Samuel Bard’s Legacy: Research from the Columbia University and Slavery Project
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Anne L. Taylor: Good afternoon, everyone I’m Anne Taylor I’m the John Lindenbaum Professor of Medicine at the Columbia University Irving Medical Center, Senior Vice President for Faculty Affairs and Career Development and Vice Dean for Academic Affairs for the Bachelor's College of Physicians and Surgeons. I want to welcome you to this afternoon's program, entitled Samuel Bard’s Legacy: Research from the Columbia and Slavery Project. Which is an ongoing project that was initiated in 2015 and continues to this day. We will have an opportunity to respond to some of your questions, if you will put the questions in the Q and A function on the bottom of your dashboard.

So, in the summer of 2020, in the wake of the murder of George Floyd and the disproportionately severe effects of the pandemic on communities of color, Columbia University initiated a university- wide review focused on several areas addressing the impact of racism on our surrounding communities and our university community; inclusive public safety; student inclusion and belonging; faculty diversity and success; the staff experience; anti-racism in health and health care, here at the medical Center; and across the university, symbols and representations.

In August of 2020, President Bollinger announced at Bard Hall, the residence at 50 Haven Avenue, here at the medical Center would be renamed. Currently known simply by its address, this residence hall had been named for Samuel Bard, who is the founder of what is now Columbia University's Vagelos College of Physicians and Surgeons. He was also an enslaver, and you'll hear more about Bard and his direct connection to slavery in a moment from our historians on today's panel.

The removal of the Bard name from this residence hall was among several top priorities for change cited by students and elegantly advocated for and with faculty support, based on commentary by Dr. Raymond Givens who was an Assistant Professor of Medicine and Associate Director of the Cardiac Intensive Care Unit. This was actually a prelude to a larger and more extensive discussion on symbols and representation on Columbia University's campus, encompassing Morningside, the medical center, and Manhattanville. And it was focused on both their presence, their omissions, and what the significance is. What does it tell us about values and what was prioritized?

Just as the removal of the name of Bard from 50 Haven Avenue was the result of powerful advocacy and students and faculty, in considering symbols and representations across campus, we want to invite our community into this conversation. How should Columbia's historical ties to

slavery and its history of racism be acknowledged and addressed in the physical, built environment of our campus? What are the best ways to engage the Community, the whole university and beyond in the choices that we make about these symbols and names and, ultimately, how will these choices be formalized? What will they mean and what will be created in terms of inclusivity for our campus and beyond. The research project that we're going to hear about today is one effort to reckon with the connections of Columbia and slavery and the legacies, especially in the built environment of our campus.

In considering what steps to take, we felt it was important to start with special attentions to residence halls because these are buildings where we ask our students to live; they become our students' homes over the time that they are here at Columbia. 50 Haven Avenue is a residence hall for our medical students and in addition to its role in housing students during a time of intense intellectual and professional growth for them, the residence Hall is also a place where Community is shaped and friendships are made.

These spaces, residence halls are very important spaces and, as such, spaces should create an environment that's truly welcoming to all and in fact we examine by looking first at residence halls. As a small but we hope meaningful step, we want to share the information that students and faculty have discovered in their research and engage with communities within and beyond Columbia, and generate interest in understanding this history, as well as thoughts about how to ultimately integrate this into Columbia's very extensive and important story.

And this is one of many conversations and opportunities for members of the community our neighbors and collaborators to share feedback and ideas about the significance of the built environment.and how we can begin to create meaningful true inclusivity with the built environment.

We're especially eager to engage with students and historical research and in the designing and building markers and educational displays that we hope will represent the full history of all connected to our campus.

So now I'm pleased to introduce our panelists and there are going to be brief introductions. I'm absolutely delighted that we have Craig Steven Wilder with us today. Professor Wilder is the Barton L. Weller Professor of MIT, Professor of History at MIT, and author very important book *Ebony and Ivy: Race, Slavery and the Troubled History of American Universities*, one of the absolutely best books on this topic.

Professor Wilder is also a Columbia University alum, having earned his PhD here, and has held faculty appointment at Williams College in addition. For more than a decade, he has been a senior fellow at the Bard Prison Initiative, where he's also served as visiting professor, commencement speaker, and academic advisor.

In 2004, Professor Wilder was selected to receive the Columbia University Medal of Excellence. We will also hear from Josh Morrison, a postdoctoral research scholar at Columbia University

whose research covers the 19th century commercial practices in American versions and their foreign counterpoint. He also studies the role of slavery in the nation's economic development, and at Columbia he's worked on the University and Slavery Project establishing how the institution's early affiliates benefited from slavery in New York City and beyond.
And finally we'll hear from Thai Jones who's the Herbert Lehman Curator of American History at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library. He teaches a Columbia University and Slavery seminar and has been involved with the project since its creation in 2015. Before becoming Lehman Curator, Jones was an assistant professor of history at the Bard College Master of Arts in Teaching program. And he's the author of three books on history of labor, labor radicalism, and criminal justice and has written for a wide range of national publications, including *The New Yorker*, *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, *The Nation* and *Occupy Wall Street Journal*.

I am now going to turn the microphone over to Thai Jones who will begin our program. Hi

Thai Jones: Thank you so much, Anne. I'll just say there is a closed captioning function available; anyone who wants to closed caption, please click that button, but actually I'm now turning it over to Craig Wilder who will speak first -- Craig.

Craig Wilder: Thank you, Thai and I want to thank Professor Jones, Professor Taylor, and Morrison for inviting me to join you. My job is actually just to give a quick backdrop to the history of universities, medical schools, science and slavery, I don't know if there's such a thing as a quick backdrop, but I'll try.

In 1718, the trustees of the Collegiate School in New Haven, Connecticut received a donation from the Welsh merchant Elihu Yale. It included 400 books, a bit of cash, and a painting of George the First. The board recognized that gift by renaming the college for Yale.

In 1722 the governors then build a house for the rector, which was the ministerial term that they use before establishing a presidency of the University of the College. And they paid for that by taking subscriptions, selling lands, and getting the General Assembly of Connecticut to tax rum imported from the West Indies and produced by enslaved people on sugar plantations. A year later, the Yale board bestowed a medical degree upon Daniel Turner, a respectable Guild licensed surgeon in London who lacked the academic credentials to become a member of the Royal College of Physicians. That was the first medical degree ever granted in North America. A1699 Harvard graduate, Jeremiah Dumber, who had arranged the Yale gift earlier actually brokered this transaction also. Turner sent 25 books in a brief letter outlining his qualifications to New Haven. And at the September commencement, the trustees awarded him in absentia an honorary doctorate in medicine. What's peculiar about that transaction, besides the money passing hands was the fact that Yale didn't actually have a medical school. And it didn't have a single science faculty member. The Royal College declined to recognize Turner's colonial credentials. But, in fact, the actions of Yale's trustees were really not that unusual in the 18th century.

From the establishment of Jamestown through the Civil War, Americans began several hundred academies and colleges. 80% of them failed and few matured into colleges. Few of the academies matured into colleges. Even Harvard sold itself through the 17th century as quote.

And I'll just quote the trustees description of themselves, "small and unknown as we are in respects of the great and famous universities which adorn the kingdoms of Great Britain. . ." began the trustees in address to King George the First. "Your majesty's loyal and humble College in America" is how they ended up describing themselves. In fact, the governors of colleges and universities had little choice but to forge alliances to European royalty and to the elite of the American colonial system.

For most of its first hundred Years, Harvard didn't actually have a single Professor instead it relied upon tutors for instruction. The Presidents of colonial colleges live largely like itinerants spending much of the year journeying from town to town and province to province by horseback and in rough coaches, hat in hand. And they delivered sermons and academic addresses in churches and local associations frequently publishing those lectures to raise a bit more money through their sale.

The historian Frederick Rudolph cleverly captured the hand-to-mouth realities of the early academy quote, "Often, when a college had a building it had no students, if it had students frequently it had no building. If it had either than perhaps it had no money, perhaps no professors. If professors then no president, or president then no professors.

In 1724, the Reverend Hugh Jones complained that William and Mary had a seminary without a chapel, a college without scholarships, a library without books, and all under quote "a president without a fixed salary, till of late." Seeking to solve the financial woes of his college, James Blair unsuccessfully promoted Virginia as a place for servicing and building ships for the slave trade.

The problem for science was that theologians had largely governed the American campus for two centuries and as Yale's trustees have shown, science arrived fairly late and largely for financial reasons. It wasn't until the second half of the 18th century the 1760s, that scientific study got recognition on colonial campuses. The sociologist Nancy Stephen who had been a Columbia for decades adds that early science was also anti-slavery. Researchers largely believed that science would establish the authenticity of the Bible, including the common origins of all humanity. Therefore, the immorality of enslaving large parts of the world's population was sort of immediately manifest.

If the mid-18th century, scientists doubted the morality of human slavery by the mid-19th century, scientists were the most influential and vocal defenders of human slavery in the Atlantic world. The answer, in part, to that paradox lies in the creation of medical colleges and science programs at colleges.

In 1763 Samuel Bard jealously wrote to his father that two Americans, William Shippen Jr. and John Morgan were planning a Philadelphia Medical School on the Scottish model, all of them are in Edinburgh studying medicine.

Shippen presented the trustees of the College of Philadelphia with recommendations from the Edinburgh faculty and an endorsement from Thomas Penn, of the founding family of Pennsylvania. Open in 1765, it was the first Medical School in the British colonies, the Faculty consisted of in fact Shipping's contemporaries.

Morgan a graduate of the Philadelphia college, who had apprenticed in a doctor's office and done a term as a military doctor. Benjamin Smith Barton, who returned to Pennsylvania to become professor of natural history. Benjamin Rush, a native of the city, joined that Philadelphia medical faculty after he finished studying and stop and Rush also enhanced his wealth, like many of these young men through a sort of strategic marriage to Julia Stockton, the daughter of in New Jersey (?) landowner, slave holder, signer of the Declaration of Independence and with close ties to the Princeton college. The success of the medical colleges of Philadelphia was first. The expansion, the multiplication of medical colleges and their success depended in fact actually largely upon the slave economy in two different ways.

One of the most important things that transformed the young men who went to study, the young colonial men who went to study medicine in Europe into doctors and medical faculty when they returned to the North American colonies, was their access to the bodies of subjugated people.

The Philadelphia medical program began with Shipping's lectures on anatomy in 1762. On November 16, he commenced an anatomy course at the Pennsylvania state house that year, Court Mahal (?). That year Pennsylvania hospital had given Shippen, the body of the negro who had committed suicide.

Five years earlier in 1757,Tom, a black man and slave to Joseph Wharton became the first patient to die at the Pennsylvania hospital. The doctors do have policies for handling corpses and expanding their own opportunities for dissection. In fact, bodies from suicides and the corpses of criminals resume being transferred directly to Shippen's anatomical museum.

The hospital also served large numbers of black patients who became the material for its research program. Various sessions in Rhode Island and other actors in New York actually help the emerging ephemeral medical programs and most colonies take root. And in large part they take root as they gain access to the bodies of the slave of enslaved black people and indigenous people.

Shortly after the founding of Dartmouth College, for example, Dr. Joseph Lewis, a personal physician to Dartmouth President, the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, peeled the skin from the body of a deceased black man named Kato and boiled the corpse in a kettle at the back of his house to separate the skeleton from flesh for study.

He took Kato's skin to be tanned at a shop that served the College (tanned like horsehide) at a shop that served the College and then used that skin to dress his instrument case. Physicians, surgeons, and students on numerous campuses conducted anatomical dissections and created anatomical specimens decades before the institutions opened medical schools.

Human bodies were even more of a commodity once medical programs were organized. Dartmouth's faculty had certainly struggled with the legislature to gain access to human material.

But soon, the College was actually dealing with that problem by resurrecting bodies, by stealing the enslaved, the corpses of the enslaved and marginal populations from cemeteries and graveyards located on Broadway at Duane Street, the New York hospital where King's College medical faculty rented dissection laboratories had an ample source of cadavers at its southeast corner, where sat the Negroes' burial ground. The Faculty and students harvested colored corpses from the African cemetery for years, dragging cadavers across Broadway to the dissecting table quote, "When we went from the city following Broadway over the valley of fresh water on both sides of this way were many habitations of the negroes, mullatos, and whites, reads that 1679 entry in Jasper Dankart's travel journey.

More than a century later African Americans ambitions to be free to be land owners and for citizenship let them easy prey for medical students. In 1807, the regents chartered the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York City.

It was the same year that white residents began complaining about the odor from hundreds of corpses in the vault of the African Methodist Episcopal Church or Mother Zion in New York, which suffered from a lack of land and security. In fact actually the big conflict between the black population and the surrounding city was their efforts of black people to keep the corpses of their loved ones safe -- to protect them in death from the emerging scientific program that was operating around them and depended upon access to their bodies.

Between the Revolution and the Civil War, 17, at least 17 separate mobs attempted to stop anatomy schools from dissecting, resurrecting people, rendering their corpses little more than meat. The most vulnerable to this exhumation and dissection were from the lowest social orders: African Americans and Native Americans in the colonies; the Irish in the United Kingdom.

If Atlantic slavery underwrote the production of knowledge, it also distorted the knowable and one of the things that the history of the American Medical School shows is how dependent the emergence of science and the scientific revolution, were on the slave economy.

In fact, almost everywhere, one sees the rise of the scientists and medical schools, one actually also see the expansion of the slave economy and the power of the slave economy being exercised.

American science evolved with American slavery, beginning in 1780 just before the establishment of Harvard Medical School, businessmen and bankers began dislodging academics and clergy from the Harvard Corporation. And that model repeats over and over again in the 18th and 19th century history of the American Academy.

By the time in fact Harvard had established some of its most important professorships-- those funded by the royal family. A family with plantation ties to Antigua. And then probably the largest single slave holding in Massachusetts, which rendered the royal professorships in science and law -- by the time that happened human slavery had provided the American college with the wealth to rival the research and academic cultures of European universities. American universities had turned to Atlantic slavery to fund new medical schools with modern anatomy labs and instructional museums; to endow professorships in medicine and the natural and physical sciences, and to generate the human material -- the bodies that they used to rehearse these arts. The story of colonial scientists is ultimately one that we should find familiar.

The paradox assigned a science that began by opposing slavery, but quickly became radically pro slavery and even preyed upon enslaved people is not difficult to unravel. In the search for wealth and status scientists made innumerable moral compromises the burdens of which fell upon the living and the dead, the free men and slave so long as they be black or indigenous Thank you.

Joshua Morrison: Okay awesome it looks like I'm up next, and I would just like to thank Professor Wilder. It's amazing for me to be on the same panel as him because basically not that long ago I was reading his book as a student and obviously it's impacted a lot of what I'm going to talk about today. And so what I am going to talk about today is to give a brief overview of early medical education at King's College, Columbia College, and the College of Physicians and Surgeons, offering a few small examples of the institution's histories of race and racism. And then I'll finish up with some of the larger takeaways from my research into Columbia's much broader history with slavery.

So King's College was founded in 1754 as an Anglican institution that catered to the sons of elite merchants. So it was an incredibly small operation that only had one instructor and half a dozen students. And as Professor Wilder mentioned, the first Medical School in the American colonies opened in Philadelphia in 1765, so about ten, eleven years after King's College started. By the time the Philadelphia school opened, New York's medical community had began to call for their own. So, led by Samuel Bard some of the city's leading doctors drafted plans for a medical school.

In 1767, the governors of King's College appointed six positions to the faculty, including Bard. And before the American Revolution, King's College offered some of the most comprehensive medical instruction in the colonies. So initially the program seemed a success, attracting a decent if still small number of students. But within a few years enrollment sagged. Like everything else at King's College and Columbia today, the medical program was both lengthy and expensive. With few licensing requirements, many aspiring doctors did not see the need for

formal degree. And, by the time King's College closed in 1775, only four medical professors actually remained.

When the school reopened after the American Revolution in 1784, now christened Columbia College, only Samuel Bard remained out of any of the original medical professors. The next year, however, Columbia, established a new faculty of medicine, naming Bard as its dean. Columbia hired four other men as professors of midwifery. So Ebenezer Crosby as the Professor of Midwifery, Benjamin Kissam as the Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, Charles McKnight as the Professor of Surgery, and Nicholas Romayne as a Professor of the Practice of Medicine.

And if you go to the next slide, Thai . . . so you can see that a lot of these people were absolutely enslavers and then I've included a couple other people, and this is really just the cross section plucked out from some of my other research. There's multiple other professors and affiliates who also enslaved people. So at first this new Columbia program attracted a number of interested students. But when Columbia trustees threatened to restructure the medical program in the early 1790s, Professor Nicholas remain resigned in protest and convinced many of the medical students to leave the institution with him.

And after Romayne's defection, the pro program really struggled to rebuild and attract enough students but Romayne seems to have really had a bone to pick with the Columbia medical faculty because more than 10 years later, he was still really trying to institute a new institution. So in 1806 Romayne secured legislative support and funding for a second medical institution in New York, that would be in direct competition with Columbia.

And so the College of Physicians and Surgeons opened in 1807 with 50 students and Romayne wasn't done. In 1808, he lured Professor David Hossack from Columbia and got him to join on with P and S and by 1810 the College of Physicians and Surgeons actually had a substantially larger enrollment than Columbia. In a single year it graduated as many students as Columbia did in five or six. After all of these setbacks come Columbia actually ended his medical program and 1813. It simply couldn't compete. The Faculty of Medicine was abolished and their remaining faculty members were fired. Most of the professors will were quickly hired by the College of Physicians and Surgeons. And so, although Columbia had re-established its Medical School after the American Revolution with great fanfare, over 28 years only 24 men actually graduated from the program and earned degrees. And between 1813 and 1860, Columbia had no official Medical School. In 1860 Colombia P and S became loosely affiliated, although they really remained pretty separate.

However, when the College of Physicians and Surgeons fell into financial troubles in the 1890s, Columbia purchased the institution and kind of on boarded it back as an official part of the Columbia family.

So before the Civil War, Columbia College barred black students from attending totally. When black abolitionist James McCune Smith applied in 1831, he was rejected quote "on account of

his complexion." But between the late 1820s and the 1840s, the College of Physicians and Surgeons actually allowed three black students to attend, and their names were John Brown, but not that John Brown, Washington Davis, and David McDonough.

So they admitted to have a few black students -- didn't really stem from a sudden commitment to racial equality. Many of the founders of P and S were enslavers if you go back up to that other slide and members of the Faculty contributed to the arrows of scientific racism so P and S admitted the three men, with the support of the American colonization society an organization that aims to resettle formerly enslaved Africans in Liberia.

Over the years the ACS became more conservative -- less interested in actually mitigating or ending slavery than expelling the small number of free black Americans in the country. And P and S only agreed to enroll the students on the condition that they actually emigrated to Africa after receiving their degrees. But after finishing their studies, two of the students decided not to leave for Liberia and P and S actually refused to give them their degrees. So in one example of kind of the scientific racism of the time, Virginian John Smith served as a faculty Member from 1808 to 1820 and would ultimately serve as the President of P and S from 1831 -1843. In his Quote course of an anatomical instruction Smith argued that the European was superior to other races, including the mongol, melee, and Ethiopian based on their quote anatomical structure, including quote facial angle and capacity of the cranium. In 1843, Smith delivered a public lecture in New York City on the quote different races of men. Ultimately concluding that quote caucasians must justly be said to stand at the head of all the races of Earth, while blacks' mental powers are upon an inferior scale.

Smith added quote this can never justify any people and keeping them in slavery, but Smith was convinced that ending slavery, would be to extensive violence and he became an avid proponent of colonization.

So in essence P and S maintained a whites-only policy throughout the antebellum period and this became entirely clear in 1850 in the case of James Barnett. You'll see this image which is very likely him, but I couldn't find the definitive, historical like confirmation of that. So Barnett had enrolled in P and S in 1848 after graduating from the University of the City of New York, which is now NYU and he actually graduated fifth in this class so he was obviously incredibly well prepared. And Barnett attended two out of three required years of classes, without any incident, but in 1850 a southern student at the College complained that Barnett was quote colored. After being summoned before group of faculty members and asked about his race, the light skinned Barnett replied quote, "I must confess that my mother is not of the Anglo Saxon race, but of Creole descent. My father is neither of the Anglo Saxon race." The faculty group informed Barnett that he could not continue at the school.

As Barnett later recounted quote "They said they were mere servants of the trustees that they had a rule binding upon them not to admit colored students and they had repeatedly refused former applicants." Professor of Obstetrics Chandler Gilman remarked quote now "Mr. Barnett do not come here again, where you are not wanted." Barnett and his father both fought the

decision. Barnett senior broke to the trustees quote "I am a citizen of the great State of New York and annually pay a tax of $125 on my real estate, for the support of the government and the education of the Youth and the state. I cannot be willing to believe that any citizen can just be deprived of his rights, but especially meeting of the trustees and faculty voted to uphold Barnett's expulsion. So Barnett's Father eventually sought help from abolitionists John Jay, the second the grandson of the more famous John Jay. And Jay filed a petition to the Supreme Court of New York to force PMs to readmit Barnett.

After an initial ruling in favor of Barnett, the trustees eventually offered him an honorary degree, but Barnett's Father refused. The P and S trustees then decided to fight in court. Their lawyers contended that having a person of color as a student would injure the College because other students would withdraw. In April 1853 the case was decided in favor of P and S. So James Barnett could not attend the institution, but he ultimately actually ended up going to Dartmouth and completing his medical degree there.

So a few years after this incident, P and S Professor John Dalton published a work, in which he concluded that the size of this quote "size of the cerebrum and different races corresponded to their grade of intelligence, the smallest cerebrum was found among quote the savage negro and Indian tribes, the largest" in quote "the enlighted European races." One P and S graduate Joseph LeCant served as professor at the University of South Carolina during and after the Civil War. When black students were admitted as part of radical reconstruction, he actually resigned in protest. Like other scientists of the era, LeCant's writings included discussions on selective breeding, inheritance of racial characteristics, and the dangers of racial mixing. His work and many other P and S alumni's helped give racism a scientific veneer.

So now I'm just going to give a little bit of information that I found on a much bigger picture of taking a much wider look at King's College Columbia College and to a much lesser extent of the later history of the College of Physicians and Surgeons and how deeply they were really tied to enslavement in a variety of ways, so from just looking at the census between 1790 and 1820.

I found that at least two professors, sorry two presidents, 19 professors, the provost and 73 trustees of Columbia enslaved people, and this is almost certainly a significant undercount. So from the same census records, I found that in 1790, Columbia affiliates enslaved 227 people. In 1800 that had fallen to 148 people by 1810 that was down to 70 by 1820 only nine people. And slavery was eventually made illegal in New York in 1827.

So, at the same time, if you'll go to the next yeah this slide actually. I have identified roughly 120 individuals enslaved by Columbia affiliates either by their name, or at least a specific archival reference to an individual, although this is a significant undercount as well. So Columbia affiliates probably enslaved hundreds of people, both kind of before, during, and after their direct affiliation with the College. But you can see just how hard it is to pick out some of these people. You might have a historic record that just mentioned someone in passing. It doesn't mention their race, it doesn't mention their age, anything about them, maybe not even say that they're actively enslaved.

And so you have to really piece together, just to know that this person existed, and then the ultimate goal is to kind of put together the arc of these people's lives as much as possible to serve as really a public resource.

And if you go to the next slide I've also been looking at how earlier King's College and Columbia affiliates were involved in directly in slaving. So King's College trustees were involved in at least 81 different sleeping voyages (again likely a undercount) between 1717 and 1774. And the vast majority of these actually occurred between 1725 and 1740 which is before Kings College is founded. But if you make money in international commerce, including slaving and then suddenly you're a trustee of a college and you give money there's a pretty direct line between these two things.

So at least 13 trustees were directly involved in slaving ventures that carried almost 1000 people from either Africa or the Caribbean to New York and of these 1000 people over 100 people died in the brutality of the middle passage. And so, although the majority of these voyages were smaller sleeping ventures to the Caribbean, where these merchants might buy a variety of goods and include three or four enslaved people to round out their cargoes. A few trips actually went directly to West Africa, and these could bring back much larger numbers of enslaved people in some cases over 100.

So in 1750, the Hawk which was co owned by future trustee John Watts, carried 149 enslaved people from modern day Gabon and 23 of them died en route. The same year, the Revenge, which was co-owned by King's Trustee John Kruvos (?) carried 172 enslaved people from Sierra Leone, of which 22 died.

And just this is like a very good to to trace the arc of the history, both before King's College is founded and then really see the reverberations of slaving, slave ownership, and later, even after slavery is formerly made illegal in New York, there's these continuing ties to the South, to Cuba, to slavery and racism, where you can draw this very, very direct line from slaving ventures in the 18th century to enslavement in the late 18th early 19 slavery, to a rise of scientific racism, segregation and ongoing racism and so that is the end of my contribution.

And up next is Thai Jones.

Thai Jones: Thank you so much Josh I'm just looking at your slide I'm noticing the Kruger family. Henry Kruger, Samuel Bard's son marries into the Kruger family and Samuel Bard's wife - her name was Mary, who is his cousin Mary Bard. So I'm seeing the Krugers have a ship named Mary and I'm wondering if that's actually named for their mother, Mary Bard.

Joshua Morrison: The amount of energy it would take to figure --there's about 300 ships named Mary.

Thai Jones: that's true, and since I'll be making the last presentation here I'll just pause and just urge people to submit their questions to the Q and A.

We will definitely have time to field questions as best we can. So Samuel Bard lived from 1742 till 1821. He entered King's College Something of a prodigy at the age of 14. His father John Bard has been a prominent physician in New York City. And Samuel Bard follow in his professional footsteps. He served as the first professor of medicine at Queens College. He helped found the Columbia Medical School and also the New York hospital.

He was a Loyalist his whole family were Loyalists during the Revolution, meaning that their sympathies war with Great Britain and not with the colonists, but after the Revolution, he settled into life in the independent republic and actually acted as physician to George Washington when George Washington was President in New York City Alexander Hamilton and other prominent figures of the new Republic, he was a major King's College figure and Columbia figure and served as dean and trustee for decades.

Everyone here knows this, but the seminal Bard's name was on the medical schools residence Hall for 90 years until 2020 when protest by faculty and students led to the removal of his name from the building and it's worth pausing, I think, to remind ourselves that in 1930 when this name went on this building almost all of the buildings on Columbia campuses were named after 18th century figures. On the Morningside campus there was John Jay, Alexander Hamilton, James Kent, and others. There was a building named after Samuel Johnson, which has since been renamed, a building named after the Livingstons that has also been renamed so every single one of those buildings was named for slave owners.

And as we think about that, in a sense it was it was an obvious choice for them at that time, to name the medical Center after their most prominent 18th century physician and you might think that they didn't have questions of racism and slavery on their mind when they made that choice.

But I actually came across this depiction of a mural which is on the post office in Hyde Park, which is the Community in Duchess county upstate where the Bard's had their country plantation and right around the time that Bard's name went on to the building, New Deal era muralists depicted this completely imaginary scene of Dr. Bard giving first aid to an African American man and his wife, in the middle of a barn fire an agricultural fire.

So it's not that questions of race didn't come up or that people weren't thinking about that, but in fact Samuel Bard's history was being rewritten in that moment to remember him as an advocate of African American rights and racial equality to some degree.

So this is a really fanciful depiction but it's interesting to note that it happens right around the time that that building is taking seminal Bard's name. In fact, when you go into the historical sources, we have shown and seen that Samuel Bard and his father John Bard were major enslavers in New York colony and New York State.

This runaway slave ad from July 8, 1776 so we'll pause for a second and consider the historical irony here that this is just a few days after the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

This runaway slave ad which was discovered by one of the students, an undergraduate student named Jordan Brewington in the Columbia and slavery class, was placed by Samuel Bard in the newspapers of New York advertising for a man named James one of his enslaved people who had run away and Bard is offering 10 hours reward to have them returned, so I think that when the building them came down this was the only confirmed document that we had about the Bards as enslavers, although Craig Wilder had done some research about the Bard family, so we knew a little bit more so I've been able to do some research, this is all still pretty preliminary.

But I'll walk you through a couple other sources. There is a lease agreement from 1765 that is up at Barnard College and their archives. And in this agreement which was signed, right at the time when Samuel Bard was traveling to Edinburgh to pursue his medical education. His father leased his plantation in Hyde Park to an overseer for 200 English pounds and in the fine print here.

In the contract is included the use of one negro woman in Jamaica, and then the girl boy and Cuffy and a girl named Prida. And the contract further says that "in case any of them should die a proportional allowance made in the rent for that deficiency of such negro/s service."

Or the settlers, just last year will be supplied as a servant of equal value so part of the package at the Barnes we're offering this farmer was the use of their enslaved people for the term of this contract and actually a few years later this this person Cuffy Bard who is described in the 1760s as a boy.

An oral history that his mother would give decades later tells us that Cuffy grew up and served as a fife player in the Continental army during the American Revolution and saw action at the Battle of Princeton. So the Bards were Loyalists favoring the British in the war, so this, I think we can interpret as an act of rebellion against his enslavers.

Through census records which began in 1790, only after independence, we can see that John Bard reported the presence of foreign slave people in his household. Samuel Bard reported 3 10 years later. Samuel Bard claims seven people in an 1810 census, at which point gradual emancipation was approaching he's still claimed ownership in a people, so they were consistent enslavers throughout this period and I believe it's likely, this is something even undercount it's interesting that neither of their wills actually mentioned enslaved people in their wills.

But we have this direct evidence of this level of slave ownership. Like many of his peers, especially connected to Columbia, Bard had a complicated relationship to slavery. So, while he was a major enslaver, he also signed a petition, which was drafted by John Jay in 1786, which requested that the legislature forbid exportation of enslaved people from New York State. So he was active in a certain type of moderate anti-slavery politics.

But his most famous published document is a treatise on midwifery and childbirth, in which he does repeat some highly dubious racial theories about birth and the inheritance of different supposedly racial traits. He repeats them with some skepticism it should be said.

One thing to note that we can discuss whether this is, how you think about evidence like this, but you know Bard's book on midwifery was widely read in the south among plantation owners who were extremely eager to have as many healthy childbirths as possible among their enslaved people. And so Bard did provide knowledge to enslavers across the country for decades on how to promote healthy birth, sometimes among enslaved people.

He also really did live the life of a gentleman farmer, so one of his other books is a treatise on the raising of merino sheep, and like many gentlemen of science in the 18th century, the presence of enslaved labor in the promotion and preservation of his agricultural pursuits those completely unmentioned so he is certainly co-opting and claiming credit for work being done by expert farmers and animal raisers who were in his ownership at that time. As we think about where he ranks among enslavers I there's there's certainly plenty more evidence to be found, but there is there a few suggestive quotes that that I've discovered.

His great grandson wrote in a memoir all of my ancestors had held slaves. There were a number of Negroes owned by the family. They cut wood and kept a farm and did the out of doors work. So the numbers of enslaved people in the censuses are really are the domestic slaves in New York City, and I really don't think we know exactly how many enslaved people were held on the upstate plantations.

In the second quote the Bards are listed among the largest slave owners in Dutchess County. And, as I mentioned, although his will does not acknowledge ownership of enslaved people, his family was linked by marriage with the most important flavor and families, including the Krugers and the Livingstons who also had close ties to King's College and Columbia.

In terms of questions to pursue, there are surviving lectures that Bard gave and I think it would be really important moving forward to learn more about how racist ideology fit into his medical practice and his teaching and that's something that we haven't pursued yet.

So these are the names that we've come across so far of the people, enslaved by the Bard family: Jamaica, Cuffy, Prida, Caesar, James, Jenny, Betsy, Pompey and then most interesting perhaps, a man named Richard Jenkins.

The Bards were founders of a church in Hyde Park New York and the other really famous member of this church was Franklin Roosevelt. So if you go to this church, there's three plaques on the wall; one is John Bard, one is Samuel Bard, and the third is FDR, but there's also this marker outside about Richard Jenkins, who was enslaved by Samuel Bard and then after emancipation in the 1820s.

Richard Jenkins server for decades as the rector of the Church in upstate New York and he became an extremely respected and prominent figure in the African American Community around Poughkeepsie here's a photo of him.

And we have been able to trace his descendants well into the 20th century, although we haven't been able to find actual living descendants of Richard Jenkins, but that's certainly one of our research priorities.

So that's my presentation, I will stop my sharing and now we turn our cameras, perhaps we can generate some questions of our own. As far as I can see it we're still waiting for questions from the audience.

Perhaps the interface is not working.

Anne L. Taylor: Thank you very much, there aren't any questions in the Q and A function but amongst the three of you did you have questions or items that you think would supplement the content of the talks this afternoon?

Joshua Morrison: Well, one thing I found interesting on Thai's work, which I guess I've seen before, but you just brought it to mind is is owning -- it's very interesting because from the census records of Samuel Bard you see a gradual increase in slave ownership from 1790 to 1820 from like three to four to seven or eight or something like that and that's very atypical.

A lot of people, the, the number of enslaved people in New York, as a gradual emancipation law went into effect from 1798- 1827-- It dropped pretty quickly, especially starting around 1810 1820. So you see Samuel Bard really buying into slavery, as other people are beginning to sell enslaved people or enslaved people are beginning to negotiate the possibility of their freedom. And stuff like that so that's just an interesting mentality, there where there is this off ramp dislike of slavery that is occurring, and yet you see Samuel part going in the opposite direction from most people.

Anne L. Taylor: Other comments on that point.

Craig Wilder: Um, if I can.

Anne L. Taylor: Oh yes, please.

Craig Wilder: Sorry, I was just going to say you know Thai the last time I think I visited your class we actually had a discussion related to this, which is the problem of acknowledging the presence of enslaved people. Not just on campus or in the lives of faculty and administrators, but as actually contributors to the scientific research project itself. You know, and it looks like your work is starting to actually touch on that area, which I think is really exciting yeah we've been. We struggled with this at MIT because the founder of MIT, William Barton Rogers, it's very

clear that he had an enslaved man named Levi in Virginia. He taught at William and Mary and the University of Virginia, who for much of his career, he actually used for his field work. And Levi not only contributed to his field work, but he actually stood in for William Barton Rogers when Rogers was absent. You know it's it kind of stunning – he had a stunning presence.

And even at William Martin Rogers's eulogy one of his eulogists goes on to point out and he's saying it in a somewhat joking way, but we took him seriously, the students decided to take him quite seriously. And he jokes that Levi, was one of the founding members of the small community of people who established geology in the United States.

And what he meant by that was Levi's sort of you know, really quite outsized presence in will important Rogers research life, and I think it's one of the more exciting things that's happening in a lot of these projects now we're actually looking at the very production of knowledge and the question of, how do you acknowledge the presence of enslaved people in what is the defining project of the College in the university?

Anne L. Taylor: Thank you very much. There is a question in our QA function, which is, what are the next.steps for the Task Force on Symbols and Representation in terms of removal of names from slaveholders from buildings and making our history more inclusive. Thai? Right, you can answer that.

Thai Jones: Certainly some people here will know that we have a pilot project that we are working on now that will involve placing historical markers on several of the residence halls around campus, including the former Bard hall. You know the Columbia story involves names that are not household names, or if they are, such as Alexander Hamilton, their relationship to enslavement is not central to how they're known so almost every building on Columbia's campus has a story behind it, that I think requires critical discussion there's actually basically no place where people can learn these histories to begin that conversation. So we are beginning from a pretty modest place, but one that is, I think, pretty true to our mission as a university and my position in the library, which is to provide as much historical context, as we can, about the names of the people who are on these buildings and the context by which they were put on the buildings in the early 20th century. So we will be installing historical markers on four residence halls in the fall and then, after that every relevant building on campus will have a historical research and report in a marker that can be accessed on site and online and at that point we will hand it off to the broader community to do what they will with that information and if it sparks outrage that would be great. If it sparks conversations I think that would be fantastic, but the first step is that we need to make sure that people have access to this information.

Anne L. Taylor: I think about filling in the full history, not having hidden history and acknowledging all of our historical roots. There is a question from an attendee begins Thank you so much for all this research and a call this afternoon. Some research by Professor Rachel Swarns at NYU this pointed to other schools with particular and similar histories and their efforts to connect with the descendant of enslaved people, especially those who built or worked in the school or was sold to settle university debts.

Has this project studied the presence of slave labor at the university as well and have there been discussions around contacting descendants?

Joshua Morrison: So I can take this to start and the thing with Columbia, it just has a complicated history because of its position in New York, so I I've done some research at the University of Virginia, which has had one campus it was in a kind of slave society right next to Thomas Jefferson's Monticello and surrounded by plantations.

And so, at University of Virginia, we -- the institution actually only directly enslaved one person, but you have the records of the professors living on campus who enslave people, you have records of the families that are running boarding houses enslaving people, and so you have really clear records of -- here's enslaved people who are on the campus who are kind of laboring for the benefit of professors, who are cleaning the lecture rooms, who are lighting the fires, who are washing the floor, doing laundry, and almost everything else.

At Columbia it's a bit different in part because the campus has actually moved three times kind of across New York, which makes tracking kind of these longer history is a little harder. So Thai's talking about putting markers on buildings, but this campus was founded in the late -- the Morningside campus was founded in 1898, I believe, and so the physical kind of buildings or manifestations during slavery are not present on land that Columbia currently owns um.

So I've been looking very hard to try to find records of individual enslaved people kind of as directly tied to the institution as possible. And what I've mostly come up with in my initial efforts has been trying to trying to get a complete understanding of all the white affiliates of King's College and Columbia and then from there, trying to trace whether they enslaved people or not.

And so that can look like very different things. For most of Columbia's history, it was not a residential school. It was kind of right at the very beginning and then again in the 20th century, but there's a big kind of like hundred year gap where most of the students actually live at home.

So perhaps their family own enslaved labor and is doing labor for them, but then they're going to the college during the day.The thing I found most frustrating is in the very early -- the first campus, so this is during the late 1700s when slavery is very present, we know some of the professors are enslaved people. We know some of the presidents enslaved people and they're living at least most of this time and this one college building that off the top my head I'm pretty sure has kind of rooms for like storage rooms or rooms for kitchens and kind of the service-esque areas, so we know that we know the people enslaved people, we know that someone is there during the work, but I have yet to find that like one clear document that says, experts and is enslaved by this person who was on campus so basically it's very hard, and you can you can make very logical, logical jumps that enslave people were almost certainly employed on the campus in some extent, but we're very likely mixed in with white servants white laborers free black laborers at the same time, and so this is -- the next step is to really flesh this

out as much as possible and to end to find that kind of smoking gun, if possible, and Thai do you want to take the sentence question.

Thai Jones: Sure, I mean having said all of those difficulties that Josh listed, this is certainly a top research priority for us to connect with descendants - direct descendants of people enslaved by Columbians. But at the same time, I think we can also take a broader view and you don't have to dig into the archives to find descendant communities, neighboring communities that have been impacted by Columbia's presence in in New York, and so the question of descendants is partially an archival question and also partially a question of how you want to think about who's been impacted by Columbia over the years and and certainly one of the top priorities of the Columbia and Slavery Project, and what we hope will differentiate it from some other institutions is an emphasis on community partnership and on outreach and you know we've been hindered because of the pandemic from doing that as much as we'd like, but it remains you know our really our highest goal for the project is to take this work out of the classroom. It has really been a teaching and learning project so far and begin to create really authentic partnerships with neighboring communities.

Anne L. Taylor: Thanks very much I think we have room, probably for just one more quick question exactly. Very interesting observation. Can you say more about the development of the state law banning the sale of slaves outside of New York, this was the basis of Sojourner Truth’s successful lawsuit against her enslaver in the 1820s for selling her son to Alabama. Apparently the Ulster County Courthouse ordered the slave owner to retrieve her son or paper a $500 fine. Can anyone comment on that?

Joshua Morrison: I can give a broad comment, this is like I’m back in my Master's exams. So New York was kind of -- after the American Revolution there's this upwelling of anti-slavery sentiment in New York. It’s still fairly limited; it's led by free black communities, formerly enslaved people, also some white anti-slavery radicals, and a few moderates as well. And so there's first New York bans the international slave trade, I believe in the 1780s or early 1790s and then eventually there's this gradual emancipation law in 1798 although it's extremely gradual so when it signed it actually doesn't free anyone and people could theoretically still be enslaved for decades. But you do see kind of this slow relatively conservative march towards limiting and eventually ending slavery in New York, and so I would heavily think that this law, probably was passed in the early 1800s, 1810s as it becomes clear that New York is setting an end date for slavery, that slavery is going to be made illegal in 1827; everyone in New York, should be freed at that point. So that you can't just simply export all enslaved people, sell it for a profit down to South Carolina, down to Louisiana so that people are actually. Like actual enslaved people are going to be freed because of this law, so I would heavily think it's kind of in this trajectory of this kind of slow movement against slavery in New York, that of course is not nearly fast enough if you're enslaved, but that is showing kind of a clear, a clear building towards the end point in 1827.

Anne L. Taylor: Thanks very much any comment from our other panelists? We're beyond our time at the moment, but I think we could take like another comment or two from either you, Thai or Professor Wilder.
Thai Jones: I'd love to give Craig last word. I have nothing to add to these experts. These are the experts.

Craig Wilder: I think the just the 1817 -- under Daniel Tompkins a modification is important there too, because I think that's the one that puts the final date on slavery New York state the 1827 date, but I was, I was just going to add for Sojourner Truth, the -- for the person who asked the question, to also that the audience should remember Sojourner Truth's close ties to the American University. She's enslaved in Ulster County and for part of her life to the Hardenberg family on old Hardenberg grant. And that's the family that plays a key role in the establishment of Queens College, which is now Rutgers University. And so Ulster county actually you know plays assignment sort of outsized role in the history of higher education in New York, because it's both migrants out of Ulster County and families from Ulster County who helped to establish some of the downstate colleges and New Jersey colleges, but they also then play a role upstate in establishing some of the early academies and first colleges there, and again with close ties to the slave economy and Sojourner Truth's story winds right through their family history.

Anne L. Taylor: Thank you very much. I think we're past our time; I want to thank our panelists for both sharing their hard work and helping us to understand the context of our institution. We look forward to further reporting on this project, and we do look forward to as the project of renaming and rethinking and re contextualizing our history progresses again consulting with our Community and our Columbia affiliates. Take care everyone.

Craig Wilder: Thank you all.