of Cesar Chavez, accompanied with an audio device to play a snippet of his speech at Duke with the press of a button
- A picture of the Duke dining hall in the 1970s with a text snippet about Ted Minah and his role as director during the boycotts



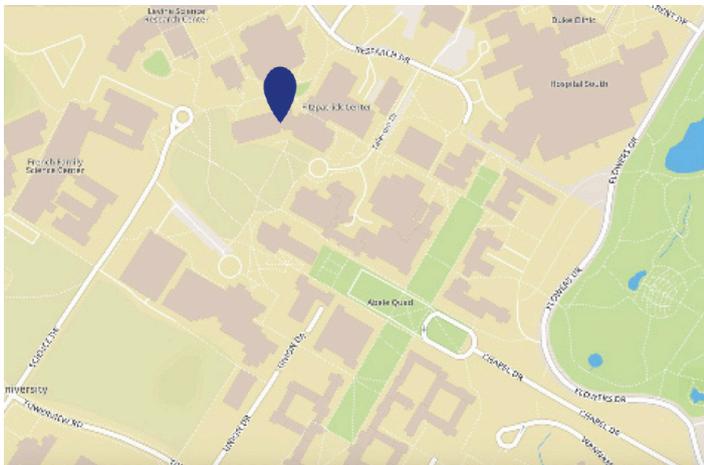
Proposed location of installation in West Union/Brodhead Center

## Duke's First Women Engineers by Catherine Farmer

### HISTORY

Marie Foote Reel enrolled in the Trinity Women's College in 1943 hoping to become a teacher. However, one year later, she decided to transfer to the College of Engineering despite opposition from administrators, faculty, and her male student counterparts. She excelled, graduating in 1946 as *magna cum laude* in her class and becoming one of the first women to earn a Bachelor's of Science in Engineering at Duke University.

The other woman was Muriel Theodorsen Williams, who overcame similar obstacles as Reel had. After graduation, Williams celebrated the fact that the two of them had convinced "other people at Duke that women in engineering are not undesirable, inept intruders in a traditionally all-male field; but rather, that we are able co-workers who can carry our own weight and sometimes even excel in this field of untold importance to humanity."



*Proposed location of installation*

### INSTALLATION PROPOSAL



*Sketch of plaque featuring Reel and Williams' faces*

A simple plaque with a 3D embossment of the faces of Reel and Williams should be installed on campus, in the Hudson Hall Engineering Plaza. The plaque would be bas-relief, which is similar to the plaque dedicated to Ian Hamilton in the Biddle Music Library on East Campus.

Underneath the faces and names of Reel and Williams can be a caption recognizing the women's accomplishments, or a relevant quote that empowers its viewers, such as: "Remember the dignity of your womanhood. Do not appeal, do not beg, do not grovel. Take courage, join hands, stand besides us, fight with us," by British suffragette Christabel Pankhurst.



*Acknowledgements*

SECT

# Acknowledgements

This project was funded by Bass Connections and supported by the Franklin Humanities Institute, the Duke Human Rights Center @ the Franklin Humanities Institute, the FHI's Story Lab, led by Dr. Eileen Chow and Dr. Carlos Rojas, and the Pauli Murray Project, under the direction of Barbara Lau.

We also received support from the Department of Cultural Anthropology, including Dr. Irene Silverblatt, and Dr. Alison Adcock, Associate Professor of Psychiatry and Behavioral Sciences. Crucial to the success of our students was the devotion of Matthew Sebastian, a Ph.D. Candidate in Cultural Anthropology, who worked with students both semesters to understand memory studies, map the campus and assemble the Story Bank. Sebastian also contributed invaluable text and comments to the final report. Also key to our success was the support of Tim Stallman, a cartographer, who taught students how to map sites, digitize data and develop a virtual tour. Hannah Jacobs, the Digital Humanities Specialist for the Wired! Lab for digital art history & visual culture, also gave important guidance as we developed the virtual tour and started the web site.

Through many twists and turns, the staff of the Duke University Archives – in particular director Valerie Gillispie and assistant director Amy McDonald – were uniformly patient, helpful, perceptive and supportive. Their work made this report possible and their ingenuity and creativity with new projects like Duke History Revisited gave us all hope that the central recommendation of this report, that Duke make the engagement with the past a permanent part of its educational mission, will flourish. The University Archives also gave financial support to our 2016-2017 speaker series, “Dangerous Memories: Conversations around the Past, Social Justice and Constructing University Memory,” which greatly enriched our understanding of the complexities of this issue. We would like to acknowledge our three speakers – Brenda Allen, Tina Lu and Jennifer Scott – for sharing their experiences, best practices and challenges with us.

The text of this report was much improved by timely comments from Drs. William Chafe and Wesley Hogan, among others.

Finally and most importantly, thanks go to the students who invested not only class time, but countless hours outside class so that this project could succeed: Hadeel Abdelhy, Madeline Cochrane, Natalia Espinosa, Catherine Farmer, Mary Aline Fertin, Mumbi Kanyogo, Christine Kinyua, Jair Oballe, Elle Winfield and Helen Yu. Special thanks go to Helen Yu, who spent an additional semester helping to draft and refine the text, complete the web site, ensure a diversity of input on drafts and revise and digitize our data.

We dedicate this report to Caroline, Isam, Madison, Malinda, George Wall and George Frank Wall as early contributors to this university whose names should be uplifted along with so many others.

ELEV. OF ARCADE

Top of coping level 22' 6"

Copper roof

Copper flashing  
Copper gutter

Lead flashing

Abaculi

*Selected*

*Bibliography*

OUTSIDE INSIDE

Abaculi

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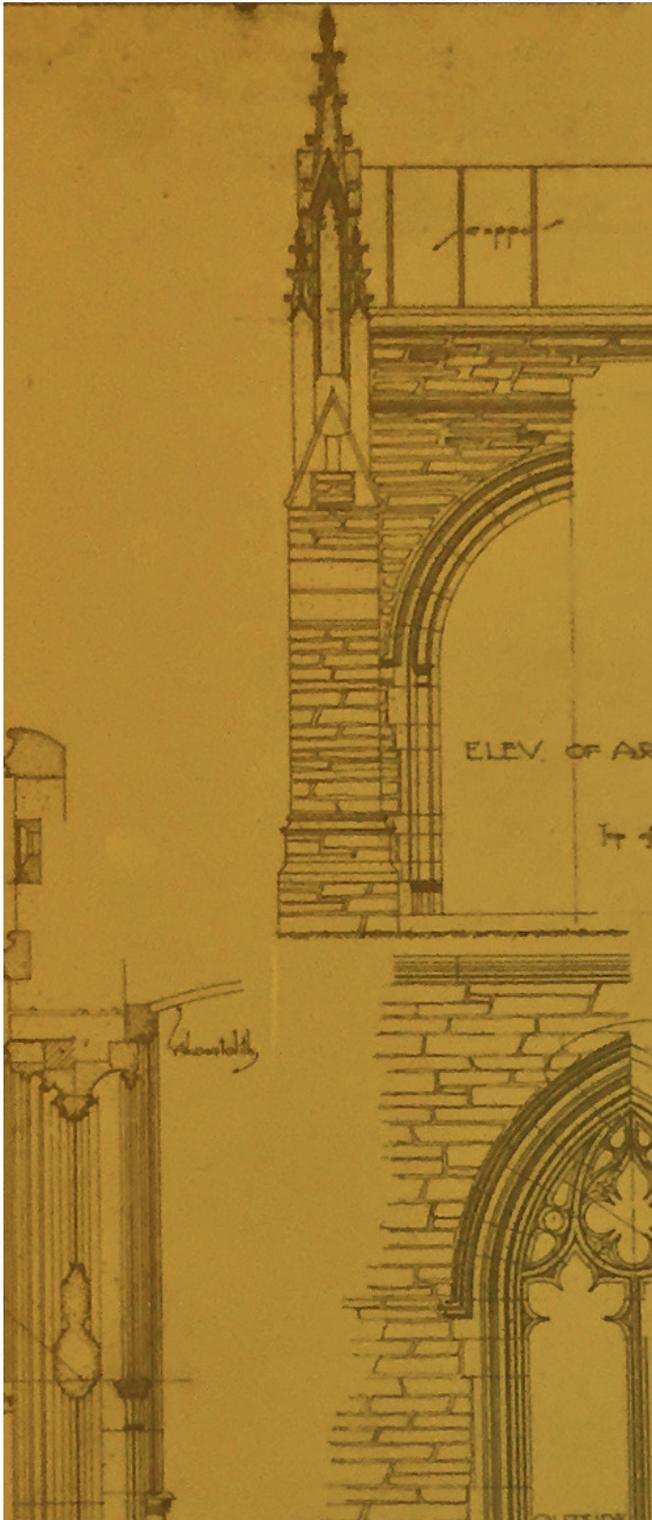
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