

Report of

THE WORKING GROUP ON
SLAVERY, MEMORY, AND RECONCILIATION

TO

THE PRESIDENT OF
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Summer 2016



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

September 1, 2016

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen:

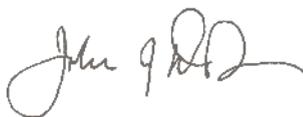
It is with profound gratitude that I share the final report of Georgetown University's Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation. Animated by the extraordinary dedication of the faculty, staff, student, and alumni members of the Working Group, the report offers a description of the group's efforts over the past year, a series of reflections on their work, and a set of formal recommendations for guiding our University's ongoing work related to slavery and its legacies.

On behalf of our entire University, I wish to express my deepest appreciation to the members of the Working Group, and thank them for their great care and commitment to engaging our history and strengthening our community. I am grateful to the many members of our community who have thoughtfully and respectfully contributed their perspectives and shared their insights. I look forward to continuing to

work together in an intentional effort to engage these recommendations and move forward toward justice and truth.

You have my very best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John J. DeGioia". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "John" being the most prominent.

John J. DeGioia

SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

Preface

Preface

John J. DeGioia (C'79, G'95), Ph.D., the president of Georgetown University, assembled the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation in September 2015. His charging letter outlined three tasks for the Working Group over the course of the academic year:

- Make recommendations on how best to acknowledge and recognize the University's historical relationship to the institution of slavery.
- Examine and interpret the history of certain sites on the campus.
- Convene events and opportunities for dialogue on these issues.

This report offers an overview of the Working Group's activities, reflections on its mandate and work over the past academic year, and recommendations to the president on how the University community should continue its engagement with this history and its legacy. The submission of this report concludes the Working Group's responsibilities, but at the same time is foreseen by the Working Group as a step in the continuing efforts of the University.

The report is organized into five major sections:

INTRODUCTION

The first section sketches the Working Group’s activities over the nine months between its charging meeting on September 24, 2015, and the transmission of this report to the president.

REFLECTIONS ON OUR WORK

The second section offers the Working Group’s reflections on its nine months of consultation and deliberation, organized around the three concepts in the Working Group’s name: slavery, memory, and reconciliation.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE PRESIDENT

The third section summarizes the Working Group’s recommendations to the president.

**EXPLAINING THE RECOMMENDATIONS:
COMMITTEE REPORTS AND ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND**

The fourth section provides additional explanation and background for the recommendations, including reports from the committees of the Working Group: Archives, Ethics and Reconciliation, Local History, Memorialization, and Outreach.

APPENDICES

Supplemental information referred to in the first four sections is contained in the appendices of the fifth section.



PREFACE

MEMBERSHIP OF THE WORKING GROUP

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SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

Introduction

Introduction

The Working Group consisted of fifteen members, including faculty, students, staff, and alumni, with one replacement in March 2016. It was assisted by staff in the President's Office and a graduate student research assistant. The Working Group as a whole met ten times over seven months. To work through its charge more efficiently, the Working Group divided itself into five committees in November, organized around topics of investigation and functions: Archives, Ethics and Reconciliation, Local History, Memorialization, and Outreach. These committees met many times throughout the year and played a central role in planning the Emancipation Day Symposium and in formulating the recommendations and their rationales for the full Working Group.

LEARNING THE HISTORY

The Working Group's activities fell into four phases. In the first phase, during October and early November, the Working Group familiarized itself with the historical issues as already a matter of public and scholarly record. A reading list was compiled, and the material was discussed at the Working Group's first meeting in October (Appendix B). These materials deeply impressed the members of the Working Group, and sentiment was strong to remove from two buildings the names of the Jesuits who were the architects of the particularly notorious slave sale in 1838. The

Working Group's challenge was to draw the full University community into a discussion about this history and its memorialization through a new naming of those two buildings. The Working Group began planning activities for the semester that would foster exactly this discussion.

In October the Working Group also began looking to other schools facing similar historical problems. It sent representation to and participated in a conference held at St. Louis University, another Jesuit university, on "Jesuits and Race." It also affiliated with a consortium of schools in the region, the Universities Studying Slavery (USS). The dialogue among schools fostered by USS has been especially helpful to the Working Group's own efforts over the past year.

EXPANDING THE CONVERSATION

In November and December, the second phase of activity, the Working Group organized several events and began planning for its spring activities. This phase took place in the context of increasing community interest, student protests, and intensified national attention to issues of racism on college campuses. On November 13, the Working Group formally recommended to the president the removal of the names Mulledy and McSherry from two campus buildings and their replacement with the interim names Freedom and Remembrance. The recommendation was approved by the president and Board of Directors.

In November, two conversation circles, coordinated by Working Group member Daviree Velázquez, were held to provide the community with opportunities to express their reactions to the history, their sense of its implications for today, and their hopes for how the University community should respond. These functions were well attended by faculty, staff, and students. In response to heightened community interest in the

history behind the removal of two names from University buildings, the Working Group drafted the “What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery” booklet. The booklet was distributed widely across campus in the days leading up to a December Teach-In, and has continued to be much requested by students, alumni, and administrative units across campus throughout the year (Appendix C).

The goal of the December Teach-In was to increase the community’s familiarity with Georgetown’s history of slavery and to introduce the community to the range of ways that other communities have dealt with distressing chapters in their histories. Four speakers with relevant experiences addressed the Teach-In. Working Group member Matthew Quallen spoke about the history of slavery at Georgetown. Working Group member Professor Marcia Chatelain, a 2008 Brown University Ph.D., discussed the work of Brown’s Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice in the 2000s. Professor Kirt von Daacke from the University of Virginia discussed the ongoing work of UVA’s Commission on Slavery and the Virginia Consortium of Universities Studying Slavery. Charles Villa-Vicencio, Ph.D., the onetime national research director of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and visiting associate professor in the Conflict Resolution Program at Georgetown, discussed the challenge of bringing communities together after long periods of strife. The Teach-In was held in Gaston Hall with several hundred people in attendance over the course of the afternoon.

In November the Working Group also identified five areas needing special attention and so divided itself into committees to lead such efforts. The five committees were:

- **Archives**, which conducted direct research in the archives at Lauinger Library and determined ways of increasing

its accessibility and intelligibility to the public;

- **Ethics and Reconciliation**, which investigated the ethical dimension of the historical events and the modern lessons to be taken from them;
- **Local History**, which explored the University's relationships to slavery and racial injustice in the municipality of Georgetown and the District of Columbia;
- **Memorialization**, which studied ways that this part of Georgetown's history could be best infused into modern Georgetown's self-awareness and preserved through memorials of different kinds;
- **Outreach**, which provided channels of open communication and engagement between the Working Group and the larger University community.

The committees committed themselves to fostering conversation within the community throughout the Spring semester and to planning substantive contributions to an end-of-year symposium that would serve as the culmination of the Working Group's year-long public efforts at fostering engagement within the community (Appendix A).

The first programs instituted by the committees for the public were the "Freedom and Remembrance" grants, intended to foster grass-roots engagement, especially in research and the arts, and the launching of the Georgetown Slavery Archive, which since February has been expanding the online availability of archival materials, including their digitization, transcription, and analysis.

EMANCIPATION DAY SYMPOSIUM

The Working Group decided in the late fall to plan an expansive symposium that could bring diverse segments of the community together and into conversation on the full range of issues related to the Working Group's mandate. Preparing for this symposium became the Working Group's principal activity in early 2016. The symposium was scheduled to coincide with the annual Emancipation Day commemorations in the District of Columbia on April 16. In this third phase of activity, the committees played a major part in organizing the events leading up to and a part of this symposium. The full Working Group continued meeting to coordinate the Emancipation Day programming, to facilitate communication among the five committees, to address general issues pertaining to the fulfilment of our mandate as they arose, and to lay the groundwork for the semester's final meeting, where recommendations would be drafted for the president's consideration.

The Emancipation Day Symposium took place over twelve days in mid-April and consisted of fifteen scheduled events (Appendix D). Hundreds of students, staff, faculty, alumni, neighbors, and friends of the University participated. Many events were scholarly in approach, encompassing multidisciplinary engagement with the historical realities of slavery, Jesuit and Catholic participation in it, the opportunities for memorialization, and the significance of taking responsibility and seeking to make amends for it. The Symposium also included walking tours of the Georgetown neighborhood and a master class in African dance.

The Symposium was an experience of the University doing what a university should do best. It enabled a community of learning to engage with a problem in a range of ways authentic to it. It was an experience marked by rigorous investigation, deep reflection, and multiple approaches,

and it moved us toward solutions with creativity.

Much inspired by the Symposium's contents and the community's participation in it, the Working Group met on Friday, April 22, to finalize its recommendations and to organize this report. The report itself was drafted in the weeks that followed, the final phase of the Working Group's activities.



SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

*Reflections on
our Work*

Reflections on Our Work

In this section, the Working Group offers a synopsis of its own study and reflection over the nine months. The three words of the Working Group's title provide a helpful framework within which to organize this: "slavery" invites us to turn to the history itself; "memory," to the ways the University can ensure that the history will be remembered; and "reconciliation," to the final goal of healing history's wounds. Here these three concepts—history, memory, and reconciliation—give structure to the second section of this report.

OUR FINDINGS: THE HISTORY

A historical assessment of Georgetown University's relationship to slaveholding has been at the heart of the Working Group's efforts all year. A sign of how important the history itself has been can be seen in the membership of the Working Group: four of the six faculty members belong to the University's Department of History, and one of the students, Matthew Quallen, is an undergraduate history major, official historian of *The Hoya* newspaper and the Georgetown University Student Association, and the author of several well-researched essays on Georgetown's relationship to slavery.

An overview of the history with an emphasis on more recent findings follows. The history of Jesuit slaveholding in colonial and early federal America has been the subject of scholarly and journalistic investigation for over a century. This coverage has included some explicit consideration of the University's connections to slavery. Interested readers and researchers are advised to turn to the bibliography for further reading (Appendix B). A brief synopsis of the history focusing on the sale of 1838 and the preliminary research of the Working Group can be found in the contents of the "What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery" booklet (Appendix C).

GEORGETOWN AND SLAVERY: THE FIRST CENTURY

Beginning with deliberations in the 1780s over the founding of an academy and until the end of the Civil War, Georgetown University's origins and growth, and successes and failures, can be linked to America's slave-holding economy and culture. The most direct such connection is through the Jesuit-owned and -operated plantations in Maryland. Initially worked by indentured servants, these plantations were run with slave labor by the time of Georgetown's founding. Plantation profits and proceeds from the sale of slaves on those plantations were foreseen as a source of funding for the school. Bequests and other charitable gifts were also a significant part of the funding model in an era when Jesuits were prohibited from charging tuition to their students. Given a regional economy that was largely agricultural, this benefaction can also be in large part linked to the U.S. slave economy. A recruitment strategy oriented to the South deepened the school's links to slavery, and the general attitude of Jesuit faculty and students favored slavery as at least a necessary evil. Into the nineteenth century, as tensions between pro- and anti-slavery

opinion grew, the mood at the College was pro-slavery and ultimately pro-Confederacy. As R. Emmett Curran, Ph.D., has documented, the overwhelming majority of students and alumni of the College (in contrast to the Medical School) who fought in the Civil War sided with the Confederacy. (For a description of the various civil and ecclesiastical entities with a part in the management of the plantations, see Appendix F.)

SLAVERY: CONTROVERSIES

Between Georgetown's founding and 1864, the year slavery was declared unconstitutional in the state of Maryland, the 1838 sale of 272 slaves from the Jesuit plantations stands out for its size and the controversy it garnered. It was not the only, the first, or the last sale of slaves to provide operating revenue for the school, but it was the largest. This mass sale was the product of a complicated calculus on the part of the Jesuit leadership and an extensive controversy within the order. All the factions recognized that the plantations were not producing enough income even to support themselves in the early nineteenth century, and at the same time, the College suffered from mounting debt.

The responses of the Jesuits on the East Coast to these problems fell into three categories. One group of Jesuits, likely the largest, favored keeping the slaves, explaining their position as a religious obligation.

A second group, whose representatives occupied key positions in the Province and the school in the 1830s and included Frs. Thomas Mulledy, S.J., and William McSherry, S.J., argued that the plantations and the slaves should be sold and the money invested more profitably to support expanding Jesuit works.

The third and smallest group advocated for various forms of emancipation. Fr. Ignatius Combs, S.J., for example, opposed slavery on

principle. Fr. Joseph Carberry, S.J., proposed that the slaves be freed, and their labor on the plantations be continued in the form of tenant farming. Another kind of emancipation involved selling an enslaved person for a term, rather than for life, after which the slave would be freed. A proposal along these lines was formally approved by the Jesuit management of the plantations (the Corporation, see Appendix F) in 1814, but was not carried through. The Province even contemplated freeing the slaves and sending them to Liberia, where other freed slaves had been sent.

Jesuit authorities in Rome became involved in this dispute. Their initial inclinations were toward some form of emancipation. Following extensive lobbying by American Jesuits, they capitulated to those who argued for sale. They then placed conditions on a sale: that families not be divided, that the continued practice of the Catholic faith by these baptized slaves be ensured, and that the monies raised from the sale be used for endowment, not for operating expenses or the paying down of debt. In the end, none of these conditions was fulfilled.

SLAVERY: THE SALE OF 1838

Factors external to the management of the plantations and Georgetown's debt added pressure to sell in the late 1830s. Nat Turner's Revolt in 1831 and the vigilante response in Washington, the arrest of Arthur Bowen and the ensuing Snow Riot against free blacks in 1835, and the "Pinckney Gag Rule" against abolitionism in 1836 and the congressional debates leading up to it fueled anxieties within the District's slave-holding society over abolitionism and the possibility of rebellion within the enslaved population. Jesuits favoring the sale had increasing cause to fear that with the rising calls for abolition and manumission they might lose the

enslaved Africans without compensation. The market crash of 1837 put the investment in human chattel at yet greater risk.

In this climate, Fr. Thomas Mulledy, S.J., the president of Georgetown College at the time, along with Fr. William McSherry, S.J., the superior of the Maryland Province, began organizing the principal sale to the Louisiana businessmen Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey. Johnson, who was Catholic, had been a governor of Louisiana in the 1820s. He also served in the U.S. Senate and in the House of Representatives for his state. Little is known about Batey, a planter from Terrebonne Parish, Louisiana. (By the time the sale transpired, Mulledy and McSherry had exchanged offices.)

In June 1838, Mulledy drew up the “Articles of Agreement” with Johnson and Batey for the sale of 272 men, women, and children identified by name in the document, starting with a sixty-five-year-old man named Isaac and his children, for the price of \$115,000 (roughly \$3.3 million today when adjusted for inflation) to be paid over ten years. Fifty-one of the slaves were to be delivered to Johnson and Batey immediately, and the rest later that year. Three more bills of sale in November 1838 show the further division of more than two hundred of the slaves named in the original Articles of Agreement: sixty-four were allotted to Batey, and groups of fifty-six and eighty-four were allotted to Johnson. Moreover, the buyers mortgaged the slaves as collateral. The manifest of one of the vessels on which the slaves were transported to Louisiana in the fall of 1838 has been found, the *Katherine Jackson*. That manifest lists many of the slaves with surnames (including Butler, Harris, Hawkins, Plowden, Queen, and Scott) that are not indicated in the various bills of sale. The slaves ended up on plantations owned by Batey and Johnson in Pointe Coupee, Iberville, and Ascension parishes in Louisiana.

AFTER THE SALE

New research has discovered information about what happened to the people who were sold to Louisiana, where they labored under dreadful conditions on cotton and sugar plantations. Many were sold again. At Batey's death, his slaves were sold to Washington and John Barrow in 1853; they were sold again in 1856 to William Patrick and Joseph Woolfolk, and yet again to Emily Sparks, the widow of the notorious slave trader Austin Woolfolk, in 1859. Johnson ran into financial difficulty in the 1840s and sold many of the slaves he had acquired from Mulledy to a John Thompson in 1851. Thompson took over responsibility for paying the debt to Mulledy, but negotiations over payment dragged on through the 1850s. An early twentieth-century Jesuit historian reported that the total sum was not paid in full until 1862. Moreover, in 1848 a Jesuit priest visited the plantations where the Jesuit slaves lived. In a letter to Mulledy, he reported that their owners had neglected their religious instruction and implored Mulledy to provide funds to build a Catholic church for them. Genealogical research, including that done independently by the Georgetown Memory Project, *The New York Times*, and descendants themselves, has identified living descendants of the people who were sold in 1838 and shipped to Louisiana, as well as living descendants of slaves of the Maryland Province who remained behind. They have knowledge of their family histories that cannot be found in the Jesuits' own records.

The sale of 1838 is one of the best-documented large sales of slaves in American history. We know that most of the down payment was used to solve a serious problem of debt at the College. But the archives do not tell us everything we would like to know. Nineteenth-century standards of bookkeeping and lacunae in the records make it difficult, perhaps impossible, to trace the use of all the proceeds as they were received over a quarter century. Further research is required.

SLAVERY: MORE THAN THE SALE, MORE THAN THE PLANTATIONS

There were other intersections between Georgetown and slaveholding. Our preliminary research indicates there were more enslaved persons working on campus—some of them brought by students—than previously thought. The Working Group’s best estimate puts the proportion of enslaved people on campus at ten percent in the early nineteenth century. Earlier scholarship focused on the plantation slaves, who in fact were rarely moved between the plantations and Georgetown. Older and infirm slaves were sometimes moved from the campus to the plantations.

The port city of Georgetown was active with the slave trade. Slave labor, skilled and unskilled, was available for rent in great quantity. Archival materials reveal that the use of rental slaves was common on campus. It seems likely that all the earliest buildings on campus—including those once named after Frs. Mulledy and McSherry—were built with slave labor. A thorough assessment of enslaved labor rented by the University from businesses in Georgetown remains to be undertaken. This aspect of the University’s relationship to slavery continues well beyond the sale of 1838.

While aware of questions about unmarked graves of slaves on campus, the Working Group has found no evidence of burials outside the Old College Burial Ground, where slaves, freed blacks, and whites were once interred. A careful relocation of all remains from the Old College Burial Ground occurred in 1951.

As for the names of sites on campus, the most urgent question for the Working Group concerned the buildings named after Frs. Mulledy and McSherry, the architects of the 1838 sale. Other site names with associations to slavery are listed in Appendix G. They involve John Carroll, S.J., Elizabeth Darnall, William Gaston, Patrick Healy, S.J., and James Ryder, S.J. Further study is required to understand and commemorate

Georgetown's full landscape of slavery: the extent of this list and the kinds of association with slavery it encompasses highlight in instructive ways the ubiquity of slavery in American society and Georgetown's early history.

MEMORY: FROM A WRITTEN HISTORY TO OUR HISTORY

Members of the Georgetown community have shared with the Working Group a broad range of reactions to learning about the history. Some recall learning many decades ago about Jesuit slave-owning in Maryland; others learned about it only with President DeGioia's August 2015 letter on building names. What is striking to the Working Group is that the level of familiarity with and the kinds of reaction to the history do not correlate well to a person's age or length and kind of affiliation with the University. What this draws into sharp relief is a distinction between the availability of this history and its acknowledgment and appropriation, or what we have called in the heading above the distinction between having a written history and the history being recognized as our own. A goal of this Working Group—and earlier efforts at studying this history—has been, and continues to be, making this history a vital part of our self-awareness as a community, along with the honorable and celebrated aspects of our history, such as our early federal foundation, our federal charter, our distinguished faculty and alumni, our contributions to public and ecclesiastical service, to science and letters, and so on. Georgetown's history of slavery should be common knowledge to the University community.

EARLY RESEARCH

There is no shortage of scholarship on the topic (Appendix B). The earliest articles and notices can be found in the *Woodstock Letters*. The

Woodstock Letters was an in-house publication principally by and for Jesuits. Throughout the twentieth century it was at hand on the shelves of libraries at Jesuit schools. Its articles range from the anecdotal to the archival. Articles appearing throughout its run (1872-1969) include descriptions and analysis of Jesuit operation of plantations and ownership of slaves, including the sale of 1838. A set of articles by Joseph Zwinge, S.J., between 1910 and 1913 still serves as a helpful first stop for research into the plantations. Another substantive article, more modern in approach, analysis, and style, appeared in 1959, Robert Judge, S.J.'s "Foundation and First Administration of the Maryland Province." The complete *Woodstock Letters* are available in hard copy in the Woodstock Library on campus and online through the St. Louis University Libraries Digital Collection.

The mid-seventies marked a turning point in research into the Maryland Province slaves. While the topic was still attracting mainly Jesuits, the research was now being undertaken by professionally trained historians. An early work along these lines was the 1974 M.A. thesis of Peter C. Finn, S.J., whose preparations involved extensive research in the Province Archives. The project was supervised by Georgetown University's Department of History professors (and laymen) Richard Walsh and Ronald Johnson. Finn's "The Slaves of the Jesuits of Maryland," like all dissertations and theses approved by the University, has been on deposit for public scrutiny at Lauinger Library since its completion.

ARCHIVAL RESOURCES

In this same period the Maryland Province designated Lauinger Library its official archival depository. In 1977 the Province instructed Lauinger Library that all materials up to 1870 should be open to research. Micro-

films of these materials had already been put on deposit at the Maryland state library in Annapolis and at the St. Louis University microfilm library. The Province Archives remain the property of the Maryland Province. The separate archives of the University are also deposited at Lauinger. The two collections complement each other; for many historical research projects, including Jesuit slaveholding, both must be studied. These separate archives have distinct usage policies. All materials in the Province Archives up to 1900, including sacramental records and other documents of interest to genealogists, are open to general consultation subject only to curatorial concerns and the policies of Georgetown's Special Collections. The Woodstock Librarian, representing the Maryland Province, puts no restrictions on access to these materials. These materials may also be reproduced for publication with the permission of the Woodstock Librarian and the requirement that provenance be cited. In the University Archives, unpublished material dating from 1970 and earlier may be used with the permission of the Archivist or the creating office, unless otherwise restricted. The use and reproductions policy for the University Archives is outlined on the library's webpage. These access policies are of long standing and are generous by professional researching standards.

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

While the Finn thesis remained unpublished, R. Emmett Curran, at the time a member of the University's history faculty and a Jesuit of the Maryland Province, published what has become the cornerstone of the nineteenth-century history of Jesuit slaveholding. "Splendid Poverty": Jesuit Slave Holdings in Maryland, 1805-1838" was the fruit of meticulous archival research undertaken in the United States and Rome. The materials

were first presented at a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Catholic Historical Association in 1981, and then appeared as a chapter in the edited volume *Catholics in the Old South* in 1983 and was reprinted in a volume of collected works, *Shaping American Catholicism*, in 2012. Curran addressed the issue again, with a more specific focus on the University, in the first volume of the University's history, published in 1993. Professor Curran analyzed both Jesuit ownership of slaves in general and the sale of 1838. Other scholarship appearing in the 1980s to 2000s includes the work of Joseph Durkin, Gerald Fogarty, Edward Beckett, and Thomas Murphy, all of whom were Jesuits. A driving problem to all was to explain how the Jesuits had participated so extensively in America's "peculiar institution" and how they decided to sell most of their slaves at once in 1838. Mr. Beckett's article is illustrative in this regard: the history provides a case study of inculturation and its limits. The official histories of the University up to this period had addressed the matter of slaveholding in no meaningful sense. Professor Curran's *Bicentennial History of Georgetown University* (volume I, 1993) represents the first extended attempt to address slavery as a topic relevant to the University itself.

The University's interest also developed in the 1990s and 2000s thanks to its American Studies Program (ASP). The Jesuit Plantation Project, under the direction of Professors Curran, Hubert J. Cloke, Ph.D., and Randall J. Bass, Ph.D., emerged out of ASP in 1996. Its efforts resulted in a substantial web presence for the archival materials. For almost two decades, a simple web search could lead an interested person, on or off campus, to digitization of the most important archival materials, including the "Articles of Agreement" between Mulledy and Johnson, many financial records, business correspondence about the

plantations, and several diaries and essays by nineteenth-century Jesuits. This material was available online until the summer of 2015, when it was removed from the web because of the obsolescence of the original software. Since then the Working Group has received regular inquiries about the missing webpages, in particular from faculty at Georgetown and elsewhere who had used the webpages in courses and from people doing genealogical research into their enslaved ancestry. The web presence of archival material is now managed on the Georgetown Slavery Archive website, established by the Working Group (see Report of the Committee on the Archives).

This brings us to the present moment, in which the University has begun reflecting more intensively than ever before on its own connections to America's history of slavery. This development is born of several dynamics and motivations: the University's desire to more deeply and effectively address the abiding, systemic racial injustices and social inequalities in our nation; its desire to address the manifestations of such dynamics in its own community; its desire for a more complete understanding of the school's Jesuit history; and the example of other universities undertaking investigations of their own histories. On our own campus, the name of an old building newly refurbished as a student residence was the immediate occasion for the formation of the Working Group.

STUDYING OUR HISTORY: NOW AND INTO THE FUTURE

To best understand how public consciousness rose of the University's slave-holding ties—and the need to more fully incorporate this history into how the University understands itself today—it is instructive to look at the work of Mr. Quallen. Between September 26, 2014, and September 11, 2015, Mr. Quallen prepared four essays on the various aspects of the

University and slaveholding that were published in the student newspaper, *The Hoya*. These writings were the product of his own archival investigations and a striking reframing of the issue from being a general Jesuit problem to a particular Georgetown problem. In addition to focusing attention on the ways that the school's interests guided management of the plantations and led to the notorious sale of 1838, Mr. Quallen's reframing also brings into sharper focus the range of connections the school had to slavery through its social, religious, and commercial connections to the neighborhood of Georgetown, the District of Columbia, and the slave-holding South.

Thanks to this reframing, the Working Group can point to three dimensions of Georgetown's history that hold out promise for future research:

- (1) The University's dependence on the economy of slave labor beyond the sale warrants more complete scholarly examination. It is more extensive than previous studies that focus on the 1838 sale indicate. The plantations, slave labor, and the sale of slaves were already conceived as an integral part of the school's solvency in the 1780s; and as discussed elsewhere in this report, slaves worked on campus, slaves were rented from businesses in Georgetown, and a significant portion of the student population came from slave-holding families. This history stands in need of systematic investigation.
- (2) More thorough study of our archives can shed light on the larger history of slavery in America. The Jesuit

slaves were among the many millions of enslaved people in the United States, and those sold to Louisiana were part of a massive domestic slave trade from the Upper South to the Deep South in the nineteenth century. Georgetown's slave-holding history is an especially well-documented microcosm of the whole history of American slavery from the colonial plantation complex through the Civil War.

- (3) The particular archival holdings at Georgetown and elsewhere have also poignantly highlighted the connections between history and genealogy. Our archives contain names and describe family relationships among the enslaved. The sacramental records reveal moments of great personal significance: births, marriages, and deaths. These historical records preserve what has been, through neglect and malice, too commonly erased. They offer the possibility of drawing connections between past generations and present ones. Connections such as these raise questions of responsibility and the promise of reconciliation.

ARCHIVES, TRUTH-TELLING, RECONCILIATION

This last research development in particular alludes to a premise that has bolstered the work of the Working Group since the beginning, namely, that there is a link between knowledge and reconciliation. The Working Group received ample encouragement for this premise throughout the year. At either end, first, Charles Villa-Vicencio at December's Teach-In

and, most recently, Jim Wallis at the Emancipation Day Symposium stressed that reconciliation over a marred history can only build on a history-telling that is frank, transparent, and true. Both their exhortations to us appealed to the quotation from the Gospel of John over the entrance to Lauinger Library: *You will know the Truth, and the Truth will make you free.*

Another encouragement comes from Lauinger's archives. Throughout the year the Working Group learned ever more deeply how precious the archives of the University and the Province are, not only to professional scholars but also to men and women in search of their families' histories. Such histories have usually left few traces, precisely on account of the injustices we are exploring. But they have left traces in our archives. The moment during the Emancipation Day Symposium that received more press coverage than any other was the introduction to the archival material in the Booth Family Center for Special Collections. An attendee, who had interrupted his own genealogical research in another reading room to spontaneously attend this lecture, recognized unexpectedly a family name in the documents of Jesuit ownership. His reactions in that moment, shared with those in the seminar room, were a powerful example of the present confronting the past. No one left that session unmoved, or unconvinced of the power of archives in the service of understanding who one is and where one is from.

RECONCILIATION

The third and final pillar to the Working Group's mandate is reconciliation. On this point, the Working Group knew that it faced a daunting challenge from the beginning. On the one hand, the Working Group found the goal of reconciliation inspiring. The University was party to a

great harm that was inflicted over an extended period of time on a large number of people, whose human dignity was fundamentally disregarded for the sake of the University's balance sheet. Neither love for Georgetown nor any manner of local contextualization can begin to justify the actions that were taken. Indeed the early nineteenth-century context included less shameful, even good alternatives that were rejected and moral resources that were neglected. The opposition to the sale, the scandal it caused, and the abrupt resignation of Fr. Mulledy are a few of the indirect indicators of how real the other options for the Maryland Province and Georgetown College were in 1838. In the face of such wrongdoing, contrition is imperative, and the goal of reconciliation—the healing of estrangement between people and the restoration of friendship—is indispensable.

On the other hand, what reconciliation could be in this instance is not obvious. Reconciliation implies forgiveness sought and offered, but the parties directly involved in the offenses—perpetrators and victims—are long deceased. It also requires an understanding of how persons two centuries after the events could adopt for themselves a personal responsibility for the perpetrators and the victims that makes the seeking or the offering of forgiveness authentic and appropriate to the outrage and disillusionment caused by the misdeeds. Throughout the year the Working Group received well-considered cautions against a utopian pursuit of reconciliation.

RESOURCES FOR RECONCILIATION

In the final analysis, the Working Group found its most meaningful encouragement to pursue reconciliation in resources that are intrinsic to the University's Catholic identity: the centrality of reconciliation to

the mission of Jesus Christ, the moral imperatives of contrition and forgiveness, the virtue of hope as an inspiration to and precondition for reconciliation, and the specific commitment of Jesuit schools to a faith that does justice. These tenets have analogs in the diverse religious faiths and philosophical commitments embraced in our community. These are all resources that not only empower but also obligate the University to pursue reconciliation over its history of slavery.

The model of Saint Pope John Paul II is instructive along these lines. In the years leading up to the new millennium, he dedicated his pontificate to a ministry of reconciliation over the historical sins of the Church. In explaining the relevance of seeking forgiveness for historical wrongdoings, the International Theological Commission offered in 1999 that “such a process can have a significant effect on the present, precisely because the consequences of past faults still make themselves felt and can persist as tensions in the present.”

The African slave trade is such a historical issue, and the Holy Father addressed it on several occasions, including in a public apology in Cameroon in 1985:

Through the course of history, the peoples of Christian nations have unfortunately not always [seen the one in need as their brother and neighbor, announced release to the captive, or set at liberty the oppressed], and we ask forgiveness from our African brothers who have suffered so much from the slave trade. The Gospel remains an unequivocal call. (Pope John Paul II, Yaoundé, Cameroon, August 13, 1985).

The Working Group’s committee on Ethics and Reconciliation has

attempted to give form in its report to how the University might pursue reconciliation. The committee report considers a complex of component parts that must continue to be part of our conversation, including apology, the making of amends, the demands of retributive and reparative justice, and the expectations of charity.

AN APOLOGY LOOKING TOWARD RECONCILIATION

Ultimately, reconciliation requires relationship. To reconcile today, the University community must know whom it seeks to reconcile with over this history and its legacy. That “who” can include many diverse people and communities. Much recent national attention has turned to the descendants of the slaves owned and sold by the Maryland Jesuits. The descendants, whose unprecedented outreach to the University has moved all of us so greatly, surely have a privileged role as witnesses to and participants in the University’s pursuit of reconciliation. On our own campus, there are also the many whose experience of our community is fundamentally marred by estrangement, alienation, and hostility, sustained by persistent racism. The unrest on many campuses and in many communities over the past year gives evidence to how ubiquitous, profound, and enduring racial alienation and injustice remains in American society. The University owes its own efforts toward reconciliation to all of these. Many of the recommendations made in the following section have as a goal the fostering of a relationship with the descendants and greater investment in solving the distinctively American racial injustice that scars our own University community.

As the University works to develop its relationship with these groups, on and beyond our campus, the Working Group recommends that the University offer a formal, public apology for its historical rela-

tionship with slavery. The Working Group believes that an apology from the University president offered jointly with the provincial superior of the Maryland Jesuits would be especially fitting, bringing together, as it would, the successors to the two officeholders who were the architects of the 1838 sale.

The Working Group finds an express apology proper for two reasons: first, because an apology is a precondition for reconciliation. The responsibility to apologize, moreover, belongs to the perpetrators; it is what perpetrators can do on their own initiative. They admit the performance of the deed, recognize that it was wrong, display regret, and pledge not to repeat the deed. While apologies often need repeating and this apology need not to be thought of as the last, without an apology pursuit of reconciliation ends.

Second, a formal, spoken apology strikes the Working Group as appropriate because its absence rings so loudly. The University, despite the many ways that it has invested resources over the past half century to heal the wounds of racial injustice, has not made such an apology. While there can be empty apologies, words of apology, genuinely expressed, make a difference in the quest for reconciliation. Words along with symbolic actions, such as the naming of buildings, and material investments, such as the foundation of an institute for the study of slavery, work together in making apology a coherent whole. None of these components—words, symbolic gestures, and material investments—should be neglected. Again, the counsel of the descendants of the slaves, whose labor and value supported the University, should be sought out and weighted heavily.

The Working Group sees additional benefits from an apology and from conceiving the other recommendations as a form of apology: for example, apology offers a form of moral restitution to those who accept

it. An apology can also inspire further discussion and debate, as also the decision not to apologize. Other universities have taken different routes in the past decade on the question of apologizing. For us, an apology is the truest response to our specific history and our core values. The Working Group foresees the University's apology fostering our ongoing process in productive ways.

Finally, an apology becomes part of the history. An outright apology is not yet part of the history for the University. It ought to be.

CONCLUSION

By way of conclusion, we turn to the poignant words of President George W. Bush in 2003 at Gorée Island, a former slave-trading post in what is now Senegal. The president's lament portrays a general history that has a specific expression at Georgetown:

For 250 years the captives endured an assault on their culture and their dignity. The spirit of Africans in America did not break. Yet the spirit of their captors was corrupted. Small men took on the powers and airs of tyrants and masters. Years of unpunished brutality and bullying and rape produced a dullness and hardness of conscience. Christian men and women became blind to the clearest commands of their faith and added hypocrisy to injustice.... My nation's journey toward justice has not been easy, and it is not over. The racial bigotry fed by slavery did not end with slavery or with segregation. And many of the issues that still trouble America have roots in the bitter experience of other times. But however long the journey,

our destination is set: liberty and justice for all. (President George W. Bush, Gorée Island, Senegal, July 8, 2003.)

That long and unfinished journey traverses the Hilltop (Georgetown University's historic main campus). Slavery—slave labor and the slave trade—is part of our history. All of us—students, alumni, faculty, staff, administration, and friends—are the heirs of this history, and all of us must make ourselves its humbled trustees. As a University community, we need to know, to acknowledge, and to absorb that history as part of what makes Georgetown what it is. We are, after all, slavery's beneficiaries still today. There can be neither justice nor reconciliation until we grasp that truth.



SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

*Recommendations
to the President*

Recommendations to the President

This section of the report presents the Working Group's recommendations to the president. Recommendations were proposed to the Working Group from many sources. Students, faculty, staff, administration, alumni, and friends of the University, sometimes individually, sometimes in groups, submitted ideas. These proposals were received by the Working Group in a variety of ways, including via the Working Group's webpage. Working Group members also proposed ideas, for themselves and on behalf of others. Proposals were reviewed by the full Working Group and distributed as appropriate to one or several committees for specific evaluation and further research, if needed.

At the Working Group's April 22 meeting, each committee presented and explained the recommendations it deemed most appropriate for the consideration of the full Working Group. The full Working Group deliberated on each recommendation and approved them one by one, consolidating, expanding, and amending them, as it deemed fit.

The full Working Group has approved all of the recommendations that follow. We first present a summary overview of the recommendations. That is followed by the reports of each of the five Working Group committees. These reports provide additional background and a fuller

explanation of the recommendations being offered.

The Working Group makes these recommendations to the president of Georgetown University, pursuant to its mandate and for the University's continuing engagement with its history of slavery.

BUILDING NAMES

The Working Group recommends that:

- The building once known as Mulledy Hall and now called Freedom Hall should be permanently renamed Isaac Hall. Isaac is the first enslaved person named in the "Articles of Agreement" between Thomas Mulledy, S.J., and the Louisiana businessmen Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey.
- The building once known as McSherry Hall and now called Remembrance Hall should be permanently renamed Anne Marie Becraft Hall. Also known as Sister Aloyons, Anne Marie Becraft was a woman of color, a trailblazing educator, a person with deep family roots in the neighborhood of Georgetown, and a Catholic religious sister in the nineteenth century.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

The Working Group recommends the following:

- **An Apology**

The University should offer a formal apology for the ways it participated in and benefited from slavery, especially through the sale of enslaved people in the 1830s.

- **Descendants**

The University should engage the descendants of the enslaved whose labor and value benefited the University.

In particular:

- The University should develop an approach for engaging the descendants of the enslaved people owned by the Maryland Jesuits, especially those who were sold in 1838. This approach should be as expansive as possible and consider all the potential dimensions of engagement, including the academic, the genealogical, and the personal. The University's engagement should be attentive to the interests of the descendants themselves, as well as respectful of the diversity of opinion and interest among them. Engagement could include, but not be limited to:
 - *Meeting with descendant communities, here in Washington as well as in their home communities.*
 - *Fostering genealogical research to help descendants explore their family histories. (This work could be housed in the new institute we recommend elsewhere in the report.)*
 - *Commissioning an oral history project with descendant communities. Such a project might be pursued in collaboration with partner institutions.*
 - *Exploring the feasibility of admission and financial-aid initiatives that might be established for the descendant community.*

- *Holding public events to explore more deeply the story of Jesuit slaveholding and its legacies at Georgetown and beyond.*
- *Soliciting the input of the descendants as the University progresses in its engagement with this history, and especially as the University considers how it will memorialize the enslaved people sold in 1838.*

- **Memorialization: Ending Anonymity and Neglect**

The University should:

- Erect a public memorial to the enslaved persons and families outside the renamed halls.
- Preserve the names of the enslaved people either as part of the public memorial or as a display inside the renamed halls, and associate the names of the enslaved with scholarships dedicated to correcting the legacy of racial injustice.
- Mark sites on our campus associated with the history of slavery with informative plaques.
- Fulfill its responsibilities to Holy Rood Cemetery and guarantee its good upkeep. The cemetery is the final resting place of many enslaved and free blacks of Georgetown, including family members of Anne Marie Becraft.

- **Research, Teaching, and Public History**

The University should:

- Create an Institute for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies at Georgetown to coordinate

scholarly research, curricular development, and public programs about the history of slavery and its legacies at Georgetown, in Washington, D.C., and its surroundings, and in Catholic America.

- Foster dialogue across departments and centers to address contemporary issues related to the history of slavery, such as our nation's system of mass incarceration, unlawful discrimination, unfair housing, unemployment, workers' rights, especially on campus, and health disparities, to name a few.
- Incorporate the Historical Walking Tour of Black Georgetown into programming for new students.
- Establish long-term displays of historical and archival materials at Lauinger; an interactive study installation; a website research portal; and support for future research projects, at all levels of study at the University.
- Continue the "Freedom and Remembrance" Grant Program to encourage grassroots efforts to understand and commemorate Georgetown's history with slavery.
- Encourage the work of the Working Group on Racial Injustice, especially in fostering diversity on campus in research and hiring.

- **Investment in Diversity**

The University should:

- Increase the diversity at Georgetown to a level commensurate, or surpassing, our peer institutions.

- Expand opportunities at all of Georgetown's schools in recognition of Georgetown's participation in slavery, especially for the descendants of the Maryland Jesuit slaves. For example, engagement could include, but not be limited to:
 - *Intensify outreach to prospective African American students, especially from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Louisiana.*
 - *Grant the descendants of those owned by the Maryland Province an advantage in the admissions process.*
 - *Increase financial assistance to those who demonstrate need with the goal of eliminating financial barriers and making Georgetown more affordable, especially to eligible descendants of the Maryland Jesuit slaves.*
- Devote attention, funding, and resources to assessing and improving the racial climate on campus, including the use of racial and ethnic climate surveys and sensitivity training for all members of the community.

- **Engaging the Whole University**

The University should:

- Ensure that all schools of the University are fully engaged in the attempts to address slavery's direct and indirect legacy.
- Draw the Board of Directors fully and explicitly into this engagement, especially as it faces the serious challenge of ethically fulfilling fiduciary

responsibilities, a challenge which Frs. Mulledy and McSherry failed at.

- Broadcast the results of the Working Group through all communications channels at the University's disposal.
- Document for publication the University's process of self-examination.
- Create and maintain an enhanced interactive website to reflect all activities of the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation.

THE FUTURE OF THE WORKING GROUP ON SLAVERY, MEMORY, AND RECONCILIATION

The president's charge to the Working Group expires with the conclusion of the 2015-16 academic year. The submission of this report completes the activities of the Working Group. The Working Group recommends that the president designate a Steering Committee to oversee implementation of the recommendations that he accepts. This Steering Committee could include, for example, representation from the descendant community in addition to students, faculty, and staff.



SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

*Explaining the
Recommendations*

Committee Reports
and Additional Background

Explaining the Recommendations: Committee Reports and Additional Background

This section of the report provides additional explanation and background for the recommendations. It begins with the recommendations for the permanent names of the buildings now known as Freedom Hall and Remembrance Hall. After this, we provide the full text of each of the five committee reports.

RECOMMENDATION FOR THE PERMANENT NAMING OF FREEDOM AND REMEMBRANCE HALLS

We recommend that the building once known as Mulledy Hall and now called Freedom Hall be permanently renamed Isaac Hall. Isaac is the first enslaved person named in the “Articles of Agreement” between Thomas Mulledy, S.J., and the Louisiana businessmen Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey.

We further recommend that the building once known as McSherry Hall and now called Remembrance Hall be permanently renamed Anne Marie Becraft Hall. Also known as Sister Aloyons, Anne Marie Becraft was a woman of color, a trailblazing educator, a person with deep family roots in the neighborhood of Georgetown, and a Catholic religious sister in the early nineteenth century.

The Working Group desires that the naming of two buildings at the heart of our campus after Isaac and Anne Marie Becraft be understood as a form of exhortation. We hope that the two buildings will stand as a reminder of how our University community disregarded the high values of human dignity and education when it came to the plight of enslaved and free African Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As these values still remain far from fully appreciated in our nation today, the buildings, so rededicated, will stand as an admonition to those on the Hilltop, now and in the future, to confront squarely the desperate needs of a humanity that their talent, education, and resources obligate them to serve. Finally, we hope that the lives of Isaac and Anne Marie Becraft, once forgotten, now remembered, will challenge each generation to probe its own conscience earnestly for the forms of moral blindness afflicting it.

Our rationale for the two dedications follows.

- **Isaac Hall**

Isaac is the first slave listed in the “Articles of Agreement” between Thomas Mulledy, S.J., and Henry Johnson and Jesse Batey for the sale of 272 men, women, and children owned by the Maryland Province, dated June 19, 1838. In that document, Isaac is described as sixty-five years old and the father of Charles, his eldest son, forty years of age; Nelly, his daughter, thirty-eight years of age; and family members who may have been children or grandchildren: Henny, a girl thirteen years of age; Julia, a girl eight years of age; and Ruthy, a girl six years of age. Isaac appears again in the subsequent bill of sale from Thomas Mulledy to Henry Johnson dated Novem-

ber 29, 1838. There he is identified as coming from the Jesuits' White Marsh plantation, and is again described as sixty-five years old and is listed with his children (although they are not identified as such). In neither of these documents is Isaac recorded with a surname. A baptismal record for an Isaac at White Marsh, the son of Kate and Sam, in 1777 may refer to him. This is, for now, all we know about him.

Based on this documentation, Isaac was born circa 1773. That means he was born at the dawn of the same revolution that gave rise to Georgetown University. But Isaac did not taste freedom. He was still in bondage in 1838, and it is unlikely that he lived long enough to see slavery overthrown a quarter century later. He does not appear in later bills of sale in the 1850s that do include his children.

Isaac was a real person with a name and a family. His labor and his value helped build Georgetown and rescue it from financial crisis. Frs. Thomas Mulledy and William McSherry, prominent American Jesuits and presidents of the College, chose to sell him rather than free him.

We choose Isaac's name because he comes first in the Agreement. We choose his name to represent the 272 people sold in 1838, the hundreds of others who were held in slavery by the Jesuits of the Maryland Province for over a century, and the unknown number who were not owned by Jesuits, but who worked in and for Georgetown

College before the 1838 sale and afterward.

Finally, we choose the name Isaac because of its biblical resonance. God commanded Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, his son, as a test of faith. At the last minute, God spared Isaac. But in 1838, Isaac was not spared. He was sold.

- **Anne Marie Becraft Hall**

The Working Group recommends that Remembrance Hall be permanently renamed after Anne Marie Becraft (1805-1833). Becraft was a free woman of color in a time of enslavement, a person with deep roots in the local community of Georgetown, a trailblazing educator, and a Catholic religious sister in the nineteenth century. She founded a school for black girls in Georgetown in 1827, one of the first such educational endeavors in the District of Columbia. It was in operation while leaders of the Jesuit order and administrators of Georgetown College argued over what to do with the enslaved laborers on their plantations. She headed this school until she joined the newly founded Oblate Sisters of Providence in Baltimore in 1831. The Oblate Sisters are the oldest active Roman Catholic sisterhood in the Americas established by women of African descent, and they have staffed many parochial schools for black children since then in Maryland and across North America. Under the religious name Sister Aloyons, she taught arithmetic, English, and embroidery at the Oblates' premier school for black children in Baltimore, St. Frances Academy.

She died on December 16, 1833. George Washington Williams called her “the most remarkable Colored young woman of her time in the district and perhaps of any time” in his classic work, *The History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880*. The scholarly encyclopedia *Black Women in America* describes her as one of America’s most illustrious women, whose “accomplishments in education in early nineteenth-century America helped shape Black Catholic history in the United States.”

Anne Marie Becraft was from a prominent black Catholic family in Washington, D.C. Her father, William Becraft, was a longtime head steward at Georgetown’s famous Crawford (Union) Hotel and the son of a free woman in the employ of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This member of the Carroll family was the only Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence and was a cousin to Georgetown College’s founder. Members of the Becraft family are buried in the Holy Rood Cemetery on Wisconsin Avenue. Anne Marie received formal education at white-operated schools in the city, but she was several times forced to interrupt this education on account of hostility toward white involvement in black education. In this climate Becraft opened her own school for black girls with the encouragement of the pastor of Holy Trinity, J. Van Lommel, S.J. The school expanded and received boarders. Becraft was at various points assisted by the nuns of the Monastery of the Visitation in Georgetown.

Renaming Remembrance Hall after Anne Marie Becraft offers recognition—modest and late—of her heroic efforts on behalf of the oppressed under the very noses of the white administration, faculty, and students on our campus who could readily conceive of her, her family, and her community as chattel. As *Black Women in America* puts it, “she lived in a society in which slavery and racism were firmly entrenched, yet even in such a society she was able to stimulate in her students a desire for educational attainment.”

Anne Marie Becraft’s name was proposed for the permanent rededication of Remembrance Hall via the Working Group’s webpage by an alumnus, Mr. Dmitriy Zakharov (B.S.F.S./M.A. ’09).



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE ARCHIVES

The Archives committee recommends the creation of an Institute for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies at Georgetown to coordinate scholarly research, curricular development, and public programs about the history of slavery and its legacies at Georgetown, in Washington, D.C., and its surroundings, and in Catholic America. We must shine a light on our history.

Our current effort to confront the past builds upon the work and knowledge of many people. The Maryland Province Archive, a major collection housed in the University library, has been carefully tended over generations, preserving invaluable records that document a substantial slave-holding enterprise in extraordinary, if incomplete, detail. Scholars, most notably R. Emmett Curran and Thomas Murphy, S.J., have written books and articles on the Maryland Jesuits' slaveholding and slave-selling, and the connections to Georgetown. Scholarship on slavery more generally has advanced with the publication of books such as Craig Steven Wilder's *Ebony & Ivy* and Georgetown alumnus Edward Baptist's (F'92) *The Half Has Never Been Told*. In the 1990s, the American Studies Program at Georgetown integrated this history into its curriculum and created the Jesuit Plantation Project, a pioneering digital history website that published key documents about the 1838 sale. Faculty, including R. Emmett Curran, Randy Bass, and Hugh Cloke, and students worked on the Jesuit Plantation Project for ten years. And in 2014-2015, Georgetown student Matthew Quallen wrote a series of articles for the student newspaper *The Hoya* drawing renewed attention to Georgetown's entanglement with slavery. Meanwhile, many of the descendants of people owned and sold by those connected to Georgetown kept their own family histories and

have sustained their own knowledge of the past.

In advance of our deliberations, the members of the Working Group engaged in preparatory work. We read key works of scholarship on our subject. We published a short booklet summarizing Georgetown's history of slavery called "What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery" to educate the Georgetown community on the basic contours of our history, and Matthew Quallen (now a member of the Working Group) sketched out the history at a Teach-In sponsored by the Working Group in the Fall semester. While there is much still to be learned about many dimensions of this history, it became clear that one important aspect that demanded more attention and research was the experience and fate of the slaves and their descendants.

THE GEORGETOWN SLAVERY ARCHIVE

Since the beginning of this process, the Archives committee has been building a new website to publish key documents about Georgetown's history of slavery. A new website was required to replace the Jesuit Plantation Project, which fell victim to upgrades in the University's web architecture. Using Omeka software (developed by Jesuit Plantation Project alumna Sharon Leon (C '97), now a professor at George Mason University), the Working Group created the Georgetown Slavery Archive. We collaborated with the Center for New Designs in Learning and Scholarship to create the website and with Special Collections to digitize material in the library—a time-consuming process—and then began to sift through the digitized material, transcribe significant documents, and upload them to the website. We also transferred some material from the Jesuit Plantation Project, and hope eventually to restore all of it to the new website. We have also located additional material from sources

outside Georgetown, including the manifest of the ship *Katherine Jackson*, and bills of sale found in court records from Louisiana, and published them online. Some of these documents were originally identified by Patricia Bayonne-Johnson, a genealogist and descendant of the enslaved individuals Nace and Biby Butler.

The Georgetown Slavery Archive was published online on February 1, 2016, and continues to be updated as more archival material is identified, digitized, and transcribed. In addition to members of the Archives committee, one doctoral student from the Department of History with expertise in digital projects was awarded a stipend to work on the Archive in the Spring 2016 semester, and several other doctoral students from the Department of History volunteered their time to transcribe documents, a painstaking task. Undergraduate students in Professor Brian Taylor's History-281 class, U.S. 1783-1848: Rising Empire, in the Spring 2016 semester also conducted research on documents in the Archive. Moreover, descendants and total strangers have contacted the Working Group to contribute valuable documents. Material from the Archive was included in *The New York Times*' April 17 front-page article on the history of the 1838 sale and the search for descendants. It is proving to be a valuable tool for genealogical and historical research, and for teaching. It remains a work in progress, and should be expanded and improved.

HISTORY AND GENEALOGY

The search for descendants of the people owned and sold by the Jesuits of Georgetown and the Maryland Province opens up an important new reservoir of history and memory. As *The New York Times* article powerfully illustrated, the descendants' knowledge of their family histories

constitutes a vital archive that must be recognized and preserved. There is much to be learned from the descendants and their history, and Georgetown's history cannot be told truthfully and in full without their voices and perspectives. Telling their stories is an integral part of the task of reconciliation and may help reunite a community that was uprooted and torn apart in 1838.

The history of the Jesuit slave economy in Maryland, its association with Georgetown University, the sale of 272 slaves in 1838, the fate of those who were sold, the investments of the proceeds of the sale, and the long afterlife of slavery are all topics that merit further research. The extensive documentary record housed principally at Georgetown, complemented by what might be called the "descendants' archive," offers a truly extraordinary chance to reflect upon the whole history of American slavery and its legacies in microcosm, with a human face.

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF SLAVERY AND ITS LEGACIES

This complex and important work demands extensive and appropriate resources. It requires a home on the scale of an institute capable of directing research, developing curriculum, staging public programs, and forging relationships with other institutions. Slavery and its legacies surely qualifies as a complex moral problem that requires interdisciplinary forms of study: not just history but government and law, economics, philosophy, theology, and literature and art, just to name a few. An Institute for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies at Georgetown would be an integral part of a robust African-American Studies milieu, and might ally with the Center for Social Justice, the Prisons and Justice Initiative, and others dedicated to examining enduring questions of racism and inequality in the United States and elsewhere. Due to the scale and significance of this

endeavor, we recommend Georgetown initially employ a postdoctoral fellow, specifically trained in the history of slavery and archival management, to conduct the exploratory work of the institute. Moving forward, we recommend Georgetown create a dedicated position of director in order to ensure that the work of the institute flourishes.

Specific activities that we envision for the institute include sponsorship of rigorous historical research; the expansion and improvement of the Georgetown Slavery Archive; outreach to descendants of those who were held as slaves and sold by the Jesuits of the Maryland Province and others affiliated with Georgetown, including oral history projects possibly in collaboration with area libraries and the new Smithsonian Museum of African-American History & Culture; and curriculum development at Georgetown as well as in schools in the D.C. metropolitan area and in Louisiana. We encourage the University to support the efforts of the American Studies Program at Georgetown, which pioneered the Jesuit Plantation Project, to renew its commitment to integrating Georgetown's own history into its curriculum.

We further recommend that Georgetown University faculty and students collaborate with District of Columbia public schools and other local school entities to develop updated lesson plans for high school students on Georgetown's involvement with slavery, and the history of slavery and emancipation in Georgetown, the District of Columbia, and the surrounding area.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ETHICS AND RECONCILIATION

The committee was charged by the Working Group with three tasks. First, it was asked to consider ways of assessing the moral failures underlying the historical phenomenon of slaveholding. Second, it was tasked with investigating frameworks for evaluating contemporary business and management practices, such that present issues—akin to the lack of moral vision that characterized the slave-holding economy—might be brought to light. Third, it was charged with reflecting on what reconciliation might look like in the context of Georgetown University at this point in history.

The committee's work began in earnest in January 2016, and its efforts over these short months have largely consisted of (a) planning of events for Emancipation Week that would address our charge, and (b) internal conversations raising issues for future exploration. In the paragraphs below, we briefly describe our work and the tasks that we believe lie ahead.

CONVENING A CONVERSATION ON ETHICS AND RECONCILIATION

In its deliberations, the committee has been inspired by Ta-Nehisi Coates' call for a "national conversation" on the topics of slavery, race, reconciliation, and especially the important question of reparations. Coates writes in his article, "The Case for Reparations" in the June 2014 issue of *The Atlantic*:

What I'm talking about is more than recompense for past injustices—more than a handout, a payoff, hush money, or a reluctant bribe. What I'm talking about is a

national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal. ... Reparations would mean a revolution of the American consciousness, a reconciling of our self-image as the great democratizer with the facts of our history.

We believe that Georgetown has just begun to break the surface of this important, and even transformative, conversation. President DeGioia's address on February 4, 2016, on "Racial Injustice in America: A Framework for Georgetown's Future Engagement" marked a major step forward, and it is our hope that the events we have organized for Emancipation Week have further opened up that dialogue and set the tone for future conversations.

Our two main contributions to Emancipation Week were explicit attempts to engage the unbalanced—and often obscured—ledger left by slavery. Professor Edward Baptist of Cornell University challenged us to reflect on the "half that has never been told," bringing into sharp relief how the slave economy—especially the internal movement and sale of slaves inside the young nation—contributed to America's "unique" success as a capitalist economy. And Professor Richard F. America, from Georgetown's McDonough School of Business, and Valerie Wilson, Ph.D., of the Economic Policy Institute, addressed the social debt of slavery, segregation, and racial discrimination. They drew a bright line connecting the economic effects of discrimination across the past two centuries, and raised the difficult topic of how the massive debt incurred might be addressed today. Taken together, these events modeled the kind of conversation we believe that Georgetown and the nation need to have as they move forward, explicitly reckoning with the lasting economic and social effects of racial divisions and seeking to make meaningful restitution, recompense, and reconciliation.

ISSUES FOR FURTHER INQUIRY

Our Emancipation Week events and our internal discussions have raised a host of additional issues related to ethics and reconciliation that deserve further exploration. We highlight several of the most important of these issues here, in the hope that the University community may engage them in its ongoing discussions. For each, we recommend actors and organizations within the University who might be charged to carry them out.

- **Our conversations have often focused on the lasting legacy of the ownership and sale of enslaved people.**

We believe that an effort must be made to directly engage the descendants of the 272 enslaved people who were sold by Fr. Mulledy in 1838. We see this as an opportunity to better understand the lasting effects of Georgetown's direct involvement in the slave trade, as well as to seek reconciliation with the families of those who worked the Jesuit plantations and were sold to finance the College's debt. We recommend that the University move—in the near term—to send high-level representatives to Louisiana to establish face-to-face contact with descendants of the 272 enslaved individuals who were sold. This initial contact should be followed up with a sustained relationship, including faculty, staff, administrators, students, and descendants (both of the 272 enslaved people and others who—sold and retained—were enslaved on Jesuit plantations). This will permit continued genealogical and historical research, coupled with dialogue, as we come to know more fully these previously overlooked and forgotten members of our

extended University community. In addition, if descendants choose to apply for admission to Georgetown, we suggest that they be accorded an advantaged status by virtue of this ancestry. We recommend that these efforts be taken up by the Board of Directors; the President's Office; the Office of Undergraduate Admissions; the Center for Social Justice, Research, Teaching, and Service; the Department of History; and the Georgetown University Archives.

- **We have also returned frequently to the question of reparations.** While we acknowledge that the moral debt of slaveholding and the sale of the enslaved people can never be repaid, we are convinced that reparative justice requires a meaningful financial commitment from the University.
- **We have been particularly concerned about the issue of current-day race relations on campus.** In spite of the strides Georgetown has made in terms of recruitment and retention of African-American faculty and students, considerable work remains if reconciliation is to be achieved. Indeed, African-American students, faculty, staff, and other people of color do not feel universally welcomed and valued, and they often bear the burden on campus of carrying on the dialogue about racial issues. We believe that significant funding, attention, and resources should be devoted to assessing and improving the racial climate on campus. This should involve racial and ethnic climate surveys, timely responses to the findings,

and sensitivity training for all members of the community. The Office of Institutional Diversity, Equity, and Affirmative Action (IDEAA), as well as the Center for Multicultural Equity and Access and the soon-to-be-established department of African-American Studies and the Institute for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies at Georgetown will stand at the center of these efforts, but the task should be taken on by the entire University community. A permanent, ongoing dialogue is needed to engage race relations every year, as the community welcomes new members and the national context evolves; a one-shot solution will not be sufficient.

- **We believe that Georgetown's efforts to engage the task of reconciliation must be institutionalized, and personalized, for the long haul.** The historical inquiry undertaken has a human dimension, and it will continue as perhaps hundreds or even thousands of people learn about their family's connections to Georgetown and Jesuit slaveholding. Provision must be made to accommodate them and others who come to campus seeking to understand that history, with compassionate members of the Georgetown community who can receive and accompany them, and offer spaces that will allow them to reflect on the meaning of our history. We do not believe that a Working Group, with its rotating membership and time-defined charge, can live up to the legitimate expectations of future generations of descendants and students who will turn to Georgetown to discuss their family's

history and legacy. We believe that some individual (or set of individuals) must be charged with giving continuity and a human face to this process. To put this bluntly, someone must have this in their job description, and they should have the professional and interpersonal skills to meet the high expectations of our community and those who come to it for reconciliation.

- **We have also been concerned about the larger, societal legacies of slaveholding in the United States, and we believe that Georgetown’s existing research centers have a unique role to play in exploring them and devising policies to address them.** In particular, we hope that Georgetown’s engagement with its slaveholding and trafficking history might promote a new dialogue—or even a symposium—across departments and centers that currently function somewhat independently. Our history gives a new urgency and coherence to their work.
 - One such legacy, which has received increasing attention in recent years, is the link between slavery, settlement and relocation in (and relegation to) segregated and economically marginalized communities, the contemporary “drug war,” and the practice of mass incarceration. We believe that further inquiry into this topic should be made by Georgetown’s Prison and Justice Initiative, as well as scholars at the Georgetown Law Center. In addition, we are aware that some universities have begun examining the extent to which their endowments contain private prison investments;

we encourage the University Board of Directors to examine Georgetown's financial involvement in the private prison industry.

- Sadly, slavery is not simply a historical fact. Present-day slavery and human trafficking, as well as severely unjust employment conditions, continue to be far too common around the globe. We recommend that Georgetown's Institute for the Study of International Migration and the Kalmanovitz Initiative for Labor and the Working Poor carry forward their work in a way that makes connections to the University's history. In addition, we recommend that the Business Practices Committee of the University carefully monitor the University's contracts and sourcing agreements to ensure that workers are treated justly.
- **Since the practice of slavery constituted such an affront to the dignity of labor, we believe that Georgetown must give a particular focus to addressing issues of worker justice on campus.** In recent years, significant concern has been raised about the treatment of workers in the divisions of facilities and food service, especially those who serve through subcontracts. We recommend that the Business Practices Committee give particular attention to these members of our community, ensuring that every person who works at Georgetown or its suppliers and contractees receive just wages, be treated fairly, and have the opportunity for organization and representation.

- Finally, in our discussions, our subcommittee has frequently returned to the topic of what President DeGioia, citing Edmund Burke, called “moral imagination.” In particular, we have been troubled by how the lack of moral imagination—the inability to see black human beings as deserving of equal dignity—could lead to institutionalized trade in their bodies and labor. By extension, we have asked ourselves how our society and its business practices might lack moral imagination today. In what ways does our economy and its institutionalized trade make us blind to injustices? More specifically, how might the notion of “fiduciary responsibility,” which Frs. Mulledy and McSherry saw as justification for their trade in enslaved people, lead to unjust or environmentally damaging business practices today? We would encourage further dialogue on this topic, engaging the University’s Board of Directors and drawing on the faculty of the Georgetown Law Center, the McDonough School of Business, and other scholars in our community.

We do not consider this an exhaustive list of needed actions, but hope that the tasks we have enumerated here will fruitfully inspire others to raise similar concerns.

MOVING FORWARD: THE WORKING GROUP ON RACIAL INJUSTICE

The committee is pleased to see much of its work continued by the president’s newly established Working Group on Racial Injustice. Among that group’s charges are the establishment of a research center focused on racial injustice and the persistent and enduring legacy of racism and

segregation in the American experience. We believe that this center will be a privileged space for continuing the discussions begun publicly by President DeGioia and our Emancipation Week activities. Nevertheless, we are concerned that the center might not fully address all the issues we have signaled in the preceding section. In particular, we believe that the climate of race relations on campus must be a significant priority for the new Working Group and the rest of the campus community. Such issues have vital importance in the everyday lives of students, faculty, and staff, and they have dimensions that go beyond the establishment of a major or the hiring of faculty members. Thus, we believe that structures must be put in place that will ensure their ongoing discussion and engagement.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON LOCAL HISTORY

The Committee on Local History was convened to investigate the connections between the University community, on the one side, and the slave-holding economy and culture of the city and port of Georgetown and the District of Columbia.

OUR CITY: CROSSROADS OF SLAVEHOLDING AND ABOLITIONISM

Washington, D.C., was established by the U.S. government in 1791, with land ceded from Maryland and Virginia. These two states contained half of the blacks in the U.S. at the time. In 1801 Congress assumed formal jurisdiction of the District of Columbia. The capital city comprised three already incorporated areas: Georgetown, near the Potomac River; Alexandria, to the south; and Washington City, later established as the federal area. At its founding, a quarter of Washington's population was black, enslaved and free. Yet the free blacks experienced poor treatment because they were seen as threats to white rule. By 1808 Black Codes, instituted by Congress, regulated the movement of all blacks, including free blacks, and impeded the development of black institutions and businesses. The restrictions were rigorously enforced and thus restricted blacks to certain occupations. Slaveholders maintained a great deal of power in southern Maryland, northeastern Virginia, and Washington, D.C. Thus in the nation's capital, issues of race and racism were present from the start as one of the central dilemmas of the new republic. The founding of Georgetown University coincided with the founding of the new nation and with it the establishment of slavery in the city of Georgetown, in Washington, D.C., and at Georgetown University.

The committee thus recommends that:

- The Historical Walking Tour of Black Georgetown and the “What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery” booklet be incorporated into New Student Orientation for all incoming students.
- Georgetown University fulfill its responsibilities to Holy Rood Cemetery and guarantee its good upkeep. Many African Americans, enslaved and free, with connections to the school and surrounding neighborhood are buried there, including relatives of Anne Marie Becraft.

EMANCIPATION DAY

The committee recommends that Emancipation Day events be held at the University yearly.

Emancipation Day is a declared holiday in the District of Columbia on April 16 each year. It marks the anniversary of the signing of the Compensated Emancipation Act, which President Abraham Lincoln signed on April 16, 1862. Each year events are held all over the city, culminating with a parade down Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

The University has contributed to these commemorations in the past: in April 2012, Professor Chandra Manning of the Department of History presented a talk, “Contrabands in Washington, D.C., and Virginia,” and Professor Maurice Jackson spoke on “D.C. Emancipation and the Meaning of Freedom in Washington, D.C.: Then and Now.” President John J. DeGioia and Mayor Vincent Gray addressed the symposium. The Georgetown University Gospel Choir performed Negro spirituals. This year, as a member of the Working Group and as Chair of the District of Columbia Commission on African American Affairs, Professor Jackson

gave Emancipation Day talks at the National Archives, the National Institute of Mental Health, the National Labor Relations Board, and other venues.

The high level of participation at the Symposium events on campus this year, as well as the range of University friends who attended from off campus, demonstrates how appreciated the University's contributions are. Annual participation of the University in the city's commemorations should become an important component in the school's relationship with the District as a whole.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMORIALIZATION

The committee was charged by the Working Group to consider the ways in which the community of Georgetown University should hold in memory the history of our involvement with slaveholding; honor those who suffered its exploitation; propose forms of remembrance that would include built and living memorials commemorating their lives; ensure that future generations of Georgetown faculty, staff, and students will know this history; continue the research; and preserve, develop, and share our resources.

For history, as nearly no one seems to know, is not merely something to be read. And it does not refer merely, or even principally, to the past. On the contrary, the great force of history comes from the fact that we carry it within us, are unconsciously controlled by it in many ways, and history is literally present in all that we do. It could scarcely be otherwise, since it is to history that we owe our frames of reference, our identities, and our aspirations.

—James Baldwin,
“Unnamable Objects, Unspeakable Crimes”

BUILT MEMORIALS

We recommend that a public memorial to the enslaved persons and families be erected outside the renamed halls and that the Public Arts Committee, in consultation with the University community and

descendants, assume primary responsibility for soliciting and determining designs and placement of the memorial.

We also recommend that the names of the enslaved persons be preserved, either as part of the public memorial or as a display inside the renamed halls. We understand that the exact number and names of enslaved persons is still under scholarly investigation. Thus, any monument or display of the names would need to accommodate additional names. There should also be an annual “reading of the names” as an Emancipation Day event, accompanied by a projection of the names.

We recommend that the sites on our campus associated with the history of slavery be marked with informative plaques, so as to guide those who will visit these grounds in the future for the mark of extremity borne here.

LIVING MEMORIALS

We recommend appointing a group to work with Lauinger Library to establish displays of historical and archival materials; an interactive study installation; a website research portal; support for future research projects; and creation of an Institute for the Study of Slavery and Its Legacies at Georgetown. This recommendation emerges from a meeting in April with Artemis Kirk, University Librarian; Beth Marhanka, Head, Gelardin New Media Center; Deb Cook, Associate University Librarian for User Services and Engagement; John Buchtel, Head, Booth Family Center for Special Collections; Lynn Conway, Georgetown University Archivist; Shu-Chen Tsung, Associate Librarian for Digital Services and Technology Planning; Leon Hooper, S.J., Head, Woodstock Theological Library; and Salway Ismail, Head, Library Information Technology. All recognized the importance of the library’s role in future research, curricular

enhancement, and memorialization. We have a rare and unique archival resource in the form of documents and records vital to present and future historical, genealogical, and curricular work. This material should not be preserved in a dark vault but rather made available for the common good. The story must not only be preserved but shared, not only known but spoken. The enslaved whose labors built, enriched, and benefited Georgetown University should be, by these efforts, held in living memory in perpetuity.

We recommend the naming of scholarships in honor of those enslaved. “We take our shape, it is true, within and against that cage of reality bequeathed us at our birth;” James Baldwin also wrote, “and yet it is precisely through our dependence on this reality that we are most endlessly betrayed. Society is held together by our need; we bind it together with legend, myth, coercion, fearing that without it we will be hurled into that void, within which, like the earth before the Word was spoken, the foundations of society are hidden.”

We hereby declare our intent, through these recommendations and those that follow, to excavate as deeply as possible the history of those foundations, and to expose what we find there to the light of conscience, restorative justice, and reconciliation.



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON OUTREACH

The major role of the Outreach committee was to promote the activities of the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation and its committees by broadcasting and promoting its programs, developing a robust communications strategy in consultation with the President's Office, designing a logo, and assuming responsibility for establishing criteria and reviewing and approving "Freedom and Remembrance" grant applications for special projects related to the goals of the full Working Group.

Accomplishments included:

- Wide distribution throughout the University of the informational booklet titled "What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery" documenting Georgetown's involvement with slaveholding; announcement of the conversation circles and Teach-In; participation in an Admissions Panel; and a presentation at the Staff and Academic Administrative Professional Town Hall.
- Development of a logo using the Georgetown seal with the Working Group's name.
- Engagement in targeted outreach to faculty, Doyle Fellows, the Center for New Designs in Learning and Scholarship, and students, encouraging them to submit grant applications to do digital and creative projects—through performing arts, dance, theatre, spoken word, and other innovative work.

- Two information sessions where members of the University community could learn about opportunities for grant funding.
- Use of Emancipation Day to showcase projects, e.g., an encore performance of the docudrama *God and Country*.
- Review of numerous applications for and awards of “Freedom and Remembrance” grants to several projects, including oral history initiatives, cultural performances, and racial justice initiatives.

Recommendations:

- Ensure that all schools of the University are meaningfully engaged in the project of understanding our history, especially in ways that are appropriate to their disciplines and expertise. In particular, the Law Center, the McCourt School of Public Policy, and the School of Medicine should be invited and encouraged to collaborate on projects to address how the legacy of slaveholding continues to impact contemporary society as evidenced by mass incarceration, unlawful discrimination, unfair housing, unemployment, and health disparities, to name a few areas of possible study. Legal, medical, and public policy approaches can be used as tools to address the aforementioned societal challenges.
- Broadcast the results of the Working Group through all communications channels at the University’s disposal.
- Engage the appropriate colleagues and vendors to work with the Working Group on a manuscript to document

the process of institutional study of how to address and trace the history of slavery and how to reconcile the past with the present.

- Create and maintain an enhanced interactive website to reflect all activities of the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation.
- Continue the “Freedom and Remembrance” grant application process during the next academic year and follow up with grant recipients to publicize the impact of the grants and post the results on the website.
- Expand engagement with other institutions of higher learning working on similar historical problems, especially through such consortia as Universities Studying Slavery and the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities.



SLAVERY, MEMORY,
& RECONCILIATION

Appendices

Appendices

- APPENDIX A Meeting Schedule of the Full Working Group and Working Group Events
- APPENDIX B Select Bibliography
- APPENDIX C “What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery”
- APPENDIX D Events Organized and Sponsored by the Working Group
- APPENDIX E Addresses and Remarks by Working Group Members
- APPENDIX F Organizational Entities and Key Terms in Georgetown’s History of Slavery
- APPENDIX G Other Site Names and Associations with Slavery

APPENDIX A

*Meeting Schedule of the Full Working Group
and Working Group Events*

September 24, 2015
Charging Meeting

October 9, 2015

November 3, 2015

November 10, 2015

November 13, 2015

November 18 - 19, 2015
Conversation Circles

November 20, 2015

December 1, 2015
Teach-In

December 11, 2015
*Ceremony Recognizing Freedom
and Remembrance Halls*

February 1, 2016

February 25, 2016

April 1, 2016

April 12-21, 2016
Emancipation Day Symposium

April 22, 2016



APPENDIX B

Select Bibliography

SLAVERY: THE MARYLAND JESUITS AND GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

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- Judge, Robert K. "Foundation and First Administration of the Maryland Province." *Woodstock Letters* 88 (1959): 376-406.
- Murphy, Thomas. *Jesuit Slaveholding in Maryland, 1717-1838*. Studies in African American History and Culture. New York: Routledge, 2001.

*Working Group Reading List, October 2015

- Quallen, Matthew. "Georgetown, Financed by Slave Trading." *The Hoya*, September 26, 2014, web.*
- . "Jesuit Ideals Facing the Slave Trade." *The Hoya*, January 16, 2015, web.*
- . "Slavery Inextricably Tied to Georgetown's Growth." *The Hoya*, October 23, 2015, web.*
- . "Slavery's Remnants, Buried and Overlooked." *The Hoya*, September 11, 2015, web.*
- Zwinge, Joseph. "The Jesuit Farms in Maryland." *Woodstock Letters* 39 (1910): 374-382; 40 (1911): 65-77, 180-199; 41 (1912): 53-77, 195-222, 275-191; 42 (1913): 137-150, 336-352.

CONTEXT

- Babb, Valerie Melissa, Carroll R. Gibbs, et al. *Black Georgetown Remembered: A History of Its Black Community from the Founding of "The Town of George" in 1751 to the Present Day*. 2nd rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2016.
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*Working Group Reading List, October 2015

- . “Making the Most of an Opportunity: Slaves and the Catholic Church in Early Washington.” *Washington History* 12, no. 1 (2000): 90-101.
- Fitz, James. “U.S. Catholic Religious and Slavery: A Seldom Told Story.” *Review for Religious* 58 (1999): 342-363.
- Jackson, Maurice. “Washington, D.C.: From the Founding of a Slaveholding Capital to a Center of Abolitionism.” *Journal of African Diaspora, Archaeology, and Heritage* 2 (2013): 40-66.
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- Wilder, Craig Steven. *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013.*
- Zanca, Kenneth J. *American Catholics and Slavery, 1789-1866: An Anthology of Primary Documents*. Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994.

*Working Group Reading List, October 2015

SELECT ONLINE RESOURCES (*for the Working Group's October 9 Meeting*)

Brown University:

- Steering Committee on Slavery and Justice:
http://brown.edu/Research/Slavery_Justice/
- Slavery and Justice: Report:
<http://bit.ly/1QTn3FU>

Clemson University:

- See The Stripes:
<http://seestripescu.org/>
- A Poem by A.D. Carson:
<https://youtu.be/tl1cSgbnZTo>
- Tillman Building—Name Change?:
<http://bit.ly/1KkSQx5>

College of William and Mary:

- The Lemon Project:
<http://www.wm.edu/sites/lemonproject>

Emory University:

- Slavery and the University (C-SPAN):
<http://cs.pn/1Lm4Lgf>

University of Virginia:

- President's Commission on Slavery and the University:
<http://slavery.scholarslab.org/>
- Gibbons Dormitory:
<http://bit.ly/1V5DjUN>

APPENDIX C

NOTE: In response to heightened community interest in the history behind the removal of two names from University buildings, the Working Group drafted the “What We Know” brochure. The brochure was distributed widely across campus in the days leading up to a Teach-In that took place on December 1, 2015, and has continued to be much requested by students, alumni, and administrative units across campus throughout the year. The contents of the brochure are included on the following pages. To view the brochure in its original format, see: <http://slavery.georgetown.edu/memory/report/what-we-know/>.

What We Know: Georgetown University and Slavery

JESUIT PLANTATIONS

Penal laws and anti-Catholic sentiment in Great Britain and its colonies restricted Jesuit activities. Land grants in the Maryland colony provided a source of income for Jesuit activities in the colonial period. Farms were formed out of these land grants, first worked by indentured servants, then by enslaved Africans. Slaves started working the Jesuit plantations in Maryland around 1700. Lay friends held the property “in trust” for the Jesuits because church law prohibited Jesuits from owning property and British penal laws put Catholic ownership rights, especially of priests, in jeopardy.

GEORGETOWN CONNECTIONS

The Jesuits’ own rules prohibited them from charging tuition until the mid-nineteenth century. The plantations were one source of financial support for Georgetown College from its foundation in 1789. These revenues continued even after the slave sale in 1838. The Jesuit order was abolished worldwide in 1773 and not reestablished in the U.S. until 1805. In the interim, developments in civil law following U.S. independence allowed the plantations’ trustees to consolidate the property into a single corporation, chartered in Maryland in 1793. Georgetown College was part of this corporation. After 1805 Jesuits gradually came into control of the corporation as members of its board.

THE SALE OF SLAVES

Why were the slaves sold in the 1830s?

In the 1830s, William McSherry and Thomas Mulledy, prominent U.S. Jesuits in their day, judged the operation of the plantations with slave labor to be an inefficient way to fund the Jesuits' activities. Georgetown College was the most expensive and ambitious Jesuit project in this period.

How did the sales transpire?

When Fr. McSherry was head of the U.S. Jesuits and Fr. Mulledy was head of Georgetown College in the mid-1830s, Fr. McSherry authorized several sales of enslaved people in small numbers. Roughly \$16,000 (adjusted for inflation: about \$400,000) from these sales went into Georgetown's operating budget.

In 1838, Frs. McSherry and Mulledy switched offices, and Fr. Mulledy directed the sale of the remaining slaves. Most of the people were sold to Henry Johnson and his associate Jesse Batey. Mr. Johnson had been a governor of and senator from Louisiana. At the time of the sale, he was a U.S. congressman. He was also the uncle of a Georgetown student.

How much revenue did this sale generate?

The agreed upon-price was \$115,000. \$17,000 (about \$500,000 today) of a \$25,000 down payment was used to pay down Georgetown's building debt that had accrued under Fr. Mulledy's leadership of the College in the earlier years. On account of Mr. Johnson's own financial difficulties, the Jesuits appear never to have received the full \$115,000.

What were some of the terms of the sale?

Jesuits were divided over what to do with the plantations. Officials in Rome had favored freeing the slaves. Fr. Mulledy and his allies argued that manumission was not feasible or financially responsible. Rome put conditions on the sale of slaves: that families not be separated, that the

money not be used to pay off debt or go to operating expenses, and that provisions be made for the religious practice of the slaves. None of these conditions was met.

Aided by a few sympathetic Jesuits, some of the slaves escaped as the sale and transfer were underway.

REACTIONS

- For many, the sale was a promising business decision. Farm revenues increased after the sale.
- Some Jesuits denounced how Fr. Mulledy sold the slaves and the fact that he chose not to emancipate them.
- The ensuing public scandal caused by the sale forced Fr. Mulledy to resign as head of the Jesuit order in the U.S. He traveled to Rome to plead his case directly to the global head of the Jesuits, lest he be dismissed from the order.
- In 1843, Fr. Mulledy was permitted to return to the U.S. He became the founding president of the College of the Holy Cross in Worcester, Massachusetts, and afterward served again as president of Georgetown.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

- Georgetown University's connection to slavery is not limited to the plantations or the sale in the 1830s.
- Georgetown College took advantage of rental slaves available from agencies in the town of Georgetown. Renting slaves was a common practice in the era.

APPENDICES

- Many Georgetown students came from slave-owning families and returned to slave-supported businesses. Some Georgetown students brought slaves with them to Washington.
- Eighty percent of Georgetown alumni who fought in the Civil War fought for the Confederacy.

REMAINING QUESTIONS

One of the many tragedies of the transatlantic slave trade and slavery is that we can ultimately never fully account for the lives lost and shattered by this system. We still do not know:

- The names and number of men, women, and children whom Frs. McSherry and Mulledy sold in the 1830s; the Working Group believes the total number of people sold is more than 272.
- The names and numbers of slaves whose work helped pay for Georgetown's operations in the first six decades of the school's existence.
- What happened to the enslaved families who were sent to Louisiana; we have some names and know of some descendants.
- Whether there are slave burial plots on campus (and if so, where).
- Whether the formerly named McSherry building housed slaves.
- When the Mulledy and McSherry names were attached to the buildings and why.

HISTORICAL TIMELINE

1619

African captives are sold into slavery in Jamestown, Virginia.

1664

Slavery is legalized in the Maryland colony.

1776

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, forbids members from holding slaves.

1789

Georgetown University is founded.

1830s

Abolitionists challenge slavery and slave trade in the District of Columbia.

1831

Nat Turner leads a slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia.

1835

Whites attack free blacks during the Snow Riots.

1850

Passage of the Fugitive Slave Act. The District of Columbia prohibits slave trade.

1861

Start of the Civil War.

1862

Slavery is abolished in the District of Columbia.

1865

The Thirteenth Amendment abolishes slavery.

1877

Reconstruction ends, paving the way for the rise of Jim Crow.

1917

The NAACP organizes the Silent March to protest lynching.

1963

Activists gather in the District of Columbia for the March on Washington.

2008

The United States elects the first president of African descent.

2015

Georgetown University convenes the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation.



APPENDIX D

Events Organized and Sponsored by the Working Group

EMANCIPATION DAY SYMPOSIUM

Through both academic and artistic presentations, the Symposium Week explored issues ranging from the history of slavery at Georgetown to the legacies of slavery throughout the United States:

- An exhibit in Lauinger Library featuring archival materials documenting Georgetown’s involvement in the institution of slavery.
- A presentation on the archives by Working Group member Adam Rothman, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History.
- An Interfaith Service in Riggs Library reflecting on racial injustice both historically and in our present day.
A choir performed “Lift Every Voice and Sing.”
- A presentation by Rev. Jim Wallis, President and Founder of Sojourners and Research Fellow at Georgetown’s Berkley Center, on his book, *America’s Original Sin: Racism, White Privilege, and the Bridge to a New America*, and a conversation with Terrence Johnson, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Religion and African American Studies at Georgetown University, and faculty fellow at the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs.
- A presentation by Kimberly Juanita Brown, Ph.D.,

Assistant Professor of English and Africana Studies at Mount Holyoke College, on her book, *The Repeating Body: Slavery's Visual Resonance in the Contemporary*, and a conversation with Marcia Chatelain, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History and African American Studies and Working Group member.

- A panel discussion on “Freedom in the 21st Century” featuring four recent recipients of the John Thompson, Jr. Legacy of a Dream Award who have made significant contributions to our Washington, D.C., community, including Leicester Johnson, Mary Brown, George Jones, and Nakeisha Neal Jones (G ’02).

Christopher Murphy, Vice President for Government Relations and Community Engagement at Georgetown, opened the conversation along with Kathy Kretman, Ph.D., Director at Georgetown's Center for Public and Nonprofit Leadership and research professor at the McCourt School of Public Policy.

The Georgetown a capella group the Saxatones also performed.

- A performance of the docudrama *God and Country*, written and directed by Rev. Khristi Adams of Campus Ministry.

Performed by Georgetown students to a sold-out crowd.

- A discussion on themes from *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism*, led by author Edward Baptist, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History at Cornell University, with Maurice Jack-

son, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History and African American Studies, Affiliated Professor of Performing Arts (Jazz) and Working Group member.

- A master class, discussion, and “talk back” with Assane Konte, founder of the KanKouran West African Dance Company, about the history of West African Dance.

The event was funded through a Freedom and Remembrance Grant submitted by the student organization Black Movements Dance Theatre (BMDT) and Alfreda Davis, Artistic Director for BMDT and a member of the Department of Performing Arts.

- “Unjust Enrichment: The Social Debt from Slavery, Segregation and Racial Discrimination. Are There Remedies?”

Georgetown Affiliated Professor Richard F. America and Valerie Wilson of the Economic Policy Institute offered reflections on racial disparities and possible remedies.

- “War and Priests: Catholic Colleges and Slavery in the Age of Revolution”

*Craig Wilder, Ph.D., Professor of History at MIT and author of *Ebony & Ivy: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of America’s Universities*, discussed this topic in conversation with Maurice Jackson.*

- Historical Walking Tours

Working Group member Matthew Quallen led three historical walking tours of sites on and around campus linked to the institution of slavery and the neighborhood of Georgetown and Georgetown College.

**OTHER EVENTS ORGANIZED AND/OR SPONSORED
BY THE WORKING GROUP**

- The Life and Times of ‘Gabriel’: Slavery in Late Sixteenth-Century Western India
March 18, 2016, ICC 662
- Black History Month
February 2016
- Celebrating the 25th Anniversary of *Black Georgetown Remembered*
February 24, 2016, Gaston Hall
- Civil Rights in Black and White: Two Stories of the 1960s Struggle
February 10, 2016, Leavey Conference Center
- Jesuits and Justice in DC: Race, Poverty, and Peacemaking at Home from the 1960s to the Present
February 3, 2016, Copley Formal Lounge
- Interfaith Service of Remembrance and Reconciliation
January 20, 2016, Dahlgren Chapel
- Ceremony recognizing Freedom Hall and Remembrance Hall
December 11, 2015, courtyard outside Freedom Hall
- Teach-In and Launch of Spring Semester Activities
December 1, 2015, Gaston Hall
- Fall 2015 Conversation Circles
November 18, 2015, Social Room, Healey Family Student Center
November 19, 2015, Riggs Library, Healy Hall



APPENDIX E

Addresses and Remarks by Working Group Members

- **CONCLUDING REMARKS AT THE DECEMBER TEACH-IN
DECEMBER 1, 2015**
David J. Collins, S.J.
- **REMARKS AT THE RENAMING OF FREEDOM
AND REMEMBRANCE HALLS
DECEMBER 11, 2015**
Ayodele Aruleba
- **REMARKS AT THE RENAMING OF FREEDOM
AND REMEMBRANCE HALLS
DECEMBER 11, 2015**
Haben Fecuda

CONCLUDING REMARKS, DECEMBER TEACH-IN DECEMBER 1, 2015

David J. Collins, S.J.

By way of a conclusion, I'd first like to offer a heartfelt word of thanks to our four presenters. Your contributions have inspired at so many levels. As we move to the reception downstairs where that inspiration will sustain important conversation, I'd also like to offer two images: one a portrait, the other a landscape.

First, the portrait. It's a portrait of William Gaston, after whom this magnificent hall is named. We all likely know that Gaston was Georgetown's very first student and that as a congressman from North Carolina he was instrumental in our school's receiving its federal charter.

What you might not know is that he supported the abolition of

slavery. He urged it in multiple public venues and as a public servant on multiple occasions. It was not a central part of his political agenda, but it is a noteworthy part. What you also might not know is that as a justice on the North Carolina Supreme Court, he penned two unusually progressive and anti-racist (we would say for the time) decisions: one asserted that a slave had a right to defend himself against the unjust attack of his master, the other that free blacks were state citizens and thereby protected by the state constitution and state law. He authored these in the 1830s just as Frs. Mulledy and McSherry were deliberating the sale of the Maryland slaves. And somewhat later in 1857 U.S. Supreme Court justice Benjamin R. Curtis drew from Gaston's ruling in his dissent to the Dred Scott decision.

Something more you should know about William Gaston is that he owned slaves. Gaston's portrait is a reminder that this is a messy history. Our history, Georgetown's history, is complicated. It's a history marked by light and shadow. In it there are very few people who are purely good or, I dare to imagine, purely evil. Such ethical determinations are not a matter of applying modern standards retroactively on the past. The historical judgments themselves can be grave enough. Furthermore, the hunt for scapegoats, as satisfying as that can be, will distract us from, rather than point us toward, the real challenges we face, of history or the present, and the lasting solutions we seek. So there's the portrait. And it's a portrait of complexity.

Second, I offer you a landscape. It's a landscape painted some fifty-two years ago. It's painted in words rather than in pigments. It's a quotation from one of the most significant pieces of American oratory. It begins with the image of red hills in Georgia where, Martin Luther King, Jr. dreams, one day the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

Now, Leo's has probably never been referred to as a table of brotherhood. And we don't have the red hills of Georgia. But we have do have a Hilltop. For the sake of that Hilltop and our journey to that table, we need to make clear a history that unfolded on the Hilltop, a history that set down scars, confusions, and handicaps that endure. That history is, it must be said, not just ours. It is very much our nation's. The history is not just ours, but it is still very much ours. Let our conversation continue then in the hope of that dreamed-for reconciliation. Let's dream in a manner that is proper to a university, a place of inquiry, dialogue, and creativity. May this conversation of our history help prepare the way to an authentic table of brotherhood for us all.

**REMARKS AT THE NAMING OF FREEDOM AND REMEMBRANCE HALLS
DECEMBER 11, 2015**

Ayodele Aruleba

We're here today to recognize the historic step of renaming Mulledy and McSherry Halls, but this is just the first major effort in our community process to grapple with Georgetown's history, and embrace this communal struggle as the only path toward justice.

On behalf of Georgetown College, and against their individual will, slaves worked tirelessly to literally build this University up from the ground. They maintained it without any recognition, without any fame, and without names. As many of the archival records show, many of the enslaved people that toiled the grounds we're standing on today were referred to simply as "hands."

Fredrick Douglass said in 1857—in a speech on the history of British efforts toward emancipation—"If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did

and it never will.”

The power of student activism—manifested through Facebook Events and Google Docs—to engage in this national conversation by demonstrating our solidarity with black students at Mizzou in Red Square, and the next day sitting-in at Healy 2 for fifteen hours on a beloved Friday, eventually receiving notice on Saturday that the names had been changed.

The Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation’s recommendation to President DeGioia to provisionally replace the name of Mulledy Hall with Freedom and McSherry Hall with Remembrance is symbolic of the deep intellectual, ethical, and moral struggle that our Georgetown community will traverse through as we continue in this process of reconciliation with the victims of America’s original sin. This action should not represent an erasure of the former Georgetown University presidents Frs. Mulledy and McSherry and their presence and influence on the growth of this University, but is an institutional recognition that we have entered into a phase of deep reflection and contemplation on the actions of those who have come before us.

The heightened national attention to the historical racial injustice that plagues our oldest institutions that has spread across the Hilltop, and across campuses around the globe, is proof that as we look back into Georgetown’s past, it’s on us to simultaneously recognize that we are all the authors of Georgetown’s future.

REMARKS AT THE NAMING OF FREEDOM AND REMEMBRANCE HALLS
DECEMBER 11, 2015

Haben Fecadu

As we commemorate the opening of Freedom and Remembrance Halls today, I cannot help but be proud of the creative student activism that spurred such swift response from the University in the past month.

However, the renaming of these buildings today also serves as a reminder of the amount of work around race relations that remains to be done on our campus, and other campuses and in our nation. Whether it be within other peer university settings, or the Supreme Court of the United States, it is clear that we live at a time in which the humanity and experiences of minorities are generally undermined. Our University, like many institutions of its time, has both positive and shameful moments in its history that have no doubt contributed to the state of race relations today. Fortunately, we now have the ability to shift from dialogue to action. The opening of Freedom and Remembrance Halls is a symbolic and powerful first step toward living out our core University values of being men and women for others by openly acknowledging and addressing the implications of our past to educate and build a community of leaders.

It is imperative that we continue to act and reflect on our history as a university community, not only to come to terms with our past, but also to understand the continuing ways in which legacies and institutionalized oppression play out in our present day, so we can fundamentally effect change in our future.

As an alumna sitting on the Working Group, I was both pleased and impressed with the openness with which the students' requests were met last month, and I am excited to see what will transpire from our University dialogue as we move forward in the upcoming months ahead.

APPENDIX F

*Organizational Entities and Key Terms in
Georgetown's History of Slavery*

For clarity's sake, a set of distinct but continuously interacting entities involved in the Maryland plantations and slavery is outlined here. The property, held in trust by individuals until 1793 and as a corporation thereafter, was originally land received by the Jesuits as colonists. The land was intended to support the order's activities in Maryland. Much of the land was farmed. The principal labor force on the farms in the seventeenth century was indentured servants. The State of Maryland identifies its first free resident of African descent to have been an indentured servant in the service of the Jesuits, Mathias de Sousa. Around 1700 farm labor in colonial Maryland shifted from indentured servitude to slave labor. The Jesuit farms made this transition too. The enslaved people were regarded as property connected to the farms.

THE MARYLAND MISSION AND THE MARYLAND PROVINCE. This is the ecclesiastical organization of Jesuits working on the east coast of the British colonies until 1773 and in the United States from 1805 onward. (In the intervening years, the Jesuit order was suppressed.) The mission was elevated to a Province in 1833, a change akin to a territory becoming a state. A mission was governed by a mission superior, a Province by a provincial superior.

THE SELECT BODY OF CLERGY was the council of priests, led by Fr. John Carroll, that supervised the Catholic Church in the U.S. from 1783 to 1789, in which year Fr. Carroll became bishop of Baltimore. The Select Body met in White Marsh, Maryland. It controlled the plantations and

other properties (described below) until their incorporation in 1793. Throughout the 1780s, it deliberated and then organized the founding of Georgetown College.

THE CORPORATION OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGYMEN (CRCC). Maryland lacked corporation law until Independence. The property, described above, was held by individuals in trust until 1793. In that year the Maryland State Assembly approved the creation of the CRCC, the civil corporation that thereafter controlled the property. Starting in 1805, membership on the board of the CRCC gradually came to Jesuits. The Jesuit board members of the Corporation were not the same as the governing leadership of the Maryland Mission until the 1820s. By the 1830s the Corporation was the civil entity corresponding to the Maryland Province of Jesuits.

GEORGETOWN COLLEGE. In this report College and University have been used interchangeably to refer to the educational institution that John Carroll and other leading Catholic clergy and families started planning in the 1780s and that the Select Body of Clergy voted to establish in 1788. From the 1780s to 1793, the properties related to what would become Georgetown College, and thus Georgetown College itself, belonged to the property “held in trust.” From 1793 until the 1844, the College was part of the Corporation and had no civil standing apart from it.

In 1805 Jesuits of the restored order began joining the faculty and administration of the College one by one. Leonard Neale, who had been president of the College since 1798, affiliated with the restored Jesuit order in 1805, and continued serving as president until 1806. Archbishop Carroll handed over control of the College to the Jesuits in circa 1814. In 1844 “The President and Directors of Georgetown College” was estab-

lished as a corporation in its own right, but the University's connection to both the Province and the Corporation in the antebellum period was all-inclusive. At any one time, between one-third and one-half of all Jesuits on the East Coast were stationed at the University in the early nineteenth century. The interests of the University drove the decisions of the Province during this period. The second most important Jesuit settlement around this time was in Frederick, Maryland, where Jesuits ran a parish, a school, and a house of formation (seminary).



APPENDIX G

Other Site Names and Associations with Slavery

In addition to Mulledy and McSherry, the Working Group identified several other names, used for sites and/or programs, with associations to slaveholding:

- **John Carroll, S.J. (1735-1815)**, is regarded as the founder of Georgetown University and was the first bishop in the United States. While a bishop, he owned at least one slave, whom he freed in his will.
- **Eleanor Darnall (1704-1796)** was the mother of John Carroll. Both the Carroll and the Darnall families operated extensive agricultural operations in Maryland in the eighteenth century and owned many slaves.
- **William Gaston (1788-1844)** was Georgetown College's first student. He owned slaves, perhaps as many as forty. As a state Supreme Court justice in North Carolina, he authored two decisions of interest, progressive for their day: one, affirming the state citizenship of freed blacks; the other, allowing limited rights of self-defense for slaves against masters and limiting the punitive rights of masters over slaves.
- **Patrick Francis Healy, S.J. (1830-1910)**, was the president of Georgetown University from 1874 to 1882. He was the child of a slave-owning farmer, Michael Morris Healy, and an enslaved woman, Mary Eliza. According to the father's will, Patrick, along with his siblings, inher-

ited his father's estates, which included enslaved people. Out of concern that attempts could be made to enslave the Healy children, even as adults, because of their mother's enslaved status, the father named a guardian for them in his will, Fr. Thomas Mully, S.J.

- **James Ryder, S.J. (1800-1860)**, founded the Philodemic Society in 1830 and was the president of Georgetown University from 1840-1845 and 1848-1851. On one known public occasion—a meeting in Richmond in 1835—Fr. Ryder spoke against abolition.



A NOTE ON THE TYPE

This report is set in Adobe Caslon, which is based on the Caslon typeface created in the 18th century by British engraver, type founder, and type designer William Caslon. It was used in America's founding documents, including the Declaration of Independence, and John Carroll's proposal to establish this University. It remains the official font of Georgetown University.

