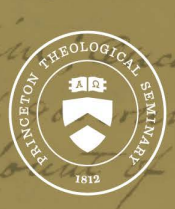
PRINCETON SEMINARY AND SLAVERY

A Report of the Historical Audit Committee



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Introduction

When Princeton Theological Seminary was founded in 1812, it was part of a national culture and a local community that were deeply entangled in slavery. The faculty and students at Princeton Seminary in its early years through the Civil War would have encountered slavery as a familiar aspect of life. It was part of the context of their theological studies in this place. Just as they were shaped by their context, the faculty and graduates of Princeton Seminary also shaped the town of Princeton and other communities around the country where they served. As theologians and religious leaders, they spoke with moral authority about the questions of their day. But they were not of one mind about the ethical evaluation of slavery. Nor did their personal practices always align with their professions of theological conviction.

The following report begins to trace the complicated story of Princeton Seminary and its relationship to slavery. From its founding aspirations, Princeton Seminary has placed high value on both rigorous scholarship and Christian faith, and a commitment to these values informs our present study of the Seminary's history, which is both an act of faith and scholarly investigation. These efforts are part of an honest and transparent evaluation of our past. Truth-telling is an important discipline for Christian people. It is critical that we understand the truth about our history, for only then can we make confession and move toward the reconciliation that God desires for us all.

Process

In the spring of 2016, President Craig Barnes appointed a committee of faculty and administrators to conduct research regarding Princeton Seminary's ties to slavery. This group met regularly over a two-year period. They examined the relationship of the Seminary's founders to slavery, the construction and financing of the facilities, activities and attitudes of alumni regarding slavery, and the participation of faculty and board members in the American Colonization Society. The committee was aided in this research by student projects that were part of Professor James Moorhead's course in the fall 2016 semester on "Princeton Seminary, Slavery, and Race." Daved Anthony Schmidt (PhD '16) provided invaluable original research on the demographics of the student body during the period 1812-1865, as well as extensive investigation of the Seminary's early fundraising efforts, especially among Southern churches. In addition, this project was in dialogue with Princeton University's own concurrent research on connections to slavery at the university and in the town of Princeton.

Committee Members:

Craig Barnes, President and Professor of Pastoral Ministry
Keri Day, Associate Professor of Constructive Theology and African American Religion
Kenneth Henke, Retired Curator of Special Collections and Archivist
James Kay, Retired Dean and Vice President of Academic Affairs and Joe R. Engle Professor of Homiletics and Liturgics
Gordon Mikoski, Associate Professor of Christian Education
James Moorhead, Mary McIntosh Bridge Professor of American Church History Emeritus

Kermit Moss, Interim Director of the Center for Black Church Studies
Yolanda Pierce, Former Elmer G. Homrighausen Associate Professor of African American Religion and Literature
Anne Stewart, Vice President for External Relations

Overview of Findings

The history of the relationship of Princeton Seminary and its people to the institution of slavery is a story of complexity and contradiction. The Seminary itself did not own slaves, and to the best of our knowledge, slave labor was not used for the construction of any of the Seminary's buildings. In the early years of the school, a portion of the Seminary's financial contributions came from Southern sources who were either slave owners or congregations involved in slave ownership. Moreover, for a brief period in the 1830s, a substantial portion of the Seminary's endowment was invested in Southern banks, which were financing the expansion of slavery in the Old Southwest. This had disastrous consequences for the school's finances. After the Panic of 1837, the Seminary lost half of the value of the endowment because of these investments. The Seminary thus participated, to both its profit and loss, in a larger economy that was deeply entangled with slavery.

The Seminary's founders and first faculty members had a complicated relationship to slavery, like many of their generation. They often spoke powerfully against the institution of slavery, yet at the same time they could not imagine a world in which blacks and whites lived side by side in equality. In some cases, they used slave labor themselves. Ashbel Green, for example, the first president of the Seminary's Board of Directors, chaired the committee of the Presbyterian Church General Assembly that authored a statement in 1818 condemning slavery as "a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God … and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ." However, Green himself owned several slaves and employed indentured servants throughout his life. Green played a role in the life of Betsey Stockton, who had been given as a slave to Green's first wife. She was eventually emancipated, and Green encouraged her religious education and missionary work in the Sandwich Islands. She became a prominent teacher and respected leader in the African American community in Philadelphia and Princeton.

The Seminary's first three professors, Archibald Alexander, Samuel Miller, and Charles Hodge, all used slave labor at some point in their lives. Alexander had acquired a slave through his wife, though by the time he came to Princeton and throughout his tenure at the Seminary he did not hold any slaves. Miller and Hodge employed slave labor while they lived in Princeton; both Miller and Hodge held slaves for a period of years under the provision in New Jersey law that allowed the gradual abolition of slavery.

Princeton Seminary faculty, board members, and alumni were deeply involved in the American Colonization Society, which advocated sending former slaves to Africa. Though many of its members opposed slavery in principle, they feared immediate emancipation would cause social upheaval. The society was founded in 1816 by, among others, Robert Finley, a pastor and a board member of the Seminary, and in 1824 a local auxiliary was founded in Princeton on which Charles Hodge agreed to serve as a manager and both Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller allowed themselves to be listed as honorary managers. The writings of Alexander and Hodge in support of the colonization movement point to the widely-shared assumption of the group's leaders that blacks and whites could not live peacefully and productively in the same

society and that immediate emancipation would be disruptive to the country. It was a profound "failure of theological imagination."[1] By 1867, the society had sent more than 13,000 people to Liberia.

Many Princeton Seminary alumni were also active in the colonization movement or opposed slavery in principle but did not advocate immediate emancipation. There were also some alumni, especially those from the South, who supported the institution of slavery or owned slaves themselves.

Yet many of the Seminary's graduates held different views than their professors and were prominent leaders in the abolitionist cause. For example, Theodore Sedgwick Wright (Class of 1828), who was the first African American to attend Princeton Seminary, was a founder of the American Anti-Slavery Society and active in the Underground Railroad. Elijah Parish Lovejoy (Class of 1834), a pastor and newspaper editor, became a martyr in the abolitionist movement when he was killed at the hands of a mob less than three years after he graduated from Princeton Seminary. Wright, Lovejoy, and their contemporaries represent another facet of the story of Princeton Seminary's relationship to slavery. Many of the Seminary's graduates demonstrated courageous, prophetic leadership that had a significant influence in the lives of individuals, communities, and the national conversation about slavery.

The following report explores many dimensions of Princeton Seminary's engagement with issues of slavery. It examines the local and national context in the 19th century, and it discusses as much as we currently know about the building and fundraising activity in the early years of the school. The report also chronicles prominent faculty members and alumni who were engaged in advocacy of various kinds in order to try to understand their attitudes towards and engagement with slavery.

The story of Princeton Seminary is the story of its people—faculty, students, alumni, and others who have been involved in the life of this institution. Thus the history of Princeton Seminary's relationship to slavery is not one story but many stories, shaped by the individuals who taught and learned and lived here. There are stories of faithfulness and moral failure; stories of those who reflected the prevailing attitudes of their time and those who worked tirelessly to change such views. This report begins to trace some of these stories and to offer theological reflections on what we can learn from this history. The report does not represent a conclusive and definitive word, but rather a point of departure for further study, reflection, and learning, all of which must begin with an honest recounting of our past.

[1] See Gordon Mikoski, "A Failure of Theological Imagination: Beginning to deal with the legacy of Princeton Seminary on matters of slavery and race," *Theology Today* 73.2 (2016): 157-67.

Princeton Seminary and Slavery: Context

When Princeton Seminary was founded by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1812, slavery in New Jersey remained very much alive. To be sure, the state had passed a law eight years earlier declaring that any child born to a slave mother after July 4, 1804, would eventually be free. Those children, however, had to serve the mother's master for a term—women until the age of 21, men until 25. Those already in bondage prior to 1804 remained slaves until they died. As late as the Civil War, New Jersey continued to have a slave population, albeit a steadily dwindling one. As one historian has observed, the last 13 African Americans "held in bondage in New Jersey in 1860 were liberated by death or the Thirteenth Amendment." In short, gradual abolition also meant prolonged bondage, and it shifted the financial cost of freedom from the slaveholders to the enslaved themselves. The slow movement toward freedom in other Northern states often (though not invariably) paralleled that of New Jersey, but the Garden State was clearly in the rear of the procession. This fact meant that those who taught in the Seminary during its first years and those who studied here encountered slavery as a familiar part of life. They also encountered freed African Americans in a greater number than would have been the case in most New Jersey towns. In 1840, the census listed approximately 21 percent of the community as black—about three and a half times the percentage for the entire state.[2]

Princeton Seminary's relationship to slavery also needs to be set in a national and international context in which support for the institution of slavery was declining and yet its effects were deeply enmeshed in nearly all aspects of social and economic life. "Everywhere in the country," Gordon Wood has written of the 1780s, "most of the Revolutionary leaders assumed that slavery was on its last legs and headed for destruction." Between 1777 and 1804, Northern states outlawed slavery or provided for the gradual emancipation of those in bondage. Even in the South, particularly the Upper South, many felt the institution to be waning. In some places the strict slave codes passed at the beginning of the 18th century were laxly enforced. Virginia, Delaware, and Maryland passed laws making it easier for masters to free slaves, and there was often talk in the South of the eventual demise of the institution. Then, in 1807, largely with Southern acquiescence, Congress outlawed the foreign slave trade, effective the following year.

But as early as the 1790s, there were also signs of growing wariness about anti-slavery rhetoric. The black rebellion in the French colony Saint-Domingue (Haiti), and later, in 1800, the revolt in Henrico County, Virginia, led by the artisan slave Gabriel, made many Southerners uneasy with loose talk about freedom or ameliorating the condition of slaves. Laws now obliged free blacks to carry papers or wear patches proving their freedom, and Virginia in 1806 passed a statute requiring that freed slaves depart the state. With the invention of the cotton gin and the

[2] James J. Gigantino II, *The Ragged Road to Abolition: Slavery and Freedom in New Jersey, 1775-1865* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); Gregory Nobles, "Betsey Stockton," *Princeton & Slavery Project*, accessed December 2, 2017. The quotation is from Arthur Zilversmit, *The First Emancipation: The Abolition of Slavery in the North* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 222. In addition to Zilversmit, other works examining the complexities of abolition in the North include Douglas R. Egerton, *Death or Liberty: African Americans and Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

opening of new territories east of the Mississippi River and then in the west with the Louisiana Purchase, the use of slave labor spread rapidly and became more—not less—entrenched as cotton became an economic powerhouse. The controversy over the admission of Missouri as a slave state in 1820 deepened divisions over slavery. As these events were unrolling, Princeton Seminary was created and entered the first decades of its life.[3]

[3] Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789-1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 508-42; quotation on 518; Douglas R. Egerton, *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993). Of course, the American Revolution, even when its rhetoric invoked themes of universal liberty, also coded its message in ways that were often far more restrictive; see, for example, Robert G. Parkinson, *The Common Cause: Creating Race and Nation in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

The Seminary Founders and Their Involvement with Slavery

In the Seminary's early years, several of its founders and prominent leaders were entangled with slavery and even employed slave labor themselves. Ashbel Green (1762-1848), the first president of the Seminary Board of Directors, is a case in point. In 1809, Green, then pastor of Philadelphia's Second Presbyterian Church, formally proposed the creation of the Seminary to the Presbyterian General Assembly. At the school's opening in 1812, he was elected president of the Board of Directors—a post he held until his death in 1848. He was also president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) from 1812 to 1822. Despite espousing anti-slavery sentiments (examined below), Green employed slave labor. Shortly after becoming president of the college, he acquired a 12-year-old boy, John, in addition to Phoebe, a girl almost 18. As historian R. Isabela Morales observes, their respective birth years (1801 and 1794) meant that they were not covered by New Jersey's gradual manumission law of 1804. An entry in Green's diary, however, indicates that he may have promised them eventual freedom if they served him satisfactorily. Their ultimate fate, however, is unclear. Also among Green's servants was Betsey Stockton, who was born sometime around 1798, probably as a slave in the family of Robert Stockton, one of Princeton's most prominent figures. Betsey entered the Green household as a young girl, transferred to Ashbel's wife, Elizabeth, who was the daughter of Robert Stockton.

Green's attitudes toward slavery are difficult to discern, as his relationship with Betsey Stockton indicates. Green's encouragement of Betsey's education and his willingness to free her and to support her involvement as a missionary to the Hawaiian islands (then called the Sandwich Islands) have been taken as evidence that his household provided a mild and relatively benign form of slavery. Yet it is possible to read the sources—almost all of which came from him and reflected his self-perceptions—in a more critical light. During a period when he found her recalcitrant, he sold her labor for several years to someone else in his extended family. In Morales's judgment, one must resist romanticizing Green as an indulgent master, for he "exercised patriarchal authority in all realms of his life, authority that extended to corporal punishment of his children, students, and slaves. Green described one such occasion in his diary entry for December 9, 1816: 'Had a most uncomfortable time with my servant John. I had to whip him.'" Yet whatever one's assessment of his relationship with his slaves, including Betsey Stockton, Green did facilitate her missionary service which in turn paved the way for her, after returning to the United States, to embark on a career as an educator, first in Philadelphia and then in Princeton, where she shaped the distinguished Quarry St. School for black children.[4]

Archibald Alexander (1772-1851), the first professor at Princeton Seminary, likewise was complicit with slavery, although there is no evidence that he held slaves while he was at the Seminary. A native of Virginia, he was ordained in 1794 to serve the Briery and Cub Creek Presbyterian churches in the state's southside, became president of Hampden-Sydney College in 1797, and was called to the Third ("Old Pine") Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia in 1807.

[4] R. Isabela Morales, "Ashbel Green," *Princeton & Slavery Project*, accessed November 15, 2017, slavery.princeton.edu/stories/ashbel-green; Nobles, "Betsey Stockton." The Princeton and Slavery Project, of which the essays by Morales and Nobles are a part, is an immensely valuable online resource.

While there, he assumed a leading role in wider Presbyterian circles and advocated that the General Assembly establish a theological seminary; and when Princeton Seminary was formed in 1812, he was named the first professor.

Alexander's entanglement with slavery dated at least from his days as pastor of the Briery Church, which derived some of its revenue from slavery. In 1766, the church began a campaign to raise funds to purchase slaves. The intent was to hire out the slaves—and their descendants—in order to raise money to pay the minister's salary and other church-related expenses. "For the next 100 years," historian Jennifer Oast has recently documented, "the members of Briery Presbyterian were the beneficiaries of the labor of those slaves and their descendants." Presumably, too, Archibald Alexander was a financial beneficiary when the church paid him for his services as pastor. Oast also suggests that Hampden-Sydney College, while not possessing slaves itself, on occasion hired their labor from those who did own them.[5]

Alexander benefitted from slavery again when he acquired through his wife, Janetta Waddel, a slave woman named Daphne who had served her since childhood. When the Alexanders moved to Philadelphia, Daphne accompanied the family. Slaves brought into Pennsylvania from other states would, if their owners remained more than six months, become free. Although the Alexanders apparently did not formally emancipate Daphne when they went to Philadelphia, she and they recognized her changed legal status when she accompanied them. The Alexanders' subsequent relationship with Daphne—or at least the family's memory of it—is illuminating. As told by Alexander's son more than a half century later, the salient facts were these: Daphne's husband, John Boatman, had remained in Virginia as a slave, presumably owned by a family other than Alexander's. When members of Philadelphia's Society of Friends learned of her separation from her spouse, they raised money to purchase his freedom, and he joined her. For a time, Alexander "kept them both as hired servants upon wages." Realizing that he could earn more elsewhere, Boatman—remembered by the Alexanders as "a brawny and ill-favored black"—became a coachman for the governor of Pennsylvania. Likewise, his wife "learned to entertain more lofty thoughts" and "she soon left her kind protectors and set up for herself." Then the husband went astray, deserted his wife, and ended up in prison. She fell ill, could no longer work, and had to enter an almshouse. When two of Janetta Alexander's sisters visited her there and proposed that she return to the service of the Waddel family in Virginia, she readily agreed. Archibald Alexander, now living in Princeton, told her that this meant she would have to go back to slavery. She acquiesced, recalling "the quiet and ease which she [had] enjoyed under a nominal bondage." Or so the story was remembered by the Alexander family; how it appeared to Daphne, one suspects, was probably quite different.

Yet whatever the facts of the case, the episode reveals much about the Alexanders' view of themselves as slaveholders and their perception of those whom they held in bondage. They saw themselves in the role of "kind protector" of those whose enslavement was only "nominal." They feared that blacks who entertained "lofty thoughts" and struck out on their own risked harm to themselves. In the background also lurked the menacing image of "a brawny and ill-favored"

[5]Jennifer Oast, *Institutional Slavery: Slaveholding Churches, Schools, Colleges, and Businesses in Virginia, 1690-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 87-125, 160-174; quotation 87-88.

black male. The Alexanders' memory was fraught with racial stereotypes and paternalistic assumptions.[6]

The Seminary's second professor, Samuel Miller (1769-1850), a native of Delaware who joined the Seminary in 1813 after a distinguished pastorate in New York City, likewise employed slave labor in his lifetime, including while he lived in Princeton. His son recorded of Miller:

> But greatly as he disliked the institution [of slavery], he did not, we have seen, consider slaveholding in itself, of necessity, a sin; and even during the earlier part of his residence in New Jersey, at different times, held several slaves under the laws providing in that state for the gradual abolition of human bondage. In fact he held them only for a term of years, in a sort of apprenticeship, excepting in one case, in which he found himself deceived by the vendor as to the age of a man-slave, and obliged, by law, to hold him and provide for him for life. It was difficult otherwise to secure domestics; but this experiment of slavery, what with some that ran off, one that he could not get rid of, and the short-comings of all, was not very encouraging.

In short, while Miller did not like slavery and hoped for its eventual demise, he did not consider the use of slave labor as sinful and was not averse to employing it himself.[7]

Charles Hodge (1797-1878), a native of Philadelphia and after 1820 the third person to join the Seminary faculty, likewise employed slave labor. In 1828, as his family was growing, he purchased Henrietta and a few years later acquired Lena, perhaps through his mother's estate. During the 1830s, he also used at least two other African American servants—John and Cato—though Hodge's most careful recent biographer says that it is impossible to determine whether they were enslaved or wage earners.[8]

Many at the Seminary also called for the Christianizing and educating of slaves and freed people as a means of uplift. For example, Sarah Miller, Professor Samuel Miller's wife, helped create the Mount Lucas Orphan and Guardian Institute near Princeton and helped secure an endowment for it. When that organization later closed, she arranged for the endowment to be transferred to the Ashmun Institute (later renamed Lincoln University) whose purpose was to provide higher education for African Americans.

Despite entanglement with slavery, the leaders of the Seminary professed to long for a day, unspecified and uncertain, when slaves would all be free. They insisted, however, that slavery *per se* was not condemned in the Bible and that abolitionists who called slaveholders sinners were fanatics. The faculty at the Seminary, along with others in the College of New

[6] James W. Alexander, *The Life of Archibald Alexander, D.D*. (New York: Charles Scribner, 1854), 280-282; Gary B. Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); James H. Moorhead, *Princeton Seminary in American Religion and Culture* (Grand Rapids: Erdmans, 2012), 42-43.
[7] Samuel Miller, *The Life of Samuel Miller, D.D., LL.D*., 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen and Haffelfinger, 1869) 2:300.
[8] Paul C. Gutjahr, *Charles Hodge: Guardian of American Orthodoxy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 156.

Jersey, played a key role in the formation of the American Colonization Society and made Princeton an epicenter of support for the movement (see below).

The Seminary's founding leaders and faculty members in the school's early years were in many ways complicit with slavery as individuals, and they participated in a larger culture that was inextricably entangled in the effects of the slave trade. In many cases, their personal views on slavery, while sometimes difficult to discern, reflect a fundamental contradiction between expressions of condemnation of the institution of slavery, on the one hand, and reticence to call for its immediate and radical abolition, on the other.

Slavery and the Seminary as Institution

It is clear that the early leaders of the Seminary benefitted individually from the use of slaves. But did the Seminary *as an institution* have ties to human bondage? To date, research suggests that slave labor was not involved in the construction or in the maintenance of the school's buildings. The workers involved in the Seminary's first construction projects, including the original Seminary building and Archibald Alexander's home, were paid laborers for whom the Seminary has records of wages disbursed. Nor did the institution as such own slaves. However, the institution's financial ties to slavery represent a more complicated issue.

In answering this question, it is important first to acknowledge the pervasiveness of slavery's role in the American economy during the pre-Civil War era. Daved Anthony Schmidt, who prepared an examination of the Seminary's finances for this project (see Appendix B), offers thoughtful comments on this reality, and they merit quotation at length.

> Slavery was interwoven into the American economy. Its presence was felt in the mills and workshops of New England as well as on the plantations in Georgia. It created the capital needed to build schools of higher education in Virginia as well as in New York. One did not have to own slaves to benefit from slavery. Yet it is not helpful for this type of study to paint everyone who simply participated in the economy in the same shade. Most people would agree that there is a difference between the owner of a cotton plantation in Georgia and someone who buys a cotton shirt in Boston. It is often difficult to talk about how.
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> This report approaches the problem by viewing donors based on their relationship with slavery. These categories are far from perfect, and individuals often do not fit neatly into one, but they do provide a framework for discussing how a person could *potentially* benefit financially in a slave economy. The first is, of course, slave owners. The second is a person who does not personally own slaves, but was nevertheless raised in a family of slave owners and thus accrued financial advantages by extension. The third consists of individuals who profited from slavery through business and financial ties. Where the second category is determined by chance of birth, the third is voluntary and often deliberate. Finally, the fourth category is the cotton shirt buyer who benefited from slavery far down the production line.
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> Ultimately, the Seminary sits in the middle of this spectrum. It benefited financially from those in its denominational family who owned slaves and who profited from the slave system. It also invested its funds in organizations that both profited from slavery and financed its expansion.[9]

[9]On the role slavery played in building modern capitalism, see, for example, Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Knopf, 2014); Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); and Calvin Schermerhorn, *The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American Capitalism, 1815-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). How this development affected higher education is told provocatively in Craig Steven Wilder, *Ebony and Ivory: Race, Slavery, and the Troubled History of American Universities* (New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2013).
[10] Schmidt, Appendix B.

As a school of the Presbyterian Church, the Seminary's donor base reflected the geographical diversity of the denomination, and Southern slave owners were a source of fundraising in the early years of the school. Schmidt estimates that money given by slaveholders and the interest income it subsequently generated accounted for 15 percent of the total revenue of the Seminary in the pre-Civil War era. Furthermore, if one considers donors who remotely profited from slavery and thus whose wealth was in some measure derived from the slave trade, then as much as 30 to 40 percent of the Seminary's revenue before the Civil War could be connected to slavery. As Schmidt concludes, "No prominent institution from this period could escape its own context. Slave owners played a part in the Seminary's donor base because slave owners were part of the Presbyterian Church. Slavery contributed to the school's revenue because slavery was a key part of the American economy. The Seminary was, in the end, merely a product of its time."[10]

From its beginning, Princeton Seminary gained advantage from those who owned slaves. Richard Stockton, one of the Princeton community's wealthiest individuals and a slaveholder, donated the land on which the school's first buildings were erected. The Seminary similarly benefitted through the financial campaigns conducted by the Presbyterian General Assembly. Starting in 1810, two years before the school opened, the assembly designated several dozen prominent clergy to serve as agents to raise funds for the Seminary. In the decades before the Civil War, approximately 16 percent of the funds raised for the Seminary came from the South, and nearly all of the major gifts from that region came from slaveholders. As illustrations, Schmidt's report includes the following biographical information of some of those who established scholarships or made other contributions before the Civil War:

> John Whitehead owned around 40 slaves on a plantation in Burke County, Georgia. James Nephew owned over 120 slaves on plantations in South Carolina and Georgia. Jane Keith was the influential wife of Isaac Stockton Keith, an equally prominent (and wealthy) pastor in Charleston. His previous wife was Catharine Legare who inherited slaves from her father Thomas Legare, one of the largest slave owners in Charleston. When Isaac died in 1813, Jane inherited an estate of $30,000 along with slaves. Hester Smith of Natchez, Mississippi likewise inherited slaves from her parents. Ann Timothy of Charleston also owned slaves, but she freed them upon her death in 1853.
>
> Charleston and the surrounding area was perhaps the most active donor base in the South. Along with Jane and Isaac Keith, the most important Presbyterian figure in the city was Andrew Flinn, the founding pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church of Charleston. The church was erected in 1811 at the cost of $100,000, a testament to the planter class who attended. Flinn and his wife Eliza Berkley Grimball were major voices of support for the Seminary. The Grimball family, like the Legares, were one of the largest slave owners in Charleston. They recruited other individuals on the same tier of the Southern social hierarchy to give to the Seminary. James Legare owned a 2,000-acre plantation named Mullet

> Hall on John's Island with around 130 slaves. He and his brother John were both faithful contributors to the Seminary, as was William Eddings of Edisto Island.[11]

Donor connections to slavery were not limited to persons from the southern states. At least two major Seminary patrons from the mid-Atlantic derived, through their families, significant income generated in part from slave-related enterprises, though these individuals never owned slaves themselves. For example, James Lenox, a director of the Seminary from 1835 to 1847, financed the first separate library building on campus—the Lenox Library. He inherited his fortune from his father Robert (also a Seminary director, 1813-1830). One of three immigrant brothers, Robert came to America shortly before the American Revolution. He and a younger brother established a merchant firm, based in New York City, which engaged in far-flung trade, their business extending to plantations in Jamaica, Cuba, and the New Orleans area. "His ships," Schmidt notes, "did not carry slaves as cargo, but rather goods such as sugar, rum, and pimento produced by slaves, which they brought to New York before traveling on to Europe." From the fortune that he amassed, Robert Lenox became a philanthropist, endowing a scholarship at the Seminary and ensuring the inheritance that would allow James to continue the family tradition of generosity to the school.

Isabella McLanahan Brown, who donated the funds for the Seminary's Brown Hall, is another case in point. Her husband, George Brown (1787-1859), at the age of 15 had joined his father's investment banking firm, Alex. Brown and Sons. The company became part of an international trading powerhouse with offices in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Liverpool, and London. Schmidt summarizes the firm's scope succinctly:

> Its range of services included shipping, insurance, currency exchange, and credit. By the late 1820s, it had become the leading exporter of cotton to Liverpool and the second largest exchange merchant in the United States. The Browns not only benefited from the products of slavery, they also benefited from slaves themselves. The firm provided loans to plantation owners in lands opening in the West. During this same period, the firm's ships carried slaves from the East Coast as cargo to be sold in markets in New Orleans and Mississippi.

The profit from this business gave George Brown the capital that he subsequently invested in America's burgeoning railway system, particularly the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. That money, passed to his wife Isabella upon his death in 1857, in turn allowed her to endow the Brown Memorial Presbyterian Church in Baltimore in his memory, as well as to finance Princeton Seminary's Brown Hall.

In addition to funds raised for annual operating expenses and building projects, the Seminary raised money for an endowment to support the school, and the General Assembly itself became an investor of funds on behalf of the Seminary, though initially there was not much to invest. What money the General Assembly did have in the permanent endowment fund for the Seminary was chiefly invested until the mid-1830s in government bonds and secured loans. These yielded a generally reliable but unspectacular (by the standard of the day) five to seven percent per year.

[11] Schmidt, Appendix B.

In the 1830s, the General Assembly adopted a more aggressive investment strategy. It invested much of the Seminary's endowment with Southern banks, especially in the western part of the Old Southwest, where annual yields of eight to 10 percent were promised. These banks were helping fund the expansion of white settlement in the West. When the government opened millions of acres in the 1830s, expelling native Americans in the process, the availability of cheap land drew those seeking economic opportunity and resulted in the dramatic expansion of the cotton industry—and, consequently, the use of slave labor—across the West. Such expansion was financed by a complex system of credit. As individuals borrowed funds from banks to purchase land, seed, equipment, and slaves, the speculators who provided capital to the banks often made considerable profit. However, this system of speculation would prove to be a bubble that would soon collapse, in part triggering the Panic of 1837. The result was the collapse of many institutions, and Princeton Seminary was a victim, too. At its low point in the early 1840s, the value of the Seminary endowment fell to less than 50 percent of its worth in the mid-1830s.[12]

To rebuild its diminished resources, the Seminary turned to the Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer to spearhead a campaign for a larger and permanent endowment. Van Rensselaer, who studied for a time at the Seminary and served as a member of the Board of Directors, came from an exceedingly wealthy family whose fortune went back to the Dutch patroons who settled along the Hudson River in the 1630s. The acquisition of that fortune had included ownership of slaves, though there is no evidence that Cortlandt himself did. His own personal contribution to the Seminary's campaign—$2,000—was a substantial sum for the era and a sign of the wealth he had inherited. Van Rensselaer's fundraising was highly successful. Between 1844 and 1846, he raised nearly $37,000; and by 1852 the total rose to over $86,000. Although he kept a diary of his journeys and submitted a final report to the General Assembly in which he detailed the churches from which he had received contributions, neither document is extant. In view of the general giving patterns to the Seminary by the 1840s, it is likely that the vast majority of the funds came from the mid-Atlantic states. On the other hand, one contemporary account noted that he travelled to "almost every section of the country from Champlain to Pontchartrain, and from the Hudson to the Mississippi." Therefore, it seems likely that at least some of the donations he secured derived from slaveholders.[13]

Van Rensselaer and his campaign thus symbolized Princeton Seminary's complicated financial engagement with slavery. In the years before the Civil War, Princeton Seminary as an institution reflected a complex moral and financial entanglement with slavery that was not untypical for its day. The institution did not own slaves or earn revenue directly from slavery. However, it benefitted financially from philanthropists who derived their wealth within an economy in which slavery was a significant force.

Van Rensselaer also symbolized a broader outlook on the peculiar institution typical of the Seminary. He wrote to a Southern correspondent in 1858: "Slaveholding is not in all

[12] In addition to Schmidt, Appendix B, see Jessica M. Lepler, *The Many Panics of 1837: People, Politics, and the Creation of a Transatlantic Financial Crisis* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).
[13]Schmidt, Appendix A; [Cortlandt Van Rensselaer], *Princeton Theological Seminary* (Pamphlet indicating no publisher or date but almost certainly 1844), esp. 4; *Memorial of Cortlandt Van Rensselaer* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman and Sons, 1860).

circumstances sinful. … We regard the Christian instruction of slaves as a means to an end, and that end is the recovery of the blessings of personal liberty, when Providence shall open a way for it." In short, he refused to call slaveholders sinners and would have no truck with those who demanded immediate abolition. On the other hand, he thought that Christians had a duty to educate slaves in such a way as to prepare them for eventual liberty. Bondage was not their ultimate destiny.[14] Similarly, many of the Seminary's leaders and faculty members were wary of, if not hostile towards, the abolitionist cause, instead favoring gradual emancipation and colonization, as we will examine in the following chapter.

[14]"Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D.D., Founder of the Presbyterian Historical Society," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 1 (March 1902): 213-235; quotation on 217. Van Rensselaer's own life embodied that conviction, for he began his ministry in the 1830s as an educator and preacher among Virginia slaves.

Princeton Seminary, Slavery, and Colonization

The early leaders of Princeton Seminary said that they looked toward a time when slaves would be free. In 1797, Samuel Miller, then a New York City pastor, addressed the New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves and condemned slavery with vigor. It was, he said, a "humiliating tale … that in this free country … in this country, from which has been proclaimed to distant lands, as the basis of our political existence, that 'ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL,'—in this country there are found slaves!" Miller avowed that Scripture as well as the Declaration of Independence condemned slavery. "God," he said quoting the Apostle Paul, "has made of one blood all nations of men that dwell on the face of the whole earth." Moreover, we are commanded that we should do unto others as we would that they should do unto us. Such principles "wage eternal war both with political and domestic slavery." Miller did admit that the Old Testament allowed slavery in ancient Israel and that the New Testament enjoined obedience upon those in servitude, but he denied that these passages justified a continuance of the institution in the present. He admitted that difficulties prevented immediate emancipation of all slaves and suggested that the remedy lay "in emancipation in a gradual manner, which will at the same time, provide for the intellectual and moral cultivation of slaves, that they may be prepared to exercise the rights, and discharge the duties of citizens." How long would this take? Miller did not say, but he closed his address on a strongly hopeful note:

> The time, I trust, is not far distant, when there shall be no slavery to lament—no oppression to oppose in the United States— …when every being, who bears the name MAN, whatever complexion an equatorial Sun may have burnt upon him, … shall enjoy the privileges, and be raised to the dignity which belong to the human character.[15]

Samuel Miller supplied a different response to the problem of slavery roughly a quarter century later. In 1823, he returned to the subject when he spoke in Newark to address the Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey about a school for African Americans that it sponsored. The Miller of 1823 still espoused much that he had believed in 1797. He stressed "the enormity of the evil" of chattel slavery, and he urged the necessity of preparing slaves for freedom through education. But the sense that slavery might soon give way to freedom or that those freed might be raised to citizenship had dimmed, if not vanished altogether. Miller dwelt on the degradation that slavery wrought on its victims and the difficulty, if not impossibility, of raising them to full citizenship in the American republic. His words deserve to be quoted at length:

> … while an adequate and an early remedy for the multiplied and dreadful evils of Slavery is earnestly to be desired; yet we are not to expect that any human means can be found, which will put an end to these evils at once. Such a large and complicated mass of evil cannot be removed in a day, or a month, or a year. It must be a work of time, of patient labour, and of large expenditure. We must pay, and pay much, as the penalty of our dreadful mistake and folly; and well will it be

[15] Samuel Miller, *A Discourse, Delivered April 12, 1797, At the Request of And Before the New-York Society For Promoting the Manumission of Slaves* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1797), 9, 18, 31, 36.

> for us, if we can obtain deliverance from it almost at any price. Some have been so inconsiderate as to maintain, that because slavery is, in all cases, an evil, that, therefore, it ought to be abolished at a stroke, and every slave in our land made free in a day. But the idea of liberating, and turning loose on society, at once, a million and a half of slaves, with all the ignorance and depravity to which their bondage has contributed to reduce them, would surely be the extravagance, or rather the cruelty of benevolence. It would be to bring, not merely on the White population, but on the slaves themselves, thus suddenly liberated without being prepared for it, an accumulated curse under the name and guise of a blessing.

What then should be done? Miller continued:

> And as this class of people could not be either respectable or happy, if liberated and left among the whites: so, as neighbours, they would be a constant source of annoyance, of corruption, and of danger to the whites themselves. Suppose a million and a half of such people scattered through the United States. They could never be trusted as faithful citizens. They would never feel that their interests and those of the whites were precisely the same. Each would regard the other with painful suspicion and apprehension. On the one hand, those who had lately been slaves, or who had descended from slaves, would consider every advantage they could take of their former masters, as so much fair gain, and would, therefore, be apt, as far as possible, habitually to prey upon them. On the other hand, the whites would be tempted, and could hardly fail, to cherish sentiments toward their coloured neighbours, in a great measure inconsistent with liberal, kind, or even just treatment; and would seldom think of any tiling but rendering them subservient to their pleasures, their pride or their avarice. In short, they would be mutual sources of corruption, of danger, and of trouble to each other. It would be impossible for them to be safe, pure, or happy together. It is, of course, essential to the interest of each that they be separated; and separated to such a distance from each other, as to render intercourse very seldom practicable—If this be so, then the Coloured people must be colonized. In other words, they must be severed from the white population, and sent to some distant part of the world, where they will be in no danger either of suffering themselves, or of inflicting on others, the evils already described. …[16]

Thus, at the end of the day, education to uplift a supposedly degraded people, followed by emigration from the United States to "a distant part of the world," was the path to avert a social disaster.

Several years before Miller's address to the Synod of New Jersey, Ashbel Green, president of the Seminary's Board of Directors, supplied a similar analysis though with a more hopeful rhetoric. In 1818, he chaired a committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly charged with the question of whether a church member, who was selling a slave who happened to be a fellow believer, should be brought to discipline if the slave did not wish to be sold. Green wrote

[16] Samuel Miller, *A Sermon Preached at Newark, October 22d, 1823 Before the Synod of New Jersey* (Trenton: George Sherman, 1823), 3, 5, 14-15.

the committee's report, which was adopted unanimously by the assembly. The report did not directly answer the question that prompted its formation. It gave no definitive ruling, only that such matters should be brought for settlement to the local church courts. The body of the report dealt with the larger moral and theological question posed by slavery. In tones reminiscent of Revolutionary-era optimism, the report declared:

> We consider the voluntary enslaving of one part of the human race by another, as a gross violation of the most precious and sacred rights of human nature; as utterly inconsistent with the law of God, which requires us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and as totally irreconcilable with the spirit and principles of the gospel of Christ, which enjoin that "all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

The report then asserted that it was the clear "duty of all Christians … to use their honest, earnest, and unwearied endeavours, to correct the errors of former times, and as speedily as possible to efface this blot on our holy religion, and to obtain the complete abolition of slavery throughout Christendom, and if possible throughout the world."[17]

But the report made clear that "as speedily as possible" did not mean any time soon. "The number of slaves, their ignorance, and their vicious habits generally," said the Green committee, "render an immediate and universal emancipation inconsistent alike with the safety and happiness of the master and the slave." Moreover, the Green committee's report expressed sympathy with the plight of those "portions of the church and our country where the evil of slavery has been entailed upon them," and it warned "others to forbear harsh censures, and uncharitable reflections on their brethren, who unhappily live among slaves, whom they cannot immediately set free." In other words, the assembly saw slaveholders as themselves slaves of a sort caught in a system they did not create, their predicament calling for compassion not condemnation. The judicatory recommended several tangible steps to ameliorate the suffering of black Americans. Masters might instruct their slaves in Christianity and endeavor to keep their families intact. Presbyterians might also "patronize and encourage the society lately formed, for colonizing in Africa, the land of their ancestors, the free people of colour in our country." Green's solution was ultimately the same as Miller's—colonization of free blacks in Africa.

Overview of Princeton Seminary and the Colonization Movement

In the longest book he ever wrote, *A History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa*, Archibald Alexander claimed with pride that the idea of the removal of freed slaves to Liberia originated in Princeton among Presbyterian clergy and professors at both the Seminary and the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University).[18] He recounted a meeting in 1816 in

[17] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America from Its Organization, A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1820* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847), 688, 692.
[18] Archibald Alexander, *A History of Colonization on the West Coast of Africa* (Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 1846). See also Robert Finley, *Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks* (Washington City: n.p., 1816). See also Isaac V. Brown, *Biography of the Rev. Robert Finley, D.D., of Basking Ridge, N.J.: with an account of his agency as the author of the American Colonization Society: also a sketch of the slave trade; a view of our national policy and that of Great Britain towards Liberia and Africa* (Philadelphia: J.W. Moore, 1857). An earlier version of this was published in 1819 in New Brunswick, N.J.

which Princeton native son and pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Basking Ridge, Rev. Dr. Robert Finley, shared his vision for ending slavery and solving America's race problem with Alexander and the other Presbyterian clergy in Princeton:

> The first public meeting which ever took place to consider the subject of African colonization in this country, was held in the Presbyterian church in the borough of Princeton. It was called by Dr. Finley, when he explained to a small assemblage the plan of the society which he wished to be formed, and called on the writer [Archibald Alexander] to address the people. He made some observations on the object aimed at. The meeting was small, but in the number of attendants were most of the professors of the College and of the Theological Seminary. It was apparent that the interest of those to whom the scheme was made known was increased the longer they thought upon it.[19]

Though, in fact, ideas about African colonization had been discussed in areas ranging from New England to Virginia since the Revolutionary era, the Princeton version of the conversation resonated with all such schemes: raising money and developing ecclesial, private, and governmental support for a large-scale effort to send freed slaves to Africa where they would establish a new life.

Though the New Jersey chapter of the American Colonization Society was not organized until 1824 in the congregation now known as Nassau Presbyterian Church, Finley joined several other like-minded civil and religious leaders and co-founded the national level of the colonization effort in 1816 in Washington, D.C. When the New Jersey chapter was founded a few years later, the entire faculty and about half of the Seminary's Board of Directors were present and volunteered to play key leadership roles for the coordination of the colonization efforts in New Jersey.[20]

The leadership of the Presbyterian Church's seminary supported colonization and never seem to have wavered from this commitment for nearly the entirety of the 19th century. In 1877, the Seminary's practical theologian and functional president, Rev. Dr. Alexander Taggart McGill, gave an address to the American Colonization Society. Even 12 years *after* the conclusion of the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment outlawing slavery and granting full citizenship to blacks, the leader of Princeton Seminary's faculty continued to raise money and to speak publicly in support of the colonization effort, likely motivated both by the economic and material wretchedness of the newly free black community in the United States, as well as white anxieties about competition for jobs and growing unease about financial stress related to care for poor blacks. Eleven years later, in The Princeton Press for December 22, 1888, John Miller, son of Princeton Seminary Professor Samuel Miller, urged an effort "to revive the New Jersey Branch of the American Colonization Society." After delineating the early role of Princeton in starting the American Colonization Society, John Miller urged that "Princeton that

[19] Alexander, *A History of Colonization*, 80.
[20] "List of Officers," *Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Princeton, New Jersey, July 14, 1824 to Form a Society in the State of New Jersey, to Cooperate with the American Colonization Society* (Princeton: D.A. Borrenstein, 1824), 39-40.

originated the scheme might now take the lead in restoring it to vigor."[21] By this point, the Society had nearly run out of money and was unable to fund the 2,000 African American applicants asking for passage to Liberia at the time. Miller suggested that funding their passage would be an economical means of missionary activity.

The available evidence does not indicate precisely when Princeton Seminary's faculty finally abandoned the colonization idea; it simply fades from the written record. Colonization was still widely supported by many political and intellectual leaders in the nation, especially in the state of New Jersey, well into the mid-19th century. Congress did not officially end disbursement of funds for colonization until 1864. It may be that support for the American Colonization Society by the Seminary's faculty faded away in tandem with the decline of that organization at the end of the 19th and into the early years of the 20th century. Hopefully, it was at some point well before the American Colonization Society finally went defunct in the United States in 1964.[22]

The American Colonization Society never realized the extent of its vision for resettlement. During the course of the nearly half century of the organization's determined fundraising efforts prior to the Civil War, it only resulted in the voluntary resettlement of some 20,000 people—out of a total black population of over 2,000,000.[23] In many respects, the colonization effort seemed doomed from the start given the massive amounts of money that would need to have been raised to realize its agenda, the relatively small numbers of human beings involved, and the hardened opposition from the majority of those it was supposed to have helped. Given these realities, why did the movement have such a long life among the leaders of Princeton Seminary? The answer seems to lie in the belief that colonization would provide a tidy solution to several social, economic, and theological dilemmas.

Rationale

The faculty and board members of Princeton Seminary and the faculty of the College of New Jersey supported the colonization effort for at least four major reasons. *First*, colonization would constructively address the social evil of slavery, while making allowances for the gradual eradication of the institution. Finley, Alexander, and the other Presbyterian clergy in Princeton believed that slavery, while not strictly forbidden by Scripture, was nonetheless an evil and a scourge that had to be addressed in order for God's will to be accomplished in American society. The complexities of biblical interpretation on slavery combined with heightened sensitivity to the

[21] *Princeton Press*, December 22, 1888, as reprinted in Jack Washington, *The Long Journey Home* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005), 111-112.

[22] "American Colonization Society records, 1792-1964," Library of Congress Online Records, https://catalog.loc.gov/vwebv/search?searchCode=LCCN&searchArg=mm%2078010660&searchType=1&permalink=y**.** It is worth noting that the American Colonization Society's analog in Liberia continued to exist, at least on paper, until the 1980s. See: "American Colonization Society Still Owns Land in Liberia?" [Monrovia] *SunTimes*1985-07-03: 12.

[23] Andrew Diemer, "'A Desire to Better Their Condition': European Immigration, African Colonization, and the Lure of Consensual Emancipation," Beverly C. Tomek and Matthew J. Hetrick, eds. *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, 2017), 249-50. It should be noted that some of the total number counted as colonists were people whom the U.S. Navy rescued from slave ships before they reached the shores of North America.

sensibilities of Southern Presbyterian slaveholders—not to mention the fact that Alexander and several other Princeton Presbyterian leaders like John Witherspoon and Ashbel Green had themselves owned slaves—led them to look for a solution to the problem that was gradual and voluntary. They wanted to find a way to end slavery without dividing the church and the country; the gradualism and voluntary character of colonization seemed the most viable and creative option available.

The gradualism inherent in the colonization scheme was also premised on a shared belief by Seminary leaders that slavery was on its last legs and would eventually simply run its course, given enough time. Part of the appeal of colonization had to do with mollifying Southern white slave owners during the process of slavery's supposed inevitable phase out. They believed that it would garner support from Southerners who either did not want freed slaves in their midst for fear of potential insurrection or who wanted a way out of slavery but who could not afford to do so immediately. It also provided some incentive for Southern slaveholders who could afford to free their slaves sooner rather than later, since the newly freed slaves would have a viable place to go in order to make a fresh start.

Alexander and Miller aimed to supplement their gradualism with efforts to educate blacks in the rudiments of Christian belief, reading and writing, and social responsibility.[24] Yet, the Seminary's faculty members believed, with the vast majority of white Americans in the 19th century, that "non-whites could only realize their innate potential as human beings – and perhaps their equality with whites – by separating themselves from the American republic."[25]

The embrace of a middle way between support for slavery and immediate abolition led the Seminary's faculty to rail against the abolitionists. In his lectures to third year students who were about to enter pastoral ministry, Archibald Alexander warned his charges to avoid the abolitionists and their dangerous immediatism. He saw people like William Lloyd Garrison as dangerous foes to the black race masquerading as friends. More than that, he urged that Presbyterian ministers should never entangle themselves in politics and should leave such matters to professional politicians. The abolitionists would, they feared, destroy the church and the nation by dividing both right down the middle. Their fears were not wrong; what they indirectly prophesied came to bloodily apocalyptic fact at mid-century. At root, Alexander and the rest of the Seminary faculty did not possess a theological imagination that would allow them to envision divine action through human agency to bring about a harmonious multiracial American society, even though they could easily imagine divine intervention through human agency to transform the entire continent of Africa through evangelization by black colonialists from America. Yet they simply could not envision a nation in which black and white lived together as political peers and socio-economic equals.

Second, Finley's African colonization plan seemed to offer a constructive solution to America's growing racial tensions. None of the Princeton Presbyterians believed that blacks

[24] See for example, Archibald Alexander's "Pastoral Duty to the Colored Race," The Archibald Alexander Manuscript Collection, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library, box 12, file 55.
[25] Nicholas Guyatt. *Bind us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation* (New York: Basic, 2016), 7.

were inherently inferior to whites. Quite the contrary, they believed in the ontological equality of black and white people on the basis of their reading of Genesis 1:26. The problem was not a fundamental difference in humanity so much as a massive socioeconomic chasm between the races brought about by two centuries of slavery. Blacks had been put into such a deficit economically, culturally, and educationally through the evils of slavery that Seminary leaders and Princeton Presbyterians simply could not conceive of what it would take to bring them into parity with the white population. Articulating a view shared by many enlightened white Presbyterians of his day, Alexander observed:

> Two races of men, nearly equal in number, but differing as much as the whites and the blacks, cannot form one harmonious society in any other way than by amalgamation; but the whites and the blacks, in this country, by no human efforts, could be amalgamated into one homogenous mass in a thousand years; and during this long period, the state of society would be perpetually disturbed by many contending factions. Either the whites must remove and give up the country to the coloured [sic] people, or the coloured people must be removed; otherwise the latter must remain in subjection to the former.[26]

Finley and scores of Presbyterian clergy from Princeton and across the denomination affirmed this assessment and believed in light of it that the only humane thing to do for freed slaves was to remove them from white society – at least until some distant point in the future in which blacks could attain the level of education, prosperity, and cultural development that would make it possible for black and white to interact as equals. This "benevolent civilizationism," aptly named by American historian Brandon Mills, held open the possibility for multiracial harmony but only after a significant period of racial separation marked by black cultural and economic development to the level of white standards.[27] In one of the keynote speeches delivered at the founding of the New Jersey Colonization Society in First Presbyterian Church on July 14, 1824, the Seminary's Treasurer of the Board, James S. Green, offered this prospect to Seminary faculty and trustees along with several members of the faculty from the College of New Jersey, as quoted from an earlier speech by Pitt:

> …We may live to behold the natives of Africa *and her reclaimed children*, engaged in the calm occupations of industry, in the pursuits of a just and legitimate commerce. We may uphold the beams of science and philosophy, breaking in upon their land, which at some happy period in still later times, may blaze with full lustre; and joining their influence to that of pure religion may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent. Then we may hope, that even Africa, though last of all the quarters of the globe shall enjoy, at length, in the evening of her days, those blessings which have descended so plentifully upon us in a much earlier period of the world![28]

[26] Ibid, 17.
[27] Brandon Mills, "Situating African Colonization within the History of U.S. Expansion," in Tomek and Hetrick, *New Directions*, 175.
[28] *Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Princeton, New Jersey, July 14, 1824, to Form a Society*, 26.

The minutes from the meeting indicate that after these closing words to Green's speech, Princeton Seminary faculty member Samuel Miller rose to speak and said that he could not say anything better on the subject. Instead of adding anything to the sentiments expressed by Green, Miller simply moved to the next item on the agenda: introduction of Rev. George Boyd, "an accredited Agent of the American Colonization Society."[29]

Seen from a larger perspective, a "separate until they equate" strategy characterized the bulk of progressive white Protestant thinking about Native Americans and African Americans in the 19th century and not simply those of Princeton Seminary or other Princeton Presbyterians. In his book *Bind Us Apart: How Enlightened Americans Invented Racial Segregation*, Nicholas Guyatt observes that:

> Colonization enabled reformers to break the link between emancipation and integration: it allowed slavery's opponents to acknowledge "all men are created equal" without having to imagine a race-blind society on the other side of abolition. Colonization was not just a diversion, but a rewiring of white thinking about race.[30]

Guyatt argues convincingly that Finley's scheme to send freed blacks to Africa has to be seen as part of a pervasive white normativity that similarly and simultaneously lay behind efforts at Indian removal and their eventual confinement to reservations. Because white people as a whole viewed Native Americans and African Americans as socially and culturally deficient and because most whites would not provide the kind of widespread social and economic resources to bring these two groups up to the same level as white "civilization," the only compassionate thing to do was to remove them from a perpetually unequal societal situation in order to allow them to become civilized and prosperous enough to function as peers with white America. In this view, Native Americans should be removed beyond the zone of "civilization" to the West, and African Americans should be removed across the Atlantic to the west coast of Africa.

Third, colonization offered a way to deal with widespread fears among whites of slave revolt or uprising. Removing a segment of the population that was not only poor and uneducated, but resentful about slavery and, therefore, capable of violence on the scale of the uprisings in Haiti would provide safety for the white population. White anxiety about racial violence by vengeful blacks repeatedly bubbled up through the anti-slavery rhetoric of those advocating colonization. Returning to James Green's speech at the organizational meeting for the New Jersey chapter of the colonization movement, we find this anxious appeal:

> And are we, Sir, entirely safe, while we breathe the same atmosphere with this powerful and disconnected horde? If intelligence should reach you, that three thousand men had landed on your shores with the avowed intention of marching to this place, to burn your buildings, to murder the inhabitants, to plunder your property, what stir, what anxiety, what exertion would everywhere mark the village, and neighborhood, and State; every man would be at his post, and the words 'coward,' and 'traitor,' would be marked in burning characters

[29] Ibid., 27.
[30] Guyatt, *Bind Us Apart,* 330.

> on the forehead of every one, who should refuse to join in the resistance. But for myself, I do verily believe, we have a more dangerous foe than this to content with; a foe under the disguise of slave or servant; one who is admitted without reserve into the bosom of our families; one to whom we often commit the custody of our dwellings; one to whom we frequently confide the care of our children, and yet one who secretly and cordially hates and despises the hand that feeds and maintains him. We all know that a foe in disguise is more dangerous than an open enemy. Against the last we can march, meet, face, and conquer him. The other is silent; his approach is unobserved; and the first notice that we may receive of his hostile intention may be cries and dying groans, or the midnight-conflagration of our dwellings.[31]

As critics of colonization like William Lloyd Garrison pointed out even at the time, it is rather incongruous to make such claims about a group of people who purportedly seethe with hatred and await only the right opportunity to engage in wholesale slaughter of white people yet who are to be entrusted with the establishment of a model democratic society in Liberia and the evangelization of the entire continent of Africa.[32]

Even as colonization provided a way to address white anxieties, it was also motivated by missionary zeal. As a *fourth* rationale for the colonization scheme, Finley and his Seminary and Princeton Presbyterian supporters believed that sending freed blacks (and, eventually, all blacks) back to Africa would contribute mightily to the Christian conversion of the heathen continent of Africa. This imagined benefit of colonization arose, in part, from the widespread belief that white missionaries to Africa had a tendency to die quickly from tropical diseases and that blacks seemed to have a basic immunity to such diseases. Because freed blacks sent to Liberia would now be Christian, they would be ideally suited to convert the heathen and to bring the light of Christ and "civilization" to the whole of Africa. In analyzing the theological vision of Finley on the matter of the evangelization of Africa as a primary benefit of colonization, Ben Wright points out that Finley (and, by extension, his Princeton Seminary supporters) believed rather ironically that "Training black American missionaries would turn a class of loathed, feared, or pitied Americans into pious servants of Christ. In the minds of white colonizationists, degenerate slaves and dangerous free blacks would become disciplined missionaries."[33] Freed Christian blacks would become instruments of fulfilling evangelical Protestant millennialist visions.

Finley and the Seminary supporters also believed that sending black missionaries to convert the continent of Africa would serve as a type of penitence, providing redress for the sin of slave trading itself. Wright observes:

> By the second decade of the nineteenth century a clear majority of Americans believed that the Atlantic slave trade was evil, and although it had been abolished,

[31] *Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Princeton, New Jersey, July 14, 1824, to Form a Society*, 16-17.
[32] William Lloyd Garrison, *Thoughts on African colonization: or, an impartial exhibition of the doctrines, principles and purposes of the American Colonization Society. Together with the resolutions, addresses and remonstrances of the free people of color* (Boston: Garrison and Knapp, 1832).
[33] Ben Wright, "'The Heathen are Demanding the Gospel': Conversion, Redemption, and African Colonization," in Tomek and Hetrick, *New Directions,* 58.

> a moral scar endured. Finley believed that the United States had committed a grave sin, but colonization offered "the atoning sacrifice." The slave trade robbed Africa of millions of children, encouraged violence between African nations, and hindered the progress of missionaries by linking Christianity to slavery. Finley wrote, "if wrong has been done to Africa in forcing away her weeping children, the wrong can best be redressed by that power which did the injury."[34]

In other words, the evils wrought by slavery could be atoned for by sending blacks from America to Africa in order to redeem the continent from its godless ways through the preaching of the Gospel.

How the Colonization Scheme Played Out

The American Colonization Society (ACS) was founded in 1816 and remained in operation until 1964. From the beginning, Princeton played a leadership role in the colonization effort. Contrary to Archibald Alexander's claims that the colonization vision was first articulated to the world by Finley in Princeton in the presence of faculty members from the Seminary and the College, such visions had been discussed by church leaders in New England in the three or four decades prior to Finley's visit to Princeton in 1816. Such a scheme was known to members of the Revolutionary generation, including and especially Thomas Jefferson and other political leaders from Virginia. Black leaders like Paul Cuffe and James Forten also expressed support in the early part of the 1800s for black colonization in West Africa.[35] However, the town of Princeton was a significant center for the colonization movement. It was home to one of the co-founders of the ACS and the U.S. Navy leader most responsible for the establishment of the physical reality of the colony of Liberia, Robert F. Stockton.[36]

The Seminary faculty benefitted directly from the leadership of Robert F. Stockton concerning the colonization effort in at least two ways. While serving in the U.S. Navy, Stockton secured, at the point of a gun, the land for ACS that eventually became Liberia. While technically speaking the land was not possessed as a colony for the government, since the United States did not want to see itself as a colonial power like Great Britain and did not formally recognize Liberia as an independent nation until 1862, the government allowed the ACS to function in a semiautonomous fashion and with varying degrees of official support.[37] The colonization vision made a major step forward toward realization when Stockton "secured" the initial bit of land for ACS in the spring of 1822.

Two years after forcibly appropriating the first swath of land that eventually became Liberia, Stockton presided over the organizational meeting of the New Jersey Colonization Society on July 24, 1824, in the building of The Presbyterian Church in Princeton. In addition to

[34] Ibid., 59.
[35] Though he eventually changed his mind and became a vocal opponent of colonization, Forten initially supported the cause.
[36] R. John Brockmann, *Commodore Robert F. Stockton, 1795-1866: Protean Man for a Protean Nation* (Amherst, NY: Cambria, 2009).
[37] The relationship between ACS and the United States government has many dimensions and went through several phases. The most important facts of governmental support for the colonization work of ACS involved financial support from Congress and authorization for naval support and protection of the colony.

offering the opening speech, Stockton was elected the first president of the organization with two Princeton Seminary board members, James Green and John T. Woodhull, elected as vice presidents (along with four other vice presidents). Seminary board member John Vancleve and the third member of the Seminary faculty, Charles Hodge, served as two of the active "managers" for the new enterprise. The other two faculty members of the Seminary, as well as five current and one future member of the Princeton Seminary board, served as "directors or honorary managers" for the local chapter of the colonization effort. The entire faculty and most of the board of the Seminary supported and took their cues from Stockton in the colonization effort.[38]

The colonization effort at the national level received widespread support in its early years. Such high-profile political leaders as Henry Clay, Francis Scott Key, James Monroe, and even Abraham Lincoln supported the endeavor as a way to deal with the problem of slavery in a gradual and nondivisive way. Several clergy from the Methodist, Congregationalist, Baptist, and Presbyterian traditions wholeheartedly supported the cause, particularly in its first decades. By leveraging such widespread social and spiritual capital, the ACS was able to secure congressional funding that easily equaled and probably surpassed the amount raised through private means in special events and local chapters.

A significant challenge for the ACS involved securing freed slaves who would agree to go to Liberia. A handful of free blacks saw Liberia as a way to get out of the toxic racial maelstrom of American society and some shared the evangelical vision of converting Africa to Christianity. Most free blacks, however, strenuously resisted the colonization effort; and those who did favor emigration often looked to some other organization than the ACS or placed their hopes in a venue other than Liberia. Those who opposed colonization did so on the grounds that they had been born and raised in America and that Africa was a completely foreign place to them. Others may have shared the missionary vision but did not wish to go to such a physically challenging place to carry out the mission. It is worth noting that two African American Princeton Seminary graduates, Thomas McCants Stewart and Hugh Mason Browne, set sail for Liberia in 1883 and spent some years there, the latter as the "Charles Hodge Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy" at Liberia College and the former as professor of law and belles lettres at the same school, later serving as general agent for Liberian education, and still later as an associated justice of the Liberian Supreme Court and deputy attorney general. In the end, approximately 13,000 people—out of a black population of around 2,000,000 people—agreed to emigrate to Liberia.[39] The relatively small number of people who emigrated to Liberia

[38] *Proceedings of a Meeting Held at Princeton, New Jersey, July 14, 1824, to Form a Society*, 39-40.

[39] Eric Burin, who has made a detailed study of the American Colonization Society, includes a chart in his book *Slavery and the Peculiar Solution: A History of the American Colonization Society*, of the number of persons sponsored for emigration by the ACS:

1820-1833: 3,160
1834-1847: 1, 891
1848-1860: 5,888
Total by 1860: 10,939

Following the war an additional 2,000 emigrants went to Liberia between 1866 and 1871. In 1819, Congress passed an act which authorized the president to send a naval squadron to African waters to apprehend illegal slave traders and appropriated $100,000 to resettle captured slaves in Africa. No attempt was made to determine the actual tribes from which these recaptured slaves had come. Rather the ACS entered into agreements with the U.S. government to

soon became the basis for withdrawal of support, if not outright ridicule, of the mission of the ACS.

The way colonization played out among the white population is complicated. Beyond the halls of power in Washington, D.C., the ACS initially enjoyed a broad base of support among white Protestants. White slaveholders in the South supported the effort for a time because it provided a way for free blacks to be removed from their communities and thereby not to serve as inspiration for rebellion or uprising among the multitudes of the enslaved. Some white slaveholders also supported colonization because it offered a way to salve their consciences by getting out of the slavery business without having to worry about future repercussions from their former slaves. The support among white slaveholders in the South fell off sharply after the Missouri crisis and with the rise of increasingly bold abolitionism from the North.

Northern whites seemed to support colonization as a creative and benevolent scheme until critics began to question the inherent racial assumptions at work in the ACS. Even noted abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison was a member of ACS and an active supporter of colonization for a brief time. It did not take long, however, for Garrison to see the fact that the ACS was both anti-slavery and anti-black. His book, *Thoughts on African Colonization*, laid bare all of the contradictions, deep-seated racism, and failure of imagination at work in the ACS. In Archibald Alexander's book on the history of African colonization written in 1846—some 14 years after the publication of Garrison's scathing exposé of the ACS and its theological rhetoric—he echoed an accusation to the effect that Garrison was the black community's worst enemy while being disguised as a friend.[40]

Other Northern whites continued to support the colonization effort as a middle way between the evils of slavery and the specter of ecclesiastical division and even civil war over the issues of slavery and race. But another swath of Northern white support fell away as a result of the revivalism of Finney and New School Presbyterians, whose spiritual fervor often led them to support abolitionist positions. Predictably, in light of its theological commitments and tendencies, Princeton Seminary rejected revivalism and abolitionism. As already noted, the Seminary faculty continued to support colonization as the solution to America's racial problems and tensions well after the abolition of slavery in 1865.

Although the ACS continued to exist until 1964 in the United States and until 1985 in Liberia, the official colonization effort had lost most of its support by the end of the Civil War in 1865. That it continued to survive for 99 more years stands as a sad testimony to ongoing racism in American life, to the hope of part of a minority group of African Americans

settle these rescued victims of the slave trade in Liberia as well. By 1867, close to 6,000 additional persons were thereby resettled in Liberia, though they had never been slaves in North America. This would account for the larger figure of close to 20,000 total settlers. On the colonization movement, see also Philip John Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961). An excellent historiographical review of the published studies of the American Colonization Society may be found in Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 413f

[40] Alexander (quoting F. Daveny), *A History of Colonization,* 385.

for a better life outside of the United States, and to the failure of theological imagination on the part of some of the greatest Presbyterian theological minds of the 19th century.

Theodore S. Wright, the Seminary's first black graduate in 1828, offered a coda to the colonization scheme. Speaking in 1838 to an abolitionist gathering in Oneida County, New York, Wright rejected colonization on several grounds. It was inconsistent in its rationale and unworkable as policy.

> It changes its hues like the chamelion [sic]. At the South its advocates say, "we don't mean to trouble your institutions. This society never contemplated emancipation." At the North it is the only means to ultimately remove slavery. But the Colonization Society is inadequate to the task it has undertaken. It is impossible to colonize the colored people of America on the shore of Africa. It cannot be done. You might as well think of draining the ocean with a teaspoon. The society increased to the highest state of efficiency possible cannot remove the increase alone. O how absurd the idea, and foolish—I might say "fanatical"—the attempt to remove 3,000,000 of human beings to the other side of the ocean.

It enticed African Americans with the notion that Africa was their real home. "Where is our home," he replied, "if it be not the place where we were born, brought up, and where we now reside? Africa is *not* our home; no more than England, Scotland, Germany and Switzerland, are the homes of the Americans." Colonization, Wright insisted, "fastens and strengthens the prejudice against colored people" and "is the more dangerous as she comes to us in the garb of Piety." Perhaps thinking of his theological alma mater, Theodore Wright also observed: "Some have been led to look favorably upon this scheme because a great many good men have been engaged in it. But good men may err; men are the same that they ever were, finite and fallible; and bad principles are very frequently found among good men."[41]

[41] *The Friend of Man*, Vol. 3, No. 18, 17 October 1838. Digitized by Cornell University. Accessed Feb. 25, 2018, at http://fom.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cornell-fom?a=d&d=TFOM18381017.2.2&e=-------en-20--1--txt-txIN------#. For more on Wright, see the following section on Princeton Seminary alumni.

Alumni: The Range of Opinion and Action on Slavery

Another facet of the Seminary's historical relationship to slavery is the attitudes and actions of those who studied at Princeton Seminary. The issue of slavery was important enough in the first half of the 19th century in the United States that the Seminary's alumni would have had to confront it, no matter where they served. As Daved Anthony Schmidt has documented, the largest number of students in the period 1812-1865 had come from the mid-Atlantic area (53 percent) and gone on to serve in the mid-Atlantic for much of their careers. However a smaller proportion of the students had come from the South or the border states (20 percent) and a significant number of graduates would go on to serve some portion of their ministry in these areas (27 percent).[42] In addition, as the century moved on, more students would move into the newer areas in the West as these areas were settled, not only the old Northwest Territory, which was at least legally supposed to be free of slavery, but also areas such as Missouri where slavery was permitted. The range of opinion held and action taken by these graduates on the slavery issue was varied.

Perhaps the best known stories of Seminary alumni regarding the slavery issue are those of two of its graduates connected to the abolitionist cause. **Theodore Sedgwick Wright** (Class of 1828) claims a special place in Princeton Seminary history as the first African American to attend and graduate from the Seminary. He attended from 1825 through 1828. The Board of Director's Minute Book specifically stipulates that his race should be no bar to his admission to the Seminary (he had already been turned down by a number of institutions to which he had applied): "Dr. McAuley, on behalf of the Presbytery of Albany, applied to the board to have Theodore Wright, a fine young man of color, admitted into the Seminary. Whereupon, resolved that his color shall form no obstacle in the way of his reception."[43] Records seem to indicate that he was among the very first African Americans to receive any kind of formal higher education in North America.

Wright was named for Theodore Sedgwick (1746-1813), a Massachusetts attorney who successfully argued a 1781 case concerning two escaped slaves who gained their freedom in Massachusetts by claiming that the state's 1780 constitution had declared that "all men are born free and equal." This name thus gives some idea of the sentiments of the family into which Theodore Sedgwick Wright was born. He is reported to have attended the Free African School in New York City, which had been set up by the New York Manumission Society, of which Samuel Miller had been a founding member. During his middler year at Princeton Seminary, Wright became a subscription agent for the Freedom's Journal, an early African American newspaper edited by Samuel Cornish, the pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church in New York City. At first Samuel Miller and others associated with the Seminary became subscribers.

[42] See Appendix B.

[43] "Board of Directors Minute Book," Princeton Theological Seminary, May 16, 1825. The most complete study of the life and ministry of Theodore Wright to date is Daniel Paul Morrison, "Rev. Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797-1847) Early Princeton Theological Seminary Black Abolitionist." A copy of the typescript of this work is located in the Special Collections Department, Princeton Theological Seminary Library. It contains an excellent transcription of the publications of Theodore Wright as well as transcriptions of published obituaries and accounts of his funeral.

However, when the paper began an attack on the American Colonization Society, with which members of the Princeton Seminary faculty as well as prominent Princeton townsfolk were involved, this began to cause problems. In 1827, a junior editor of the paper printed the contents of a letter written by Samuel Miller, which Miller had expected would be kept confidential, and Miller responded by canceling his subscription to the paper and forbidding its presence on the Seminary campus on the grounds that it had impugned the motives and vilified the characters of persons associated with the work of the Colonization Society.

Wright was ordained by the Presbytery of Albany on February 5, 1829. He was named pastor of the First Colored Presbyterian Church of New York City and served the congregation until his death in 1847. By all reports his pastorate was a very successful one, his congregation rapidly growing until they had to find a new meeting place and eventually becoming the second largest African American church in New York City. He and his congregation were active in the Underground Railroad, helping escaping slaves in their travels from the American South to freedom in Canada. In addition, Wright served as an agent of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and worked with other anti-slavery organizations, traveling and lecturing in the cause along with such other well-known African American abolitionists as Frederick Douglass. He also wrote for William Lloyd Garrison's anti-slavery newspaper, the Liberator. In 1833, he became one of the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society, serving on its executive committee and later helping to found the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. He was chairman of the New York Vigilance Committee, which worked to prevent the kidnapping of free African Americans who would then be sold into slavery in the South. He was also vice president of the Phoenix Society, an organization promoting education and vocational training for African Americans.

Despite the altercation over the Freedom's Journal, Wright appears to have kept contact with his Seminary professors and continued on good terms with them over the years. In 1836, seven years after completing his theological studies, Wright was back on the campus for a meeting of the "Literary Society of the Alumni of Nassau Hall." Although this was a program of the alumni of Princeton College, the event took place in the Seminary chapel. The event was packed, but extra benches were brought in and Wright was able to take a seat about 10 feet from the door. Suddenly someone cried out, "Out with the n***," and Wright was seized by the collar and kicked by a Princeton College student. Although Wright did not try to defend himself, one of the Princeton Seminary students came to his aid. The college student turned out to be from South Carolina, and Princeton University records indicate that he did not complete his studies at Princeton, possibly being expelled for his actions at this meeting.[44]

This was not the only time Wright suffered because of his race. Much more serious was the death of his first wife. Travelling by steamer to Boston in the winter, they were compelled to stand outside on the hurricane deck in inclement weather. Wright's wife was frail, and Wright offered to pay any money if they would just allow her to stand in the kitchen or pantry, but this was refused since she was African American. He wrapped his coat around her and put her against a chimney to keep her warm, but she contracted a severe cold and died shortly

[44]The Miller Chapel incident is reported in a letter from Theodore Wright published in *The Liberator* for November 6, 1836. A full transcription is found in the appendix to the Morrison, "Rev. Theodore Sedgwick Wright," 14-17.

thereafter.[45] Wright also complained that the Presbyterian church did not adequately support ministry to African Americans and that African American members of the Presbytery were not accorded the same status as their white brethren, but he went faithfully on with his work. By the time of his death in 1847, Wright was so well known and his work so well appreciated that his funeral procession through the streets of New York contained an estimated 6,000 people.[46]

The second well-known Princeton Seminary graduate connected with the cause of abolition was **Elijah Parish Lovejoy** (Class of 1834). Lovejoy was born in Maine and attended the school that today is known as Colby College. After graduation he travelled west to St. Louis, where he began a newspaper and ran a school. Sensing a call to ministry, he came to Princeton Seminary in 1832. After ordination he returned to St. Louis, where he resumed his newspaper work along with his work as a pastor. Among other topics, he wrote articles for his newspaper concerning abolition and the mistreatment of African Americans. These writings stirred up local resentment, and several times his newspaper office was vandalized. Eventually he decided to relocate his offices to Alton, Illinois, across the Mississippi River, since Illinois was nominally a "free" state. However, pro-slavery forces were strong in Alton as well, and his press was again attacked and destroyed.

When a new press was sent down the river from Cincinnati for Lovejoy, he and some friends stored it temporarily in a warehouse near the river and decided to spend the night guarding it. A mob gathered on the night of November 7, 1837, and demanded that it be turned over to them. If not, the mob threatened to burn down the warehouse. As Lovejoy and several colleagues stepped forward to defend their press, Lovejoy was shot five times and killed. The mob then seized the press, breaking it up and throwing the pieces in the river.

Lovejoy became one of the early martyrs of the abolition movement. His death made a profound impression on the national consciousness and stirred new interest in the anti-slavery cause and in defense of freedom of the press. Memorial services were held across the nation, including one organized by Theodore Wright at his church in New York City. Lovejoy's brothers, Owen and Joseph, wrote a memoir of his life, a copy of which was presented to the Princeton Seminary library by the American Anti-Slavery Society when it was published in 1838. In more recent years, new accounts of the story of Elijah Parish Lovejoy have continued to appear (including even a recent one in comic-book form). A PBS-style documentary was made for television, portions of which were shot on the Princeton Seminary campus, and a commemorative plaque is located on the porch of the Mackay Center at Princeton Seminary. An award for courageous journalism named after him was established in 1952 at Colby College and continues to be given out annually.[47]

[45]The incident was reported by Ebenezer Davies, a British abolitionist who attended Wright's funeral, in his *American Scenes, and Christian Slavery: A Recent Tour of Four Thousand Miles in the United States* (London: J. Snow, 1849). Letter XXIX. It is recounted in Morrison, "Rev. Theodore Sedgwick Wright," 24.

[46] Ibid., 51.

[47]There have been a number of biographies published of Elijah Lovejoy, beginning in the 19th century with Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy, *A Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy; who was murdered in defence of the liberty of the press, at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7, 1837* (New York: J.S. Taylor, 1838), with an introduction by John Quincy Adams; and Henry Tanner, *The Martyrdom of Lovejoy. An Account of the Life, Trials, and Perils of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy* (Chicago: Fergus printing company, 1881). Twentieth century biographies include Melvin Jameson, *Elijah Parish Lovejoy as a Christian* (Rochester, N.Y.: Scranton, Wetmore & co., 1910); John Gill, *Tide without Turning:*

A somewhat less-known figure was **Albert Barnes** (Class of 1823). Barnes was one of the most vocal Presbyterian pastors in the anti-slavery camp. He served for over 40 years as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia. He was a noted preacher and author of a series of popular biblical commentaries. He made an exhaustive study of the passages in the Bible related to slavery, and he concluded that whatever the Bible might say about slavery in ancient Israel or in the Roman Empire in the time of the apostles, slavery as practiced in the 19th century in North America could not simply be characterized as an abuse of an otherwise neutral system, but was completely "contrary to the spirit of the Christian religion" and that "the fair influence of the Christian religion would everywhere abolish slavery." He recommended that Christian churches should follow the example of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and cease all connection with slavery. If that were done, he was convinced, the force of public opinion would be such that it could no longer stand.[48]

Another lesser known Princeton Seminary alumnus who took up the abolitionist cause was **John Finley Crowe** (Class of 1816). Crowe was born in Tennessee, grew up in Missouri, and did his college studies in Lexington, Kentucky. Following his studies at the Seminary, he returned to Kentucky as a pastor of two small congregations and also founded an academy. In addition to his white students, he took up instructional work in the African American community and earned local opposition for this. No one would lend him the use of a building for the purpose. In May of 1822 he began publishing a newspaper, The Abolition Intelligencer and Missionary Magazine, which ran for about a year. It was one of the earliest publications of its kind in the country but earned him further rejection from the local populace. In his diary he wrote that he was willing "to suffer persecution and reproach, the loss of friends and property, if he might only be instrumental in doing something for the amelioration of the poor slave." When he could no longer get his paper printed and had received threats to himself and his family, he finally accepted a call to pastor a congregation in Hanover, Indiana. In Hanover he again started a school which was incorporated in 1829 and became Hanover College in 1833, the first church-related college in Indiana. He served on the Board of Trustees of the college until his death in 1860 at age 72. An early memoir and some correspondence from John Finley Crowe are held at the Hanover College archives and show his ongoing contact with Princeton Seminary and its professors over the years. His correspondence and surviving speeches reflect his lifelong concern with the slavery issue, as well as with the condition of Native Americans and, in later years, with the colonization movement in Liberia. As one of the pioneer Presbyterian ministers in southern Indiana, he helped organize the Synod of Indiana in 1826, which sent repeated overtures on the question of slavery to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.[49]

John Montieth (Class of 1816) was also active in the anti-slavery movement. While at Princeton Seminary he lived with Archibald Alexander as a tutor to two of Alexander's sons. He

Elijah P. Lovejoy and Freedom of the Press (Boston: Starr King Press, 1958); Merton Lynn Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor (*Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961); and Paul Simon, *Lovejoy, martyr to freedom* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1964). In addition, the Special Collections Department, Princeton Theological Seminary Library, has several contemporary accounts of the riot and subsequent trials in Alton and the commemorative address given by William Lloyd Garrison in Boston on July 4, 1838.

[48]The two most complete examinations of the issue of slavery by Albert Barnes are *An Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery* (Philadelphia: Perkins and Purves, 1846) and *The Church and Slavery* (Philadelphia: Parry & McMillan, 1857).

[49]"John Finley Crowe." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

was the first Presbyterian minister to reach Michigan. In 1817, he preached the first English sermon there and established the first Protestant congregation in Detroit. He apparently fostered good ecumenical relations, as the first service was actually held in the Roman Catholic church building. He also helped establish the first university in the territory (later to become the University of Michigan), serving as its first president, and he founded the first public library in Michigan. In 1821, he moved to Hamilton, New York, to teach at Hamilton College, followed by a second teaching stint in Germantown, Pennsylvania. In 1831, he moved to Elyria, Ohio, where he served until 1845. He was a pioneer in the anti-slavery cause in the Western Reserve, near the shores of Lake Erie, and operated a station on the Underground Railroad in the region. At one point he narrowly escaped being tarred and feathered by a pro-slavery mob (in northern Ohio, a supposedly slave-free area), and another time his daughter remembered him coming home with his horse's mane and tail completely sheared off. His friends in Michigan recalled him to that area between 1845 and 1855, but he returned to Elyria in 1859 to continue his teaching and anti-slavery work, dying there in 1868.[50]

A classmate of John Montieth, **Jeremiah Chamberlain** (Class of 1817), also had a pioneering role in higher education. Although less vocal about his beliefs regarding slavery, he nevertheless ended up paying for them with his life. Born in Pennsylvania and educated at Dickinson College, Chamberlain's mother had made a vow at the time of his birth to dedicate him to the work of the church. After finishing his program at Princeton Seminary, he accepted a missionary appointment to travel through western Pennsylvania and then down the Ohio River to St. Louis and on down the Mississippi, stopping at towns between Natchez and New Orleans, and finally ending up in Mobile, Alabama, where he was the first Protestant minister ever to hold a service, using his silk hat as a pulpit desk on which to rest his sermon notes. He returned to Bedford, Pennsylvania, where he served a congregation and founded an academy in 1818. In 1822, he was called to Centre College in Danville, Kentucky, serving as president of the institution at age 27. In 1826, he was called to Jackson, Louisiana, to head a college there, but the support was not what had been expected, and he resigned to start his own academy there in 1828. In 1830, he worked together with the Presbyterian Church officials to establish what became Oakland College in Mississippi, about 40 miles from Natchez. The school flourished under his leadership for the next 20 years and at its founding was the only church-related college southwest of Tennessee.

Although Chamberlain's own sympathies were for ending slavery, his position depended upon working amicably with slaveholding neighbors and supporters. In the same year he founded Oakland College, he co-founded the Mississippi Colonization Society, dedicated to encouraging the manumission of slaves for resettlement in Liberia. The first classes at Oakland were held in a home that was the private residence of the wife of a slave trader, and land and early endowments for the college came from local plantation owners. By the 1850s there were tensions in the area on political issues, including slavery and states' rights, and Senator Jefferson Davis, an opponent of the Compromise of 1850, lost in his bid to become governor of Mississippi. On the evening of September 5, 1851, Chamberlain was stabbed to death in front of his own home, while his wife, several of his children, and his son-in-law looked on. The murderer rode away and hid for several days after the killing but himself was found dead about a week later, presumably from suicide. The reason for the murder was not made fully clear by the official proceedings, but

[50]"John Montieth." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

contemporary reports suggest that the murderer had been a Jefferson Davis supporter, had been drinking, and was concerned about pro-Union and anti-slavery sentiments being propagated at the college. It is interesting to note that despite Jeremiah Chamberlain's concerns about slavery, the county slave schedule for 1850 shows him as owning three young slaves himself, ages 24, 17, and 15.

Oakland College closed during the Civil War, and the property was bought by the state after the war. Congress had required states with segregated educational systems to establish black land grant colleges if the state wished to qualify for gaining land grant benefits. The former Oakland College, a school originally set up for white students, became the first land grant college for African Americans, Alcorn College. In 1974 it became Alcorn University.[51]

While some alumni of Princeton Seminary did become active in the anti-slavery movement, many who were opposed in principle to slavery as practiced in North America before the Civil War were also opposed to the immediate abolitionist stance of Douglass and Garrison. They believed that freeing slaves without adequate preparation for citizenship would create serious social and economic disruption.

A very common position among Presbyterian ministers of the antebellum period, including Princeton Seminary graduates, was to affirm the value of ultimate emancipation, while in the meanwhile working for voluntary manumissions, an amelioration of the system of slavery while it lasted, and the education of free African Americans and of slaves and their children. A number of graduates of Princeton Seminary were involved, at least for a portion of their ministry, as missionaries to the slaves and to freedmen in the American South. Others served with sabbath schools in the North, giving basic literacy education and religious instruction, and also provided other services for African American Presbyterian congregations.

An interesting case was that of **Charles Colcock Jones** (Class of 1830). He was born the son of a plantation owner on the Georgia coast and became a substantial slaveholder in his own right. When he was 17 he made a profession of faith. Deciding to enter the ministry, he went to Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, and Andover Seminary, completing his theological education at Princeton Seminary in 1830. While in Massachusetts he became very concerned about the family plantation and the morality of owning slaves. During his studies in Princeton, he wrote to his fiancé about his interest in carrying on religious instruction among slaves. Following graduation from Princeton Seminary, he accepted a position at the First Presbyterian Church of Savannah, where he organized an Association for Religious Instruction of the Negroes in Liberty County. In 1833, he took up took up missionary work among slaves in Liberty County, Georgia, as his major responsibility. With the exception of a short period when he served as professor of church history at Columbia Seminary, the missionary work engaged his attention from this time until 1848. After another short period as professor of church history, he served as the secretary of the Board of Missions of the Presbyterian Church from 1850 until 1853, then returned to the family plantations in Liberty County.[52]

[51]"Jeremiah Chamberlain." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.
[52]Charles Colcock Jones presents an interesting study of a Southern Presbyterian deeply concerned about slavery as a religious issue and wrestling with what his response should be. The existence of a large amount of documentary material in his case has made possible a number of valuable studies. Among his own writings are *The religious*

Jones placed much emphasis on visiting with the slaves on the plantations and arranging meetings for worship and instruction. He did not always find the task easy. Once, preaching to the slaves from the Epistle of Philemon on the duty of obedience, and condemning the practice of running away, he lost his audience, half of them simply walking away. Some declared that there was no such epistle in the Bible. Others declared "that it was not the Gospel." Jones quietly re-evaluated his approach and but kept on with his work, learning how best to present the gospel to the slaves while not at the same time openly questioning the institution of slavery.[53]

Clearly his position as a slave owner interested in sharing the gospel with the slaves sometimes caused him to do much reflection about the task. Unable to find a suitable catechism, for example, he decided to write his own in phrasing he thought would communicate better with the slaves than any he could find. He also urged slave owners to better treatment of their slaves, including better physical treatment. He published his ideas on religious instruction for slaves in a volume called *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States* in 1842 and a further volume, *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of Negroes in the Southern States* in 1847. In 1861, before a General Assembly of the Southern Presbyterian Church in Augusta, Georgia, he gave an address on the subject. His story has proved of interest to more recent writers. Besides academic papers and dissertations, literary critic Robert Mason Myers published a large collection of Jones family letters, *The Children of Pride*, which won a National Book Award in 1973, and historian Erskine Clarke's *Dwelling Place: A Plantation Epic*, also based on the Jones family correspondence, won a Bancroft Prize in 2006.

John Miller Dickey (Class of 1827) spent time as a young minister in missionary work in southern Georgia and Florida. According to his 19th-century biographer he "always felt a profound interest in the African race, and was a zealous and efficient friend to a multitude of

instruction of the negroes in the United States (Savannah: Thomas Purse, 1842); *Suggestions on the religious instruction of the negroes in the southern states* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847); and *A catechism of Scripture doctrine and practice for families and Sabbath schools: designed also for the oral instruction of colored persons* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1852). There is also a very large collection of Jones family correspondence and other related materials at Tulane University in New Orleans and additional material in the archives at the University of Georgia. Further, the University of Georgia has digitized and placed online a large collection of his manuscript sermons. These materials have been drawn upon in Robert Mason Myers, *The Children of Pride* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972) and Erskine Clarke, *Wrestlin' Jacob: a portrait of religion in the Old South* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1979) and *Dwelling place: a plantation epic* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Another collection of Jones family correspondence has also been published by Robert Manson Myers, *A Georgian at Princeton* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976). It is limited to correspondence between 1850 and 1852, a period of time when his son was attending Princeton College. The opening letters contain a very moving account of the final sickness and death of Jack, a long-time "servant" (Jones consistently uses this term for African Americans he owned rather than the term "slave"). It speaks of his personal care for Jack as Jack lay dying: "I was with him night and day, and am worn down with anxiety and watching. Almost every dose of medicine he took and every spoonful of nourishment he took from my hands." He was also simultaneously taking personal care of Jack's wife, Marcia, who was also dying (both had contracted pneumonia), and when he needed to get some rest he hired someone to continue looking after her. Important academic studies of Charles Colcock Jones include Eduard Nuessnee Loring, *Charles C. Jones: Missionary to Plantation Slaves 1831-1847* (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1976); Thomas Pinckney, "The Missionary Work of Charles Colcock Jones: Successes and Failures of the Union of Christianity and Slavery in the Early Middle Nineteenth Century" (Senior Thesis, Princeton University, 1993); and Lillian Young Nave, "Reverend Charles Colcock Jones: A Portrait of the Life of an Individual Trapped in the Intersection of Slavery and Christianity in the Antebellum South" (Senior Thesis, Williams College, 1995).

[53]This story is recounted in Clarke, *Wrestlin' Jacob*, 40-41, and is drawn from Jones' own account of the experience.

colored young men struggling for an education."[54] Returning to his native Pennsylvania he was involved in the recovery of free-born African Americans who had been illegally kidnapped by slave hunters and sold into slavery in the South.

John Miller Dickey also developed a concern for starting a school for African Americans who desired a higher education but found it hard to be accepted at the existing schools, and he was instrumental in founding Ashmun Institute, which today is Lincoln University. Canvassing for support, he received a commitment of $50,000 from Cortlandt Van Rensselaer (Class of 1833), who himself had spent time as a missionary to slaves in Virginia in 1833-1835. He also gathered promise of support from other sources. Land was purchased near Oxford, Pennsylvania, and an institute for the higher education of African Americans was chartered in 1854. The Presbyterian Board of Education provided a salary for the first professor, and the school opened its doors in 1856. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer gave the opening address. Originally named Ashmun Institute, the name of the school was changed to Lincoln University after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It was the first degree-granting historically African American institution in North America, and its notable alumni include Langston Hughes and Thurgood Marshall. John Miller Dickey remained president of the Board of Trustees of Lincoln University from its founding until his death in 1878.[55]

Lincoln University continued to draw support from persons connected with Princeton Seminary for many years. Graduates of Princeton Seminary would regularly take positions on the teaching faculty, and Seminary faculty and board members were involved with fundraising for the school. A handbill for a post-Civil War fundraising drive for the University bears the names of Charles Hodge, Alexander McGill, W. Henry Green, James Moffatt, and C. Wistar Hodge, all members of the Seminary faculty, along with the names of nine members of the Princeton College faculty and the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Princeton.

As mentioned, **Cortlandt Van Rensselaer**, was an early and generous supporter of what became Lincoln University. His father was one of the wealthiest men in upstate New York and his mother was a daughter of William Paterson, a signer of the U.S. Constitution, a governor of New Jersey, and an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court. After graduating from Yale in 1827, he studied law for three years and was admitted to the bar of New York state, but then chose to devote himself to the Christian ministry. He studied at Princeton Seminary for his first two years and completed his studies at Union Seminary in Virginia. There the situation of the African American slaves deeply impacted him. Upon graduation he accepted the invitation of a well-known plantation owner to come and live on the plantation and work among the slaves. His work was educational, as well as providing religious instruction, but soon raised opposition from other planters in the area, and he was forced to leave Virginia and return to the North. After a short time serving congregations in New Jersey and Washington, D.C., he was invited by the Princeton Seminary Board of Directors to travel the country to raise funds for the Seminary and

[54]"Dickey, John Miller" in the Alfred Nevin (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Encyclopaedia Publishing Co., 1884). Further information about John Miller Dickey may be found in "John Miller Dickey." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library; and in George B. Carr, *John Miller Dickey, D.D. His Life and Times* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1929).

[55]For further information on the history of Lincoln University see Horace Mann Bond, *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University, Pennsylvania* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

following that assignment spent many years as corresponding secretary for the Presbyterian Board of Education, raising funds to support ministerial education in general. In addition to his address at the opening of the future Lincoln University, he published an extended series of articles on the issue of slavery, challenging the views of George D. Armstrong, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Norfolk, Virginia, who called himself a "Pro-slavery man" and whose *The Christian Doctrine of Slavery* was a major Southern theological defense of the practice. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer positioned himself as a "conservative" on the issue, "repudiating, on the one hand, the fundamental principal of fanatical abolitionism … and, on the other hand, rejecting with equal conscientiousness the ultra defences of slavery, which constitute it a Divine ordinance … and which claim for it an undefined permanence." "Christians, whose minds and hearts are imbued with the spirit of their Lord," he wrote, "cannot regard with complacency an institution, whose origin is in wrong, and whose continuance depends upon the inferior condition of a large class of their fellow men."[56] He advocated education and religious instruction for slaves, looking toward the ultimate abolition of slavery, and he suggested that many more were ready for freedom, or could shortly be made ready for freedom, than Armstrong and other Southern defenders of slavery were ready to admit. Still, he ends his argument with the sentiment that the prospects that freed African Americans could really look forward to being treated as equal citizens in the United States were not hopeful, based on past experience, and that one could be thankful that another option had been made available for them by the American Colonization Society and the possibility of emigration to Liberia.

As one might expect, given the commitment of their Seminary professors, colonization was a popular cause among many Princeton Seminary alumni. Daved Anthony Schmidt has identified a dozen Princeton Seminary alumni who served as administrators in national or regional colonization societies, and many others were undoubtedly members or supporters of the movement.[57]

While support for eventual abolition of slavery, education, colonization, and the amelioration of the conditions of slavery remained popular positions among Princeton Seminary alumni, there were also those, especially those who came from the South or emigrated there to serve following their Princeton education, who actively supported the institution of slavery and even themselves owned slaves. One of the earliest graduates of Princeton Seminary was **Samuel Blanchard How** (Class of 1815). Born in New Jersey, he attended the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton Seminary and was ordained in 1815. While his earliest ministerial services were in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in 1823 he accepted a call to the Independent Presbyterian Church in Savannah, Georgia. He served there until 1827, then returned north to serve primarily in Dutch Reformed churches. His major ministry was at the First Reformed Church in New Brunswick, New Jersey, where he was pastor from 1832 until 1861.

[56]C. van Rensselaer (ed.), *Miscellaneous Sermons, Essays, and Addresses by the Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer, D.D.* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1861), 247 and 270. This volume contains an introductory biographical memoir by his son and five of his writings on the subject of slavery. The biographical account gives strong testimony to his early concern with the situation of African American slaves, including testimony of a Southern plantation owner that "I believe his having devoted the first years of his ministry in that field of labour in Virginia [the welfare and religious instruction of Virginia slaves], did more to awaken in our masters a sense of duty to provide religious instruction to their slaves, than the efforts of any other individual."
[57]See Appendix A.

In 1855, the General Synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church received a petition from the North Carolina Classis of the German Reformed Church seeking formal ecclesiastical connection. The petition was ultimately rejected by the Synod, with two main objections being raised during the debate. The first was from those who felt it would be "inexpedient" and would disturb the "peace of the church" as it would raise the divisive issue of slavery in church debates, many members of the North Carolina Classis being slaveholders. The second objection was from those in the church who held that slaveholding was an outright sin and that the church should not hold communion with persons who held others in bondage. Samuel How made an eloquent address to the Synod in defense of the North Carolina Classis and in support of their bid for formal ecclesial connection. The substance of his address, together with an extended appendix on slavery and its history, was eventually published under the title *Slaveholding Not Sinful.* Much of it is a review of passages in the Bible that deal with the topic of slavery, showing that indeed slavery "is constantly spoken of in the Sacred Scriptures, but there is no direct prohibition of it." How proposed that slavery was one of the "penal effects of the fall, and of the great wickedness of men," but that masters would be accountable before God for the treatment of their slaves. Since God has permitted slavery to exist, slave owners should not be kept out of the church. Rather, they should be admonished to do their duty to their slaves ("Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a Master in heaven," Col. 4:1). Likewise, the slave should be admonished to "submit to the rule of his master and to perform the duties which he owes him with fidelity, and in fear of God."

Besides the biblical arguments, How had other considerations to present. He felt that Southern slave owners had been grossly misrepresented in the North in pieces such as *Uncle Tom's Cabin.* Further, he felt that slave owners in the American South were unjustly accused of being "manstealers" and pirates. After all, the slave trade had been quite legal in most states until the early years of the 19th century and had been confirmed in the U.S. Constitution. It was Africans who had sold their fellow Africans into slavery. At most, the Southerners might be held responsible for "receiving stolen goods, knowing them to have been stolen," but that the British and Northern ship owners who had brought the slaves to North America and sold them were equally guilty in this regard. Therefore anyone who had received funds which could be traced back to the slave trade was also to be held accountable. "Let us deal fairly with both, and say to the Southerner, Emancipate at once your slaves; and to the Northerner, and especially to the Abolitionist, Relinquish at once all the property which you hold which originally was acquired by trafficking in slaves." While he feels this is good reasoning, he in fact does not feel it should be actually carried out, as such a thing "would shake society to its foundations":

> Suppose, then, that the three millions of Southern slaves were all liberated at once, that the wishes of the Abolitionist were carried out to their full extent. What would be their condition? Would we join them to drive the Southern white men from their homes, and to seize their property, and so throw them out, with their families, houseless, impoverished and helpless? Or are the Abolitionists of the North prepared to receive and support these three millions of slaves? ... None can predict what disasters and crimes and sorrows would follow an event so marked by folly and wickedness.[58]

[58]Samuel Blanchard How, *Slaveholding not sinful. Slavery, the punishment of man's sin, its remedy, the gospel of Christ: an argument before the General synod of the Reformed Protestant Dutch church, October, 1855* (New

How's address must have spoken to a fair number of people, as the first edition quickly sold out and was followed by a second. He was preparing yet a third edition as the Civil War broke out in 1861.

Another prominent Princeton Seminary alumnus who spoke on behalf of Southern slave owners was **James Adair Lyon** (Class of 1836). Born in Tennessee and a graduate of Washington College in Tennessee, he served churches in Tennessee and Mississippi from 1837 to 1847. In 1848, he moved to St. Louis where he served a congregation and founded a school for young women, and then returned to his congregation in Mississippi in 1855 and served there throughout the Civil War and until 1870, when he became professor of mental and moral science at the University of Mississippi. He was a recognized leader in the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, and his articles, sermons, and comments appeared in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, the *True Witness and Sentinel* (published in Memphis and New Orleans), in the Columbus, South Carolina, newspapers, and other Southern periodicals. In 1863, he was elected moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America. In 1850, he delivered an address to the Missouri Colonization Society that was frequently republished as *The Missionary Aspect of African Colonization.* In 1859, there was an attempt to bring illegally pirated Africans into Mississippi, and James Lyon had boldly spoken out against such activity in an address on *Christianity and the Civil Laws.* On a national fast day proclaimed by President Buchanan in early 1861, Lyon spoke out against secession in his sermon. However in the following months, he embraced the Southern cause and in his *Confederate Fast Day Sermon*, preached in June of that year, he declared that "We must regard the present crisis as one of the grand moves in God's providence to bring about a higher and better order of things."

One of the most important and interesting documents to come from the pen of James Adair Lyon is *Slavery and the duties growing out of the Relation.* In December 1861, Lyon was appointed the chair of a committee tasked by the Southern General Assembly to express their views on the slavery issue. It was presented at the Southern General Assembly of 1863, held in Columbia, South Carolina, in the midst of the war. Although never formally adopted by the Southern General Assembly, the whole document is worth reading for its insight into the mind of the theologically educated Southern Presbyterian regarding his view of the issue. It was published for circulation in the Southern Presbyterian Review, and Lyon asserts that many "secretly approved of the sentiments therein set forth, yet they never adopted them as their own."[59]

There is not room here for an extensive review of this piece, but it begins by acknowledging that the "providence of God" has remarkably committed to the people of the Southern states the "great responsibility" but also "high privilege" of "elevating a whole people,

Brunswick, N.J.: Terhune, 1856). The extended quotation is from pages 49-50 of the document. See also, "Samuel Blanchard How." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

[59]"James Adair Lyon." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library. The Special Collections Department of the Princeton Theological Seminary Library also has a small collection of his published pamphlets and sermons. The address on "Slavery, and the duties growing out of the relation" summarized in this section appeared in the *Southern Presbyterian Review* for July 1863.

which have been, by the manifest interposition of the Almighty, transplanted from their own land of darkness and degradation, where nature is not propitious to civilization and mental development, to this favored land of promise—this home of light and liberty, and, infinitely above all, of a pure Christianity." Although admitting that avarice, cruelty and greed were manifest in the way this was carried out and deploring "the African slave trade" as immoral, it was seen as part of God's great design, bringing good out of evil, as had been the case of the selling of Joseph into Egypt. The piece goes on to justify the existence of slavery itself, apart from any abuses that have crept in. "Like the existence of God, it is taken for granted from the beginning to the end of the Bible … slavery, in some form or other, does exist, will exist, and must exist in the present condition of humanity." The question is "what kind of slavery … will most accord with the laws of nature and the spirit of Christianity." If the responsibilities of the slave owner are properly carried out, the slave, "like the parasitic plant that rises with the oak, is elevated with and by the master. … The most favorable condition of the black man, on this continent, is that of servitude. For this state he is eminently qualified by nature, being constitutionally kind, affectionate, imitative, and contented. He would be utterly incapable of taking care of himself, as facts do but too sadly prove." There are indeed "evils and abuses" connected with slavery, but these are regretted "by all good men." As "a tree is more fruitful, and a flower more beautiful" when it is properly cultivated, so the good slave owner has a responsibility to educate his slaves and provide them with religious instruction:

> A smart slave is more valuable than a stupid one … the more intelligent a slave is, and the greater his capacity to reason, the more contented he is with his servile condition, provided he is treated correctly, and the less likely to engage in insurrectionary and unlawful enterprises, since he is the more capable of perceiving, not only the hopelessness of such dangerous and futile attempts, but the undesirableness of success, even if they were feasible. … Still further it is perfectly manifest that in proportion as a slave's conscience is cultivated in accordance with the principles of the Bible, the less likely he is to become a criminal.

The document recommends having slaves attend worship and be given instruction in Christianity. It also recommends laws against teaching slaves to read be repealed, but does not recommend slaves be sent to schools and academies "in their present condition." It recommends against leaving slaves simply under the control of overseers, rather than under the good influence of the slave owner and his family, and against "the practice, too prevalent in many localities, of unauthorized assemblies taking the law into their own hands." Finally, a major section deals with the evils of breaking up slave families and destroying marriage and domestic relations among slaves.

One of the most prominent Presbyterian preachers in the middle years of the 19th century was **Henry Jackson Van Dyke** (Class of 1846). After pastorates in South Jersey and Germantown, Pennsylvania, he was called to the prestigious pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, New York. In December 1860, on the very eve of the Civil War, following the election of Lincoln and the already rumbling threats of secession from South Carolina, he preached a sermon on 1 Timothy 6:1-5, a passage which enjoins "servants as are under the yoke" (that is, "slaves") to honor and obey their masters, whether the masters be believers or

unbelievers, "that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed." The sermon was shortly expanded into a printed pamphlet under the title "The Character and Influence of Abolitionism." In it he charges the abolitionist movement with having no foundation in Scripture, misrepresenting the true situation of most slaves in the South, leading often to complete infidelity regarding the beliefs and practices of the Christian religion, and finally accusing the movement as "the chief cause of the strife that agitates, and the danger that threatens our country." At several points he takes specific aim at fellow Princeton Seminary alumnus Albert Barnes, including extended footnotes in small print, challenging the way Barnes has interpreted the Scriptures and calling Barnes the person who "has done more, perhaps, than any other man in this country to propagate Abolitionist doctrine." Against abolitionist accounts of the atrocities of slavery, he prefers that his hearers should know of Christian families in the South where "slaves are better fed and clothed and instructed, and have a better opportunity for salvation, than the majority of laboring people in the city of New York." He gives an extended quote from the Southern Presbyterian pastor and theologian Benjamin Palmer, who would become the first moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America in 1861:

> The worst foes of the black race are those who have intermeddled on their behalf. We know better than others, that every attribute of their character fits them for dependence and servitude. By nature the most affectionate and loyal of all races beneath the sun, they are also the most helpless; and no calamity can befall them greater than the loss of that protection they enjoy under this patriarchal system. Indeed the experiment has been grandly tried of precipitating them upon freedom which they know not how to enjoy; and the dismal results are before us in statistics that astonish the world. … Freedom would be their doom.

Van Dyke went on to proclaim his substantial agreement with Benjamin Palmer and the South Carolinian Presbyterian leader James Henley Thornwell, who also defended slavery as morally right and justified under the Christian religion. Referencing one of the classic biblical friendships, he wrote "My soul is knit to such men with the sympathy of Jonathan for David."[60]

By 1861, America was embroiled in a Civil War. While one cannot determine views on slavery simply from participation in the war, records indicate that somewhere near 170 former Princeton Seminary students served in some official military capacity during the Civil War. Of this total, 145 served with the Union and 24 with the Confederacy. For the most part, those who served acted as chaplains, though two served as surgeons for the Union and another handful served in official support roles for the Union war effort. Thirty-nine alumni are recorded as serving in combat roles with the Union Army, and five in combat roles for the Confederacy.[61]

The number of African American students at Princeton Seminary in the 19th century was never large, but at least some had personally experienced slavery before coming to the Seminary. African American alumni of the Seminary often were able to put their abilities,

[60]Henry Jackson Van Dyke, *The character and influence of abolitionism*. The published version of the original sermon was bought out in several editions by different publishers, including George F. Nesbitt & Co. of New York City; D. Appleton of New York City; and Henry Polkinhorn of Washington, D.C. The Palmer quote is from the Appleton version, page 21, which contains more extensive footnotes than the Nesbitt version.
[61]See Appendix A.

combined with their education, to significant use following graduation in working for the welfare of their people. Although a number of them only came to Princeton Seminary after the close of the Civil War, they had often been born during the period of slavery, and their lives and ministries were deeply shaped by the pre-Civil War history of the African American community and the new challenges that emerged in the period of Reconstruction. Since many of their stories are not well known, it is appropriate to recount at least a few of them here.

We have already looked briefly at the life and ministry of Theodore Sedgwick Wright. **Henry M. Wilson** (Class of 1848) served churches in Manhattan and Brooklyn. He helped form the American League of Colored Laborers to provide vocational education for African Americans for jobs in manufacturing, agriculture, and commerce, and to provide business loans for African Americans starting their own businesses. In 1858, he joined Henry Highland Garnet in founding the African Civilization Society to "promote the civilization and Christianization of Africa, as well as the welfare of her children in all lands." The organization promoted the emigration of African Americans to Africa and worked with African American churches to set up sabbath and day schools in the Northeast and, after the Civil War, schools for freed African Americans in the South.[62]

Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs (Class of 1856) served churches in Troy, New York, and Philadelphia. He became active in the abolitionist movement, working with Frederick Douglass and writing for anti-slavery publications. At one point he requested permission from his presbytery to immigrate to Africa, but at the insistence of his congregation that his services were needed here he withdrew his request. In Philadelphia he became a key figure in the local Underground Railroad. As the Civil War drew to a close, he moved to Charleston, South Carolina, to establish a school for freed African Americans. In 1867, he moved to Florida, where he helped draft the 1868 Florida Constitution. He served as secretary of state of Florida for four years and went on to become superintendent of public instruction for the state in 1873. Reports indicated that the standards of public education in Florida improved significantly during his term in office and that he worked hard to promote racial integration in the public schools.[63]

George Collins (Class of 1870) was born in California and attended Oberlin College, graduating in 1865. He attended Princeton Seminary from 1867 to 1870. A letter in his alumnus file indicates that upon graduation he took a position at the Lincoln Mission in Washington, D.C., under the auspices of the American Missionary Association in New York City. During the Civil War there had been religious work begun in the camps around Washington, D.C., and after the war thousands of freedmen had ended up there. Various benevolent organizations and church groups provided food, clothing, and religious instruction for this population. Among these was the American Missionary Association, which set up the Colfax Industrial Mission in 1868 "for the education of colored children of Washington." It was formally dedicated in 1870 and renamed the Lincoln Industrial Mission. Today the Lincoln Temple United Church of Christ stands on this site, considered the oldest African American Congregational Church in Washington, D.C. There is also an indication that Collins served as a tutor at Howard University, which likewise had been founded by the congregationalists shortly after the Civil War and was supported financially at that time by the Freedmen's Bureau. Unfortunately, George Collins was

[62]"Henry M. Wilson." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.
[63]"Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

not able to serve very long in his Washington, D.C. position, as the note in the alumnus record indicates that he died in 1871.[64]

Thomas McCants Stewart (Class of 1881) was born of free parents in Charleston, South Carolina in 1853. Proving to be a good student, he went to Howard University at age 15. He eventually transferred to the University of South Carolina, one of the first African Americans to attend that institution, and graduated in 1875 with a Bachelor of Arts degree from the college and Bachelor of Laws degree from the Department of Law. He entered the practice of law and then served as a professor of mathematics at the State Agricultural College of South Carolina. He entered Princeton Seminary in 1878, serving as stated supply of the Mt. Pisgah African Methodist Episcopal Church in Princeton, and studied here until 1880, continuing his studies with President McCosh at Princeton College for another two years while also serving as pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church in New York City. In 1883, he set sail with fellow Princeton Seminary African American alumnus Hugh Mason Browne for Liberia, visiting Scotland, England, France, and Germany on the way. He took a position as professor of law and belles lettres in the College of Liberia and served as General Agent for Liberian Education. In 1886, he returned to North America and was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of the State of New York and thereafter to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1898. His legal work was frequently commended in the official records of the courts. He served on the Board of Education for the Borough of Brooklyn and organized the Brooklyn Literary Union, of which he was president. Among his achievements in Brooklyn was to help establish an officially mixed-race public school with an African American supervisor of new teachers. In 1898, he moved to Hawaii, where he carried on an extensive legal practice and was appointed by the governor as one of five commissioners to draw up the Local Government Act for the Hawaiian Islands. In 1905, he conducted a lecture tour in Great Britain and then returned to Liberia in 1906. He was appointed an associated justice of the Liberian Supreme Court and was sent to Europe as deputy attorney general to help negotiate a boundary settlement between Liberia and the governments of France and Great Britain. In 1914, he returned to London, and in 1921, he moved to the Virgin Islands, where he continued his law practice. At his death in 1923, he asked to be buried wrapped in the Liberian flag. Among his publications was *Liberia: The Americo-African Republic*, published in 1886.[65]

Matthew Anderson (Class of 1877) grew up in a home that had been a station on the Underground Railroad. After completing his studies at Oberlin College, he enrolled at the Western Theological Seminary in the Pittsburgh area, but after a short time there he applied to Princeton Seminary in 1874. Arriving at Princeton, he was mistaken at first for a workman come to do a job. Although he later recalled that there was some reluctance to give him a room in Alexander Hall (African American students had often roomed in town with African American families), his own insistence and the help and support of Princeton Seminary students living in Alexander Hall at the time led to his soon receiving a proper dorm room there. Anderson became the founding pastor of the Berean Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia. He took a holistic approach to the work of ministry. He once wrote, "I could never believe, that the work of a Gospel minister was simply preaching, in the commonly accepted sense of the term, but that it

[64]"George Collins." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.
[65]"Thomas McCants Stewart." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library. T. McCants Stewart, *Liberia: The Americo-African Republic* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins' Sons, 1886).

included everything, which tended to the development of the whole man." He founded the Berean Savings Association so that African Americans could borrow money to buy homes. He founded the Berean Institute to teach job skills, such as plumbing, tailoring, carpentry, and home management. His wife, Caroline Still Anderson, daughter of the famous abolitionist William Still and one of the first African American women medical doctors, helped start prenatal classes and nurseries.[66]

Another prominent 19th century African American alumnus of Princeton Seminary was **Francis James Grimke** (Class of 1878). Francis Grimke came to Princeton Seminary after the Civil War, having grown up in the system of slavery. He was the second of three sons born to the white planter Henry Grimke of Charleston, South Carolina, and his black slave, Nancy Weston, with whom he had set up a domestic relation following the death of his wife. Henry Grimke died in 1852, when the first two children of his second family were still young and the third had not yet been born. In order to protect the second family, he willed them to his white son and heir, the half-brother of Francis by Henry's original wife. Henry's intention was that they should live as free blacks, but in 1860 the son of the first wife claimed the boys as his slaves. He treated them poorly, and Francis ran away, offering himself as a valet to a Confederate officer. The officer was stationed in various places during the war, but when his outfit returned to Charleston, Francis was recognized as a runaway and put in prison. After again being treated poorly, Francis was sold to another Confederate officer, from whom he eventually was able to run away again and hide until the end of the Civil War gave him his freedom.

Francis Grimke and his brother did well in their schooling following the war at schools set up for free blacks in Charleston and then went on to Lincoln University in Pennsylvania for further studies. Henry Grimke had come from a large family, among whom were two sisters, Angelina and Sarah Grimke. They had become ardent abolitionists, joined the Society of Friends (Quakers), and moved from Charleston to Philadelphia before the war. When they discovered their African American relatives at Lincoln University, they helped support them through their education, acknowledging them as part of their family. Francis and his brother, Archibald, graduated from Lincoln University in 1870. Francis was in fact the class valedictorian. After teaching at Lincoln for a few years, he entered the law school at Howard University in 1874, but the following year decided to take up theological studies at Princeton Seminary. He married Charlotte Forten, a granddaughter of James Forten. The Fortens had been leaders of the free African American community in Philadelphia for years, and Charlotte was close friends with many of the leading abolitionists.

[66]Matthew Anderson, *Presbyterianism. Its Relation to the Negro. Illustrated by The Berean Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, with Sketch of the Church and Autobiography of the Author*, (Philadelphia: John McGill White & Co., 1897). This book is thoughtful, critical, and very well written. The biographical section of this book includes Anderson's experiences as a teacher for two years in the South under the Board of Freemen a few years after the Civil War (pp. 155-161) and provides an extended presentation about Anderson's experiences as an African-American student at Princeton Seminary in the 1870s (pp. 162-176). The story of his obtaining a proper room in Alexander Hall is found on pages 165-168. His overall estimation of his experiences is summed up "With the exception of a little weakness on the part of the seminary in regard to the Negro, which needs strengthening up, our impressions of Princeton are of the very highest kind" (p.168). See also "Matthew Anderson." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

After graduating from Princeton Seminary, Grimke became pastor of the prominent Fifteenth Street Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., a major African American congregation. With the exception of a few years in Jacksonville, Florida, he held this post throughout his ministerial career and used it to become a leading spokesperson for the African American community and its concerns until his death in 1937. He was the author of numerous published sermons and tracts, urging his people to fight for their rights. "It is our duty to keep up the agitation for our rights, not only for our sakes, but also for the nation at large. … If justice sleeps in this land, let it not be because we have helped to lull it to sleep by our silence, our indifference; let it not be from lack of effort on our part to arouse it from its slumbers. … Even Balaam's ass cried out in protest when smitten by his brutal master and God gave him power to cry out, endowed him miraculously with speech in which to voice his protest," he wrote. He called for an end to lawless lynching and other abuses of the Reconstructionist period and the early 20th century. He challenged segregation in the YMCA and publicly spoke out against Woodrow Wilson's policy of segregating the various departments of the federal government. He also challenged racism as he experienced it in the Presbyterian church. He became one of the founders of the movements among African Americans that eventually gave birth to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).[67]

A classmate of Francis Grimke in the Princeton Seminary Class of 1878 was **Hugh Mason Browne**. Browne was born in Washington, D.C., in 1851, and joined the Fifteenth St. Presbyterian Church there at age 16. He attended Howard University and came to Princeton Seminary in 1875. While at the Seminary, he served the Witherspoon Presbyterian Church in Princeton. After completing his work at the Seminary, he took an additional year of study at the seminary of the Free Church of Scotland in Edinburgh. He became the Charles Hodge Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy at Liberia College, West Africa, serving from 1882-1884, but after becoming familiar with the educational situation in Liberia was convinced that the money spent on the college would be better spent on a system of common schools and first-class industrial schools. Returning to the United States, he became head of the department of physics in a segregated high school in Washington, D.C., where he instituted the laboratory method of teaching physics. In 1897, he was called to Hampton Institute in Virginia, where he developed the physics department and reorganized a summer school for teachers. He also patented a device to prevent water backflow in cellars during this time and devised the plan for Hampton Institute's exhibit at the Paris Exposition of 1900. The exhibit won a gold medal. His next appointment was to the Colored High School and Colored Polytechnical School in Baltimore, where he was able for the first time to place them under the management of African American

[67]A good sampling of the writings of Francis Grimke can be found in Carter G. Woodson (ed.) *The Works of Francis J. Grimke* (Washington, D.C.: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942). This four-volume work contains addresses, sermons, transcriptions from notebooks, and correspondence. There is also a short biographical introduction and appreciation. Additional publications, including sermons and pamphlets may be found in the Special Collections Department of the Princeton Theological Seminary Library. A sampling of his thoughts on racial issues may be found in pamphlets such as "Equality of Rights for All Citizens, Black and White, Alike" (1909); "Gideon Bands" (1913); "Fifty Years of Freedom" (1913) and in sermons such as "The Negro and His Citizenship" and addresses such as "The Race Problem—Two Suggestions as to Its Solution, "both in Woodson, volume 3, pages 391-406 and pages 591-599. Longer biographical studies may be found in Henry Justin Ferry, *Francis Grimke: Portrait of a Black Puritan* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1990) and Thabiti M. Anyabwile, *The Faithful Preacher: recapturing the vision of three pioneering African American pastors* (Wheaton, Ill.: Crossway Books, 2007).

faculties. He was invited by the Society of Friends in Philadelphia to come and reorganize the Institute for Colored Youth, which had been set up in 1837 as an educational and training school for African Americans. Under his leadership this institute was relocated to an enlarged location in nearby Cheyney, Pennsylvania. He served the Institute as principal until 1913, increasing the academic offerings and establishing a summer school for African American teachers. Today the school is known as Cheyney University. Browne was also secretary of a "Committee of Twelve for the Advancement of the Interests of the Negro Race," which among other achievements successfully lobbied to defeat bills that would have disenfranchised African American voters in Maryland. Following his retirement in 1913, Hugh Browne continued to serve as a consultant to Cheyney and to promote vocational education in the African American community. To further his knowledge in this area he made a trip to Germany to study the vocational education system in that country.[68]

Daniel Wallace Culp was a member of the Princeton Seminary Class of 1879. Born into slavery in South Carolina in 1852, he developed an interest in study at an early age, at first under the tutelage of his master. Following the Civil War, his former master continued tutoring him. In 1869, he entered the Biddle Memorial Institute (now Johnson C. Smith University), becoming its first graduate in 1876. His abilities in mathematics and the languages astonished his teachers, and he advanced so rapidly beyond his classmates that he was soon put in a class by himself. In the fall following his graduation from Biddle he entered Princeton Seminary. Again he was regarded as one of the brightest students in his class and excelled in Hebrew and theology. He also took courses in philosophy and psychology at Princeton College with Princeton College president James McCosh. This led to a rather telling incident when several Princeton College students objected to his presence in the classroom and threatened to leave the college if Culp continued to attend the class. McCosh told them he would be sorry to see them go, but that under no circumstances would he exclude Daniel Culp from his class. While they all carried out their threat and left, all but one eventually returned to Princeton at the urging of their parents.[69]

Following graduation from the Seminary, Daniel Culp served churches in South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, and Tennessee. While in Florida he also served as principal of Stanton Institute, one of the most well-regarded secondary schools for African American students in the state. After a time he became deeply concerned about the physical welfare of his people and resigned his pastorate to study medicine at the University of Michigan and at the Medical College of Columbus, Ohio. From 1891 onward, he practiced medicine in Tennessee, Georgia, and Florida until his death in 1918. During his time in Georgia he was elected by the city council as superintendent and resident physician of the Freedmen's Hospital of that city. He also lectured widely and in 1902 edited *Twentieth Century Negro Literature or a Cyclopedia of Thought on Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro*.[70] Part of his motivation for publishing the book, which contained essays by a number of well-known African American writers, was to correct what he felt was widespread ignorance on the part of white people regarding the intellectual

[68]"Hugh Mason Browne." Alumni Files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.
[69]"Daniel Wallace Culp." Alumni Files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library. The incident related to the class with President McCosh at Princeton College is told in Matthew Anderson, *Presbyterianism. Its Relation to the Negro*, 175-176.
[70] D.W. Culp (ed.) *Twentieth Century Negro Literature; or, A Cyclopedia of Thought on the Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro* (Toronto, Canada: J.L. Nichols & Co., 1902).

abilities of the African Americans. A second reason was to inform white people what African Americans themselves were thinking about America's race problem. A third reason was to encourage intellectual consideration of important issues by the African American community itself and to inspire young African Americans by presenting the literary and scholarly work of contemporary African American authors.

Another outstanding 19th century African American alumnus of Princeton Seminary was **William Alfred Byrd** (Class of 1894). Born in South Carolina in 1867, he grew up in North Carolina and received his education at Biddle College. When he arrived at Princeton Seminary in 1891, he was the only African American student in his class. He would become not only an honor student, but treasurer of his class. After graduation he was told that after a year of service in the parish he might return to Biddle as its president, provided that he not speak out too forcefully concerning "certain things," which his son understood to mean speaking out on issues concerning civil rights for African Americans in the American South. Refusing the offer under these conditions, he served for two years in rural congregations in North Carolina, and then moved to Arkansas where he became principal and chaplain of the Cotton Plant Industrial Academy, a secondary school for African Americans.

In 1905, William Byrd moved his family to Rochester, New York. At that time the Great Migration of southern African Americans to the North was still going on, and Byrd's congregation became a significant focus of the African American community in Rochester. In 1905, there was a major conference of African American leaders in Niagara Falls, which eventually led to the establishment of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) a few years later. Among the leaders Byrd came to know in the developing movement were W.E.B. Du Bois. He was also a close friend of William Robeson, one-time pastor of the Witherspoon Church in Princeton, father of the actor and singer Paul Robeson, and another of the leaders of the young NAACP. Robeson encourage Byrd to move back to New Jersey, where he became pastor of the Lafayette Presbyterian Church in Jersey City in 1917. In addition to his pastoral work, Byrd continued his work for the African American community as a whole, and the NAACP branch in Jersey City became the largest in the nation under his leadership. He also helped establish the National Urban League. His outspokenness also led to some opposition, and when he pressed for more African American leadership in his presbytery he was dismissed, ostensibly on grounds that he had made repairs to the manse without consulting the elders. He went on to found a nondenominational Community Church, which became a center of community action and a place where visiting speakers of all kinds were welcomed. Some years later the presbytery voted to reinstate Byrd, but he declined and continued pastoring in his Community Church. "I know that I am a Presbyterian, whether you accept me or not," he is reported to have said. Nevertheless, he held a long-standing affectionate regard for Princeton Seminary, and his son Franz Byrd established an award at the Seminary, given each year to the student who it was felt had contributed most significantly to the life of the Seminary during his or her years on the campus.[71]

The last African American to study at Princeton Seminary who had personally experienced slavery was **Irwin William Langston Roundtree** (Class of 1895). Born of slave parents in Georgia before the Civil War, he eventually went on to a very fruitful ministerial

[71]William Byrd." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

career. One of his early memories was of the slaves celebrating freedom from slavery by the singing of old plantation songs and handshaking, accompanied by prayer. Throughout his life he exhibited a deep desire for education. His early studies were at a little country school taught by an African American Union Army veteran following the war. He also learned from a white Methodist Sunday School teacher and availed himself of other teachers in his immediate neighborhood. As time went on he had to postpone his studies to work on the family farm, but he later moved to Florida, where he earned his living as a lumberman in connection with a sawmill and as a railroad worker. Saving his money, he was able to enter Cookman Institute in Jacksonville, which had been set up by the Methodists to educate African Americans. He also taught school in rural Florida in the African American community. He did further studies at the Baptist Institute in Live Oaks, Florida, and was licensed to preach by the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He went on to the preparatory program of Howard University, but his health failed him at this point, and after working a summer as a porter in Cape May, New Jersey, he returned to Florida. He was eventually able to attend Lincoln University, from which he graduated in 1886.

Irwin Roundtree served in the Virginia Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church following his graduation from Lincoln, and he was then approved for formal seminary studies. He entered Drew Theological Seminary in 1888, receiving his Bachelor of Divinity in 1893. He also took classes at Princeton Theological Seminary from 1892 to 1894, including courses in Hebrew and Arabic, and received a master's degree from Princeton College as well, taking additional courses in the field of philosophy there. While pursuing these graduate courses he also pastored churches in Madison, New Jersey (1889-1890); Englewood, New Jersey (1891); Bridgeton, New Jersey (1892-1893); and Princeton, New Jersey (1893-1895). Following these years of advanced education, he served churches in Trenton, New Brunswick, and Burlington, New Jersey (1895-1898) and then was called to become a presiding elder of the New Jersey Conference of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He served in this capacity from 1898 until 1915 and as pastor of the Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in Trenton from 1906 until 1931. He also served as a trustee of Wilberforce University, was a member of the Historical and Literary Society of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, was a commissioner for the Bordentown Industrial School under the state Board of Education, and was a representative to the World's Temperance Conference in Chicago in 1892 and to the Federal Council of Churches. During the winter of 1929-1930, he had an opportunity to take a study leave at Oxford University in Great Britain. Roundtree was politically active in state and national politics, serving at one point as an alternate delegate to the Republican National Convention, as well as serving the church. He retired in 1931 and continued to live in Trenton until his death in 1948.[72]

While this survey of Princeton Seminary alumni is not exhaustive, it is representative of the breadth of viewpoints on the matter of slavery in the 19th century. Alumni settled in the United States and abroad; they served churches, started schools, and engaged in various forms of ministry in the American North, South, and West. All of them were in some way shaped by the environment and ethos of the Seminary community. Some adopted similar views on colonization as their professors; others argued stridently for abolition and were prominent

[72]"Irwin William Langston Roundtree." Alumni/ae files, Special Collections, Princeton Theological Seminary Library.

figures in the anti-slavery movement. Their stories, their activism, and their impact in the church and in society are another important—and equally complex—facet of the history of Princeton Seminary with regard to slavery.

Lessons, Implications, and Recommendations

One of the central challenges of historical work involves locating people and issues in their own context and not seeing them as contemporaries of the researcher or the reader. This, of course, does not mean that judgments cannot be made about what people did or did not do. Nor does it mean that positions taken might be woefully inadequate or wonderfully creative in another context. Contemporary lessons and future directions should have reasonable grounding in historical context. How then do we begin to understand and interpret this complex history?

The Seminary's founding professors and directors gave robust and sustained support for the colonization effort and its institutional expression in the American Colonization Society. In so doing, they sought to take an almost Aristotelian middle way between the extremes of support for slavery and abolition. Ample evidence points to the fact that everyone at Princeton Seminary in the 19th century saw slavery as an evil and a blight upon humanity in general and the United States in particular. Similarly, plenty of written and published material makes clear that the Seminary leaders perceived abolitionism as a threat to the unity of both church and state. Their solution of gradualism aided and abetted by colonization aimed for a future beyond slavery. They sought to help African Americans to have the fully human life intended for them by God. In addition, they saw the mysterious hand of divine Providence at work in the history of slavery in America as a way to bring the Good News of Jesus Christ to the continent of Africa. These views were not exceptional among enlightened Protestant theologians and pastors in the first half of the 19th century; many white spiritual and political leaders in this country thought along very similar or identical lines until the tensions in American society around slavery and race opened up into the apocalyptic abyss of the Civil War.

Critics of colonization and the ACS like William Lloyd Garrison clearly stand on the right side of history from a vantage point 200 years later in the 21st century. At the time, however, Garrison and his group of outspoken critics of both slavery and colonization were seen as fringe and fanatical. Moreover, they were in the minority. Even many of those who eventually went over to the abolitionists drew the line at racial intermarriage. Only a very small group of white abolitionists were both anti-slavery, pro-black, and in favor of a genuinely multiracial America. The Seminary leaders have to be seen in a context of massive and deeply ingrained white normativity at the heart of American culture.

Yet the question remains as to why the leading lights of Princeton Seminary, widely recognized among the greatest theological minds of the 19th century, seemed unable to imagine God's transforming action to bring about an American society free from the scourge of both slavery and racism, even though they could imagine the fundamental transformation by divine action of the entire continent of Africa. Perhaps because of the privileged position that they occupied in American society, they assumed that the United States was already largely reflective of the values, practices, and norms of the reign of God while they assumed Africa was mainly pagan or demonic.

The question remains as to why the Seminary's faculty members maintained such unwavering support across the course of six or seven decades. The colonization movement

waned in the face of flagging support among the majority of whites in the 1830s, almost incalculable costs to realize the full extent of the colonization vision, and the dismal support for the effort on the part of those it was supposed to benefit. By the time Alexander wrote his massive tome on the history of colonization in Africa, the colonization movement's heyday had long since come and gone. It was already old news by 1846. Why did Princeton Seminary leaders fail to reassess their theological and strategic assumptions and change course?

The deepest level of the relationship between Princeton Seminary and slavery has to do with race. White normativity and the panoply of assumptions that support it seem to have driven the limited theological imagination at work concerning slavery and the glaring contradictions between fears about black violence toward whites and romantic visions of black evangelization of Africa by the very same people they feared would rise up stealthily and cut their throats as they slept in their beds. Deeply embedded white normativity seems to have fused in the minds of the Seminary's leadership with "civilization" and "progress" such that people of color—be they Native American or African American—could only rise to the level of "civilization" when they were driven away from white society long enough to see the light and become culturally white enough to interact with whites on terms set by whites.

Finally, questions as to the true meaning of "help," "benevolence," and "love" arise when reflecting on the involvement of the Seminary's leadership in the colonization movement. The faculty and trustees were ostensibly concerned with "helping" blacks by sending them away to a continent that nearly all of them had never experienced and did not want to experience. The white "helpers" clearly did not take the voices of the black "helpees" very seriously. Instead, white leaders like those at the Seminary ended up blaming free blacks for being too stupid or too corrupt to celebrate white "benevolence" when it was offered to them. The behavior of overriding the expressed interests and needs of those being "helped" raises questions about the degree to which the "helpers" were really acting on behalf of those in need of help or in such a way as to serve their own interests.

While the Seminary leaders believed themselves to have been acting benevolently, even with Christian charity in their efforts, they failed to honor their black brothers and sisters as equally made in the image of God. They simply could not envision a world of radical equality, even as they condemned slavery in strong terms. The scope of their theological imagination was fundamentally distorted by assumptions about the superiority of their own culture.

Theological Reflections on Princeton Seminary's History

As an institution of higher learning, Princeton Theological Seminary has a particular responsibility to seek the truth about its past. Pursuing truth and understanding the implications of history for contemporary reality are central values for higher education. As an institution related to the church, the Seminary has an additional responsibility to reckon with its history in a theological framework, making confession and repentance when necessary, recognizing the human failures and frailties that damage our relationship with God and the world God so loves.

In confronting this history, Princeton Theological Seminary must first acknowledge that its institutional history with regard to benefiting from slavery is *sinful*. Sin is not merely an

individual infraction. Sin is violating the relational call to embody love and justice within community, especially measured by our engagement with the "least of these" in society. We do not exist for ourselves alone. We exist for each other, which is a form of ultimate worship to God. For much of the history of white denominations and churches in America, racism has not been denounced as sin. Historically, Princeton Seminary and its leaders did not regard forms of racial apartheid and disenfranchisement as sin, choosing to interpret this white supremacist form of social life as simply part of the cultural ethos of the era. When the Seminary confesses its historical connections to slavery, it also acknowledges the ongoing consequences of structural racism within its own institutional context.

In calling this racist history *sin*, it is important to understand precisely what is being acknowledged. Historically, the language of Christian faith at Princeton Seminary (and broader white society) was tied to narratives of white supremacy and segregation. Stitched into the fabric of white Christian piety and practice was the call to save the "heathen" and civilize the "savage," which provided theological legitimation for grotesque forms of life such as slavery. Blacks were not seen as humans but as having the potential to become fully human based on their initiation into a European way of life. Unfortunately, this form of cultural intolerance and conquest was fundamentally understood as the Christian task, a task the leaders of Princeton Seminary privileged when the school first started in 1812. Consider the words of Archibald Alexander, first professor of Princeton Seminary. He delivered his inaugural address on August 12, 1812, affirming the "beneficial effects" of Christianity on other nations.[73] In his address, he asserted that European nations and missionaries have uplifted the wellbeing of the poor, dispossessed, and those who are inclined to be ferocious.[74] For Alexander, white Christian churches possessed a religious innocence, as evidenced in white churches' accomplishments in subduing and training non-European peoples around the world in the ways of Christianity. This included "Christianizing" African Americans within the cruel, inhumane institution of slavery. Speaking about slavery and colonization through the language of innocence made it impossible to acknowledge slavery as sin. Therefore, to name the Seminary's historical connections to slavery as sin is to reckon with how totalizing white supremacy and colonialism were for white Christian identity and practice.

In confessing this history, Princeton Seminary repents. Within the biblical witness, there are continual calls to repent when a community violates the commands of God to treat one's neighbors with love and justice. Consider the Hebrew prophets Amos, Isaiah, and Malachi, who remind Israel to practice justice with the poor, the widow, and the stranger. The prophetic call of the Hebrew prophets is the call to protect the vulnerable within society, which is a form of worship and obedience to God. Similarly, in the gospels, Jesus presents numerous parables on how we might treat those who experience different forms of exploitation, precariousness, and deprivation. The Seminary's leadership and faculty have not always remembered this basic Christian command, which is to love our neighbors as ourselves. Consequently, this institution is called to repent for misconstruing and ignoring the most fundamental task of Christian witness.

[73]James Moorhead, *Princeton Seminary in American Religion and Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2012), xvii.
[74]Ibid., xvii.

In addition, Princeton Seminary must repent from whiteness itself, that is, the totalizing effects of white supremacy as ideology and practice. In talking about racism, we often assume that this issue singularly affects people of color. However, the sin of racism has deeply affected the humanity of white communities. Racial hierarchy in this country was generated by whiteness, binding people of European descent to a category that would do profound violence to their own humanity. Whiteness is a form of structural sin that white people are embedded into, a system they did not choose but nevertheless benefit from. Princeton Seminary likewise participated in structures of whiteness through benefiting from the institution of slavery. Confession and atonement must be made for participating in and benefiting from structures of whiteness and the moral wounding and pain that whiteness has produced and continues to generate in the Seminary community.

Repentance not only means telling the truth about the sin of slavery but also involves "destroying … the dividing wall of hostility" (Ephesians 2:14, NIV). In Ephesians, the writer speaks about the mission of the Christian church, which is about *enfleshing* a new humanity in Christ that challenges and transcends previous religious, social, and cultural barriers. Princeton Seminary must now bear witness to a new moment, marked by the radical work of destroying the dividing wall of racial hostility characteristic of centuries of white Christian supremacy. The only way to embody and bear witness to this new moment is to intentionally pursue a justice-making and reconciling community.

This vision of a justice-making and reconciling community confesses that previous white Christian accounts of human fellowship have been grounded in a distorted vision of racial joining and belonging. People from vastly different social and cultural worlds, lands, languages, and places were drawn together inside a white Christian vision.[75] This vision not only provided a way of viewing nonwhite people, which inevitably led to social and economic oppression, but also provided and reinforced a basis of belief. It functioned as "articulated faith," as Willie Jennings argues. That is, socially constructed categories of race were believed as biological fact, and in turn, this "truth" of racial difference informed white people's vision of social, political, and even spiritual realities. In other words, it is the faith "that is believed ('we are white, black, and everything in between'), and the faith that believes ('I see people as white, black, and everything in between')."[76] This racial faith produced and maintained racial hierarchy and exploitation.[77] Moving forward into the future, intentionally pursuing a justice-making and reconciling community means categorically rejecting the racial faith of white Christian identity that has previously marked the Seminary and America more broadly.

Concluding Reflections

As Princeton Theological Seminary looks towards its future, it must also look toward its past, mindful that our community encompasses not only those who teach and learn and serve here in the present but also those who have come before us. We inherit a legacy from this history, in its full complexity, with all of its blessing and burden. As we have seen, many of the

[75]Willie Jennings, "A Response to A.J. Walton," in *Syndicate*, published July 21, 2014, https://syndicate.network/symposia/theology/the-christian-imagination/
[76]Ibid.
[77]Ibid.

board members and professors in the Seminary's early years were complicit with the institution of slavery to various degrees. The institution itself benefitted from slavery indirectly, through the wealth of many of its donors who derived their income in a national economy in which slavery was a driving force. The Seminary's leadership and many of its alumni played a significant role in the colonization movement, unable to advocate for the equality of blacks and whites in one nation under God. The founders and faculty members were embedded in a larger culture and structure of white normativity, and they did not challenge it, nor could they see beyond it.

We confess these moral failings unequivocally. Yet we do so not as morally superior agents casting judgment on the past, but as sinners likewise in need of God's grace. As Theodore Wright (Class of 1828) remarked regarding the support for colonization even among the pious, "good men may err; men are the same that they ever were, finite and fallible; and bad principles are very frequently found among good men."[78] The purpose of confession and repentance is to acknowledge our need for grace before God, which is a truth that requires proclamation in every generation. To be a covenant community means we must own the sins of the past if we are to repent and respond to the call to a new future together.

At the same time, part of the legacy that we inherit is also the story of those who were outspoken advocates for equality and called for the swift abolition of slavery. It is the story of the first African American graduates of the Seminary whose leadership promoted the cause of justice in the church and in the nation. Many alumni used their Seminary training to advance education and opportunity in the African American community. This too is part of the Seminary's history, and we can learn from the example of these ancestors in the faith whose moral compass prompted them to work against injustice.

Princeton Theological Seminary's historical connections to slavery are complicated and multifaceted, and we must never hesitate to tell the truth about our history in all of its complexity. As Francis Grimke (Class of 1878) proclaimed, "If justice sleeps in this land, let it not be because we have helped to lull it to sleep by our silence, our indifference; let it not be from lack of effort on our part to arouse it from its slumbers." Speaking the truth is a Christian discipline. Only when we tell the truth about ourselves can we come before God in confession and repentance. This is part of what it means to be a covenant community, bound in relationship to God and to one another across the generations. May we who have inherited this history never permit justice to slumber among us.

[78]Wright, *The Friend of Man*, Vol. 3, No. 18, 17 October 1838.

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Archibald Alexander: *History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa* (Philadelphia: 1846; second edition 1849).

Ashbel Green: "Resolution of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church" on the subject of slavery (1818). Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America from its organization A.D. 1789 to A.D. 1820 inclusive (Philadelphia: 1847), 692-694.

Charles Hodge: various articles in the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, especially "Slavery" 8/2 (April 1836); 268-305; "West India Emancipation" 10/4 (October 1838) 602-644; "President Lincoln" 37/3 (July 1865) 435-458. It is also interesting to see the portions of the 1836 article which were cut or modified at the beginning and the end when it was reprinted in Augusta, Georgia, in 1860 in *Cotton is King, and Pro-slavery Arguments*, along with other writings on slavery, by E.N. Elliott, president of Planters' College, Mississippi.

Secondary on Charles Hodge: Allen C. Guelzo "Charles Hodge's Antislavery Moment" in Stewart & Moorhead (eds.), *Charles Hodge Revisited* (Grand Rapids: 2002); David Torbett, *Theology and Slavery: Charles Hodge and Horace Bushnell* (Macon, Georgia: 2006) esp. pp. 91-114, where he deals with the question of development of Charles Hodge's thinking on the subject of slavery and explores the issue "Did Hodge Change His Mind?"

Alexander T. McGill: "The Hand of God with the Black Race: A Discourse Delivered before the Pennsylvania Colonization Society" (Philadelphia: 1862); *American Slavery, as Viewed and Acted on by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia:

1865); "Patriotism, Philanthropy, and Religion: An Address before the American Colonization Society, January 16, 1877" (Washington City: 1877).

Samuel Miller: "A Discourse Delivered April 12, 1797, at the Request of and Before the New-York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves, and Protecting Such of Them as Have Been or May Be Liberated" (New York: 1797); "A sermon, preached at Newark, October 22, 1823, before the Synod of New Jersey, for the benefit of the African School, under the care of the Synod" (Trenton: 1823).

Statements by Others Connected to Princeton Seminary

Matthew Anderson: *Presbyterianism. Its Relation to the Negro. Illustrated by The Berean Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia, with Sketch of the Church and Autobiography of the Author* (Philadelphia: 1897).

Albert Barnes: *Inquiry into the Scriptural Views of Slavery* (Philadelphia: 1846; 1857); *The Church and Slavery* (Philadelphia: 1857).

Daniel Wallace Culp: *Twentieth Century Negro Literature or a Cyclopedia of Thought on Vital Topics Relating to the American Negro* (Toronto: 1902).

Francis Grimke: *The Works of Francis Grimke*, ed. by Carter G. Woodson (Washington, D.C.: 1942).

Samuel Blanchard How: *Slaveholding Not Sinful* (New Brunswick: 1856).

James Adair Lyon: "Slavery, and the duties growing out of the relation," Southern Presbyterian Review (July 1863).

Henry Jackson Van Dyke: *The Character and Influence of Abolitionism* (several editions published in New York, Washington, D.C. and Charleston: 1860 and 1861).

Cortlandt van Rensselaer: *Miscellaneous Sermons, Essays, and Addresses by the Rev. Cortlandt van Rensselaer, D.D.* (Philadelphia: 1861).

Material for Biographical Studies

John Miller Dickey: George B. Carr, *John Miller Dickey, D.D. His Life and Times* (Philadelphia:1929).

Robert Finley: Isaac V. Brown, *Biography of the Rev. Robert Finley, D.D., of Basking Ridge N.J.: with an account of his agency as the author of the American Colonization Society: also a sketch of the slave trade; a view of our national policy and that of Great Britain towards Liberia and Africa* (Philadelphia: 1857) (an earlier version was published in 1819 in New Brunswick); see also Finley's "Thoughts on the Colonization of Free Blacks" (Washington City, 1816?)

Francis Grimke: Henry Justin Ferry, *Francis James Grimke, portrait of a Black Puritan* (New Haven: 1970)

Charles Colcock Jones: *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (Savannah: 1842); *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of Negroes in the Southern States* (Philadelphia: 1847); *Religious Instruction of the Negroes: An Address delivered before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, at Augusta, Ga., Dec. 10, 1861*; Robert Manson Myers, *The Children of Pride; a true story of Georgia and the Civil War* [selected from the family papers of the Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones (1804-1863) of Liberty County, Georgia] (New Haven: 1972); Eduard Nuessnee Loring, *Charles C. Jones: Missionary to Plantation Slaves 1831-1847* (Ann Arbor: 1976); Thomas Pinckney, "The Missionary Work of Charles Colcock Jones: Successes and Failures of the Union of Christianity and Slavery in the Early Middle Nineteenth Century" (Senior thesis, Princeton University, 1993); Lillian Young Nave, "Reverend Charles Colcock Jones: a portrait of the life of an individual trapped in the intersection of slavery and Christianity in the antebellum South" (B.A. thesis, Williams College: 1995); Erskine Clarke, *Dwelling Place: a Plantation Epic* (New Haven: 2005); Robin Manson Myers, *A Georgian at Princeton* (New York: 1976)

Elijah Lovejoy: There are a number of biographies of Elijah Lovejoy which have been published over the years. From the 19th century see *Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy: who was murdered in defence of the liberty of the press, at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7, 1837*, by Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy; with an introduction by John Quincy Adams (New York: 1838) and Henry Tanner, *Martyrdom of Lovejoy. An Account of the life, trials, and perils of Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy* (Chicago: 1881). Twentieth century biographies include Melvin Jameson, *Elijah Parish Lovejoy as a Christian* (Rochester: 1910?); Nelson Miles Heikes, *Sketch of the life of Rev. Elijah Parish Lovejoy* (Albion, ME: 1923); Norman Dunbar Palmer, *The Conversion of Elijah Parish Lovejoy and its Results* (Waterville, ME: 1947); John Gill, *Tide without turning: Elijah P. Lovejoy and freedom of the press* (Boston: 1958); Merton Lynn Dillon, *Elijah P. Lovejoy, Abolitionist Editor* (Urbana, IL:1961); and Paul Simon, *Lovejoy, Martyr to Freedom* (St. Louis: 1964). For contemporary accounts see Leonard Worcester, *A Discourse on the Alton Outrage* (Concord, NH: 1838); Edward Beecher, *Narrative of the Riots at Alton* (original printing 1838; reprint New York: 1970); William S. Lincoln, *Alton Trials* (New York: 1838)

Betsey Stockton: Eileen F. Moffett "Betsey Stockton: Pioneer American Missionary" International Bulletin of Missionary Research (April 1995); John A. Andrew III "Betsey Stockton: Stranger in a Strange Land" Journal of Presbyterian History (Summer 1974); Constance K. Escher "She Calls Herself Betsey Stockton" Princeton History (no. 10: 1991) [Although generally good, be aware that Constance Escher is incorrect in implying here that Betsey Stockton ever attended "classes in theological studies at Princeton Theological Seminary"; she did receive a broad educational background in the home of Ashbel Green, the first president of the Seminary's Board of Directors and further education, including certainly some basic theological education, at the home of the Presbyterian minister and educator Nathaniel Todd, who was related by marriage to Ashbel Green, and she attended Sabbath School classes taught by Princeton Seminary students, including Michael Osborn (Class of 1822). She may very well have received some tutoring from other students at Princeton College and at the Seminary at various points during her Princeton years. She remained very close to the family of Charles S. Stewart (Class of 1821) throughout her adult life. It is also clear that she

would have heard the sermons of Archibald Alexander and others connected with the Seminary at various Princeton worship services, including a sermon by Princeton Seminary student Eliphalet Gilbert (Class of 1816) which Green specifically mentions as being influential on her in his letter to the American Board.] The surviving portions of Betsey Stockton's journal of her voyage to Hawaii have been reprinted on the African American Religion: A Documentary History website: (http://www3.amherst.edu/~aardoc/Betsey_Stockton_Journal_1.html) There are currently two full-length biographies of Betsey Stockton underway as of this date.

Theodore Wright: Daniel Paul Morrison, "Rev. Theodore Sedgwick Wright (1797-1847) Early Princeton Theological Seminary Black Abolitionist, with an appendix containing transcription of the publications of Theodore Sedgwick Wright" (Research paper, Princeton, NJ: 2005)

Institutions

American Colonization Society: The literature on the American Colonization Society is immense and both its contemporaries and later historians have taken divergent views in evaluating it. An excellent historiographical review of published studies of the American Colonization Society displaying the changing scholarly views on the American Colonization Society may be found beginning on page 413 of Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black and White Virginians in the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: 2007). Some recent treatments include Philip John Staudenraus, *The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865* (New York:1961); Eric Burin, *Slavery and the peculiar solution: a history of the American Colonization Society* (Gainesville, Fl.: 2005); Ousmane K. Power-Greene, *Against Wind and Tide: The African American Struggle against the Colonization Movement* (New York: 2014); and Beverly C. Tomek and Matthew J. Hetrick (eds.), *New Directions in the Study of African American Recolonization* (New York: 2017), which gathers together a diversity of current and sometimes opposing scholarly views on the ACS and its activities. The records of the American Colonization Society are deposited at the Library of Congress. Of particular value regarding the opinions and activities of the American Colonization Society in New Jersey is *Historical Notes on Slavery and Colonization: with Particular Reference to the Efforts which have been made in favor of African Colonization in New-Jersey* (Elizabethtown: 1842)

Ashmun Institute/Lincoln University: This important African American educational institution was founded in 1854 to provide higher education for African Americans by Princeton Seminary alumnus John Miller Dickey (Class of 1827). The opening address was given by Cortlandt Van Rensselaer (Class of 1833), who donated $50,000 to the founding of the school. An account of its founding may be read in George B. Carr, *John Miller Dickey, D.D. His Life and Times* (Philadelphia: 1929) and in Horace Mann Bond *Education for Freedom: A History of Lincoln University* (Princeton: 1976). Princeton Seminary alumni continued to be connected with this institution for many years after its founding.

MOVING FORWARD

As we grapple with this history and its implications for race relations on our campus and in the world in the decades following until the present day, we must come to terms with the legacy of our community's sin. The committee's historical audit has focused upon the Seminary's interaction with slavery and hence has dealt chiefly with the years between 1812 and the Civil War. But legacies of racism and assumptions of white normativity have a history beyond that era. As Matthew Anderson's initial difficulty in securing on-campus housing in 1874 illustrates (see above), antebellum prejudices persisted at the Seminary after the end of slavery. Moreover, Anderson's success does not appear to have permanently reversed the practice of encouraging the Seminary's relatively few black students to board in Princeton's African American community. In 1911, when Benjamin Warfield (as presiding officer of the faculty) remarked to his colleagues "that if another colored student came there was no objection to having him room in the dormitory," his comment seems to have marked a departure from custom and infuriated at least one member of the faculty.[1]

By the 1960s and 1970s, there were hopeful signs at Princeton Seminary of a more inclusive vision of justice. In 1965, for example, some students and faculty alike went to Selma, Alabama, to march on behalf of civil rights. The Association of Black Seminarians was organized on campus in 1968. In 1969, the Seminary made its first permanent appointment of a black faculty member in the person of Geddes Hanson and two years later called Edler Hawkins, a distinguished African American pastor serving in the Bronx, to a professorship. In 1965, Ulysses B. Blakeley (ThM '48), a Presbyterian pastor and synod executive, was the first African American appointed to the Princeton Seminary Board of Trustees, serving a three-year term as alumni trustee. In 1970, Milton Galamison (ThM '49), a prominent African American leader in the movement for school integration in New York City and pastor of the Siloam Presbyterian Church in Brooklyn, joined the Board of Trustees.

These parts of the Seminary's history serve as reminders that the work commenced by this audit could profitably move on to later eras and subjects. The legacy of our history in the 19th century has had painful and redemptive repercussions across the generations until the present day. We still have much work to do as a community of faith and learning in order to understand our history and present realities so that we can move forward into the future to which God calls us.

Many institutions of higher education have been engaged in similar historical audits of their own participation in slavery in America. These reports typically lead to conversations and eventually recommendations for memorializing and taking responsibility for the wrongs committed. As an institution of higher education of the church, Princeton Seminary has a theological framework for reconciling our history with the commitments of Christian faith. Our faith tradition calls us to repentance after making confession. In making confession, we tell the truth about our history before God and before the community of faith. In making repentance, we seek to make substantive changes in our way of life as an act of contrition before God and those we continue to hurt through the legacy of our community's sins.

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[1] Bradley J. Gundlach, "'Wicked Caste': Biblical Authority, and Jim Crow," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 85 (Spring/Summer 2007), 28-47; quote on 42 from a letter by J. Gresham Machen to his mother

Our proposal is that a process be established to develop a Seminary-wide conversation about this report and the ongoing legacy of our engagement with slavery. Through this process suggestions for specific actions to take in response will certainly arise from all quarters of the Seminary community. Accordingly, we propose the following:

Tell the truth in all of its complexity.

- Publish this report and distribute it widely among the Seminary community.

- Make the report publicly accessible online in a format that may include other relevant archival material.

- Hold public forums beginning in the fall of 2018 on this historical audit of the Seminary's relationship to slavery and its enduring legacy of racism on our campus. Trustees, faculty, students, alumni, and administrators should be a part of the conversation that develops around these forums.

Encourage further dialogue and scholarly inquiry about the implications of this history for the Seminary, the church, and the academy.

- Hold an academic conference on the historical audit that will solicit scholarly papers and publish the proceedings in an edition of Theology Today so that this scholarly exchange can be shared broadly.

- Engage scholarly expertise from those outside the Seminary community to solicit their input to our conversations and recommendations for responses.

Make confession and repentance as a community.

- Offer liturgical and artistic events that allow for confession, repentance, and envisioning a new way of life together.

- Seek broad input from the Seminary community about recommendations for institutional responses to this report and appropriate ways to memorialize this history.

A task force representing faculty, administrators, students, alumni, and trustees should be organized to oversee the public events and discussions of this report. It will receive proposals from the Seminary community for responses to our findings and make a formal set of recommendations to the Board of Trustees.

Appendix A: Student Demographics, 1812-1865

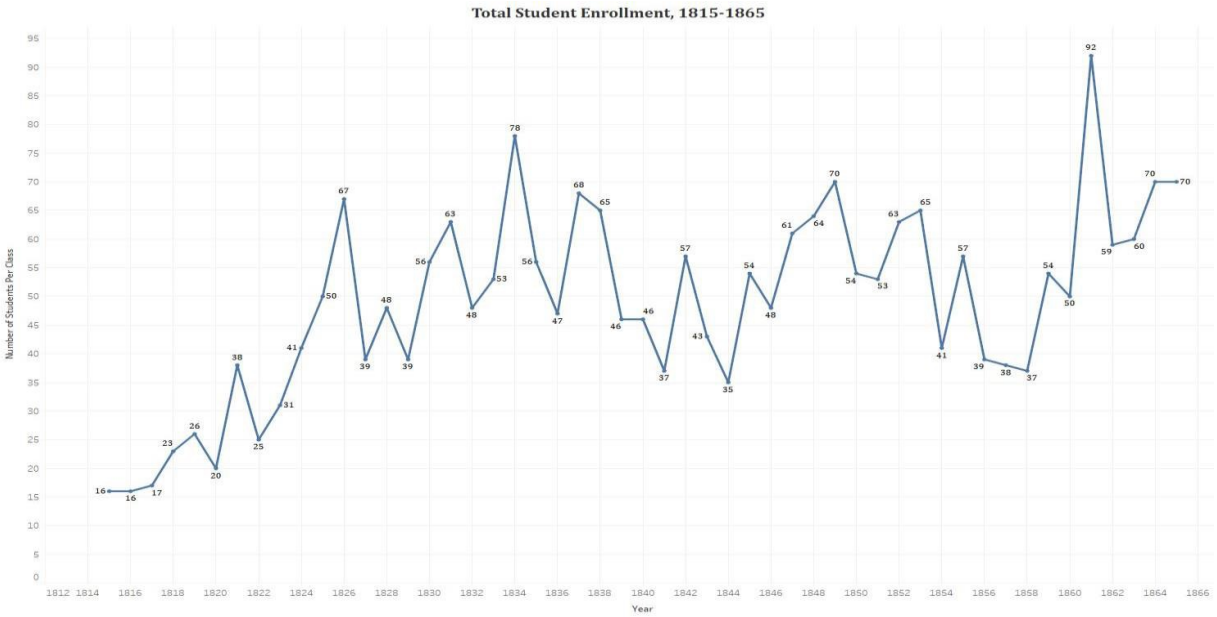
Report produced by Daved Anthony Schmidt

This report provides a demographic analysis of Princeton Theological Seminary's student population between the institution's founding in 1812 and the conclusion of the American Civil War in 1865. It is meant to be read in conjunction with the broader "historical audit" of the Seminary's social, political, and economic ties to American slavery, which was commissioned in 2016 by President Craig Barnes. Toward this end, its purpose is to provide a general profile of the student body that can be used to better understand both the school's stance on slavery and the potential range of opinions in this period. The opinions of Seminary professors are relatively well known, in other words, but where did their students come from and where did they go when they left?

This report begins with an overview of the Seminary's students between 1812 and 1865, turning then to an analysis of where students lived prior to arriving on campus. The third section examines the regional distribution of students after they left the Seminary. The fourth presents statistics pertaining to institutional and organizational affiliations leading up to, and during, the war.

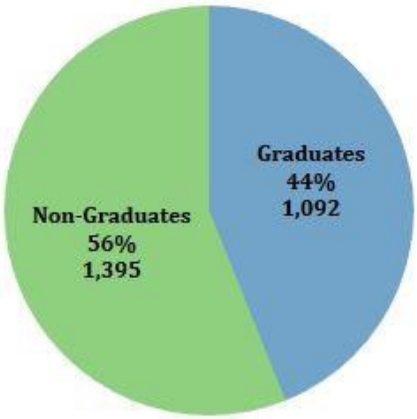
I. Overview

Between 1812 and 1865, the total number of students who enrolled at Princeton Theological Seminary was 2,493. Six of these individuals enrolled, but either never attended classes or left within a week of initially arriving in Princeton, bringing the total down to 2,487 students. This second figure is the basis for the statistics that follow. The average student body certainly grew between the first class in 1815 (16 total students) and the Class of 1865



(70 total students). However, it did not follow a straight line. The following chart provides a year-by-year summary of the total number of students enrolled in each class.

Enrollment numbers, as can be seen, were relatively erratic for the first 50 years of the Seminary's history. In a sense, this trajectory reflects many of the uncertainties that the Seminary's leadership faced in its first decades. The variation in class sizes was due in part to economic downturns as well as competition with other seminaries that had opened their doors at this time. These two factors were constant sources of worry. The financial reports submitted to the General Assembly regularly lamented cash shortages and expressed embarrassment that other schools could endow professors while they could not. Other aspects about these enrollment figures were consistent. All of these students were men. With a handful of exceptions, all of them were also white and Presbyterian.



It is important to note that the enrollment numbers presented above do not reflect the number of students who actually graduated from the Seminary. Like many institutions of higher learning at this time, the Seminary suffered a severely high attrition rate. Of the 2,487 students who enrolled and attended classes, only 1,092 completed their degrees. This meant the Seminary's graduation rate during this period was only 44 percent. Many students who did not graduate only attended the Seminary for a year. Some only attended for a semester. For the sake of providing a more robust picture of the student body, this report will include figures that combine graduates and nongraduates. A future study will have to take this into account.

It should also be noted that, in addition to attrition, a number of students died while at the Seminary or shortly after leaving. Of the four individuals who formed the first graduating class in 1815, for example, one died in 1820, another died in 1822, and a third died in 1825. Three of the 12 individuals in that same class who did not graduate died in this same time span. Students who were missionaries—both overseas and in the American West—were particularly vulnerable to seeing their ministries cut short. Around 40 students from the first 10 classes served at some point and in some capacity as a missionary. Nearly a quarter died in the field within 10 years of leaving the Seminary. As with attrition, such losses would become proportionally better over time as classes grew in size. And as with attrition, future studies will have to take these figures into account.

II. Places of Origin

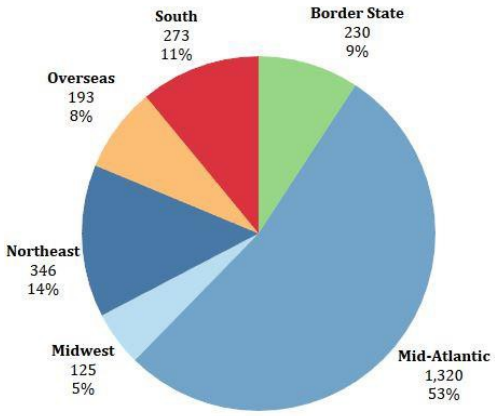
Students arrived at the Seminary from wide variety of locations. A total of 28 different states are represented in the student body. Moreover, a total of 14 foreign countries are represented. The regional diversity of students is due both to the extent of the Presbyterian Church's reach in the United States at this time and its support for mission outreach. Many of the foreign born students, especially from places such as Hawaii or India, came from missionary families. For the

purposes of this report, students were divided into six categories according to their state or country of birth:

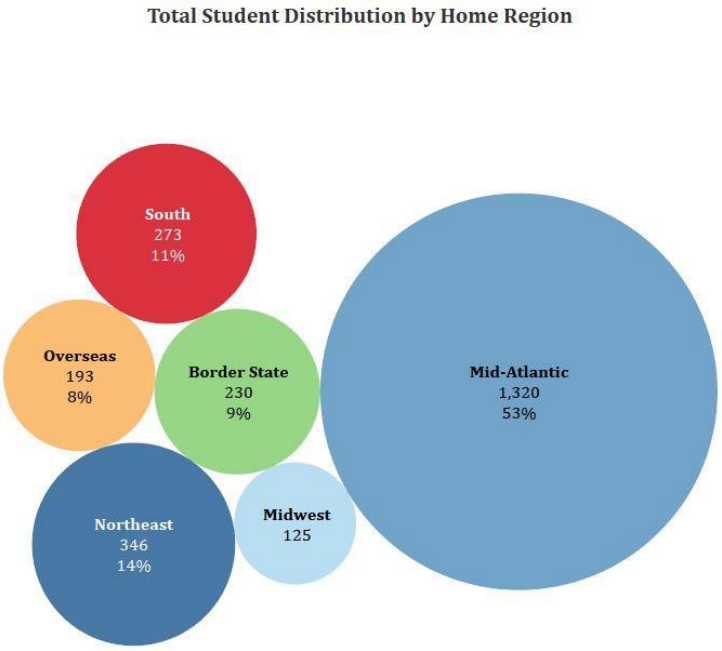
1. *Mid-Atlantic*: New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
2. *Northeast*: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
3. *Midwest*: Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin
4. *Border State*: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia
5. *South*: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee (including Arkansas and Texas)
6. *Overseas*

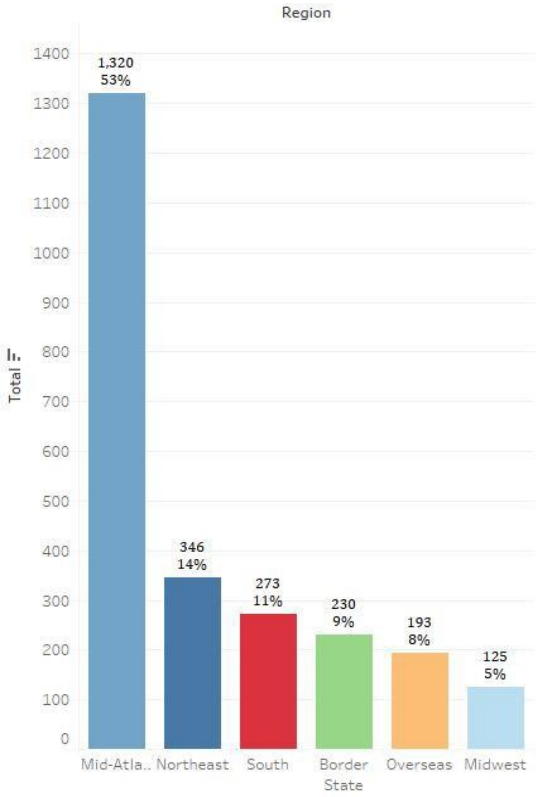
While students arrived from a variety of locales, certain regions did dominate the numbers. By far, the majority of students who attended the Seminary came from the Mid-Atlantic states. The Northeast and South came in second and third. The total number of students from a particular region as well as that region's proportion of total enrollment between 1822 and 1865 is as follows:

Region	Total	Percentage
Mid-Atlantic	1320	53%
Northeast	346	14%
South	273	11%
Border State	230	9%
Overseas	193	8%
Midwest	125	5%

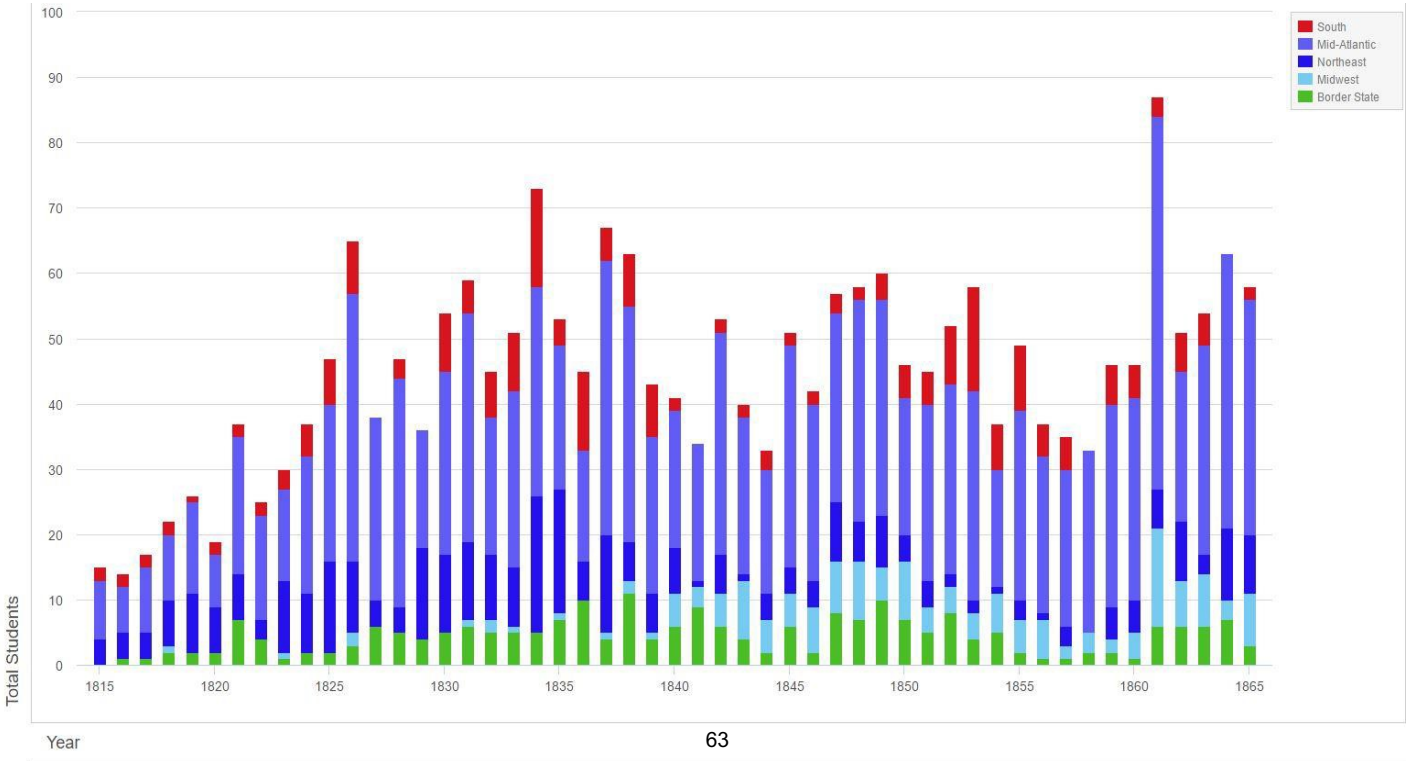


The data can be visualized in several other ways. The following graphs also provide a sense of the disproportionate representation the Mid-Atlantic states had during the Seminary's early years.

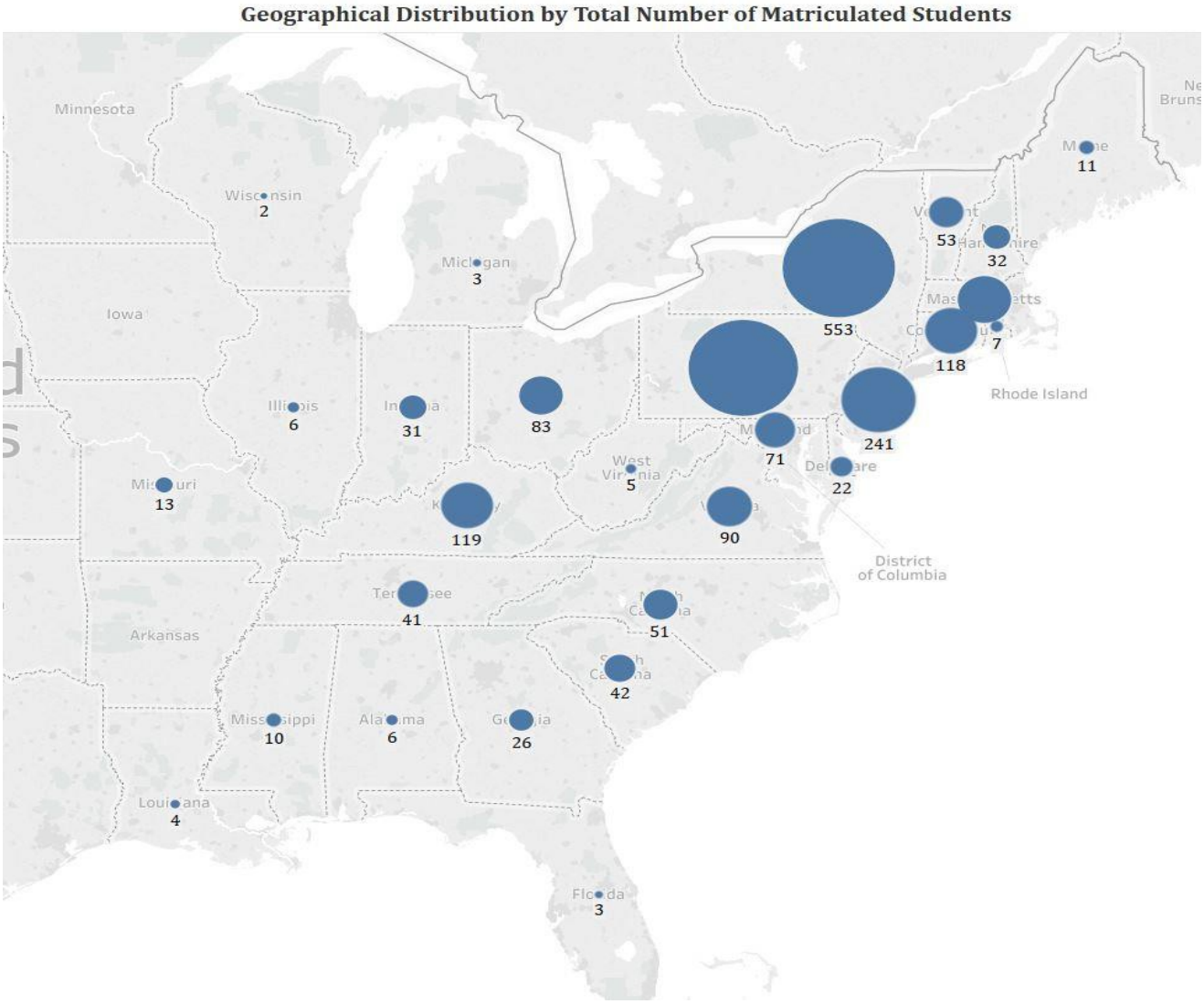




Home regions can also be tracked across time. The following graph breaks down each class according to region.



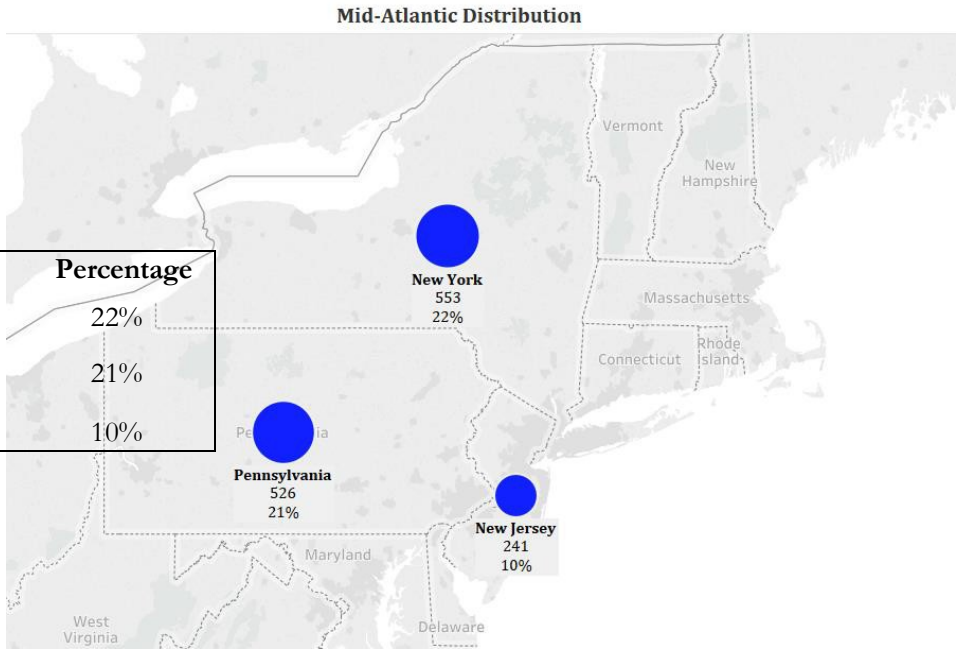
Regional totals can be broken down further by state. The following graph provides a bird's eye view of the geographical distribution of the total number of students by home state.

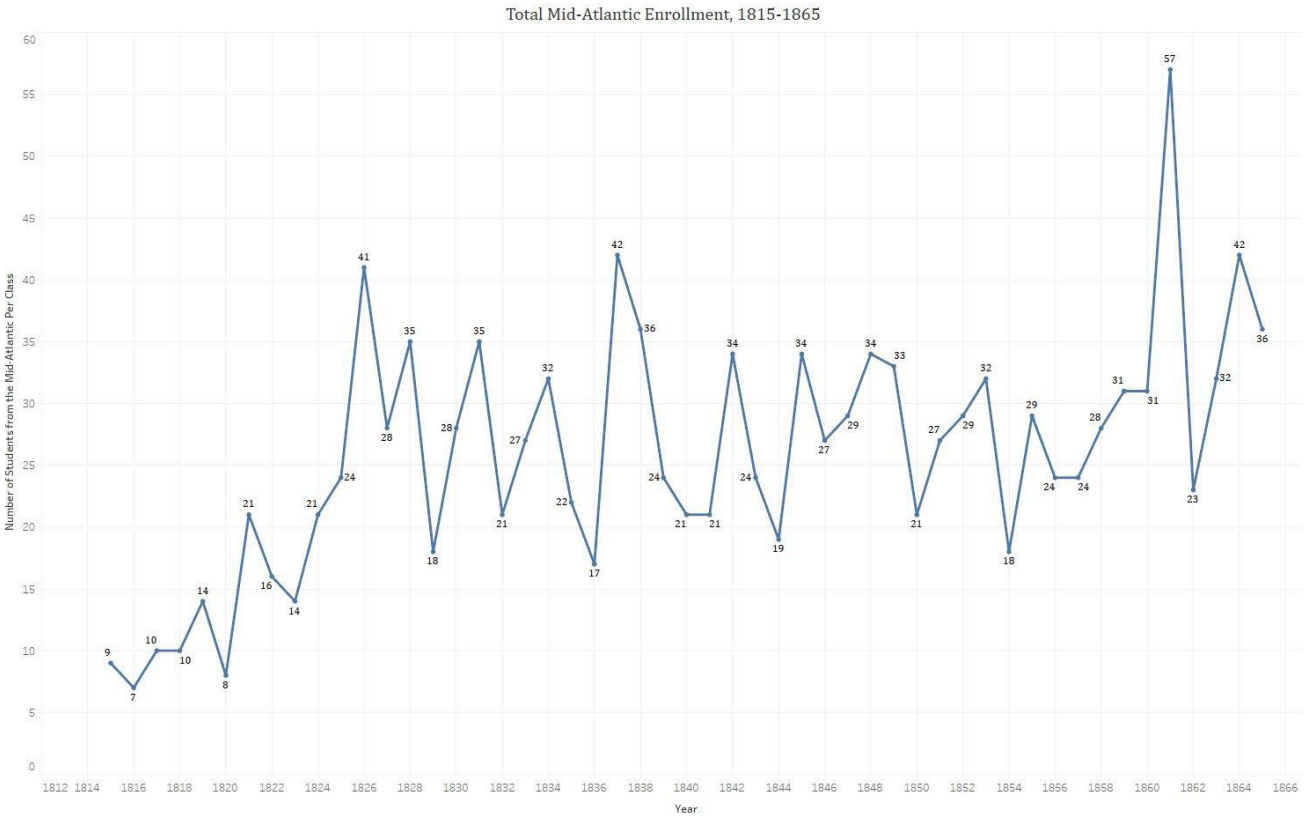


The following data and accompanying graphs provide more details about each of the five regions of the United States represented at the Seminary during the period in question.

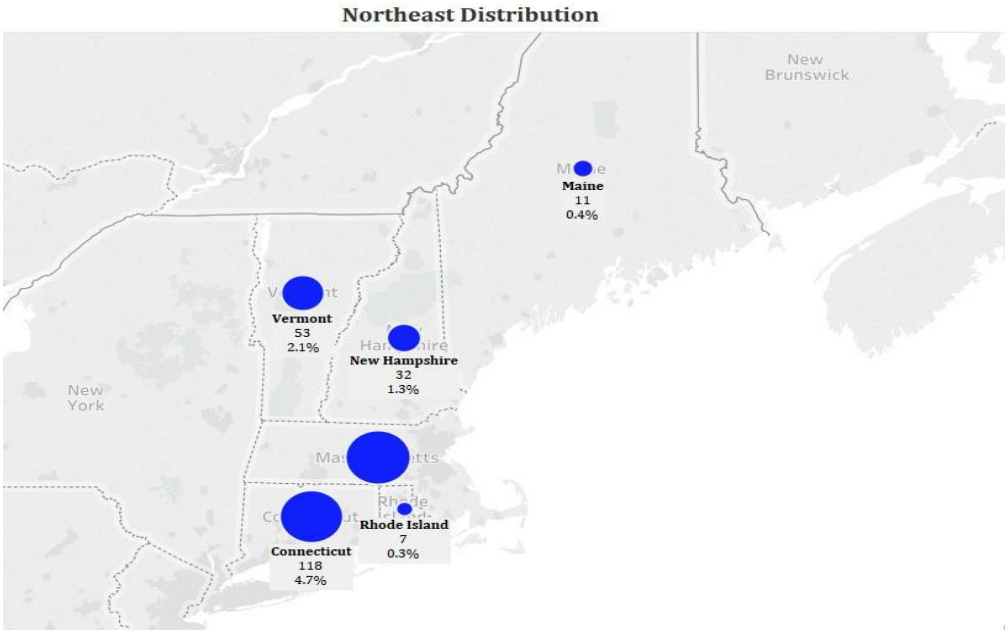
1. *Mid-Atlantic*

State	Total	Percentage
New York	553	22%
Pennsylvania	526	21%
New Jersey	241	10%

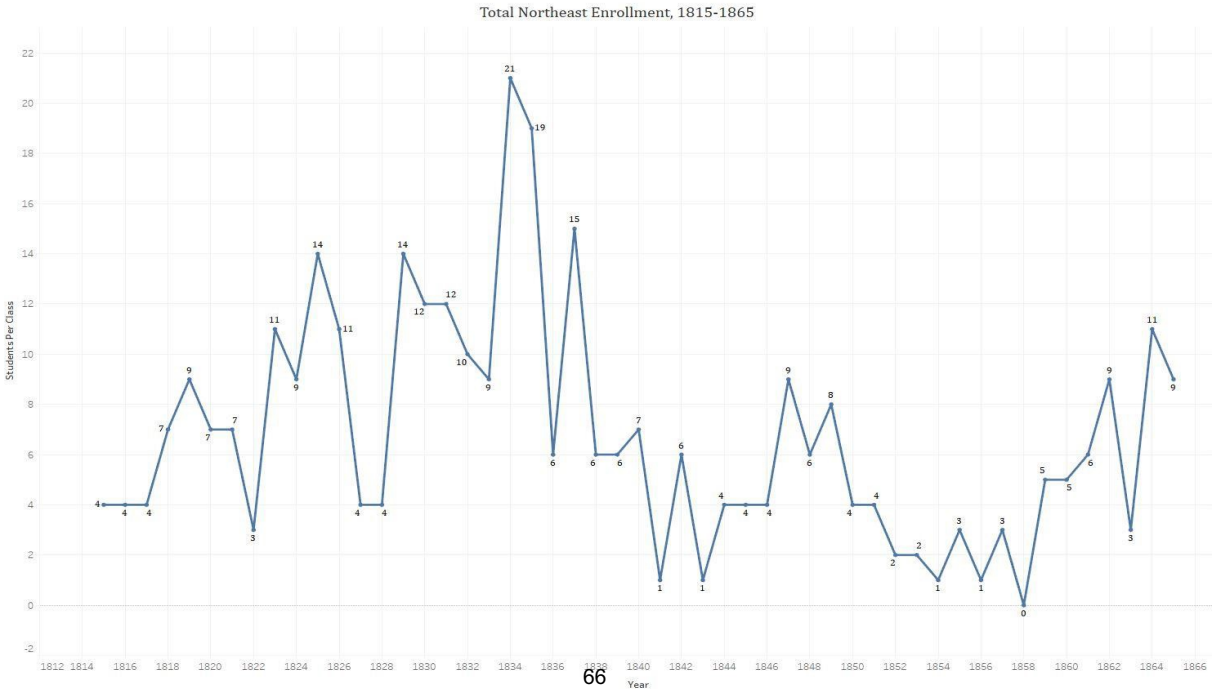




2. *Northeast*

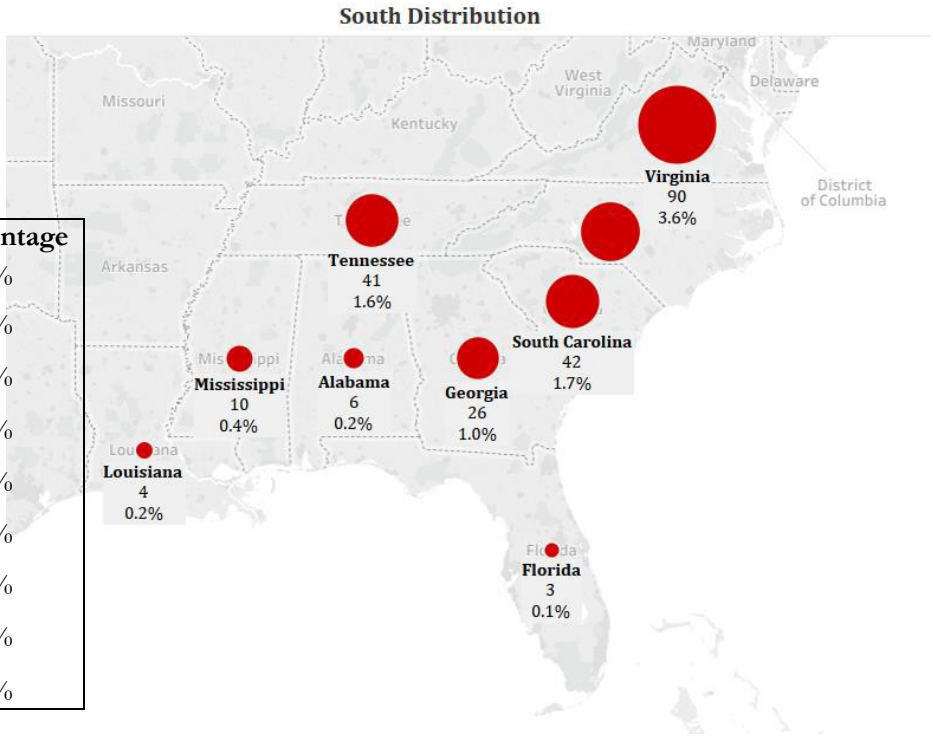


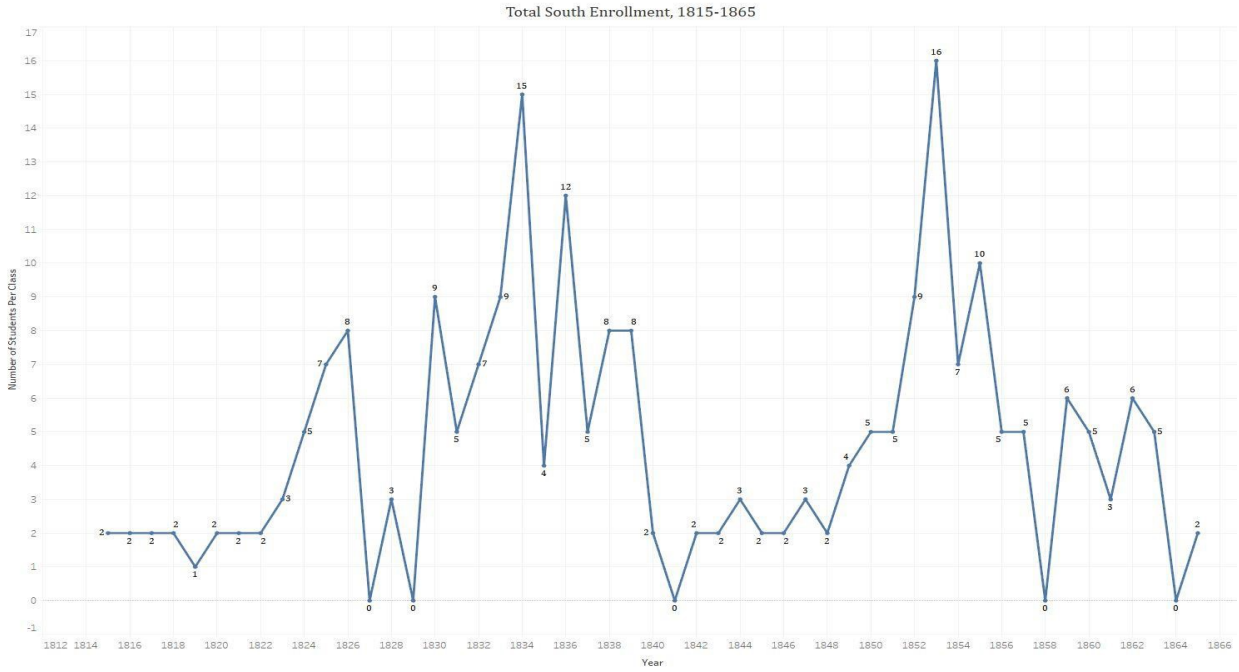
State	Total	Percentage
Connecticut	118	4.7%
Massachusetts	125	5.0%
Maine	11	0.4%
New Hampshire	32	1.3%
Rhode Island	7	0.3%
Vermont	53	2.1%



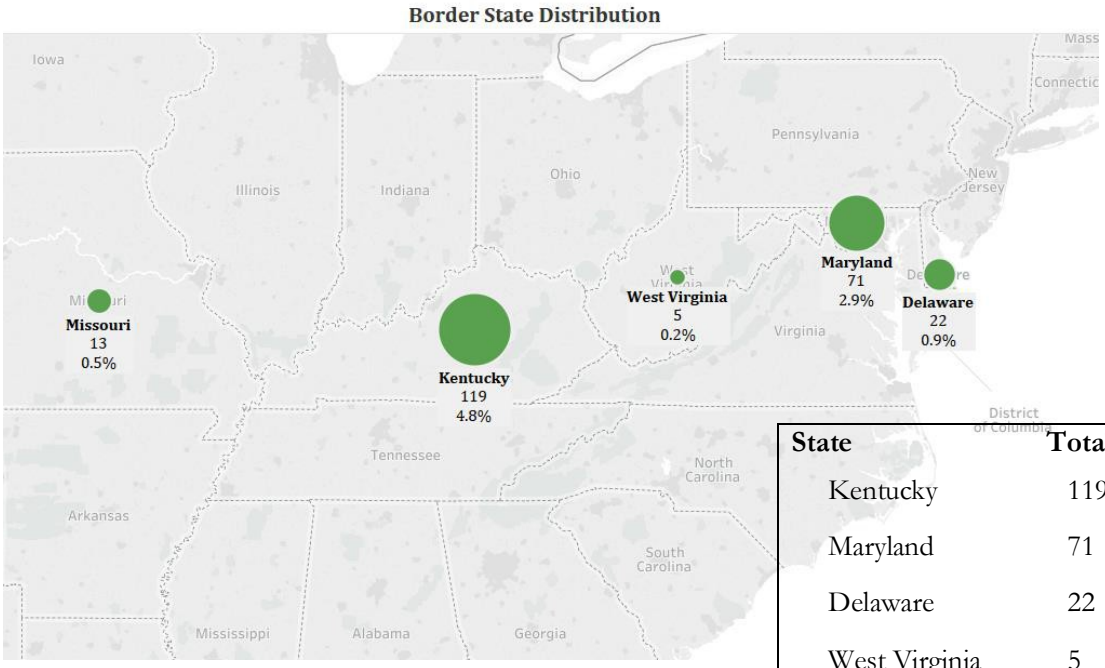
3. *South*

State	Total	Percentage
Alabama	6	0.2%
Florida	3	0.1%
Georgia	26	1.0%
Louisiana	4	0.2%
Mississippi	10	0.4%
North Carolina	51	2.1%
South Carolina	42	1.7%
Tennessee	41	1.6%
Virginia	90	3.6%

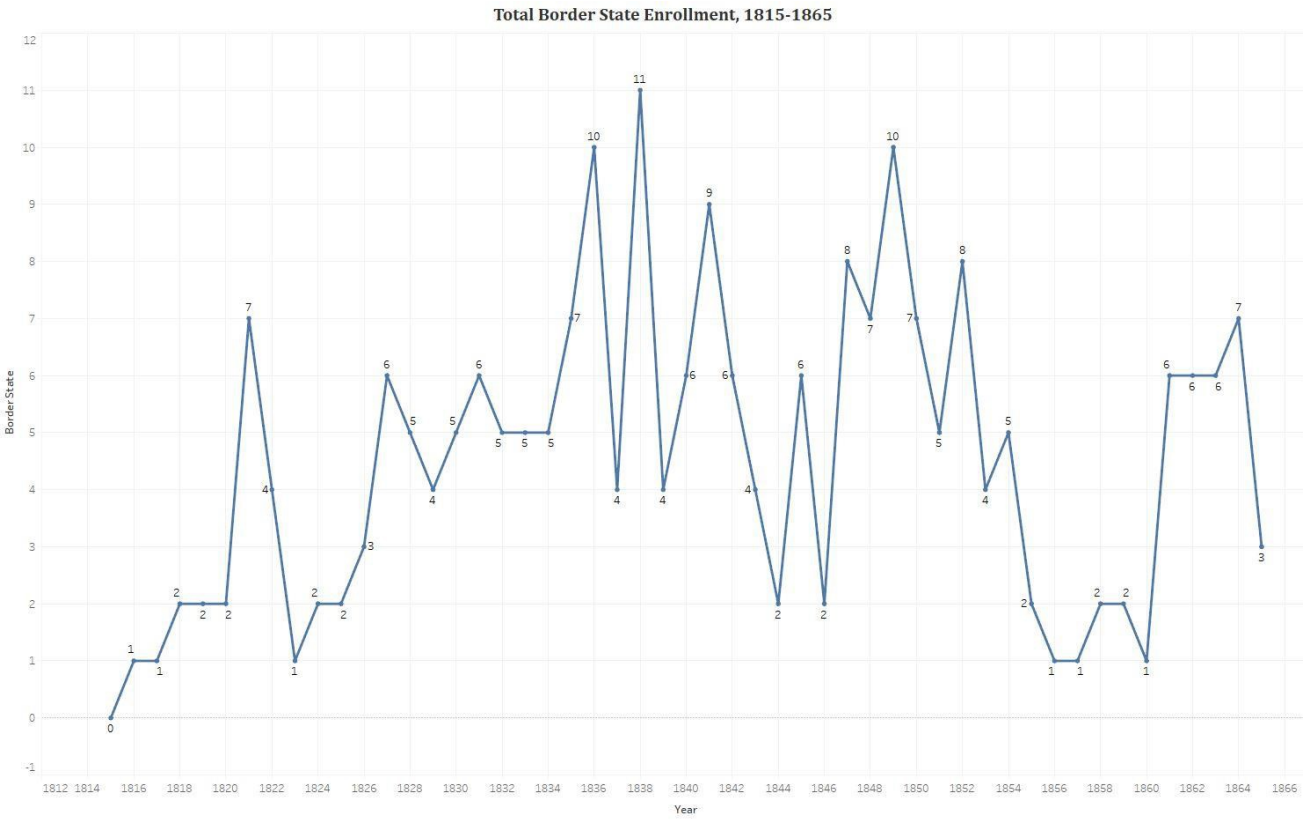




4. *Border States*

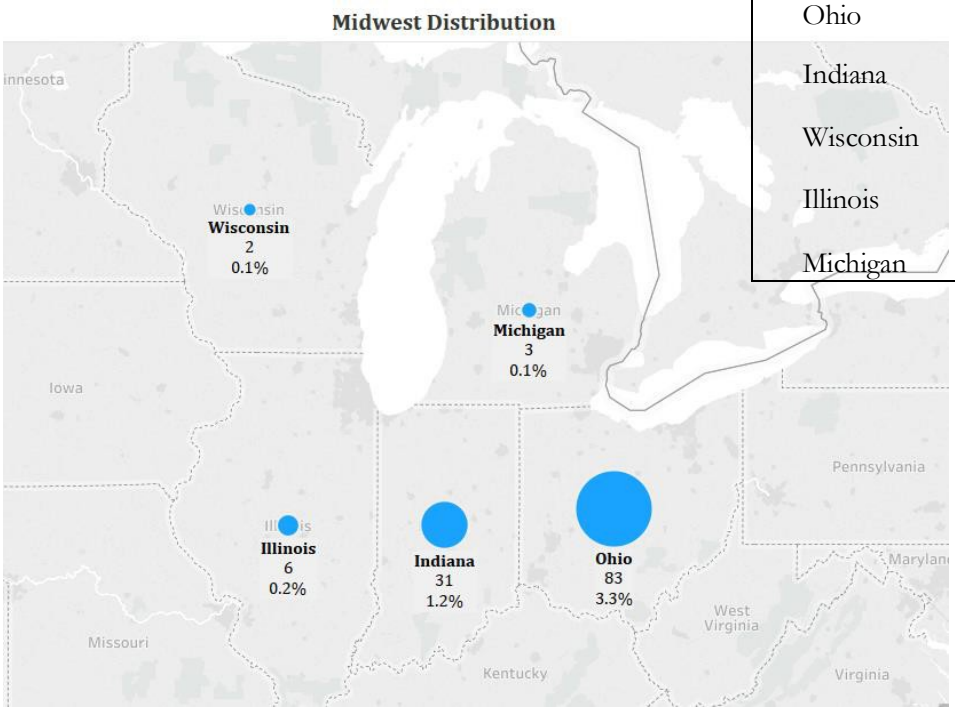


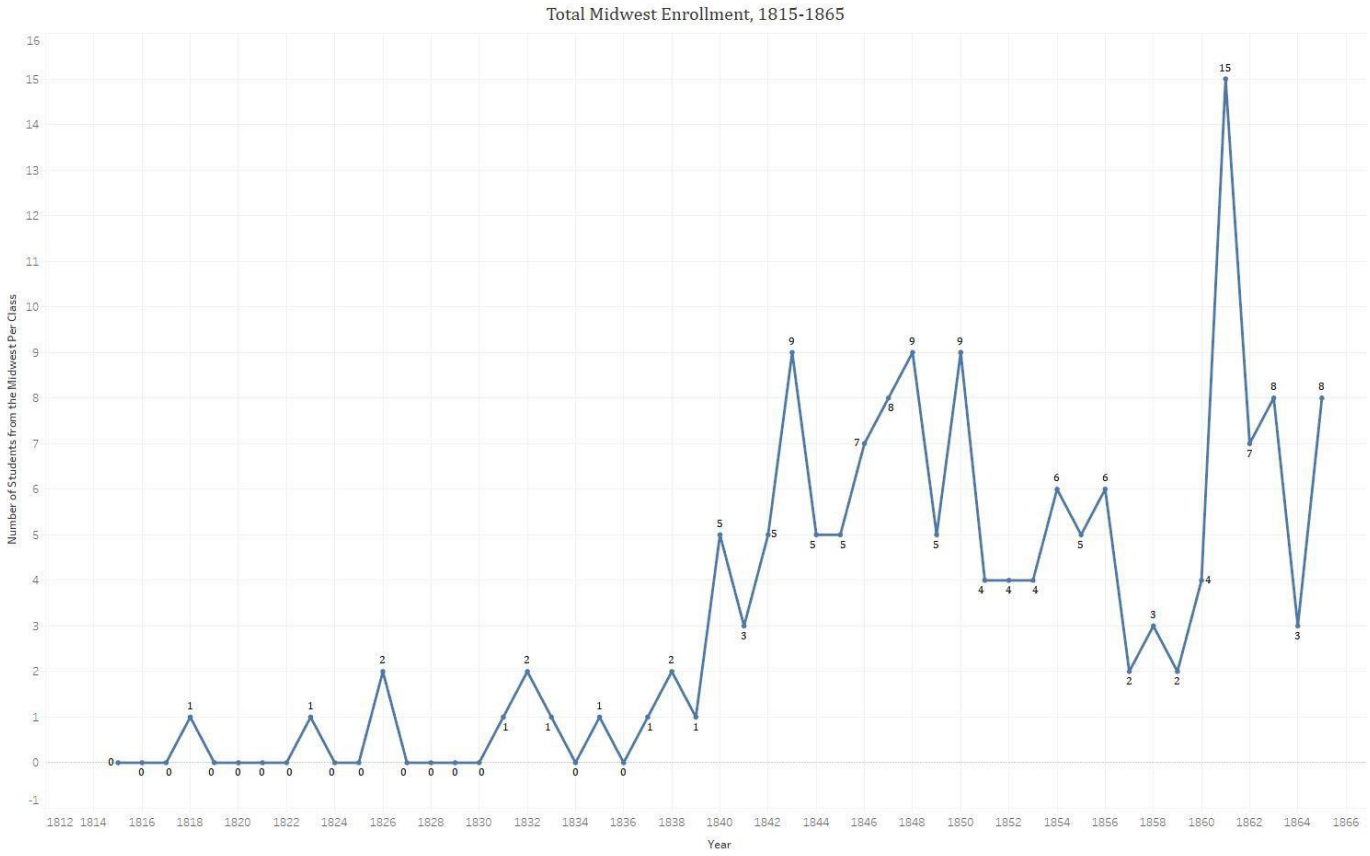
State	Total	Percentage
Kentucky	119	4.8%
Maryland	71	2.9%
Delaware	22	0.9%
West Virginia	5	0.2%
Missouri	13	0.5%



5. *Midwest*

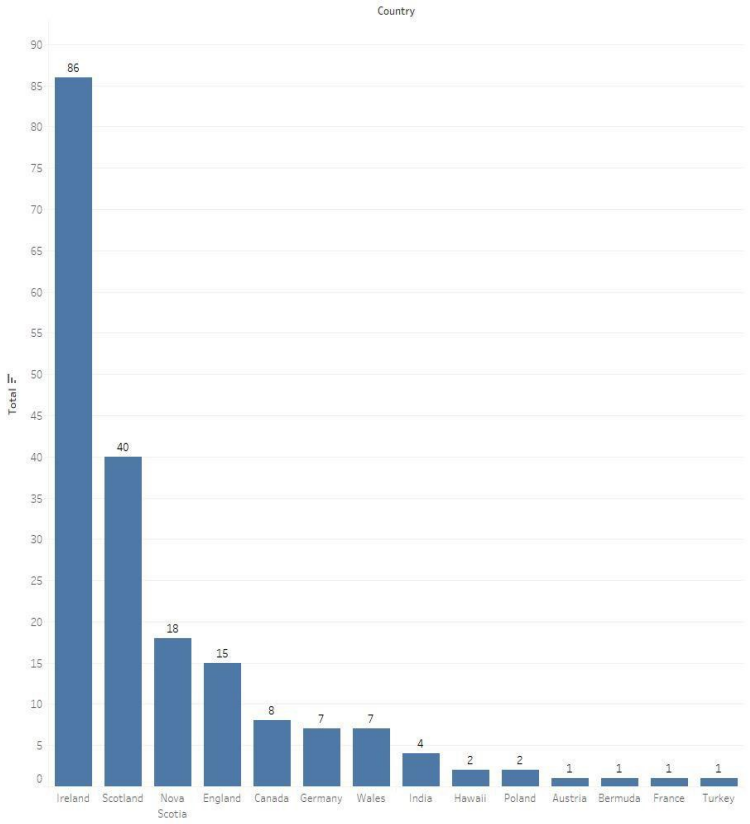
State	Total	Percentage
Ohio	83	3.3%
Indiana	31	1.2%
Wisconsin	2	0.1%
Illinois	6	0.2%
Michigan	3	0.1%



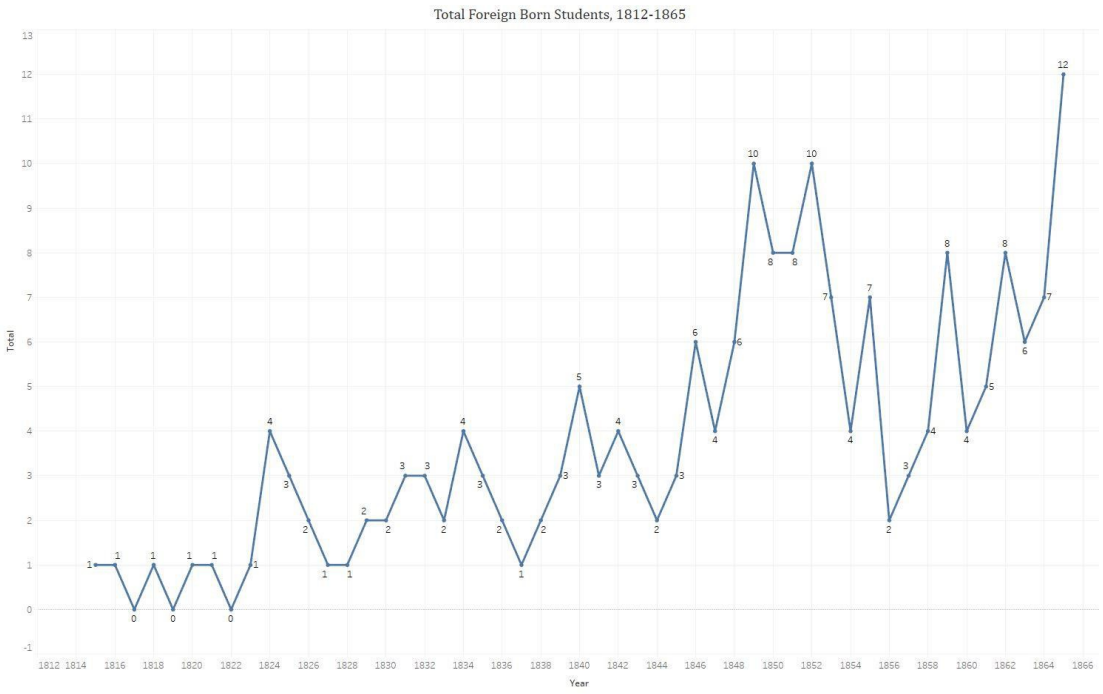


6. *Overseas*

The final category for this section is "overseas." This obviously encompasses a much larger geographical area and therefore will not be mapped. For organizational purposes, it will also include neighboring countries and territories such as Canada and Nova Scotia. Between 1812 and 1865, the Seminary was home to 193 foreign-born students. These students arrived from 14 different countries and/or territories. Ireland, by far, was the most consistent contributor.



Country	Total
Ireland	86
Scotland	40
Nova Scotia	18
England	15
Canada	8
Wales	7
Germany	7
India	4
Poland	2
Hawaii	2
France	1
Turkey	1
Austria	1
Bermuda	1

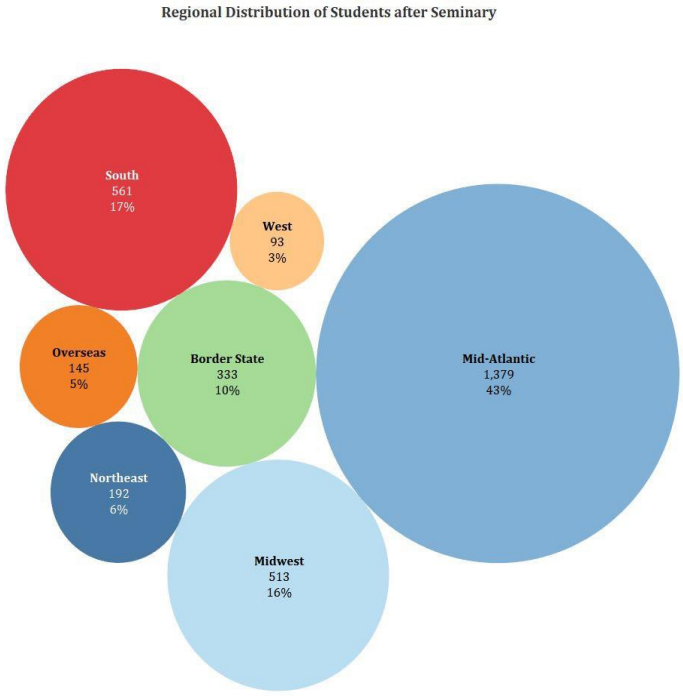


III. Post-Seminary Regional Distribution

The regional distribution of students after they left the Seminary is harder to determine with absolute precision. Some entries in the biographical catalogues published by the Seminary are more detailed than others. Further research into each of the 2,487 students in this period will be needed in order to flesh out this subject more completely. However, using what we have been given in the catalogues, we can gain a general sense where people worked after they left Seminary, and therefore in what regions former students spread their ideas and opinions. For the purposes of this study, these regions have been divided into seven.

1. *Mid-Atlantic*: New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania
2. *Northeast*: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont
3. *Midwest*: Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin
4. *Border State*: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia
5. *South*: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee (Arkansas and Texas included)
6. *West:* States west of the Mississippi River
7. *Overseas*

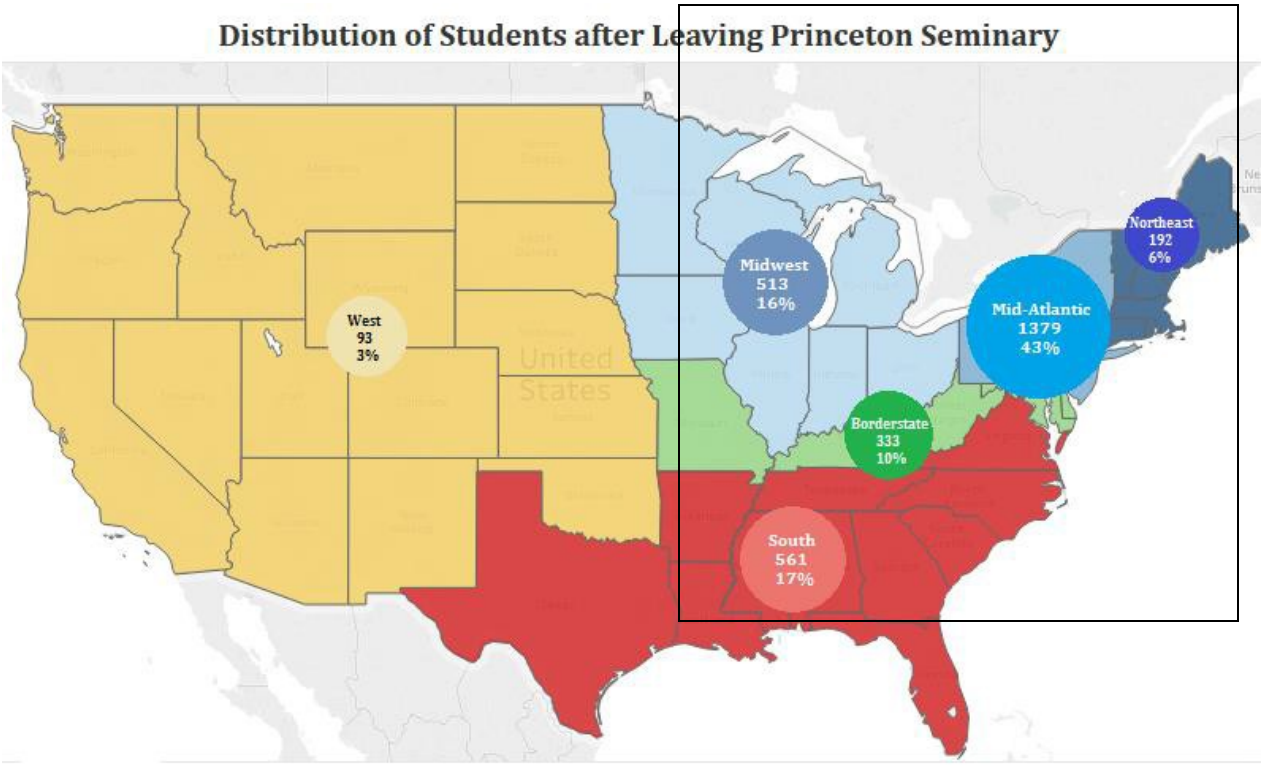
The paths that students took after they left the Seminary were numerous. The vast majority became ministers, although occasionally a person instead entered another profession such as banking or farming. Most individuals moved around relatively little in their lives. Others moved almost every other year. This report has examined each of the 2,487 students and noted the regions in which they worked for at least one year. This yielded a total of 3,216 data points. This total is the basis for the statistics that follow.



While this methodology is limited in terms of in terms of analyzing individual careers or the proportion of time a person spent in a certain region, it is helpful to gain a sense of where the alumni base as a whole was working. Moreover, since frequent moves across regions were less common, this is method is sufficient to gain a general overview of alumni distribution. It should

not be surprising, given the data on home states/regions above, that most students remained in the Mid-Atlantic region.

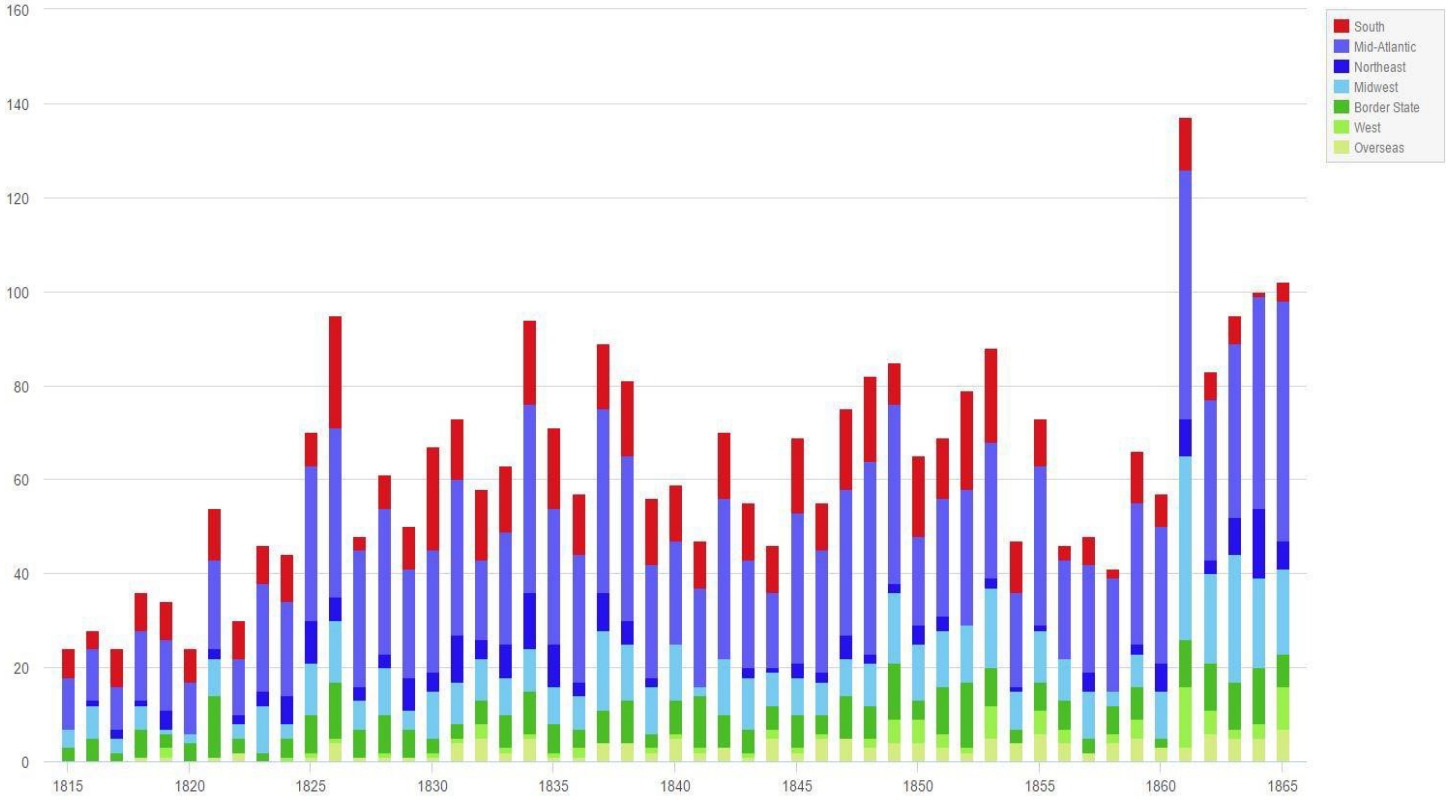
Unlike the previous section, however, the South comes in second instead of the Northeast. Additionally, the Midwest ranks third rather than last. This in part reflects broader settlement patterns taking shape at this time in among white Americans as the United States pushed West. Indeed, the West is now a category of analysis.



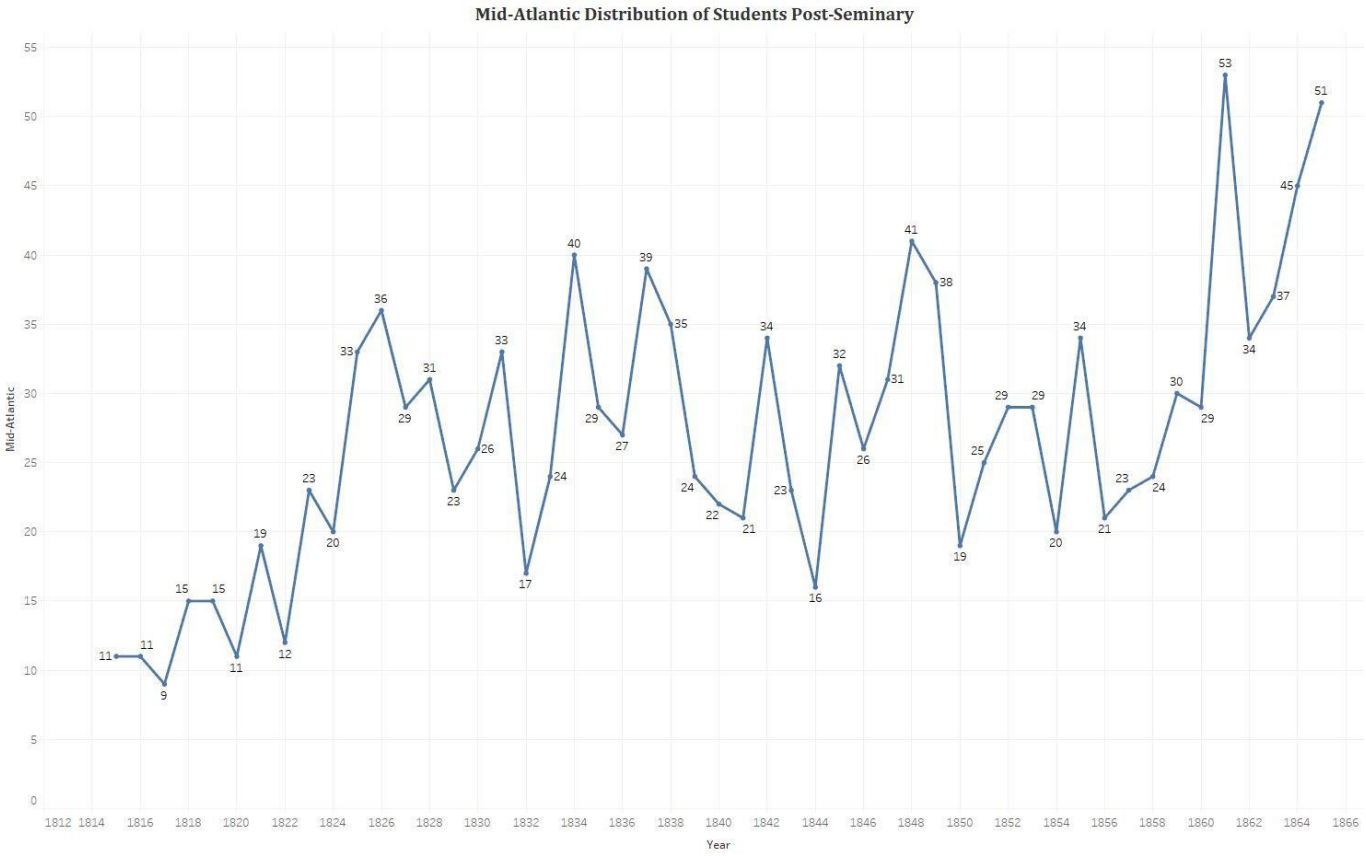
It should be noted that the data in question here only takes into account those moves taken by students during their working lives. A small portion relocated to California or Florida after retirement and were not counted in these figures. Even in the early 19th century, retirees could not resist extra sunshine.

Once again, the regions under consideration can be tracked across time. The following graphs detail the regions in which the individuals in a particular class worked after leaving the Seminary. Since the overseas portion of the data is not mapped on the graph above, it will only be noted here that the majority of students who ministered in foreign countries went to places such as India, Hawaii, China, and various African countries. Other locations included Brazil, Mexico, and countries in the Middle East.

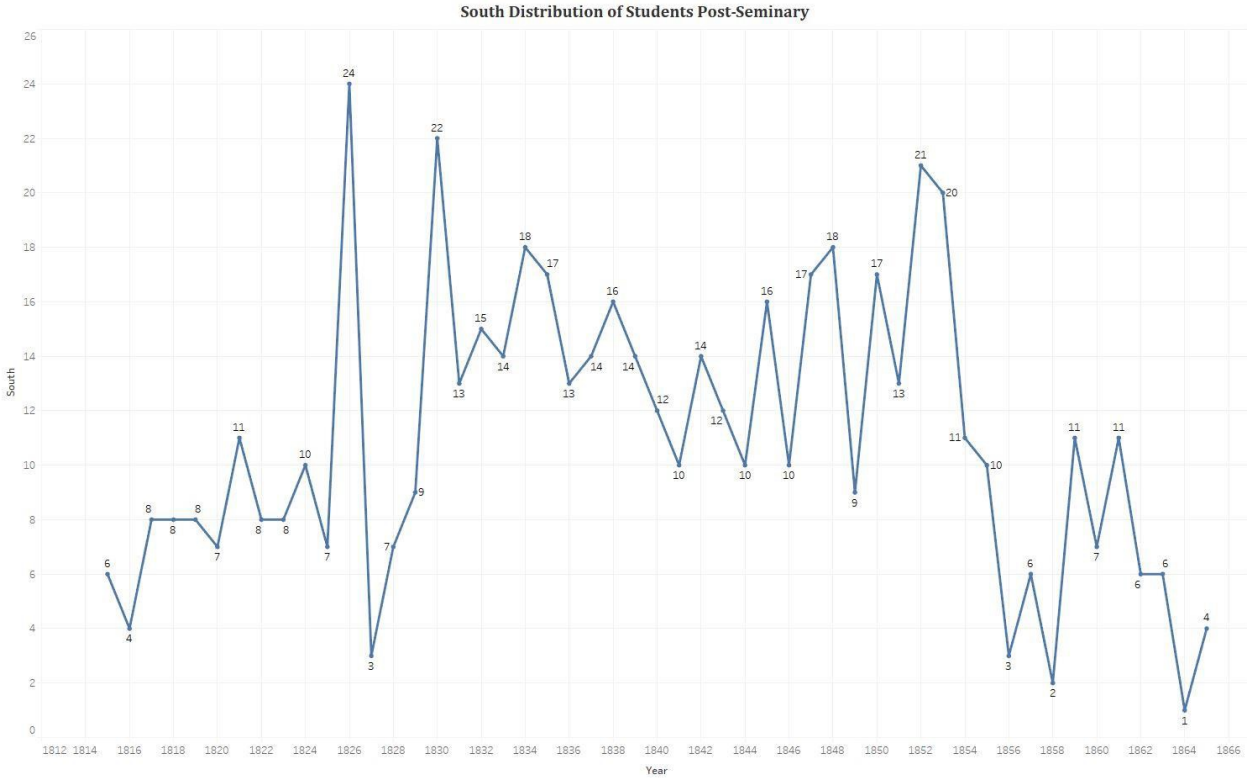
The Combined Post-Seminary Regional Distribution of Students by Class



1. *Mid-Atlantic*



2. South


South Distribution of Students Post-Seminary
South
Year
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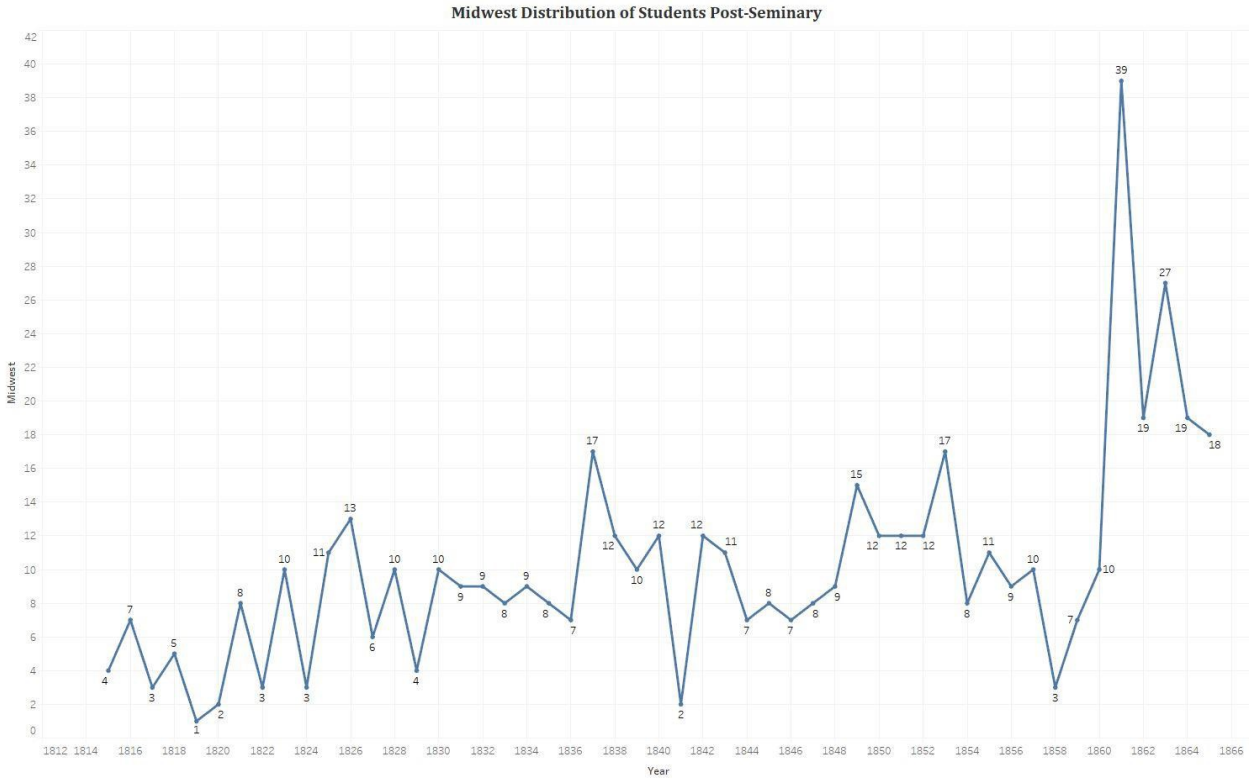
26
1812 1814 1816 1818 1820 1822 1824 1826 1828 1830 1832 1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1852 1854 1856 1858 1860 1862 1864 1866
6 4 8 8 8 7 11 8 8 10 7 24 3 7 9 22 13 15 14 18 17 13 14 16 14 12 10 14 12 10 16 10 17 18 9 17 13 21 20 11 10 3 6 2 11 7 11 6 6 1 4

3. Midwest


Midwest Distribution of Students Post-Seminary
Midwest
Year
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10
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30
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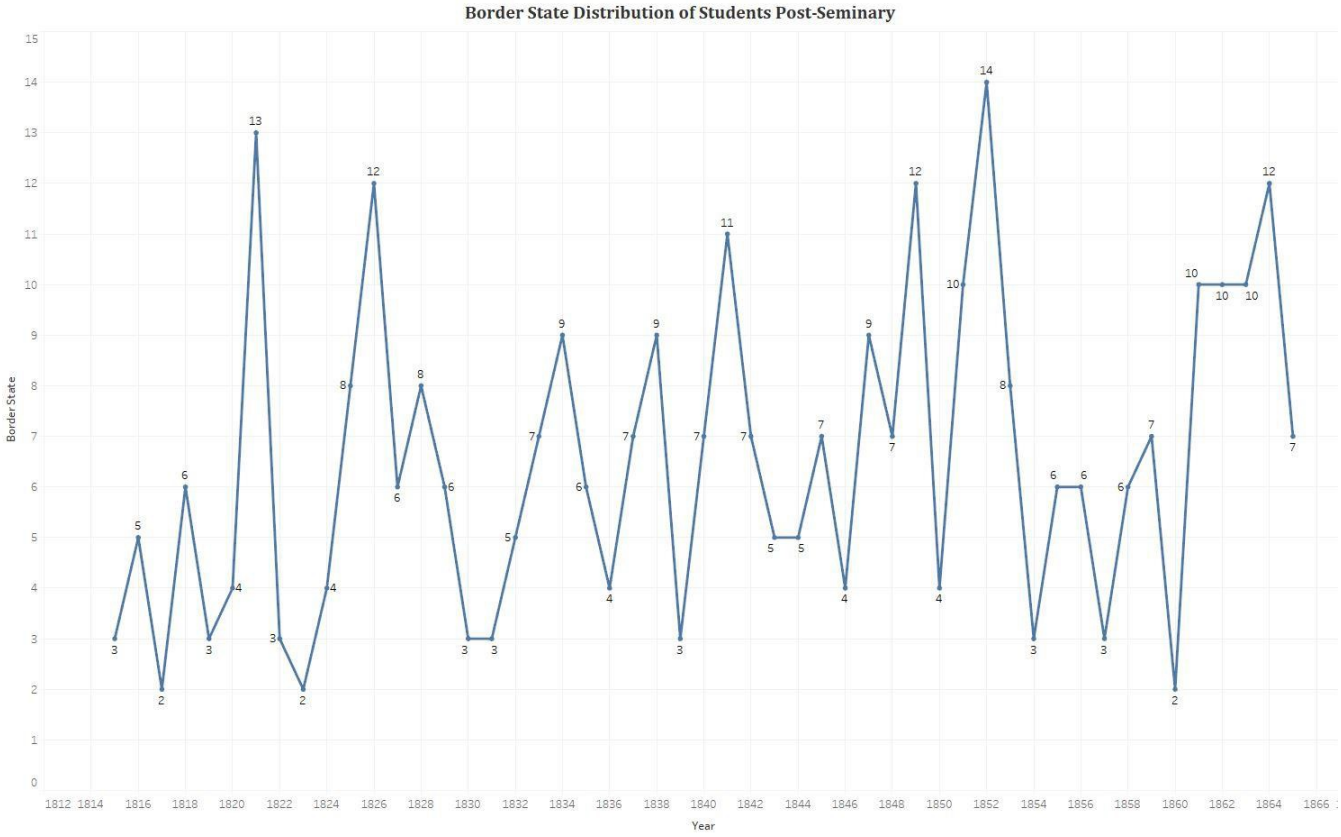
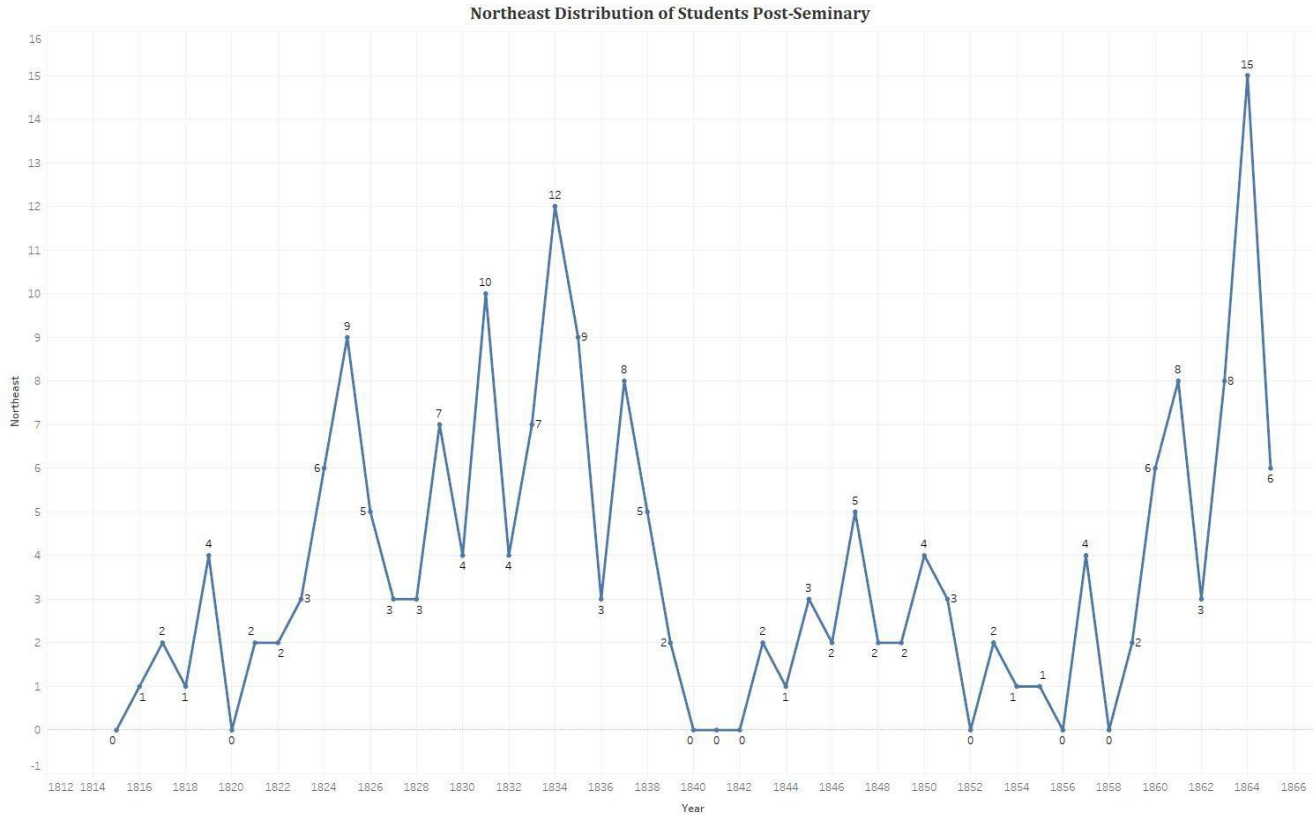
34
36
38
40
42
1812 1814 1816 1818 1820 1822 1824 1826 1828 1830 1832 1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1852 1854 1856 1858 1860 1862 1864 1866
4 7 3 5 1 2 8 3 10 3 11 13 6 10 4 10 9 9 8 9 8 7 17 12 10 12 2 12 11 7 8 7 8 9 15 12 12 12 17 8 11 9 10 3 7 10 39 19 27 19 18

4. Border States



5. Northeast


Northeast Distribution of Students Post-Seminary
Northeast
Year
16
15
14
13
12
11
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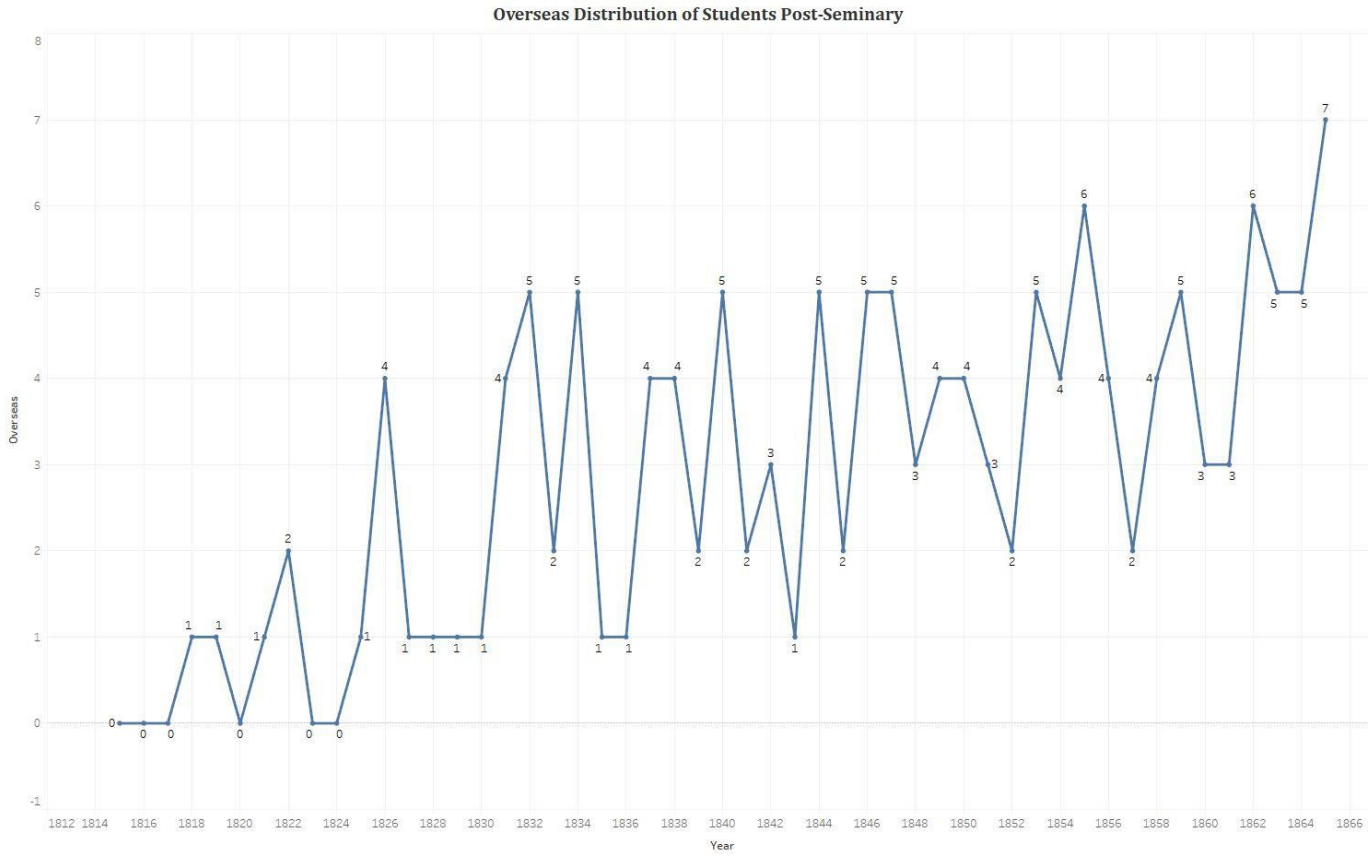
1812 1814 1816 1818 1820 1822 1824 1826 1828 1830 1832 1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1852 1854 1856 1858 1860 1862 1864 1866

6. Overseas


Overseas Distribution of Students Post-Seminary
Overseas
Year
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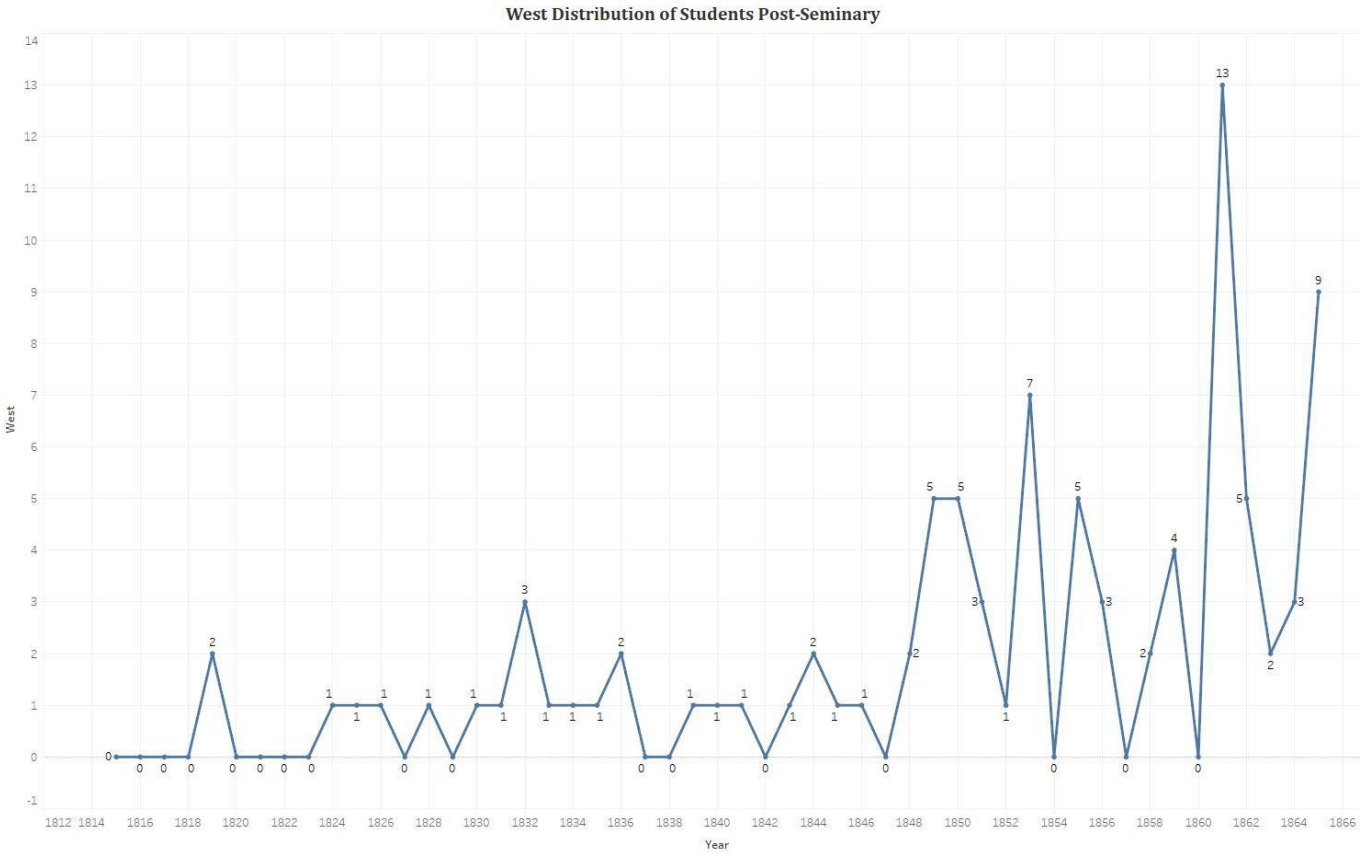
1812 1814 1816 1818 1820 1822 1824 1826 1828 1830 1832 1834 1836 1838 1840 1842 1844 1846 1848 1850 1852 1854 1856 1858 1860 1862 1864 1866

7. West



IV. Institutions, Organizations, and Activities

Having examined the general demographics of Princeton Seminary's students between 1812 and 1865, it will be helpful now to look at specific affiliations they had with institutions, organizations, and activities that were related to slavery. This section will look in particular at three areas. It begins by examining the number of students were directly involved in the Civil War. It will then turn to student involvement with religious outreach among slaves and/or former slaves (then termed "freedmen"). Finally, it will examine students who later served as editors of newspapers, magazines, or journals, which could potentially be sources for future studies.

Around 167 students, or approximately seven percent of the total number of students who attended the Seminary before the war, served in some capacity during the Civil War. Of this total, 145 students (87 percent) served on the side of the Union, while the remaining 24 (14 percent) served the Confederacy. The number of Confederate sympathizers is only slightly higher than the overall portion of the student body that came from the South, which was 11 percent. Regardless of their loyalties, the vast majority (72 percent) of those involved in the war on both sides served as chaplains.

A smaller number (26 percent) served as regular troops. Two individuals served as Union surgeons and another worked as a U.S. Army clerk in Washington, D.C.

The lists below provide the names of the individuals who served during the war, along with their class and the dates they served.

The Following Individuals Served in the U.S. Army as Military Chaplains

Class	Name	Dates Served	Class	Name	Dates Served
1824	Joseph Hurlbut	1863-67	1839	John James Carrell	1862-64
1826	John Williams Proudfit	1862-65		Moses Hoge Hunter	1862-63
	William Kendall Talbot	1862-65	1841	Archibald Cameron Allen	1862-65
1827	Daniel Montgomery Barber	1861-64		Samuel Fischer Colt	1861-62
	Isaac McIlvaine	1862-65		David McCay	1861-62
1828	John Finlay McLaren	1862-64	1842	Isaac Otis Fillmore	[unknown]
1830	Jonathan Huntington	[unknown]	1843	Thomas Grier Murphey	1861-65
1831	Joseph William Blythe	1862-65	1844	Chauncey Perkins Taylor	1863-1866
	David Holmes Coyner	[unknown]	1845	Benjamin Thomas Phillips	1861-65
	Joseph Mahon	1862-64	1847	Cyrus Huntington	1862
	Jeremiah Porter	1862-65		James Galliher Shinn	1861-64
1832	John McNair	1864-65	1848	Samuel Lewis Merrell	1861-63
1834	Jared Leigh Elliot	1863-81	1849	Thomas Scott Bradner	1862-65
	Theodore William Simpson	1862-66		William Wynkoop McNair	1865
	Ferdinand de Wilton Ward	1863-64		Ambrose Yeomans Moore	1862-65
1835	Joshua Butts	1862-64	1850	Andrew Barr	1863-64
1836	David Davies McKee	1864-65		John Thomas	1863-65
1837	Gaius Mills Blodgett	1861-65		David Tully	1861-62
	Lemuel Gregory Olmstead	1862-65	1851	William Francis P. Noble	1863-65
	Elias Samuel Schenck	1862-65		Henry Rinker	1865
1838	Edmund McKinney	1862-65		Horatio Watson Shaw	1862-63
	Cornelius van Santvoord	1861-65		Edward [Barry] Wall	1863-64

Class	Name	Dates Served
1851	David Agnew Wilson	1861-63
1852	Hallock Armstrong	1864-65
	Allan McFarland	1863-65
	Philip Weller Melick	1862-63
	James Alexander Paige	1862-65
	Edwin B. Raffensperger	1861-63
1853	William Young Brown	1862-65
	James Burnet Crane	1863-65
	James Gubby	1861-65
	William Evan Jones	1863-65
	Samuel Everett Pierce	1861-63
1854	Robert Francis Taylor	1862-63
1855	Elias Nettleton Crane	1863
1856	Francis Bloodgood Hall	1862-63
1858	William Cunningham	1861-62
	Alanson Austin Haines	1862-65
	Edward John Hamilton	1863-65
	Edwin B. Raffensperger	1861-63
1859	James Hervey Clark	1862-63
	George H. Fullerton	1861-62
	James Wilson Larimore	1863-65
	Owen Reidy	1864-66
	William Howell Taylor	1865
1860	Marvin Briggs	1863-65
	Francis Eugene Butler	1862-63
	Philip Barnes Cook	1862-63

Class	Name	Dates Served
1860	David Henry Mitchell	1862-65
	Alexander M. Thorburn	1864-65
1861	Jacob Henry Enders	1862-65
	William Harris	1861-62
	Joshua B. H. Janeway	1864-66
	John Alexander McGinley	1862-63
	David W. Moore	1864
	John Jay Pomeroy	1862-1865
	Robert Ralston Proudfit	1861-65
	John Wilhelm	1865
1862	Enoch Clarke Cline	1863-65
	David Craft	1862-63
	Alexander Proudfit	1862-65
	Edward Horace Spooner	1863-65
	William Janes Wright	1863-65
1863	William Calvin Ferriday	1862-63
	Artemas Thomas Fullerton	1861-62
	George H. Fullerton	1861-62
	John Linn Milligan	1863-65
	John Woods	1863-1864
1864	Thomas Scott Johnson	1864-67
	Arthur Little	1863-65
	James Marshall	1862-66
1865	Samuel Conn	1862-63
	Frederick Howard Wines	1862-64
1867	Robert Brown Herron	1863-64
1874	Albert Lee	1861-62

The Following Individuals Served in the U.S. Navy as Chaplains

Class	Name	Dates Served
1831	Mason Noble	1852-71
1833	David X. Junkin	1860-64
1842	Edmund Coskery Bittinger	1850-89
1857	Donald McLaren	1863-96
1862	Charles William Hassler	1861-70

The Following Individuals Served in the U.S. Army in Combat Roles

Class	Name	Dates Served
1826	Henry Wood	1856-73
1837	Elias Samuel Schneck	1862-65
1849	Joseph McConnell	1861-65
1850	John Thomas	1863
1855	John Newton Young	1861
1859	Owen Reidy	1862-63
1861	Robert Jay Mitchell	1861-[unknown]
	John Wilhelm	1864-65
1863	George Walter Giddings	1864-65
	Ezra Fitch Pabody	1861-63
1864	Thomas Kidder	1863
	Moses Porter Snell	1862-65
1865	William Oliver Campbell	1862-63
	Albert Newton Keigwin	1862-63
	George M. McCampbell	1862
	Stephen Wilson Pomeroy	1862
	James Avery Worden	1861-1863
1867	George Arnot Beattie	1863-65
	John Butler	1862-64
	Clark Carter	18682-64
	Walter Condict	1863

The Following Individuals Served in the Confederate Army as Military Chaplains

1867	Charles F.W. Lippe	[unknown]
	John Dunlap Stokes	1864
	Henry Clifton Thomson	1864
	Elwood Morris Wherry	1863
1868	Franklin Elis Miller	1865-1866
	George Robinson	1862-65
	Henry Mitchell Whitney	1862-69
1869	Joseph B.W. Adams	1865
	John Cunningham Clyde	1862-1863
	Samuel V. McDuffee	1865
1870	Ira Seymour Dodd	1862-63
	George Warrington	[unknown]
1873	Clarence Walworth Backus	1864-65
	John Q.A. Fullerton	1861-64
	George Edward Jones	[unknown]
1874	Albert Lee	1861-62
1879	James King Gibson	1864
1881	Edward Kirk Donaldson	[unknown]

The Following Individuals Served in the U.S. Army In Support Roles

Class	Name	Dates Served
1830	Henry Brown	1861-66
	Alexander N. Cunningham	1862-65
1833	Aristides Spyker Smith	1862-65
	George William Leyburn	1861-65
1838	Samuel Davies Stuart	1862-65
1839	John Jones	1861-62
1840	Henry Franklin Bowen	1862-65
1842	John Miller	1862
1844	William Wilberforce Lord	[unknown]
1849	Joseph McConnell	1861-65
1850	Benjamin Leander Beall	1864
1852	Elias Schryver Bronson	1863-65
1854	Robert Franklin Bunting	1861-65
	William Andrew Harrison	1863-65
1854	James Henry Leps	1862-65
	Thomas Railey Markham	1862-65
1855	Henry Barrington	1863-64
	John Alexander Buckner	1861-65
1859	William LeRoy Kennedy	1864-65
	William Ledyard Rosser	1861-62
1862	Luther Halsey Wilson	1863-65
1863	Brice Benton Blair	1862-65

The Following Individuals Served in the Confederate Army in Combat Roles

Class	Name	Dates Served
1848	James Hipkins McNeill	1863-65
1859	William Ledyard Rosser	1861-62
1869	William Williamson Page	1862-65
	Francis M. Swoope	[unknown]
1879	James Morrison Barkley	[unknown]

The Seminary had students who sat on both sides of the slavery debate. On the whole, however, most were in line with the opinions of professors such as Charles Hodge and were in favor of gradual emancipation. They also supported the colonization movement. At least a dozen students served as administrators in national or regional colonization societies. Many others were members or supporters. The following individuals played administrative roles.

Class	Name and Position
1819	Thomas Bloomer Balch – Agent, [unknown]
1821	Joshua Noble Danforth – Agent, 1832-34; 1860-61 Orson Douglass – Agent, 1831-39
1822	John Maclean – President, American Colonization Society, [unknown]
1827	Daniel Lynn Carrol – Secretary, New York Chapter, 1844-45
1829	Melanchthon Gilbert Wheeler – Agent, 1848-55
1830	Anderson Beaton Quay – Agent, 1851-56
1831	Joseph Mahon – Agent, 1856-60
1832	John Brooke Pinney – Agent, 1833-37 – Secretary, Pennsylvania Chapter, 1837-47 – Secretary, New York Chapter, 1848-63; 1873-82 John Kendrick Converse – Secretary for Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, 1868-80
1834	George William Leyburn – Agent, 1848; 1854-55
1853	Elisha Burnham Cleghorn – Agent, 1853-55

The evangelization of slaves and former slaves took up a significant portion of the overall missionary energy of Seminary students prior to 1865. Some of this was channeled through specific organizations such as various freedmen societies. Some was carried out independently or through denominational sources. The following list provides the names, organizations, areas, and dates of individuals who worked specifically among slaves and former slaves. For the purpose of future research, it also includes individuals who worked after the war.

Class	Name and Area of Ministry
1819	Lemuel Durant Hatch – Missionary to Slaves, Alabama, 1833-36
1821	William Cochran Blair – Missionary to Slaves in Mississippi, 1832-40
1826	George Washington Bethune – Missionary to Slaves, Georgia, 1826-27
1833	Cortlandt van Rensselaer – Missionary to Slaves Virginia, 1833-35
1834	James Miller McKim – Secretary, Freedmen's Religious Association, 1863-65 –
1836	Walter Raleigh Long – Agent of Freedmen's Aid Society, 1865-70
1837	Robert Craig Galbraith – Missionary to Slaves, Virginia, 1844-49
	Samuel Pease Helme (or Helm) – Missionary to Slaves, South Carolina, 1846-47
1838	Lewis Conger Lockwood – Missionary to Freedmen, Virginia, 1861-62
	Edmund McKinney – Agent, Freedmen Commission, Tennessee, 1865-71
1841	Jonathan Cory – Missionary to Freedmen, American Missionary Association, 1865-68
	John Keith Whitfield Doak – Missionary to Slaves, Alabama, 1844
1843	Thomas Grier Murphey – Missionary to Freedmen, Virginia, 1866-77
1844	James Knox – Missionary to Slaves, Alabama, 1849-59
1846	Edward Wurts – Missionary to Slaves, Louisiana, 1850-51 – Missionary to Slaves, Mississippi, 1853-54
1849	Alexander Reid – Missionary to Freedmen, Indian Territory, 1882-84
1850	Samuel Crothers Logan – Secretary, Freedmen Commission, 1864-69
1850	James Wilson – Missionary to Slaves, Mississippi, 1850-56
1851	Francis Richard Morton – Missionary to Slaves, Mississippi, 1851-53
1853	Mosher William Collins – Missionary to Freedmen, Georgia, 1867-71
	Thomas Hempstead – Missionary to Freedmen, North Carolina, 1868
1856	Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs – Missionary to Freedmen, South Carolina, 1866
1859	William Persing Teitsworth – Missionary to Freedmen, St. Louis, 1865
1864	Edward Payson Cowan – Secretary, Board of Freedmen, 1892-

The Seminary had a large number of graduates who either founded or edited magazines, newspapers, and journals. Some suffered the fate of most 19th century print outlets and lasted only a year. Others would remain in print for decades. The following chart concludes this report by providing the names of individuals involved in the print industry, along with their class and the name of their outlet. Moving forward, such sources will be potentially invaluable to understanding the mindset of students toward slavery and a variety of related issues leading up to the Civil War.

Class	Name, Publication, and Dates
1817	Eleaser Storrs – *Christian Magazine* (N.Y.) 1828-33
1819	Benjamin Gildersleeve – *The Missionary*, 1819 – *Christian Observer* (S.C.), 1826-45 – *Watchman and Observer* (Va.), 1845-56 – *Central Presbyterian*, 1856-60
	Absalom Peters – *American Biblical Repository*, 1828-41 – *American Eclectic*, 1841-42
1820	Austin Dickinson – *National Preacher*, 1826-38
1822	Moses Titcomb Harris – *North Carolina Presbyterian*, 1858-59
1823	Cyrus Pitt Grosvenor – *Christian Reflection,* 1838-42 – *Christ Contributor* (N.Y.), 1846-50
	William McJimsey – *Parlor Annual* (N.Y.), 1846-49
1824	James Waddell Alexander – *Presbyterian*, 1832-33
	John Burtt – *Presbyterian*, 1831 – *Standard* (Cincinnati) 1833
1824	George Archibald Smith – *Episcopal Recorder* (Pa.) 1831-1838 – *Southern Churchman*, (Va.) 1847-55
1825	Benjamin Orrs Peers - *Sunday School Publication* (Ky.), [unknown}
	Greenbury William Ridgely - *Episcopal Recorder,* [unknown}
1826	James Robert Boyd – *Albany Telegraph*, 1835-36
	Hiram Chamberlain – *Herald of Religious Liberty* (St. Louis), 1844-45
	Amsa Converse – *Visitor and Telegraph* (Va.), 1827-39 – *Christian Observer* (Pa.), 1839-61
	Henry Wood – *Congregational Journal* (N.H.), 1841-53
1827	Samuel Carnahan Jennings – *Christian Herald*, 1829-32 – *Presbyterian Preacher*, 1832-37
	John Holmes Agnew – *Eclectic Magazine and Bible Repository*, [unknown] – *Knickerbocker*, [unknown]

Class	Name, Publication, and Dates
1827	William Annan – *Presbyterian Advocate*, 1838-58
1828	John Gottlieb Morris – *Lutheran Observer*, 1831-33
	Anson Rood – *Philadelphia North American* 1849-51
1829	William Hague – *Watchman and Reflector*, 1847-50
1831	Joseph Alden – *New York Observer*, 1866
	George Hunter Hulin – Unknown publication (Syracuse), 1844-56
	John Nitchie Lewis – Unknown publication (NYC), 1853-58
	Harrison Greenough Park – Unknown publication, 1837-49
1832	John Kendrick Converse – Unknown publication in Richmond, VA, 1827-29
1833	John Cameron Lowrie – *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, 1838-49 – *Foreign Board*, 1850-53 – *Foreign Missionary*, 1842-65
	Samuel Irenaeus Prime – *Presbyterian*, 1849-50 – *New York Observer*, 1840-85

Class	Name, Publication, and Dates
1833	Cortlandt Van Rensselear – *Home School and Church* – *Presbyterian Magazine*
	Benjamin John Wallace – *Presbyterian Quarterly Review*, 1852-62 – *American Presbyterian*, 1852-62
1834	Elijah Parish Lovejoy – *St. Louis Observer*, 1833-36 – *Alton Observer*, 1836-37
	John Seely Hart - *American Sunday School Union*, 1859-62
	Charles Wallace Howard - *Unknown Atlanta Paper*, [unknown]
	Samuel Storrs Howe – *Iowa Temperance Journal*, [unknown] *Literary Advertiser*, [unknown]
	Robert Jefferson Breckinridge – *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, 1835-43 – *Danville Review*, 1861-65
	Andrew Boyd Cross – *Baltimore Literary and Religious Magazine*, 1835-1843 – *Maryland Temperance Herald*, 1845-49
1835	Abijah Preston Cumings – *New York Observer*, 1836-71
	Jonathan Brace – *Religious Herald*, 1857-77
	John A. Dunlap – *Presbyterian of the West* (Cincinnati), 1845-46

Class	Name, Publication, and Dates
1836	Lewis Carstairs Gunn – *Independent Press and Times* (Pa.), 1835-36 – *Herald* (Sonora, Calif.), 1850-54 – *San Francisco Times*, 1867-69
1838	Parke Godwin – *New York Evening Post*, 1837-86 – *Commercial Advertiser*, 1866-86 – *Pathfinder*, 1843 – *Putnam's Magazine* [unknown]
	William Wallace Hill – *Protestant and Herald, Frankfort* (Ky.), 1842-44 – *Presbyterian Herald, Louisville*, 1844-62
1840	Leroy Jones Halsey – *Interior* 1876-unknown
	Samuel Chenery Damon – *Friend* (Hawaii), 1842-85
1844	Matthew Blackburne – *Presbyterian* (Pa.), 1861-69
	Alexander Blyth Bullions – *Presbyterian* (Pa.), 1860-61
1845	John Holt Rice – *New Orleans Protestant*, 1846-47 – *Presbyterian Index* (Ala.), 1865-68
	David Trumbull – *The Neighbor,* 1847-51
1846	Charles Wilkins Webber – Unknown publication in NYC, 1840s
1849	George McNeill – *North Carolina Presbyterian*, 1857-61

Class	Name, Publication, and Dates
1849	Henry Reeves – *Young Folk's News* (Philadelphia) 1868-75 – *Our Monthly* 1871-75
1851	Thomas Ruggies Gold Peck – *New York Observer*, 1854
1852	Robert Watts – *Home and Foreign Record*, 1860-63
1853	Elisha Burnham Cleghorn – *True Witness* (La.), 1858-61
1854	Robert Morrison – *Presbyterian Herald*, 1854-56 – *True Presbyterian* (Ky.), 1862-64
1855	Isaac Newton McKinney – *Family Treasure*, 1862-64
1859	Horace Leonard Singleton – *Good News and Alliance* (Baltimore) 1872-74
1861	William Macon Colman – *The Workingman's Advocate* (Ill.), 1865-67 – *Daily Standard* (N.C.), 1867-69
	Charles Lemuel Thompson – *Our Monthly* 1870-71 – *Interior* 1875-1878
1862	Francis Bartlett Converse – *Christian Observer* (Ky.), 1857

Appendix B: Financial History, 1811-1861

Report Produced by Daved Anthony Schmidt

In 1861, shortly after the start of the Civil War, Princeton Theological Seminary submitted a statement of assets to the state of New Jersey. The school's endowment, according to the trustees, was a little over $196,000. Its property in Princeton was worth around $95,000. The Seminary's financial position was more secure than it had been at any time since its founding in 1812. This security would allow it to flourish in the years ahead. Its wealth was not the result of a single person or even group of people. In the 50 years prior to the war, thousands of individuals from every region of the United States had contributed nearly a million dollars to the Seminary's funds. A portion of them were slave owners. Many more were tied to slavery through business interests. The opinions of the Seminary's faculty on slavery are relatively well known, but what role did slavery play in the institution's financial history? This report explores this question by examining how the Seminary reached financial security between 1811, when fundraising began, and the outbreak of war in 1861.

The Seminary was funded each year by donation and investment revenue. This study is aided by the fact that each year the Seminary was required to submit a report to the General Assembly, the governing body of the Presbyterian Church, that included information about the state of its funds and any donations it received. These were published in the assembly's minutes and form the basis of this study. Yet some reports are more detailed than others. Early on, for example, they included the names of specific donors. Some were also more accurate than others. The Seminary would run into trouble because the ledgers were kept "promiscuously." This study therefore supplements the Seminary's reports with those of the assembly's finance committee as well as the unpublished minutes of the Seminary's directors and trustees. Together these produce a reasonably accurate picture of the school's annual revenue between 1811 and 1861. After separating the investments, this study has been able to trace 70 percent of the donation revenue to a specific region. The rest of the "unidentifiable" donations were given anonymously, through the assembly's "theological seminary fund" that it distributed to all Presbyterian seminaries, and to a major capital campaign that took place in the late 1840s from which there are no detailed records.

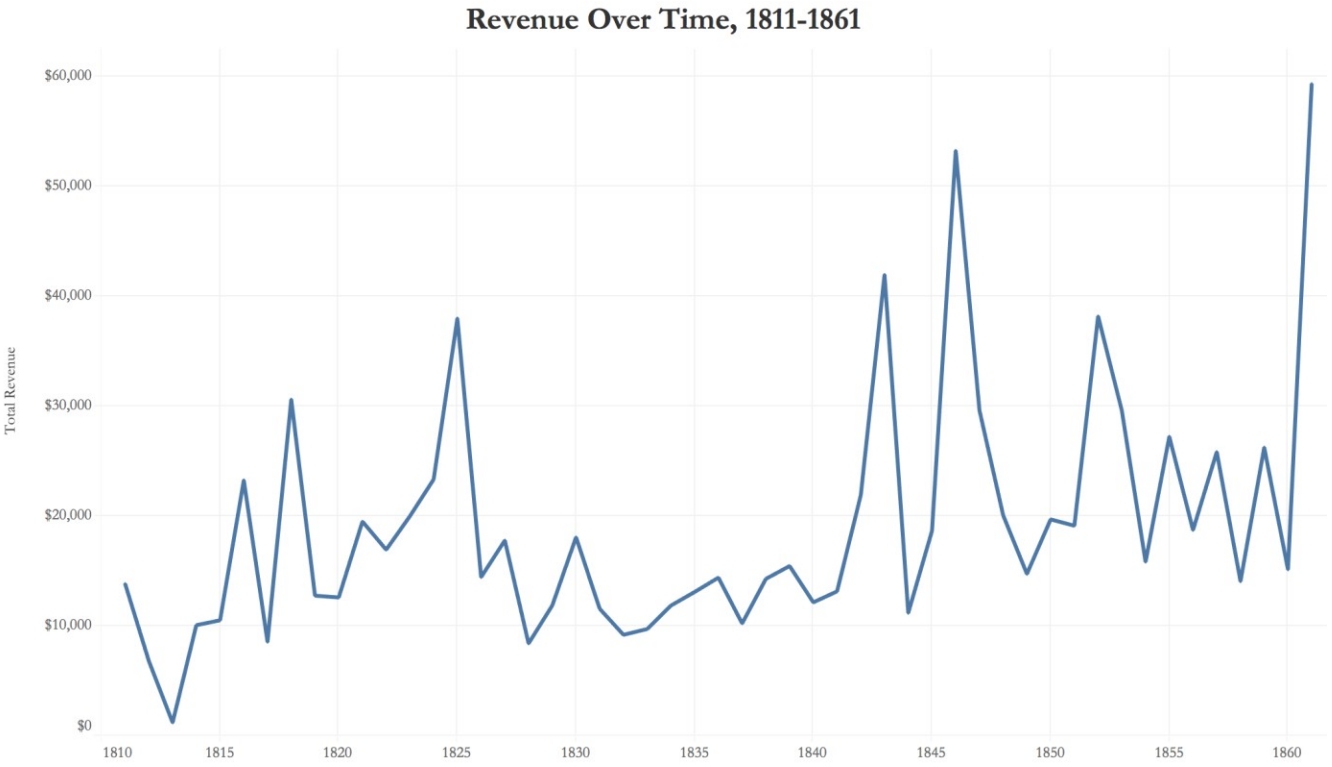
The study of the Seminary's financial relationship with slavery is complicated by the nature of slavery itself. Slavery was interwoven into the American economy. Its presence was felt in the mills and workshops of New England just as much as on plantations in Georgia. It created the capital needed to build schools of higher education in Virginia as well as in New York. One did not have to own slaves to benefit from slavery. Yet it is not helpful for this type of study to paint everyone who simply participated in the economy in the same shade. Most people would agree that there is a difference between the owner of a cotton plantation in Georgia and someone who buys a cotton shirt in Boston. It is often difficult to talk about how.

This report approaches the problem by viewing donors based on their relationship with slavery. These categories are far from perfect, and individuals often do not fit neatly into one, but they do provide a framework for discussing how a person could *potentially* benefit financially in a slave economy. The first is, of course, slave owners. The second is a person who does not

personally own slaves, but was nevertheless raised in a family of slave owners and thus accrued financial advantages by extension. The third consists of individuals who profited from slavery through business and financial ties. Where the second category is determined by chance of birth, the third is voluntary and often deliberate. Finally, the fourth category is the cotton shirt buyer who benefited from slavery far down the production line.

Ultimately, the Seminary sits in the middle of this spectrum. It benefited financially from those in its denominational family who owned slaves and profited from the slave system. It also invested its funds in organizations that both profited from slavery and financed its expansion. To explain this, this study looks at the school's financial history in three parts. The first provides an overview of the Seminary's total annual revenue and the mechanics of how it raised and managed its funds. The second section looks at the regional breakdown of donations, turning then to specific donors. The last section examines the Seminary's investments, asking where it invested its money and how it was linked to slavery. For those readers who seek brevity, each section begins with a summary that explains that section's major points.

The Revenue

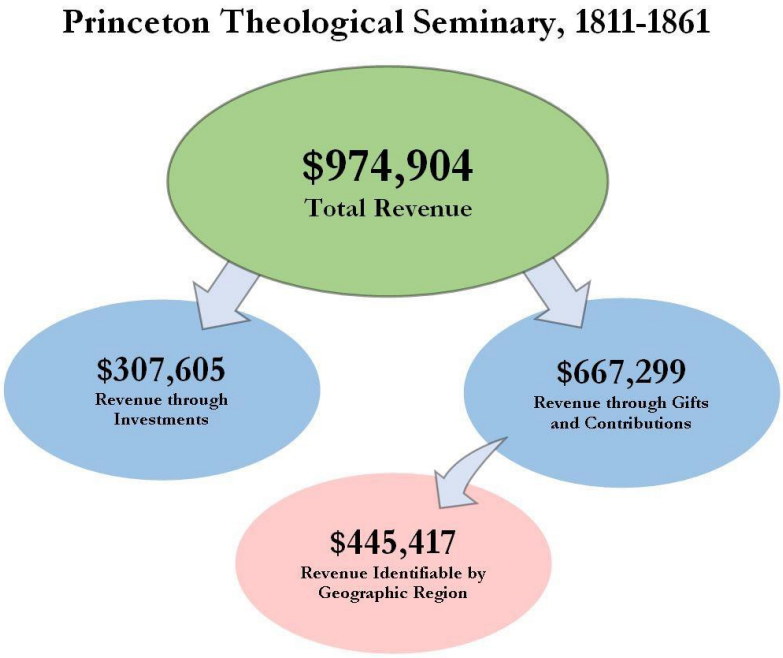


Between 1811 and 1861, the Seminary received approximately $974,904 in revenue. This amount can be divided into two source categories. The first is donations from individuals in the form of cash, stocks, bonds, and real estate. All together these donations equaled $667,299 (68 percent) of the overall total. The second source is revenue through the Seminary's

investments in stock, bonds, real estate. This equaled $307,605 (32 percent) of the total revenue received. These three numbers serve as the basis for the report that follows.

The Seminary experienced several years of financial hardship before finding security in the 1850s. In the late 1810s, the Seminary's goals of establishing a permanent campus and endowing the institution were frustrated by continuous revenue shortfalls. A capital campaign in the early 1820s, largely led by John McDowell, helped alleviate the situation but ultimately fell short. The Seminary continued to grow in size through the 1830s despite a decline in donation revenue and despite a serious economic downturn. Another capital campaign in the 1840s finally achieved the financial security the Seminary's original leadership desired.

Managing the Funds

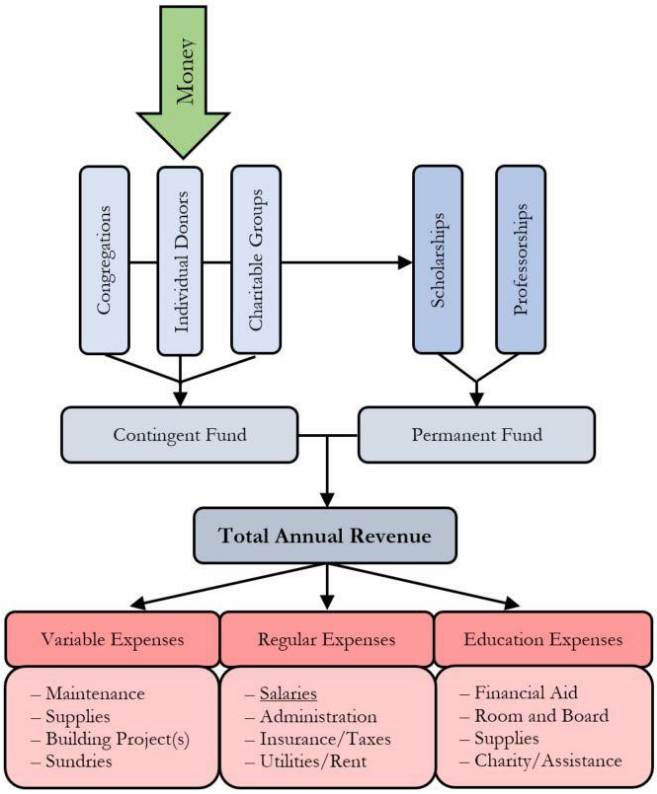


Fundraising was at the top of the General Assembly's priorities when it voted in 1810 to establish the Seminary. And as with almost everything else involved with the planning of the Seminary, the raising of funds was carefully thought out. The assembly selected several dozen prominent ministers to serve as fundraisers, or "agents," and advised their home churches to prepare for their absence. It assigned each agent a region and that fall they fanned out to begin soliciting donations and pledges. To aid their work, the assembly launched a coordinated blitz of pamphlets and newspaper advertisements written to raise awareness of its plans. The following year, the agents had already submitted their first report by the time the assembly elected the Seminary's Board of Directors and selected Princeton as its location. They had been raising funds for nearly two years when Archibald Alexander was chosen as the Seminary's first professor in 1812. By the time students arrived in the fall, the agents had already secured around $20,000.

Princeton Seminary would rely heavily on this type of grassroots financial support in the decades ahead. The General Assembly might have owned and overseen the school, but it did not have the money to actually support it. It instead expected the Presbyterian Church at-large to supply the funds. Only in extraordinary circumstances would the assembly step in financially. In its earliest years, therefore, practically all the Seminary's funding came in the form of donations. This generosity would remain indispensable. Nearly 70 percent of the total revenue it would receive over the next 50 years came from agents, charitable groups, special church offerings, or through random acts of piety. The assembly looked forward to the day when the Seminary would have an endowment large enough to make the school financially self-sufficient. Until then, for better or worse, the Seminary would be reliant upon the churches to make ends meet.

While the General Assembly did not fund the Seminary, the assembly did play an active role in managing the Seminary's funds. All donations were directed to the assembly's treasurer Isaac Snowden, a highly-respected Philadelphia minister who, along with John Witherspoon, had been instrumental in the formation of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Snowden would place donations in one of two funds. If money was dedicated for a professorship or a scholarship, he placed it in a "permanent fund." This was the endowment and it was invested mainly in stocks and bonds that yielded a relatively predictable income. If a donation was undedicated, Snowden directed it to a "contingent fund." This fund was unpredictable, but it was essential to covering the Seminary's annual expenses. After using the interest of the permanent fund, the Seminary relied upon the contingent fund to meet whatever expenses remained. The basic mechanics the funds would remain in place until the late 19th century. The only change came in the 1820s with the distinction of a separate "student fund" within the endowment. The Seminary's annual revenue was the sum of the interest received from the permanent fund and all other donations received that year.

In addition to managing the Seminary's finances, the General Assembly also had a say in how the school could spend its money. Each year the directors were required to give a report in front of the assembly that included general information about the state of the funds, significant donations from the past year, and an estimate of upcoming expenses. The school's annual operating costs for its first 15 years would be around $5,000. It would grow to around $9,000 by the 1840s. No matter what the year, however, the largest expense would be the professors' salaries. Each full professor made $2,000 per year, the equivalent to $54,000 in today's dollars. After the directors submitted their report, the assembly would then vote to appropriate a lump sum. This allowed Snowden to release funds to the Seminary's Board of Directors, who would then handle the day-to-day expenses. The next year the directors would report how they spent the funds and the process would repeat.



It is easy to see that this system contained flaws that made the Seminary vulnerable. The most obvious is that each year the school was at the mercy of lay generosity. The churches often answered the call, but this was not always that case. At the same time, the General Assembly's administration of the Seminary's finances was more an illusion of stewardship than anything else. Neither Snowden nor the Board of Directors were required to submit a detailed statement of accounts until the 1830s, meaning the directors would request money for salaries or building

projects, and the assembly would appropriate it, without really knowing the financial situation of the school. This arrangement resulted in severe shortfalls at several points, and it would last until the early 1840s, when the Seminary assumed control of most of its assets following several years of economic unrest.

Building the Seminary

When the first class graduated in 1815, Princeton Seminary seemed to be on firm financial ground. Samuel Miller had joined Alexander on the faculty. The student body was growing. The school had taken in an additional $20,000 in revenue. The Board of Directors, led by Ashbel Green (1762-1848), turned their attention to two goals that would place the Seminary on a path to long-term stability and financial autonomy. The first was to build a permanent residence. Until that time, lectures had taken place and students had resided at the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University), of which Green was also president. The second goal was to capitalize on the Seminary's momentum by raising the funds to fully endow the institution. Achieving both would be more difficult than expected.

The board began making plans for the Seminary's permanent campus in the fall of 1814. A building committee was formed, which hired the prominent architect John McComb, a Scottish-American Presbyterian who was also active in the American Colonization Society. The plan called for a single building, a "principal edifice," that would bring all aspects of the Seminary under one roof. The building would have four stories and include lecture rooms, an oratory, a library, a refectory, a kitchen, and enough housing to accommodate 100 students. Additionally, the board decided to build a separate house for Alexander next door. The estimated cost of both projects was between $40,000-$45,000. The estimated time to complete the edifice was a little over a year. After the committee presented its plan in May of 1815, the General Assembly appropriated $15,000 for the following year. The board acquired land next to the college and hired Charles Steadman, a local builder who would work on several projects at the Seminary and the College, to oversee construction. Steadman began assembling material late that summer. Ashbel Green laid the cornerstone that September.

It should be noted here that Steadman oversaw free laborers while building the Seminary's campus. There is no evidence that he used slave labor at any point. The workers were almost certainly white and were most certainly paid for their work. The minutes of the Board of Directors provide detailed information about their salaries as well as their workday.[1] Laborers worked from sunrise to sunset Monday through Saturday. Journeymen carpenters earned $1.50 per day and journeymen masons earned $1.62. Master masons and carpenters earned $2.00. In addition, laborers were given "ardent spirits" at several intervals during the workday. This is certainly not to say that slave labor did not contribute to the campus at some point up the supply chain. In terms of the actual construction of the buildings and grounds, however, the evidence suggests the Seminary used only paid labor. The completion of the building was delayed in the spring of 1818 because the workers were apparently free enough to move on to other jobs.[2]

Despite beginning construction in good condition, the Seminary found itself in financial trouble by the end of 1816. The announcement of the Seminary's building plans had produced a spike in donations, but the flow of money soon subsided. Construction costs were now at

$35,000. The bottom stories were finished enough to allow students to move in. However, the building was far from complete and the Seminary was out of funds. It had cashed out almost all its savings and investments. To make matters worse, it could not make payroll. With winter approaching, the top floor remained exposed to the weather. The directors called a series of emergency meetings to consider their options. Each would eventually contribute to a $3,000 fund to enclose the structure in the hope that they would eventually be repaid. Alexander and Miller, however, would be forced to wait several months for their full salary.

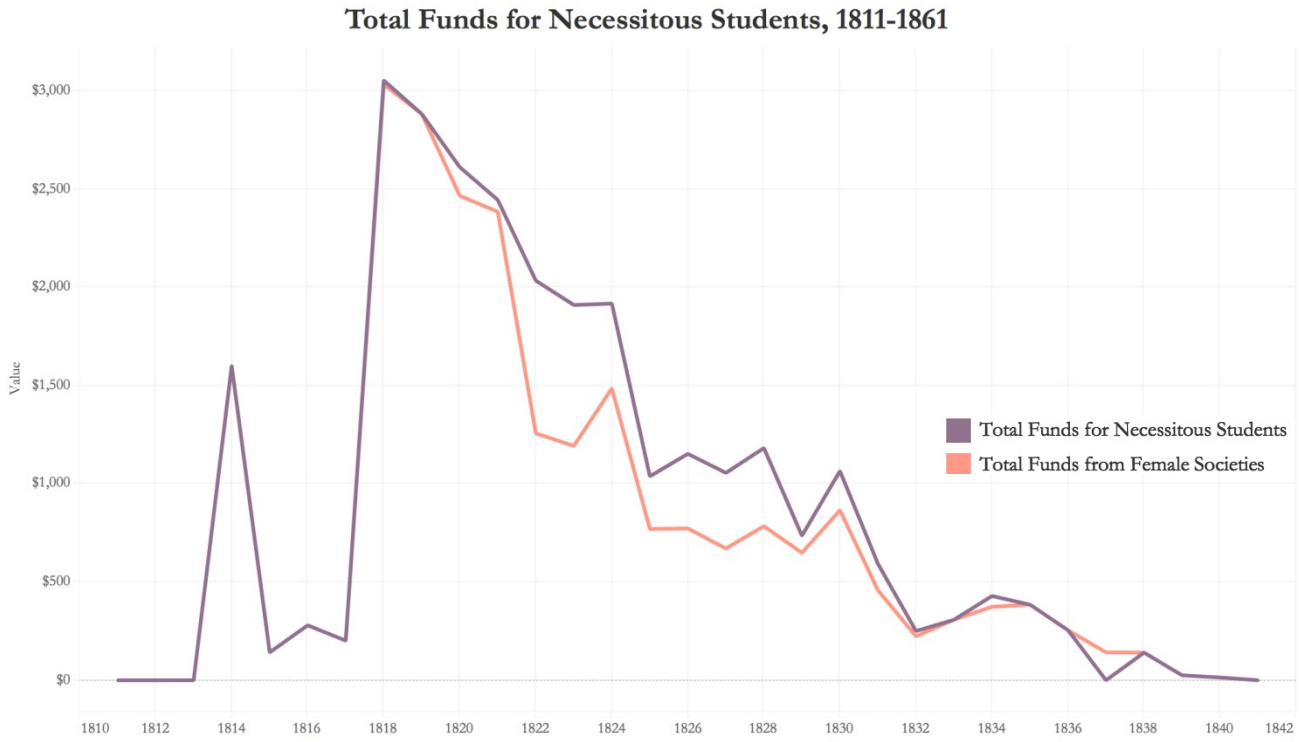
The General Assembly responded to the budget shortfall of the 1816-1817 academic year by once again appointing agents to solicit funds to complete the edifice and improve the permanent fund. Among the agents selected was John McDowell, a well-connected pastor from New Jersey. McDowell served both as the secretary of the Seminary's Board of Directors and as a trustee of the College. Importantly, he had strong ties to the South, eventually receiving an honorary doctorate from the University of North Carolina. He would now be tasked with touring the Southern church, which as the next section will show had played only a minor role to this point in the Seminary's finances. By the end of the next year, McDowell and the other agents would bring in a little under $30,000 in donations. Work resumed on the edifice, but it would take several more years to complete. Together with Alexander's house, the total cost for the project, including the building, furnishings, a fence, a well, stables, outhouses, lightning rods, and similar expenses was around $56,000.

The budget shortfall of the 1816-1817 academic year, however, was only the beginning of a series of shortfalls that plagued the Seminary in the late-1810s. Consequently, McDowell and others were repeatedly asked to serve as agents. As the situation failed to improve, frustrations became increasingly evident. Publications on behalf of the Seminary from this period give a sense of what the Seminary's leadership was saying amongst itself and, perhaps, telling donors. Philip Lindsley, a Presbyterian minister who served as vice president of the College, pleaded with the churches for funds so it would no long be a "beggar before the public."[3] Another circular published by the board likewise claimed the Seminary was "struggling for existence" and that more donations were needed "to prevent the Institution from being cramped and embarrassed."[4] McDowell was slightly more direct. Taking aim directly pastors in a circular, he asked, "have you so little influence in your flocks, that you cannot induce even the communicants of the Church to become responsible for twenty-five cents each for five years?"[5] Finally, by its 10th anniversary, the Seminary, its agents, and the assembly began to see major results.

Endowing the Seminary

Until the end of the 1810s, the goal of endowing the Seminary had produced only meager results. Despite receiving over $100,000 in revenue in its first decade, most of the money had been used for salaries and the construction of the Seminary's campus. Another portion had been earmarked for student aid. By 1820, the permanent fund contained a little over $20,000, which would yield on average around $1,200 annually. This was far below the total necessary to support the institution and its anticipated growth in the coming years. In order for the school to maximize its usefulness to the church, McDowell and others argued, it had to insure the proper aid and support for the professors and their students.

Student aid had always been a priority for the Seminary. The faculty and the board lamented the fact that many potential students could not attend because they lacked the funds. They loathed the fact that many students left before completing the program because they could not afford to stay. The school's attrition rate between 1812 and 1819 was 78 percent. Most left because of funding. The Seminary did not charge tuition, but there were other costs associated with attendance. The school estimated that a student could expect to spend around $45 for food, candles, stationary, firewood, and other expenses per academic year. Room and board in the Seminary edifice was an additional $95, which mostly went to pay the wages of Peter Bogart, a white man who served as the Seminary's steward. Clothing, books, and travel were excluded. This estimate would only slightly rise in the coming decades. It can be noted here that no slaves lived in the Seminary dorms. The names of each student, along with their respective payment for their dorm, were recorded in a ledger. Yet, on a practical level, there was no room. The Seminary needed as much income as it could get.



Despite it being a priority, the Seminary had few options to help defray student costs. Part of the endowment campaign, therefore, would be to establish funds for student aid. The Seminary had assisted students with any money left over from the contingent fund, but most of that fund was needed to support the professors. It also encouraged the formation of "cent societies" to help poor or "indigent" students. These lay organizations, most of which were organized and led by women, would provide aid to hundreds of students in the coming decades. In 1815, however, the Seminary began calling on donors to establish scholarships. Donors were to provide at least a principal of $2,500, which at six percent interest would yield $150 annually. Those who did so could also name the scholarship. Three were established in 1816,

including one by Robert Lenox, a wealthy New York merchant. John Whitehead, a wealthy Georgia planter who received a visit from McDowell, established one the following year. By 1826, 16 scholarships had been founded, with two more partially funded by cent societies.

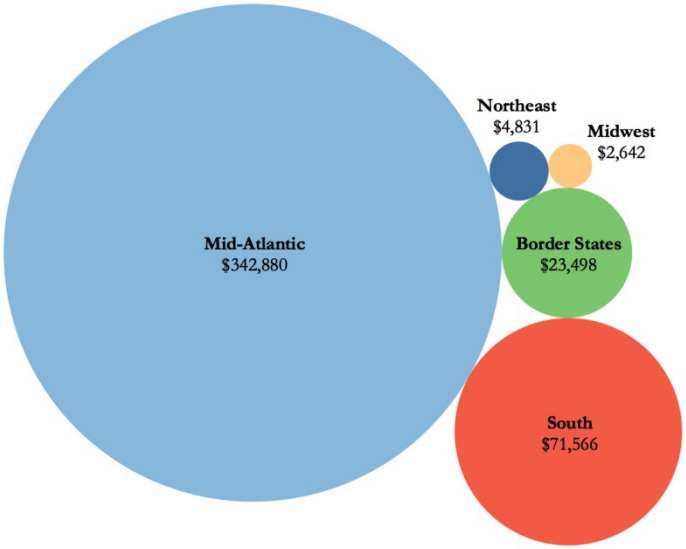
The most important part of the endowment campaign was, of course, the push to endow the professors. The same year the Seminary announced the criteria for establishing scholarships, they also fixed the sum for an endowed professorship at $25,000. At six percent interest, this would yield $1,500 per year, $500 short of a full professor's salary, but close enough that other revenue streams could close the gap. In 1919, Synod of Philadelphia began raising funds to endow a professorship. By 1822, the Synod of New York and New Jersey, the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, as well as the Synod of Virginia and North Carolina had each announced their intention to endow a professorship. Eventually, the Southern synods would pool their resources to establish one "Southern Professorship."

By 1826, the total endowment of the Seminary had reached $95,503.76, a 500 percent increase from where it stood only six years earlier.[6] The three professorships had reached a combined total of $40,827.26. The total amount of funds tied to scholarships was $25,066. The remainder of the permanent fund was $22,492.11. A separate "student fund" had been established and contained $7,108.39. Taken together, the Seminary's assets made up 82 percent of everything in the assembly's ledger and would yield around $5,730.23 annually. Of this, around $3,800 was applicable to professor salaries.

This pace of fundraising, however, would not continue. To be sure, the institution would continue to grow in the coming decades. The number of full professors would increase to three with the addition of Charles Hodge in 1826, and then to four with J.A. Alexander in 1835. The average class size would multiply fivefold by the 1840s. The campus would expand with the addition of a chapel (1833), a library (1843), and a refectory (1847). On the eve of the Civil War, the Seminary was almost completely endowed, the number of scholarships had risen to 41, and the directors began planning for a second dormitory. Yet, much of this growth occurred despite a long stretch of lean years between 1827 and 1842, including a major financial crisis, from which it took the Seminary a decade to recover. Major donors would step in to fund building projects, such Robert Lenox's son James or Isabella Brown of Baltimore. However, it was the combined effort of the Presbyterian Church that allowed the Seminary to reach financial security.

But who were these individuals who were supporting the school financially? People such as Lenox and Brown are relatively well known to those familiar with the Seminary—their names were put on buildings—but what about people such as Whitehead? Of the total donations received before the Civil War, $445,417 can be identified by region. A closer look at where these donors came from will begin to reveal their relationship with slavery.

The Donors

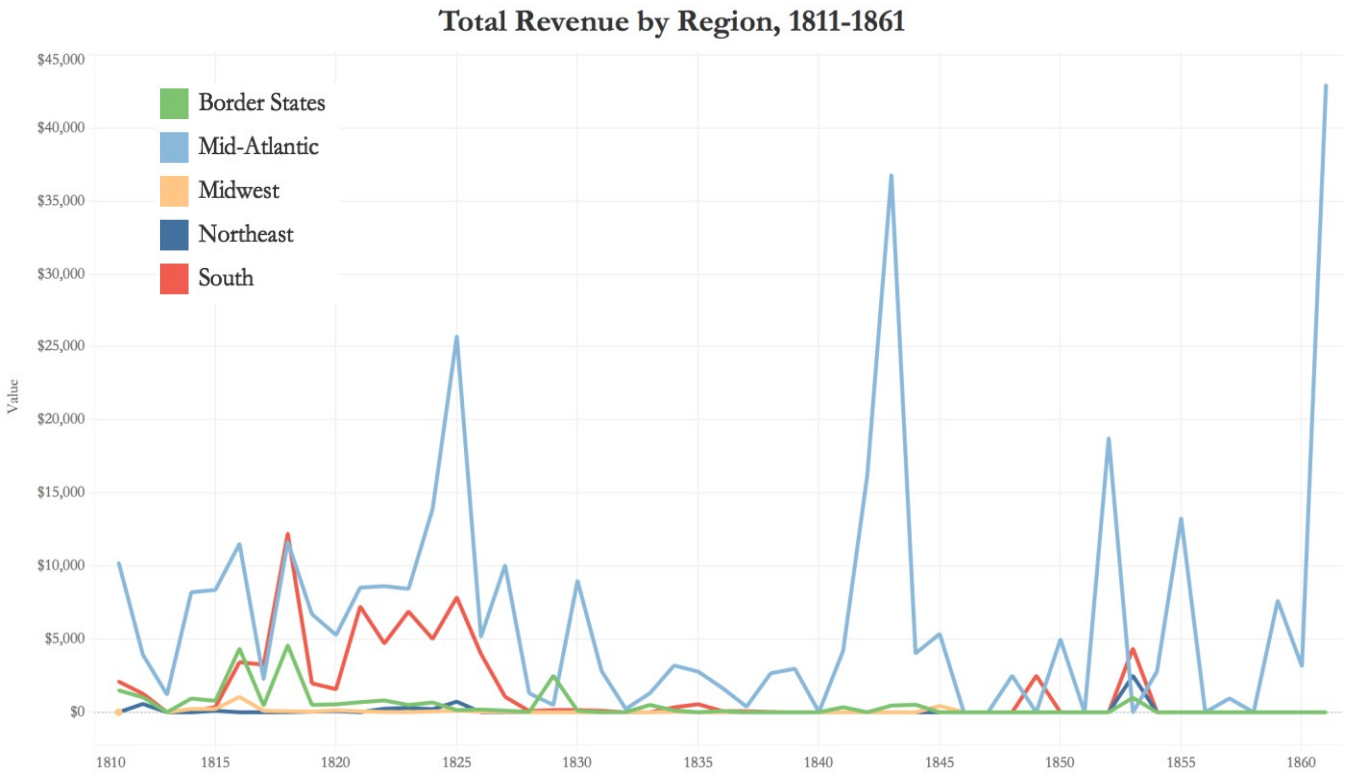


Between 1811 and 1861, the Mid-Atlantic was by far the heaviest contributor to the Seminary. Of the total amount of revenue identifiable by region, the Mid-Atlantic contributed 77 percent. The South contributed 16 percent. The Border States contributed five percent, while the Northeast and the Midwest each contributed one percent. However, this does not tell the whole story. Early on Southern donors played a much more significant role. Between 1811 and 1826, the South contributed 28 percent of the funds, the majority of which went to the endowment.

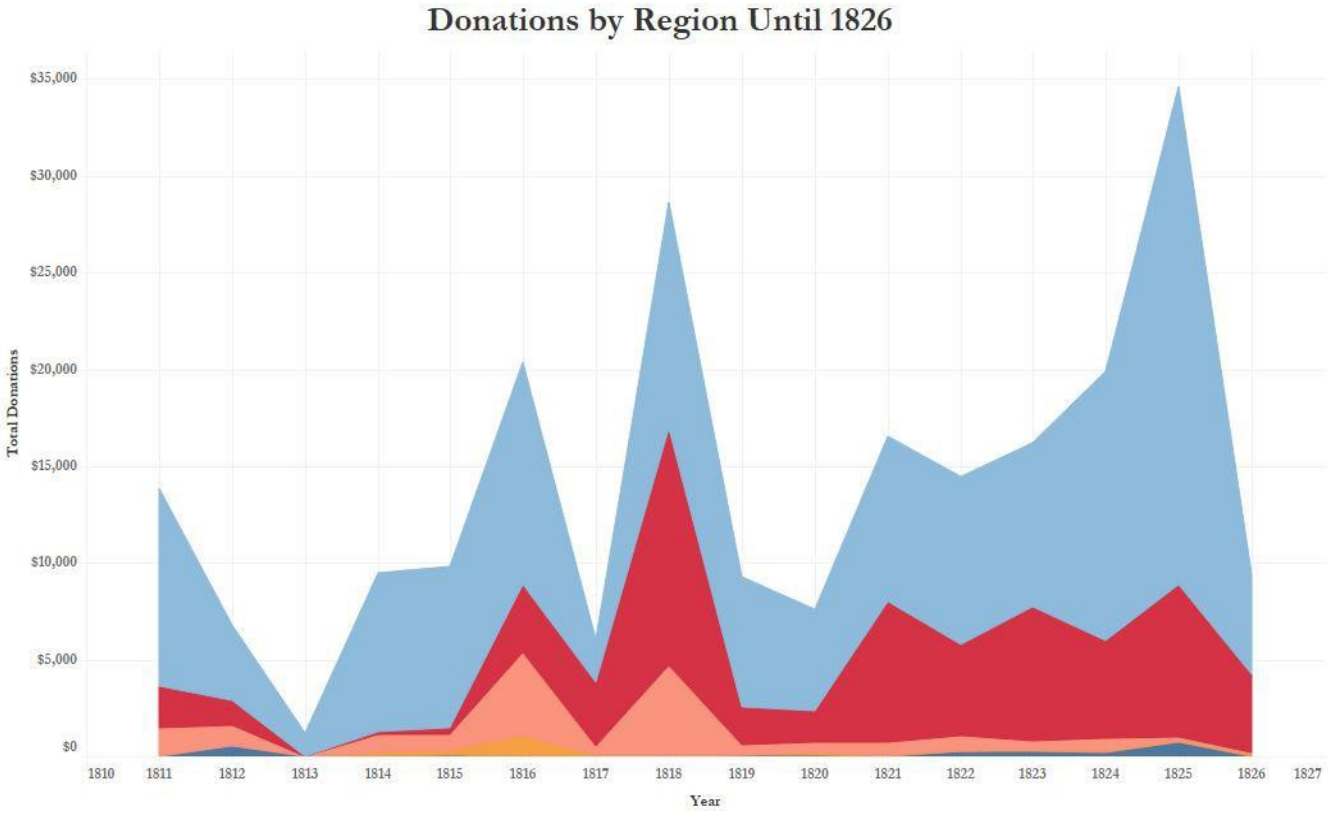
A closer look at the donors reveals that majority of those from the South who gave $100 or more were slave owners. Moreover, a closer examination of two of the biggest donors from outside the South—James Lenox and Isabella Brown—reveal close familial and financial ties to slavery. The decline in Southern giving after 1826 signaled a larger and broader dip in donation revenue. In order to raise investment revenue to replace declining donations, the General Assembly turned to a more aggressive investment strategy that ultimately led to the loss of half the Seminary's endowment.

Regional Distribution

The year 1826 is significant for this study. That year the Seminary's newly formed board of trustees submitted their first annual report to the General Assembly. Moving forward, they would be responsible for relaying the Seminary's finances rather than the Board of Directors. Importantly, their report would no longer contain a detailed list of donations along with the names of donors. This year also marked the end of the accelerated growth in the Seminary's endowment and the beginning of a decline in giving that would last for the next 16 years. During this period, several Presbyterian seminaries were established in other regions that would siphon funds from Princeton. The decline in Southern revenue would be especially marked.



While the Mid-Atlantic presbyteries would be a mainstay of the Seminary's funding, the South played a prominent role as well. Southern churches were particularly important in the Seminary's early years. Of the total funds identifiable by region before the Civil War, the Mid-Atlantic contributed 77 percent and the South contributed 16 percent. Border states contributed five percent of the funds, while the Northeast and Midwest each contributed around one percent. Prior to 1826, however, the South played a much larger part. Of the total funds received up to that year, 62 percent came from the Mid-Atlantic and 28 percent came from the South. Border states contributed only eight percent, while the Northeast and Midwest once again contributed one percent respectively. Put another way, the Seminary received a grand total $71,566.33 from the South before the Civil War. Of this total, the Seminary received $62,109.92 (87 percent) before 1826.



The South had initially been reluctant to support the Seminary financially. The vote to establish the Seminary had been contentious, with some synods preferring to establish several regional schools rather than one single institution. The Southern churches preferred the former. In addition to the cost and the amount of travel it would take to attend a school in New Jersey, they also feared Northern influence. By 1816, they had only contributed a little over $7,000. This lack of interest drew the attention of the Seminary's leadership. They knew tapping into the region would be important for financial success. McDowell was chosen as an agent following the financial problems of 1816-1817 not simply because of his role as secretary of the board, but because of his Southern connections. Over the next several years, his campaigns would take him to Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston several times to raise funds.

What is more important than the amount of Southern money received, however, was where that money went. The vast majority of Southern money went to the endowment. The South was responsible for at least 35 percent of the total funds raised for the professorships. Southern donors accounted for six of the 16 scholarships founded by 1826. Additionally, women's societies from the Presbyteries of Fayetteville (North Carolina) and Harmony (South Carolina) had established partial scholarships with the expectation that they would eventually raise the necessary money to make it full. If the story stopped here, the South would have contributed around 40 percent of the Seminary's endowment. This money helped secure the Seminary's footing early on and, even after the losses of the late 1830s, would have a lasting impact beyond the Civil War.

The importance of Southern money to the Seminary's bottom line can be gauged partly by the impact of its absence. The growth or establishment of Presbyterian seminaries in other regions of the country channeled funds away from Princeton. Union (1812), Auburn (1818), Western (1825), and Columbia (1828) essentially eliminated regions like the South and the Midwest as a productive donor base. Presbyterians were giving, but they were giving elsewhere. Over the next 16 years, Princeton experienced a decline in the volume and amount of donations. Outside of a few scholarships, which all came from the North, it received no major gifts. From 1811 to 1826, the Seminary received $262,670. Between 1827 and 1842, the Seminary received $212,770.20, a decline of 22 percent.

Slavery's Beneficiaries

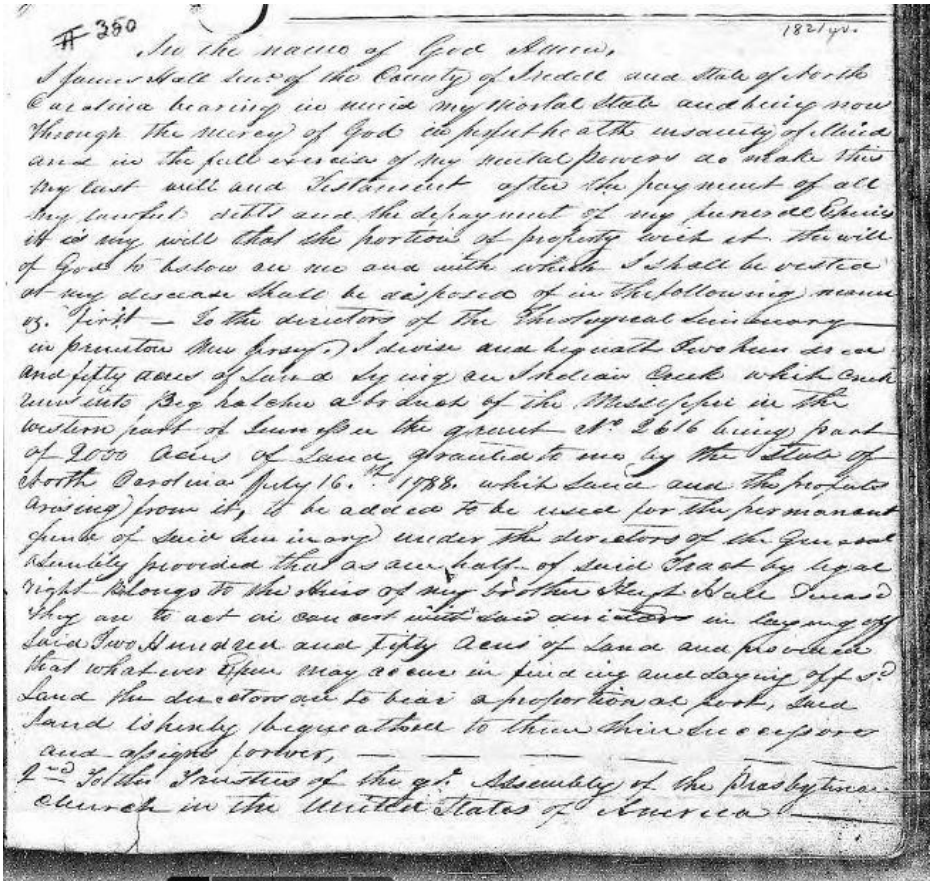
The Seminary received donations from thousands of individuals between 1811 and 1861. It is impossible at this time to examine each donor's connection to slavery on a case by case basis. By limiting the investigation to those who donated $100 or more, however, and by beginning with the South and working North, this study can draw out some general patterns. Mid-Atlantic donations came mostly from Philadelphia and New York. Southern donations came mostly from Charleston, Savannah, and Western North Carolina. Most donors belonged to organizations such as the American Colonization Society or the American Bible Society. Many in a particular region were related by family. In the South, nearly all of the major gifts came from slave owners or church communities in which slavery provided the primary means of income. The 12 individuals mentioned here alone combined to donate around $30,000 to the endowment. In the Mid-Atlantic, at least two of the most significant donors were involved in business ventures closely linked to slavery. These two combined to donate approximately $100,000 to the permanent and general funds.

The largest individual donations normally came in the form of scholarships. Of the 10 full or partial scholarships founded by Southerners before the Civil War, five of them were established by individual donors. All five of these donors were slave owners. John Whitehead owned around 40 slaves on a plantation in Burke County, Georgia.[7] James Nephew owned over 120 slaves on plantations in South Carolina and Georgia.[8] Jane Keith was the influential wife of Isaac Stockton Keith, an equally prominent (and wealthy) pastor in Charleston. His previous wife was Catharine Legare who inherited slaves from her father Thomas Legare, one of the largest slave owners in Charleston. When Isaac died in 1813, Jane inherited an estate of $30,000 along with slaves.[9] Hester Smith of Natchez, Mississippi, likewise inherited slaves from her parents.[10] Ann Timothy of Charleston also owned slaves, but she freed them upon her death in 1853.[11]

Charleston and the surrounding area was perhaps the most active donor base in the South. Along with Jane and Isaac Keith, the most important Presbyterian figure in the city was Andrew Flinn, the founding pastor of the 2nd Presbyterian Church of Charleston. The church was erected in 1811 at the cost of $100,000, a testament to the planter-class who attended.[12] Flinn and his wife Eliza Berkley Grimball were major voices of support for the Seminary. The Grimball family, like the Legares, were one of the largest slave owners in Charleston. They recruited other individuals on the same tier of the Southern social hierarchy to give to the Seminary. James Legare owned a 2,000-acre plantation named Mullet Hall on John's Island with around 130

slaves.[13] He and his brother John were both faithful contributors to the Seminary, as was William Eddings of Edisto Island.[14]

Further to the south in Savannah, one of the most important centers of Presbyterianism was the Independent Presbyterian Church. The church was led by Henry Kollock, the brother-in-law of John McDowell, and was equally as opulent as Charleston's 2nd Presbyterian. Many planters in the area contributed to the $120,000 it cost to build.[15] McDowell used Kollock's church as a base of operation during his trips south.[16] It was Kollock's connections that led McDowell to solicit money from Whitehead. McDowell and Rev. Dr. Moses Waddel, a pastor in Athens, were also instrumental in convincing Abraham Walker, owner of the Ivanhoe Plantation in Burke County, to donate.[17]



The will of Rev. Dr. James Hall in which he left the Seminary 250 acres of a plantation in Tipton, Tennessee. The Seminary owned this land from 1826-1834.

Western North Carolina was an equally profitable donor base for the Seminary. The center of Presbyterianism there was not a single church, however, but rather a single individual. James Hall was born in Pennsylvania and moved to Iredell County, North Carolina, as a child. His family was one of several Presbyterian families to move south in the 1740s and 1750s, forming the nucleus of what would become a thriving Synod. Hall was a towering figure in the Southern church, serving as pastor of Bethany Presbyterian Church. He was a well-known educator, missionary, and revivalist. In addition to raising thousands of dollars in North Carolina for the Seminary, he served on the Board of Directors. He was also one of many slave-owning ministers in the South. Many in his extended family were slave owners as well. His brother, Hugh Hall, owned a plantation of more than 2,000 acres in Tipton County, Tennessee. When Hugh died in 1817, he left the plantation to James. When James died in 1826, he left 250 acres of the plantation to the Seminary with the instructions to invest the proceeds from the land into the permanent fund. The Seminary did not own the slaves that worked on the plantation, but it made

an unknown amount of money from the land those slaves cultivated. The Seminary eventually sold the land in 1834.[18]

The slave owners mentioned here, as well as those within slave-owning communities, are only a portion of the Southern donors listed in the General Assembly's minutes. There are undoubtedly more. Moreover, this does not even count donors whose slave-owning families gave them access to social and economic capital, such as Amzi Babbit, who raised funds in Baltimore, and Frederick Nash, who aided McDowell on his tours.[19] Yet slavery's financial benefits extended well beyond the South. In what ways did it benefit important non-Southern donors?

Given the amount of revenue from the Mid-Atlantic, it is not surprising that the donor pool from this region is even larger than that of the South. Many donors owned slaves as Northern states phased out the practice, such as Ashbel Green or Andrew Kirkpatrick, presidents of the Board of Directors and Board of Trustees, respectively. Two of the largest donors outside of the South, James Lenox and Isabella Brown, were born into slave-owning families.[20] Yet the wealth they inherited did not come from owning slaves. As recent scholarship has increasingly come to reveal, many in the North and border states were financially involved in slavery through business ties and investments. A closer look at the Lenox and Brown family will shed light onto the type of connections and relationships that characterized this "intertwining of northern capital and southern slavery."[21] Both contributed nearly $100,000 to the Seminary before the Civil War. Both belonged to families who made their money through banking and shipping as well as investments in real estate and railroads. They might not have owned slaves personally, but these ventures allowed them to profit from slavery remotely.

James Lenox's wealth had been built by his father, Robert Lenox, one of three immigrant brothers who succeeded in America as businessmen. While his older brother David became a banker in Philadelphia, Robert and his younger James became merchants in New York. Their firm, Lenox and Maitland, was widely regarded for its global reach, especially for its activity in the Gulf Coast and Caribbean.[22] Lenox's frequently did business with plantations in Jamaica, Cuba, and New Orleans. His ships did not carry slaves as cargo, but rather goods such as sugar, rum, and pimento produced by slaves, which they brought to New York before traveling on to Europe.[23] He was close enough with one Jamaican plantation owner to temporarily act as a trustee of the property upon the owner's death.[24] Robert was already a pious Presbyterian, but the wealth he accumulated allowed him to become a generous philanthropist. In addition to establishing a scholarship at the Seminary, he also served on the Board of Directors. His son James was no less generous to the school, providing the funds to build its library as well as contributing to its endowment. At least part of this generosity was made possible by slavery.

Similar commercial activity placed Isabella Brown and her husband George in a position to assist the Seminary. While their wealth is often associated with railroads, George began his career in his father's Baltimore merchant house, Alex. Brown and Sons.[25] Over the course of the 1810s and 1820s, the business grew into a multinational trading power with branches in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, Liverpool, and London. Its range of services included shipping, insurance, currency exchange, and credit. By the late 1820s, it had become the leading exporter of cotton to Liverpool and the second largest exchange merchant in the United States. The Browns not only benefited from the products of slavery, they also benefited from slaves

themselves. The firm provided loans to plantation owners in lands opening in the West.[26] During this same period, the firm's ships carried slaves from the East Coast as cargo to be sold in markets in New Orleans and Mississippi.[27] It was this type of trading activity that gave George the capital to invest in railroads such as the famed Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. It also allowed him to leave his wife Isabella a fortune, some of which she spent building a second dorm on the Seminary's campus.

Yet in 1826 none of the business ventures and slave-owning practices of donors really mattered to the Seminary's leadership. Slavery was debated within the Presbyterian Church, but it was common among its members. What would have been uncommon is if the school had *not* taken gifts from slave owners. The Seminary would soon not even be in a position to reject such gives even if it suddenly wanted to. The 22 percent decline in revenue was putting a serious strain on the Seminary's finances. The problem was that no one other than Snowden knew it yet.

The situation came to a head in the General Assembly of 1833. It is not exactly clear how it came about, but it was revealed that for the past six years Snowden had been overdrawing from the endowment and using the principal to cover operating costs. He defended himself by reminding the assembly that the endowment had never been large enough to fully fund the institution. Yet for years the assembly had appropriated funds well beyond the Seminary's means. With no other option available, he had to "borrow" from the principal with the hope that he could eventually pay it back. The amount he had borrowed was around $20,000. He expected another shortfall the following year of $3,000. Those in the assembly expressed shock that the revenue was so low, outrage that the trust of donors had been violated, and panicked determination to raise revenue and replace the funds as soon as possible. Combined, these emotions led to bad decisions.

The assembly's response to the revenue shortfall differed in important ways from its predecessor in late 1810s. For one, the assembly called for an immediate audit of the books. Additionally, it required Snowden to publish a detailed statement of the accounts moving forward. To raise money for the coming year and fill the depleted funds, once again it formed a committee to appoint agents. This time, however, no one would accept the job. According to the committee's account, as summer turned to fall, the "pecuniary embarrassment and pressure commenced."[28] The committee resorted instead to publishing letters in religious papers in Philadelphia and New York asking for money. Their appeals brought in an underwhelming $1,473.81, less than half of the estimated shortfall. The total was roughly the same the following year. In 1836, the money the Seminary owed the professors was $1,877.98. The pressure on Snowden must have been enormous. Year after year, an audit never came.

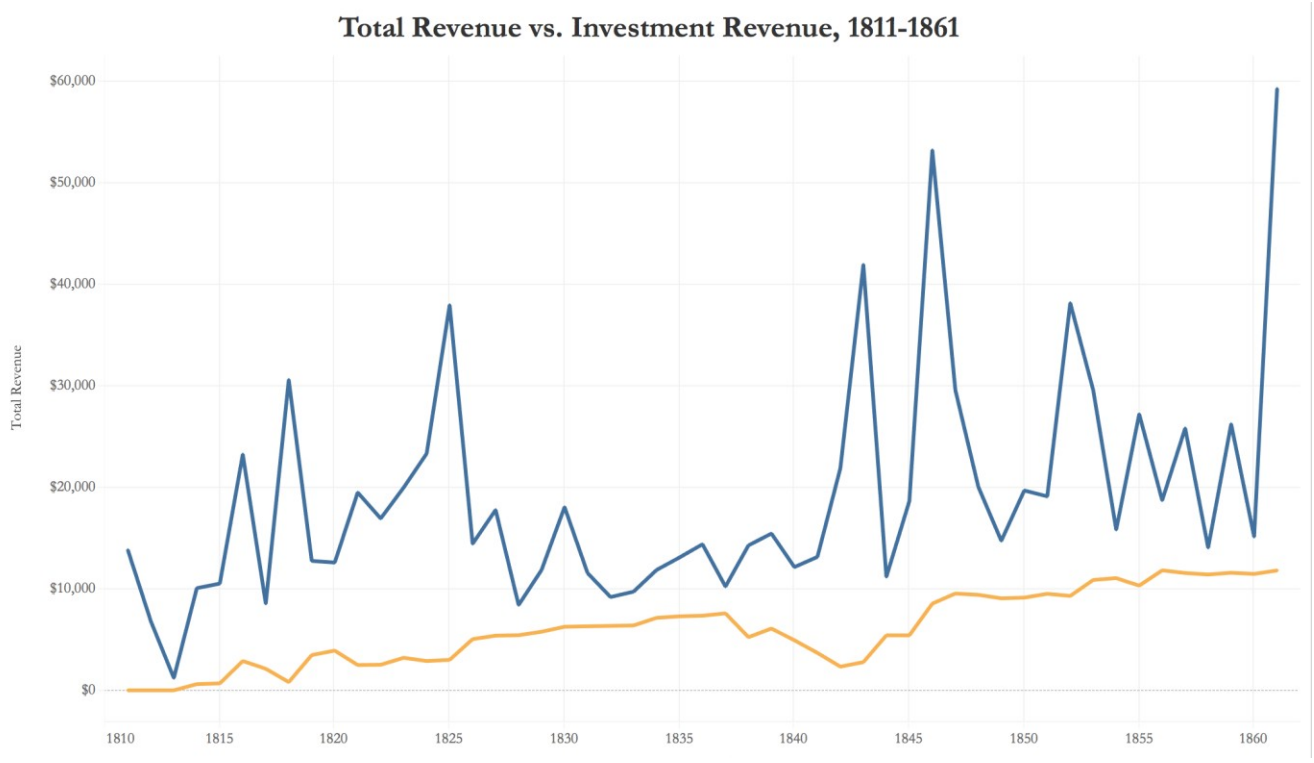
The lack of donor revenue prompted a growing number in the assembly to explore ways of raising the revenue received from investments. A more aggressive investment strategy, they concluded, would provide enough funds to pay for the Seminary and replace the money borrowed from the endowment. In 1835, the general assembly began moving almost all the Seminary's assets into high-yielding bank stock. This left the Seminary extremely vulnerable. Snowden died in 1836. The markets collapsed only a short time later. The Panic of 1837 wiped out banks across the United States and introduced an economic depression that lasted until the

mid-1840s. By 1842, the Seminary's investments had lost more than half their value. Only then did an audit finally occur.

The Seminary's endowment, while not enough to fully fund the school, was absolutely vital to the school's operations. Its investments provided a large portion of total revenue it received before the Civil War. It certainly benefited from the donations of slave holders, but did it benefit remotely in the same way Lenox and Brown did? Were the successes and failures of its investments somehow tied to slavery? As it turns out, the answer on both counts is yes.

The Investments

The General Assembly invested the Seminary's endowment primarily in government bonds and secured loans until the mid-1830s. A revenue shortfall, however, convinced the assembly that a more aggressive strategy was needed. To raise revenue, the assembly authorized its treasury to reinvest its assets in Southern banks in the Old Southwest. These institutions were making enormous profits by financing the expansion of slavery in the region and are an example of how Northern capital was closely linked to the Southern slave economy. This aggressive approach left the Seminary vulnerable. After the Panic of 1837, it lost half of its endowment. It would take another decade, and another major fundraising campaign, for the school to finally find its financial footing. By the time of the Civil War, the Seminary's endowment was primarily invested in real estate.



Shifting Strategies

Prior to the 1830s, the General Assembly had taken a conservative approach toward investment. Of the $111,532 in its permanent fund, 88 percent was tied up in two types. The largest, government bonds, accounted for $55,866. Secured loans, against which stocks and bonds were held as collateral, made up $42,000. Real estate, particularly in the Philadelphia area, and stocks in regional banks each accounted for around $6,000. The remainder of the fund was held in promissory notes and corporate stocks. In a given year, each of these types of investments would yield between five and seven percent. This was not as high as some stocks, but it was predictable. Banks, bonds, and real estate would remain the primary categories of investment within the permanent fund. However, the proportion of each would change dramatically in the years ahead.

The Seminary's budget crisis of the early 1830s had prompted calls within the General Assembly to invest its endowment more aggressively. By this time, the assembly's entire permanent fund had grown to a little under $162,000, of which the Seminary's assets were around $120,000. Members of the finance committee began looking for investments that would yield higher returns. They found them in Southern banks, particularly in the Western part of what would become known as the Old South. Banks in Mississippi and Tennessee offered an astounding eight to 10 percent annual return. This would raise revenue enough to cover salaries as well as begin paying back the money borrowed from the endowment. However, it carried risk. Several in the committee voiced concerns and asked the committee to use caution.[29] In response, the committee sought to reassure everyone by noting that many of its members were investing their own money in these opportunities. In hindsight, this was a bad idea, financially and also ethically.

Recent scholarship on the Panic of 1837 has departed from the tradition narrative that the main cause of the economic downturn was Andrew Jackson's policies toward the national banks. It instead places greater emphasis on the expanding slave economy of the old Southwest.[30] The removal of native tribes in the early 1830s opened millions of acres of land for white settlement. Between 1833 and 1835, the national government sold four million acres in Mississippi alone.[31] Cheap land and a booming demand for cotton attracted thousands of people in search of economic opportunity. Their dreams were made possible by a complex system of credit that allowed individuals to purchase land, seed, equipment, and slaves. Banks such as Planters' Bank of Mississippi, the Agricultural Bank of Natchez, and the Planters' Bank of Tennessee helped finance this system. These banks, in turn, were financed by speculators back East. Wealthy individuals such as Brown provided the capital that fueled the expansion of slavery in the South. In turn, these individuals made millions. It was the collapse of this system of speculation that played a large part in triggering the downturn of 1837.

These were the very banks into which the General Assembly placed almost the entire permanent fund.[32] In April of 1835, upon the advice of the finance committee, the trustees sold a little under $96,000 in government bonds and stock in the Bank of the United States. They then purchased $24,680 worth of shares in the Planters' Bank and Agricultural Bank of Natchez. They used another $36,725 to purchase shares of the Bank of Louisville, the Union Bank of Tennessee, and the Bank of Mobile. Over the months that followed, they purchased additional stock, including shares in the Planters' Bank of Tennessee. By 1836, bank stock made up 79

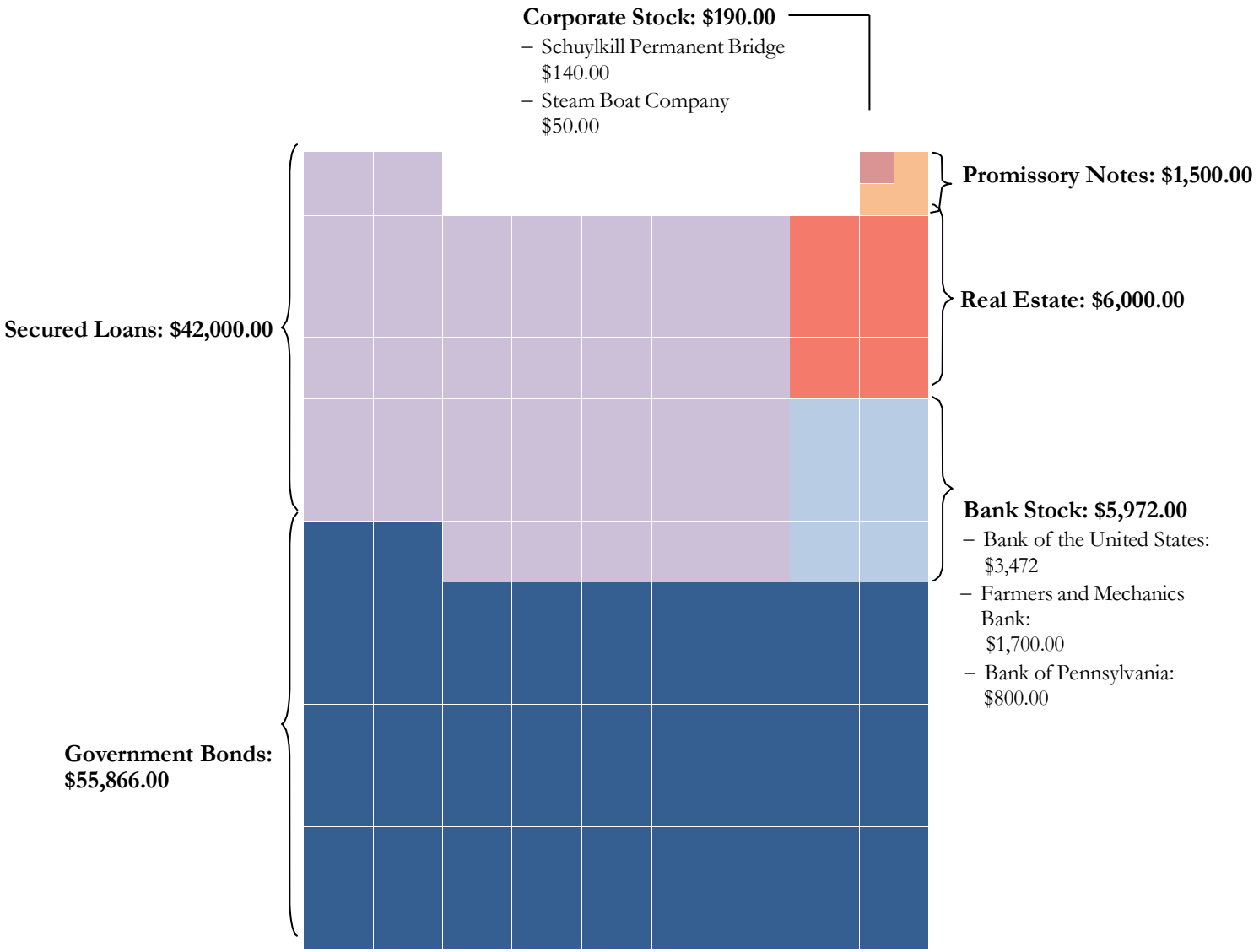
percent of the assembly's entire permanent fund. Of the total amount invested in banks, 89% was specifically in Southern banks. That year, the finance committee could report a $2,600 increase in revenue. The professors were being paid in full, and the money taken from the endowment was being replaced.

The economic downturn following 1837, however, put an end to any celebration. Despite a short recovery the next year, banks across the United States, but especially in the Southwest, began to fold. The finance committee attempted to stem the losses by dumping some stocks. However, there was little they could do. A full picture began to emerge between 1841 and 1843, when in a series of long-awaited reports the trustees detailed exactly where the accounts stood and what investments had been made. At its worst point, in 1842, the entire permanent fund had been reduced from $161,000 to a little over $75,000. It made a strong recovery the following year, but still only stood a little over $92,000. The portion of the Seminary's endowment sat at around $70,000 and would never fully recover. After 10 years, the total had only risen to $85,601.10.[33]

Breakdown of the General Assembly's Investments, 1826

Total Value: $111,532.00

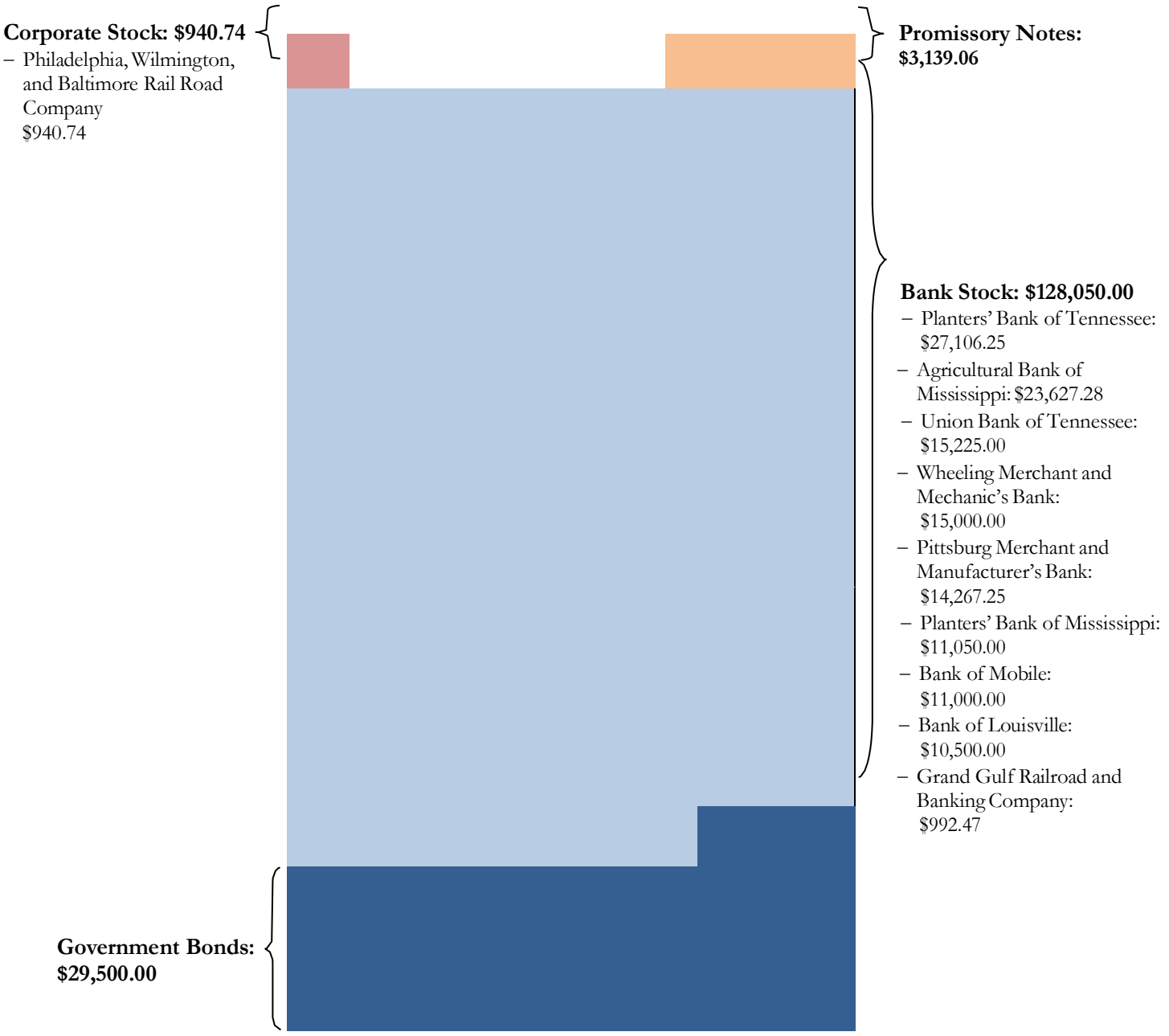
(1 square = $1,000.00)



Breakdown of the General Assembly's Investments, 1836

Total Value: $161,629.80

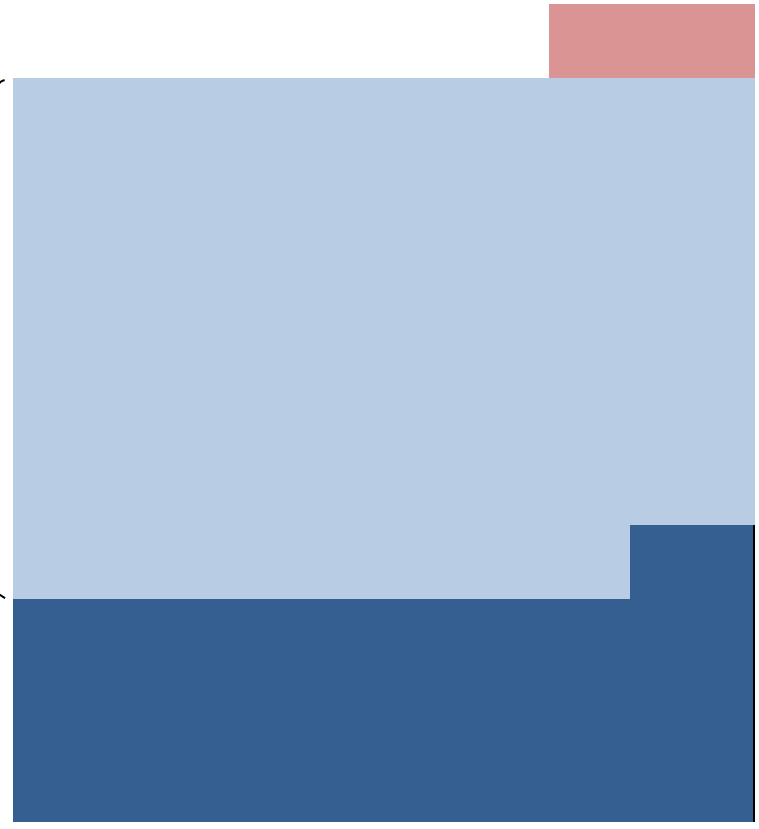
(1 square = $1,000.00)



Breakdown of the General Assembly's Investments, 1843

Total Value: $92,114.00

(1 square = $1,000.00)



Corporate Stock: $2,435.74
- Cheltenham and Willow Grove Turnpike Company $1,000.00
- Philadelphia, Wilmington, and Baltimore Rail Road Company $940.74
- Insurance Co of North America $225.00
- Insurance Co of Pennsylvania $270.00

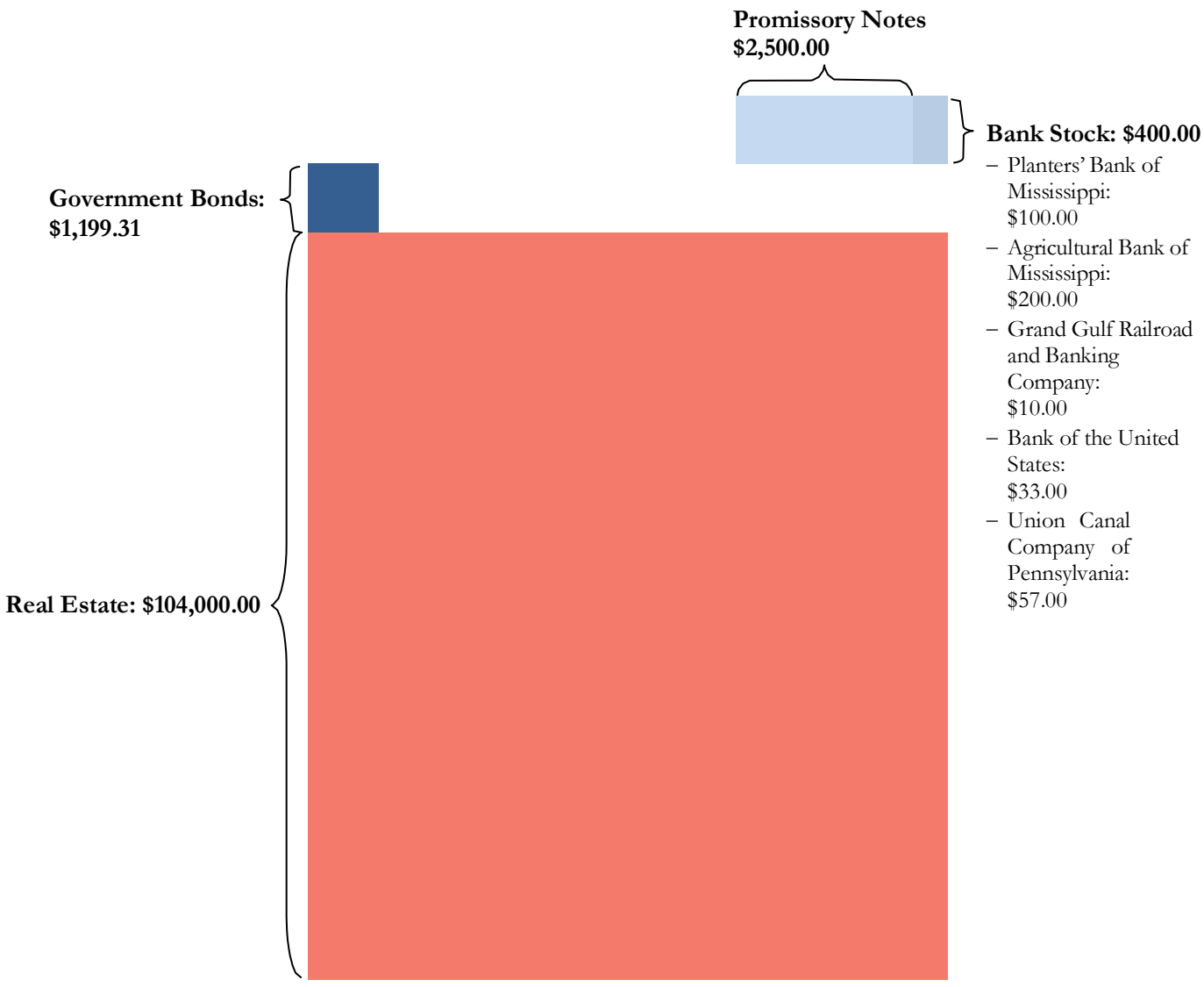
Government Bonds: $28,500.00

Bank Stock: $61,354.00
- Planters' Bank of Tennessee: $9,800.00
- Agricultural Bank of Mississippi: $2,000.00
- Union Bank of Tennessee: $7,500.00
- Wheeling Merchant and Mechanic's Bank: $12,000.00
- Pittsburg Merchant and Manufacturer's Bank: $10,625.00
- Planters' Bank of Mississippi: $250.00
- Bank of Mobile: $8,000.00
- Bank of Louisville: $7,000.00
- Grand Gulf Railroad and Banking Company: $50.00
- Bank of Pennsylvania $150.00
- Bank of Philadelphia $1,170.00
- Bank of North America $580.00
- Mechanics' Bank of Philadelphia $2,185.00
- Bank of the United States $44.00

Breakdown of the General Assembly's Investments, 1852

Total Value: $108,099.31

(1 square = $1,000.00)



Recovering and Replacing Losses

As is often the case in times of financial trouble, the investigation into General Assembly's investments led to infighting, even while all sides fought to do what was best for the church. Some blamed Snowden because of his "advanced age" and the "confused state" of his account keeping.[34] Some within the assembly claimed the finance committee had acted without authorization.[35] Many placed blame on everyone, likening the assembly to a "thriftless heir."[36] The assembly seemed unified, however, in its willingness to allow the Seminary to control its own assets in the future. Most of the money under the care of the assembly would remain so, but moving forward any donation would be controlled by the Seminary's treasurer. They were also united in their realization that the Mid-Atlantic was their most reliable source of donations. Special appeals were sent to presbyteries in New Jersey, New York, and the Philadelphia region, which brought in enough revenue to cover operating costs. In 1843, in a show of commitment, Lenox donated the land and money to construct a new library.

In September of following year, several of the Seminary's directors and trustees called a meeting with alumni to plan a long-term solution. They eventually nominated Cortlandt Van Rensselaer to act as agent and raise the funds necessary to recover what was lost and endow the school. Van Rensselaer, a former student at the Seminary, was the son of the wealthy New York politician, landowner, and slave owner Stephen Van Rensselaer. The family was extremely well-connected, but Cortlandt supplemented these connections with an ability to be simultaneously charming and insistent. After one wealthy New Yorker refused to help the Seminary on the grounds permanent endowments made people lazy, Cortlandt reminded the man that God had permanently endowed him with over half a million dollars.[37]

The campaign that took place over the next three years was remarkable. These were the type of results the Seminary's leadership had hoped would happen 30 years earlier. Between 1844 and 1846, Van Rensselaer raised $36,917.09. By the time he was finished in 1852, the total had risen to $86,345.42.[38] It is unfortunate for this report that $66,000 of this money is unidentifiable by region. Van Rensselaer kept a diary while on his campaign, but this has since been lost. He also submitted a statement to the General Assembly noting the churches that contributed, but this is lost as well. It is likely that he found most of his success around Philadelphia and New York City. This fits the larger pattern of giving at the time. Yet, as with McDowell in the late 1810s, Van Rensselaer had extensive Southern connections. It is equally likely that he tapped into these to raise funds. According to one account, his travels took him to "almost every section of the country from Champlain to Pontchartrain, and from the Hudson to the Mississippi."[39] Like McDowell, he might have looked to the South and seen potential.

Archibald Alexander and Samuel Miller, the Seminary's first two professors, lived just long enough to witness the school's financial turnaround. Miller died in 1850. Alexander died in 1851. The following year, as the capital campaign ended, Van Rensselaer helped compose a report that outlined the Seminary's position as part of a special committee tasked with finally sorting out the General Assembly's finances. The school's funds with the assembly and in its own treasury were a combined $164,472.75. Of this sum, $109,038.65 was applicable to the salaries of the professors. Over the next decade, the Seminary's faculty would grow to five. The school would receive major gifts in the form of scholarships, a lectureship, and a bequest from

George Brown to build a second dormitory.[40] On the eve of the Civil War, it had finally achieved financial security. It was time, the directors and trustees concluded, to give the faculty a raise.

Concluding Remarks

Slavery played a relatively limited, but nevertheless important role in Princeton Theological Seminary's financial history. As an official school of the Presbyterian Church, its donor base reflected the geographical diversity of its parent denomination. Southern slave owners were an important source of revenue for the Seminary, particularly in its early years. Moreover, donations from individuals who had significant financial ties to slavery would remain important to the Civil War. The Seminary would itself profit from slavery through its investments, although briefly and with disastrous consequences. The total amount of given by slave owners is unknown. Given what we do know, however, we can estimate a figure of around 15 percent of the total revenue when factoring in not only donations, but also the interest many of those donations accrued as part of the endowment. If individuals who remotely profited from slavery are included, such as Lenox and Brown, this figure lands somewhere between 30-40 percent.

No prominent institution from this period could escape its own context. Slave owners played a part in the Seminary's donor base because slave owners were part of the Presbyterian Church. Slavery contributed to the school's revenue because slavery was a key part of the American economy. The Seminary was, in the end, merely a product of its time. These might not be the conclusions some would have hoped for, but to ignore them is to perpetuate a whitewashed version of history. Correction and progression come only by looking honestly at the past. We should not look away. And we should not be surprised.

[1] *Princeton Theological Seminary Board of Directors: A Summary of the Minutes, volume I*, May 15, 1816, 180-182.
[2] Ibid., May 19, 1818, 278-79.
[3] Philip Lindsley, *A Plea for the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N.J.* 3rd Edition (Trenton: George Sherman, 1821), 23.
[4] *A Sketch of the Rise, Progress and Present State of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States at Princeton* (Elizabethtown, NJ: Shepard Kollock, 1817), 53.
[5] *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, A.D. 1820* (Philadelphia: Thomas & William Bradford, 1820), 337.
[6] *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, from A.D. 1821 to 1835 Inclusive* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, n.d.), 188. Hereafter cited as "Minutes."
[7] See John Whitehead last will and testament, Finding aid at Atlanta History Center, Atlanta, GA. http://ahc.galileo.usg.edu/ahc/view?docId=ead/ahc.MSS654f-ead.xml (accessed March 1, 2017).
[8] Margaret Prouty Hillhouse, *Historical and Genealogical Collections Relating to the Descendants of Rev. James Hillhouse* (New York, T. A. Wright, 1924), 101.
[9] "Isaac Stockton Keith, D.D.," in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit, vol. II* (New York: Robert Carter and Bothers, 1857), 167; drew Flinn, *Sermons, Addresses, and Letters Selected from the Writings of the Late Rev. Isaac Stockton Keith* (Charlestown: S. Etheridge, Jr., 1816), 9-22.
[10] Hester Smith was the daughter of Philander Smith and Esther Brashear, who migrated to Mississippi from Massachusetts. See "From Rev. Henry Smith, who settled in CT abt. 1638 to Rev. Jedediah Smith, who migrated to Natchez, MS, 1776, and his descendants." Ancestry.com. https://wc.rootsweb.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/igm.cgi?op=GET&db=:2218919&id=I1561 (accessed March 1, 2018).
[11] Bernard E. Powers, Jr., *Black Charlestonians: A Social History, 1822-1885* (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994), 42; Isabelle Lehuu, "Reconstructing Reading Vogues in the Old South: Borrowings from the Charleston Library Society, 1811-1817," in Shafquat Towheed and W.R. Owens, eds., *The History of Reading, vol I: International Perspectives, c. 1500-1990* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 72.

[12] "Presbyterianism in Charleston," *Encyclopedia of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, ed. by Alfred Nevin (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Encyclopedia Publishing Company, 1884), 669; Thomas Smyth, *Manuel for the Use of the Members of the Second Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S.C.* (Charleston: Jenkins & Hussey, 1838), 9-70.
[13] Michael Trinkley, Nicole Southerland, and Sara Fick, *Cultural Resources Survey of Mullet Hall Plantation, Johns Island, Charleston County, South Carolina* (Columbia: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2008) South Carolina Historical Society, 30-15 Plantation File; Layton Wayne Jordan and Elizabeth H. Stringfellow, *A Place Called St. John's* (Spartanburg, SC: Reprint Company, 1998).
[14] Michael Trinkley, *Preliminary Historical Research on the Baynard Plantation, Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County South Carolina* (Columbia: Chicora Foundation Inc., 1991).
[15] C.G. Parsons, *Inside View of Slavery: or a Tour among the Planters* (Boston: John P. Jewett and Company, 1855), 23 and 257.
[16] William B. Sprague, *Memoirs of the Rev. John McDowell, D.D.* (New York: Robert Carter & Brothers, 1864), 71-74.
[17] Philip Mills Herrington, "Forgotten Plantation Architecture of Burke County, Georgia" (BA Thesis, Berry College, 1999), 89.
[18] *Minutes* (1826), 142; *Minutes* (1834), 46. To view James Hall's will, see James Hall. Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions (Iredell County) North Carolina, Wills and Probate Records, 1665-1998. Ancestry.com. (accessed March 1, 2018).
[19] See William Bradford Browne, ed., *The Babbitt Family History, 1643-1900* (Taunton, MA: C.A. Hack & Son, 1912), 125; Nash's extended family included the Camerons of Raleigh, North Carolina, who vied with other families as the largest landholders and slave owners of the South. See Cameron Family Papers, 1757-1978, Finding aid at Louis Round Wilson Special Collections Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, NC. http://finding-aids.lib.unc.edu/00133/ (accessed March 1, 2017).
[20] 1800 Federal Census, New York Ward 2, New York, New York. Ancestry.com (accessed March 1, 2017); 1820 Federal Census, Baltimore County, Ward 6, Baltimore, Maryland. Ancestry.com (accessed March 1, 2017).
[21] Joshua D. Rothman, *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 197.
[22] George Austin Morrison, *History of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York, 1756-1906* (New York: Evening Post Printing Office, 1906), 85.
[23] A popular merchant magazine records that Lenox's ship had arrived in New York carrying 93 puncheons of Rum from Jamaica. "Abstract of the Merchandize Entered in the Custom-House," *Ming's New York Price-Current*, no. 816 (September 22, 1810), 4. The same magazine records Lenox's firm importing sugar from Havana, rum and molasses from St. Bartholomew, and pimento from Jamaica. See "Abstract of the Merchandize Entered in the Custom-House," *Ming's New York Price-Current*, no 810 (August 11, 1810), 3; no. 798 (May 19, 1810), 3; and no. 875 (December 6, 1810), 3.
[24] It is highly likely that Lenox was trading regularly with John and James Campbell, who owned a sugar mill and plantation named Gibraltar in Jamaica. Lenox was close enough with the Campbells to act as a trustee for their property in the event of their death. According to data compiled by the University College London, Gibraltar produced not only sugar, but also pimento and rum. See University College London, "Gibraltar," Legacies of British Slave-ownership. https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/estate/view/2475 (accessed March 1, 2017); James J. Bergen, "'Phil's Hill,' The Home of Colonel Van Horne," *Somerset County Historical Quarterly* 1.2 (April 1912), 85.
[25] For information about the Brown family and its business ventures, see Edwin Perkins, *Financing Anglo-American Trade: The House of Brown, 1800-1880* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975); Mary Elizabeth Brown, *Alexander Brown and His Descendants, 1764-1916* (East Orange, NJ: Abbey Printshop, 1917).
[26] John Killick, "The Cotton Operations of Alexander Brown and Sons in the Deep South, 1820-1860," *Journal of Southern History* 43 (May 1977): 169–94.
[27] Calvin Schermerhorn discusses this in his excellent essay "Commodity Chains and Chained Commodities: The U.S. Coastwise Slave Trade and an Atlantic Business Network," in Jeff Forret and Christine E. Sears, eds., *New Directions in Slavery Studies: Commodification, Community, and Comparison* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 22-24.
[28] *Minutes* (1834), 23.
[29] *Minutes* (1834), 264.
[30] See Sven Beckert, *The Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014); Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Richard Kilbourne, Jr., *Slave Agriculture and Financial Markets in*

Antebellum America: The Bank of the United States in Mississippi, 1831-1852 (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2006).
[31] Rothman, *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014), 4.
[32] *Minutes* (1836), 304-307.
[33] *Minutes* (1852), 377.
[34] *Minutes* (1838), 440.
[35] *Minutes* (1843), 232-34.
[36] Ibid., 225.
[37] C. van Rensselaer, ed., *Miscellaneous Sermons, Essays, and Addresses by the Rev. Cortlandt van Rensselaer, D.D.* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1861), xxxii. This reference also mentions a diary that van Rensselaer kept while raising funds for the Seminary. Unfortunately, I have not been able to track this down. It would help identify the individuals who contributed to his campaign.
[38] *Minutes* (1851), 180. The total amount actually paid in 1851 was $55,120.42. The figure stated here, $66,345.42, is the amount of outstanding subscriptions van Rensselaer believed would be paid. He estimated that after it was paid, the Seminary would need another $20,000 to complete the endowment. The following year, $20,000 was given by James Lenox and several other wealthy New Yorkers. See *Minutes* (1852), 403.
[39] Van Rensselaer, *Miscellaneous Sermons*, xxxii.
[40] *Minutes* (1860), 71.