

PRINCETONIAN
PUZZLE

ECONOMICS AND
CLIMATE CHANGE

ENDOWMENT
RESULTS

PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

Princeton and Slavery

Reckoning with
the University's past

NOVEMBER 8, 2017
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Occidental Petroleum	OXY	3.96%
Kinder Morgan	KMI	3.25%
Phillips 66	PSX	3.22%
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PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

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magazine by alumni for alumni
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Inventory of the estate of John Maclean Sr. The last two entries are slaves. Page 24

Inventory of the estate of John Maclean Sr. The last two entries are slaves. Page 24	3/21/80	Amount brought up	\$3161.14
Chest of drawers	39.55	bedstead	25.00
Table	20.00	articles of kitchen furniture	20.00
Chair	20.00	3 Pairs common andirons	5.00
Cupboard	20.00	Sundry articles of household apparel	50.00
Dish	20.00	Chairs 6 each	2.00
Plate	20.00	a Trunk containing curtains	10.00
Glass	20.00	do. containing sundry articles	20.00
Bottle	20.00	a Box containing curtains	20.00
Jar	20.00	Side Board	20.00
Can	20.00	Sundry articles at J. John Vanhook	16.00
Pail	20.00	Sundry items at Ralph Sanborn	5.00
Bowl	20.00	Table	10.00
Spoon	20.00	Bedstead	1.00
Fork	20.00	Book case	10.00
Knife	20.00	Wagon and lot	175.00
Pitcher	20.00	Wagon Boy Charles Haver out with	
Kettle	20.00	to John Vanhook for 6 years then	75.00
Pots	20.00	to return to the family	\$3565.14
Pans	20.00		
Tray	20.00		
Dishcloth	20.00		
Towel	20.00		
Handkerchief	20.00		
Linen	20.00		
Clothing	20.00		
Shoes	20.00		
Hats	20.00		
Gloves	20.00		
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Access, Affordability, and Saying “Yes!”

Popular debates about higher education often focus on affordability and value. Are students running up too much debt as they earn degrees? And do their degrees enable them to succeed after they graduate?

Thanks to the generosity of our alumni, Princeton has a terrific story to tell about both affordability and value. In 2001, Princeton pioneered an all-grant, no-loan financial aid program that has made us one of the most affordable places in the country to attend college.

The numbers are extraordinary and bear repeating: 60 percent of today's student body qualifies for financial aid. For those on aid, the average grant covers 100 percent of the tuition price. As a result, more than 80 percent of recent Princeton seniors graduated with zero debt. For the roughly 16 percent who borrow to support a summer experience or other option, the median debt at graduation is less than \$6,000.

Whether students are on financial aid or not, the return on investment from a Princeton education is outstanding. Indeed, *Money Magazine*, which performs a sophisticated analysis of educational outcomes and alumni success, this year ranked Princeton as the top value-for-money in American higher education. Any set of ratings should be taken with a grain (or shaker) of salt, but I cannot resist mentioning that only one other Ivy League university made the top 10: Harvard, which came in 10th.

At Princeton and its Ivy-plus peers, the problem today is not affordability or value. The problem is scarcity. As anyone who has gone through the admission process recently—or watched a child go through it—knows, there are simply not enough places to accommodate all the talented students who would benefit from a first-rate education.

Last year, Princeton turned down nearly 94 percent of the students who applied—more than 29,000 individuals. The vast majority of these applicants were superb, and many of them would have flourished here.

I love the students on our campus. They are splendid and inspiring young people. But I know that we are turning down many more students whom I would be thrilled to have at Princeton.

That is why I am so pleased by the trustees' decision to authorize fundraising to support increasing the size of the entering class by 125 students. This 10 percent increase—the same expansion we undertook when we built Whitman College a decade ago—would allow us to accept more students from all backgrounds. It would enable us, for example, to continue increasing the socioeconomic diversity of our student body, while also adding to the wide variety of other students, including highly qualified alumni children, who contribute so substantially to Princeton today.

When I talk with alumni about expansion, most share my enthusiasm: they want more students to have the transformative experience that meant so much to them. They also want to be assured, however, that Princeton maintains its distinctive sense of community. How big can Princeton get, they ask, before it ceases to be Princeton?

I share that love of Princeton's unique character, and I expect there is a limit, somewhere, beyond which Princeton

should not grow. I am confident, however, that we can add 125 students per class without getting anywhere close to that limit. Our last expansion proved that, if we grow carefully, we can maintain and even strengthen the bonds that tie Princetonians together. I see that strength vividly in our youngest and largest classes, whose vibrant connections to one another and this place have them “clearing the tracks” to return to Reunions in numbers that are awesome even by the standards of Old Nassau.



Denise Applewhite

Study breaks build community at Whitman College, which was completed in 2007 during the University's last expansion.

A new residential college will be essential to our next expansion, as it was to our last one. I hope we will be able to construct two new residential colleges rather than only one. By building two, we would not only provide the beds needed to house additional students, but also enable the University to take some existing housing offline for renovation. In addition, the new colleges would give us opportunities to consider arrangements and innovations that would further improve the Princeton experience.

The most likely site for the new colleges would be south of Poe and Pardee fields—a choice that would, as happened with Whitman College, require us to relocate athletic facilities that currently support outdoor tennis, softball, and soccer. We hope these new facilities will benefit from enhancements that would be difficult to achieve in their current locations.

As I contemplate Princeton's next expansion, I am often reminded that growth is itself one of the traditions that define and enliven our alma mater. In our early days, when we were the College of New Jersey, my predecessor John Witherspoon, his student James Madison, and the entire college were collected together in Nassau Hall. We have grown with the country and the world ever since, creating a beautiful, cherished campus while preserving a genuine intimacy rare in higher education. I look forward to working with all of you to help Princeton extend to more young people the opportunities that mattered so much in our own lives, and the lives of those who preceded us.

Inbox

FROM PAW'S PAGES: 11/24/1975

PATHS TO FAIRER VOTING

To get rid of gerrymandering (feature, Oct. 4), abolish voting districts!

Gerrymandering is at the root of the domination of American politics by the extremes of Right and Left. With the real choice made by party activists in the primaries, the sensible voter in the center is left at the election without a viable choice and is in essence disenfranchised. The centrist nonpartisan majority is consistently identified in polls, but is not represented in Washington: It is politically silenced. That is undemocratic.

Even depoliticized redistricting, such as that pioneered by former Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger in California and supported by Dr. Sam Wang's models, will not cure the problem. As people of like minds tend to live in the same areas, "safe" seats will endure and party ideologues will continue to dominate the nomination process.

In this age of social media, electoral districts are obsolete. Champions of particular causes, from gay rights to balanced budgets, can and should mobilize their constituencies, wherever in a state they may live. Without districts, the two Senate candidates with the most votes and however many representatives the state is entitled to by the latest census would go to Washington in a first-past-the-post system. Simple, clear, sensible, incorruptible.

This would be true and effective democracy for America.

James Cunningham '73

Basel, Switzerland

Unfortunately, the problem is far worse than gerrymandering by itself. Even if district lines were drawn perfectly (whatever that means), 51 percent of the vote would win 100 percent of the representation. Those 49 percent wasted votes do not amount to "consent of the governed." Today's harmful winner-take-all dynamic comes rather from the fact of single-member districts — i.e., one representative per geographic district. A better solution is to combine together single-member districts into larger multi-winner districts as would be enacted by the newly introduced bill H.R. 3057. Gerrymandering would simply go away, as would most of the problematic district lines. A timely read is nonpartisan FairVote.org's *amicus* brief for the Supreme Court regarding the current case on gerrymandering: <http://bit.ly/fairvotebrief>.

Clark Cohen '86

(comment via Facebook)

Washington, D.C.

IMMIGRATION QUESTIONS

I was dismayed — but not overly surprised — to read the "official" position taken by President Eisgruber '83 and 170 faculty members et al. regarding DACA students and the University's efforts to provide them sanctuary (On the Campus, Oct. 4).

Granted, the DACA situation is an enormous political and social dilemma, and the numbers are staggering: estimates of 800,000 "children" as an inclusive subset of an estimated 11

The First No-Hitter

As a footnote to "America at Play" (PAW, October 6), your readers might be interested in this excerpt from Ira L. Smith and H. Allen Smith's excellent book *Low and Inside*:

"The first no-hit game on record (says our research department) was slung at New Haven, Connecticut, by a young man named Joseph McElroy Mann, pitching for Princeton University against Yale. The date: May 29, 1875.

"Inasmuch as there had been nothing in the nature of a no-hitter up to then, the newspaper took little cognizance of the Mann performance—please remember that the man who ate that first oyster didn't get his name in the papers. A complete report of that New Haven game, as it appeared in the New York *Mercury*, occupied one paragraph, which follows:

"The game between the Princeton and Yale clubs in New Haven yesterday was one of the finest of the season. Mr. Mann's pitching for the Princeton nine was so effective that the Yales did not make a single base hit. The Princetons won by a score of 8 to 0. Woods and Duffield of the Princetons particularly distinguished themselves, the latter taking several beautiful flies after hard runs."

A. GILMORE FLUES '26
Washington, D.C.

million-plus undocumented immigrants currently residing in the United States. These figures beg the question: What kind of country cannot effectively control its national borders?

Perhaps I am overly sensitive to the matter because I am married (53 years and counting!) to a legal immigrant whom, coincidentally and with everlasting appreciation, I first met when I was an undergraduate at Princeton. Current immigration laws *are* workable, and simply need to be fully enforced.

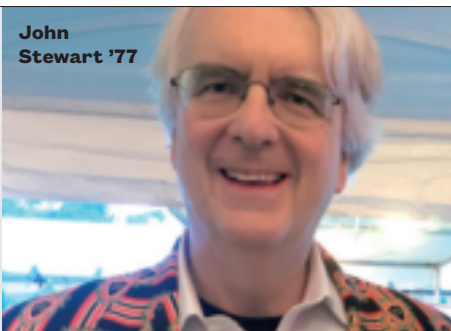
The article does not state how many DACA students are currently enrolled. Princeton, as a privately operated and funded university, has every right to fill an entire class with foreign students of any status if it so chooses. The real issue arises when the many state, taxpayer-funded higher-ed institutions give preference to DACA "Dreamers" and other illegals (via relaxed admission standards, reduced/waived tuition, etc.) at the expense of U.S. citizens/taxpayers whose qualified children are otherwise denied entry. In my view, this is very

PAW TRACKS



A COLLEGIAL RETREAT: John Stewart '77's memories of campus include the friendships he made at Princeton Inn College (now Forbes). "At the time it seemed quite isolated from the rest of the University," he says. "When you got back there you sort of stayed put." [Listen to his story at paw.princeton.edu](http://paw.princeton.edu).

John Stewart '77



PRINCETON ALUMNI WEEKLY

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alumni for alumni since 1900

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Inbox

poor and misguided public policy.

The PAW article's final sentence is the most cogent, reporting the University's statement that immigration lawyers "have indicated that the concept of a 'sanctuary campus' has no basis in law, and that colleges and universities have no authority to exempt any part of their campuses from the nation's immigration laws."

Bruce Elliot '62

La Conner, Wash.

Editor's note: An expanded version of this letter can be found at PAW Online.

NATURAL EDIBLES

While I admire Alan Muskat '90 for his resourcefulness and his desire to experience the world around him (Princetonians, Sept. 13), his final quote in the article strikes me as quite silly and idealistic. While there is currently no "battleground for limited resources" among foragers, what does he think would happen if we stopped farming and ranching and everyone turned to foraging? Does he really think there is enough out there to sustain the enormous number of people we have living on this planet? I recommend he read *Sapiens*, by Yuval Noah Harari.

Kari Kohl '92

White Plains, N.Y.

Re "Five Common Wild Edibles" (Princetonians, Sept. 13): All acorns are not alike, but the acorns from red and black oak, among the most common, have tannin levels that will prevent most people from having a good experience. Leach them thoroughly in boiling water and you have a chance, but not otherwise. And dandelion greens are best by far in the early spring. By the time they blossom, they will be too bitter to enjoy.

Christopher L. Webber '53

San Francisco, Calif.

PROTECTING FREE SPEECH

I can't help but comment on Marie McDaniel '01's suggested limitation of free speech at Princeton, particularly speech coming from "odious speakers" (Inbox, Sept. 13). That suggestion invites the unavoidable question of who decides

what is odious, and how. To highlight the point, consider that many people believe the very notion of limiting free speech to be odious. Should they have an ability to censor Ms. McDaniel's letter to PAW?

I'm on the side of Madison, Jefferson, Washington — and Eisgruber — in protecting free speech, aspiring to a Princeton that constructively airs differences rather than censoring, suppressing, or prohibiting them. After all, inevitable human differences don't magically disappear with suppression or avoidance; they fester, ferment, and boil over in unhealthy ways.

Instead of limiting free speech, perhaps we should expand the practice of respectfully listening and processing differing views.

Bill Sawch '76

Weston, Conn.

TARGETING ILLITERACY

It is clear from the haughty piece by John Weeren (That Was Then, Oct. 4) why Johnny can't write. The example of illiteracy offered in the quote from John Davies '41 is in itself illiterate! "... a surprisingly large proportion of each class are what might be called 'demi-literate'" Please: Proportion is singular. Get it?

George R. Packard '54

(English major)

Washington, D.C.

CONTROVERSIAL CLAIMS

In his Sept. 13 President's Page on "Petitions, Divestment, and the Freedom to Think Otherwise," President Eisgruber declares a reticence toward making "political statements" while making many.

Believing that \$22 billion should be invested to maximize returns and be insulated from moral and ethical scrutiny is a controversial claim. So, too, is asserting that its use should be determined by past donors and not current students — a claim that seems increasingly radical as we learn more about the sordid histories of where elite universities' wealth originated. It is equally polemical to define the University's "central ... values[s]" such that climate change, gun violence, and

mass incarceration do not constitute a “direct and serious violation” of them.

In the annals of the increasingly bizarre ways that “free speech” is being used to cudgel student activists on university campuses, Eisgruber’s claim that divestment would silence “vigorous high-quality debate” stands out. Insofar as he fears that being asked to commit Princeton not to profit from private prisons, for example, would “stifle argument” about criminal-justice policy, he himself seems like quite the snowflake.

Alex V. Barnard '09
Flagstaff, Ariz.

TELLING A WARTIME STORY

Re “At Home and at War” (PAW Tracks podcast, posted online Sept. 28): I am the interviewee in this story. Many thanks to PAW and especially to Brett Tomlinson, who beautifully executed the story. You gave this old alum (me) a little morale boost and hopefully led a few more people to the Wilber Bradt story. Many, many thanks again.

Hale Bradt '52
Salem, Mass.

FOR THE RECORD

The Class of 2021 included 336 B.S.E. students or 25.7 percent of the class at the start of the fall term; 42 percent of the B.S.E. group are women. Figures reported in the Sept. 13 issue were based on information at the time students accepted offers of admission.

WE'D LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU

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FROM THE EDITOR

Untold Stories

You may have walked past it without ever noticing: a large marble sculpture of Joseph Henry — a Princeton professor from 1832 to 1846 and one of the most important scientists of his time — tucked into a niche on the exterior of Frist Campus Center, just to the right of the main entrance. Henry looks like a man of action, wearing an academic gown and a look of determination as he takes a step, perhaps on his way to an important experiment. The work was created by Daniel Chester French, a renowned American sculptor who also designed the statue of Abraham Lincoln in the Lincoln Memorial. The artist was known for commemorating important people and ideas, so Henry was a natural subject.

You will not find a sculpture of the man who helped Henry execute the experiments that increased his renown: Sam Parker. Parker was a free black man and Henry’s lab assistant, his work so crucial that when he became ill for a short time in 1842, Henry’s experiments stopped.

I’d never heard of Parker until I read the essay by graduate student Julia Grummitt, one of about three dozen contributors to the Princeton & Slavery Project led by history professor Martha Sandweiss. Grummitt’s piece, beginning on page 41, is among more than 80 essays posted on the project website, <https://slavery.princeton.edu> — each one exploring some aspect of Princeton’s connections to the institution of slavery. (The website was to be launched Nov. 6.) This issue of PAW offers three of those essays along with other perspectives on the project.

The project developed not by Nassau Hall decree, but out of Sandweiss’ belief that this was an unacknowledged part of Princeton history that deserved to be explored. Over the last four years, the project has grown from a seminar taught by Sandweiss to an effort embracing multiple University departments and community partners. University archivist Dan Linke worked closely with Sandweiss and student researchers to help them find records in Mudd Library and beyond. Principal funders are the Princeton University Humanities Council; the Princeton Histories Fund, which was created in the wake of the debate over Woodrow Wilson’s legacy to explore “aspects of Princeton’s history that have been forgotten, overlooked, subordinated, or suppressed”; Friends of the Princeton University Library; and the Center for Digital Humanities @ Princeton. A symposium Nov. 17–18 will explore the project’s findings; President Eisgruber ’83 will moderate a conversation on how the project “changes our understanding of American history and poses a challenge to historical commemoration.”

The process of rethinking commemoration has already begun. Joining the Joseph Henry sculpture on campus will be a new work by American artist Titus Kaphar, commissioned by the art museum, to be installed in front of Maclean House Nov. 8–Dec. 17. This 8-foot-high mixed-media work, *Impressions of Liberty*, shows layered portraits of Samuel Finley, fifth president of Princeton, and a family that lived and worked in his home — as slaves. — *Marilyn H. Marks '86*

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News from the Alumni Association

aluminary

Derrick Raphael '06
President
Association of Black
Princeton Alumni (ABPA)



c. 2017



c. 2006

To learn the many ways to stay connected to Princeton, contact the Office of Alumni Affairs at 609-258-1900 or alumni.princeton.edu

Derrick Raphael was a junior at Pine Forest High School in Fayetteville, NC, when he first learned about the ReachOut56 Fellowships. This signature program, founded by the Class of 1956, awards grants to students to create a position at and then work with a public service organization. Derrick was determined to get into Princeton and to win one of those Fellowships. He succeeded at both. Following graduation, he worked with the Cumberland County School System to create a comprehensive college preparation program to support socio-economically disadvantaged youth, with an emphasis on those who were often the first in their families to go through the college placement process. In addition to creating the Fayetteville-Youth Education Program, in which 40 students enrolled, Derrick gave presentations to over 500 students throughout the county.

Derrick has been in the education management sector since being awarded his fellowship, from college counseling at a Bronx high school to focusing on education law and policy while at Duke University School of Law. Now living in Toronto, he is the founder and CEO of the Global Trailblazers of Today (GTT), an education management company working with students from around the world.

Derrick's involvement with the Association of Black Princeton Alumni (ABPA) has equally deep roots. He became aware of the ABPA while still a student. Shortly after receiving his law degree from Duke, Derrick joined the ABPA board and began serving as Secretary in 2014. Since July 1, 2017, Derrick has been the President of the ABPA. He notes that he is "learning on the job," consulting with past ABPA leaders and enjoying his work with the leadership of other Princeton alumni affiliated groups. He is looking forward to recruiting new board members and to further strengthening ties with both undergraduate and graduate students as well as all black alumni.

Derrick's thoughts as the leader of the ABPA: "It is a great group – and it's easy to do well when my colleagues are so good!"



Alumni Day

Save the Date
February 24, 2018

Please save the date, February 24, 2018, for Princeton's annual Alumni Day celebration.

- Reconnect with friends, fellow alumni and Princeton families
- Hear from the recipients of the Woodrow Wilson Award and the James Madison Medal
- Attend the Service of Remembrance
- Listen to lectures, and so much more

The Princeton Prize in Race Relations recognizes and rewards high school students who help improve race relations within their schools or communities through their volunteer efforts.



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Jennifer Daniels '93
President,
Alumni Association of
Princeton University
Chair, Alumni Council

Dear Fellow Alumni,

One of the great privileges that come with being the President of the Alumni Association is the opportunity to address the new freshman class at its opening meeting in McCarter Theater in September. As I helped to welcome the Class of 2021, the newest members of our Tiger family, the occasion inevitably brought to mind both how our Princeton traditions, old and new, connect one generation to the next and how alumni unite in Princeton's service in so many ways.

My address was just one strand in the already strengthening ties among the Princeton generations. From the first alumni interview to the regional associations' celebrations for admitted students, from the joyous send-offs hosted around the world to new graduate student orientation and the Freshman Step Sing on campus, Princeton's alumni volunteers have introduced some of the traditions that have taken root at Princeton and flourished through our enduring commitment to each other and our alma mater.

It is the active participation of our alumni volunteers that helps to maintain these ties across the generations and to embrace new traditions like the Pre-rade and Step Sing. These are the ways that our Princeton alumni are united in Princeton's service. Let me know the ways you want to connect with other alumni. I'd love to hear from you. Write to me at danielstigers@gmail.com.



Young alumni gather in New York City to man the phones during a Princeton Schools Committee winter telethon. PSC telethons ensure that prospective students have an interview regardless of how remote or distant their locations may be.



At its annual club picnic in August, with hearty congratulations the Princeton Club of Chicago sends off new Princetonians, undergraduate and graduate, to begin their Princeton experience. The club's Parent Committee organized this event, which welcomed more than 300 attendees.



Freshman Nico Cooper '21 joins up with Tom Meeker '56 at the conclusion of the Freshman Step Sing, co-sponsored by the Princetoniana Committee. After Tom had helped introduce some cherished traditions to the new class, the two discovered that Nico's roommate is the grandson of Tom's friend and classmate Bob Varrin '56.



The Princeton community welcomed 664 new graduate students during a two-day orientation in September. As part of the activities, John Cuniff '88, the President of the Association of Princeton Graduate Alumni, served up a taste of student life by teaching Princeton's signature cheer, the Locomotive.

Connections across the generations



On the Campus



A pair of gilded lions guards this verdant walkway that runs from Goheen Walk toward 1927-Clapp Hall. The lions, donated by the Class of 1879, were located in front of Nassau Hall and then on the steps of 1879 Hall before arriving at Wilson College in 2008.

Photograph by Ricardo Barros

A 'Solid' Year

Endowment performance rebounds; 12.5% return trails several peer schools

Princenton's endowment earned a 12.5 percent return for the year ending June 30, increasing in value by \$1.6 billion to \$23.8 billion after gifts and spending were factored in.

The results showed a clear rebound from the previous year, when the investment return was less than 1 percent and the endowment's value dropped by \$570 million.

Nevertheless, the investment performance was below average: During the last fiscal year, the average return for 450 endowments and foundations tracked by Cambridge Associates, a research and advisory organization, was 12.7 percent.

Dartmouth (14.6 percent), Penn (14.3), MIT (14.3), Columbia (13.7), Brown (13.4), and Stanford (13.1 percent) all reported higher investment returns, while Cornell's rate of return equaled Princeton's. Yale reported a return of 11.3 percent as its endowment grew to \$27.2 billion. Harvard, whose \$37.1 billion endowment is the largest of any college or university, described its 8.1 percent result as "disappointing."

Andrew Golden, president of the Princeton University Investment Co. (Princo), said Princeton's results were "solid in the absolute sense, and a little bit weaker" compared to peer schools,

Soaring stock prices "lifted our boat," said Princo president Andrew Golden, but perhaps not as much as schools more heavily invested in the public markets.

citing the University's smaller investment allocation — identified by Princo as 20 percent — in publicly traded stocks.

The U.S. stock market began a bull run after the 2016 election, in part on the expectation that the Trump administration would cut business taxes and reduce regulations. Soaring stock prices "lifted our boat," Golden said in an interview, but perhaps not as much as schools more heavily invested in the public markets. The S&P 500 rose 15.5 percent for the year ending June 30.

"We're not trying to surf the waves," he said. "We're just trying to do what makes sense over the long term." The endowment's average yearly return over the last 10 years is 7.1 percent. For the last 20 years, the University said, the endowment's average annual return is 11.6 percent.

Asset classes that proved to be big winners in the past year included emerging-market equities, which rose by 28 percent, and developed international

markets, which rose by 24 percent. Private equity was up 12 percent, and independent return — such as hedge funds that bet on specific events — was up 9 percent. Real assets, such as real estate and commodities, grew by 8 percent, while fixed-income and cash incurred a 1 percent loss.

The University's 2017–18 operating budget calls for spending about \$1.1 billion from the endowment. That will provide about 51 percent of Princeton's income for the year, up from about 48 percent last year. The University has increased the amount it is drawing from the endowment to finance priorities that emerged from its strategic-planning work.

Golden said he was generally optimistic about the future, but said the run-up in prices had made it more difficult for endowments to find cheap deals and generate meaningful returns. Many financial managers who invest on Princeton's behalf have expressed a reluctance to take on more cash, he said.

"This is probably a somewhat below-average opportunity set that we're collectively facing," Golden said, "but it's not kind of screaming 'bubble territory.'"

While management fees continue to be a target of critics, Golden said he was comfortable with the fees collected by the approximately 80 outside firms that Princo works with. The best fund managers have skills that make Princeton money "even after the fees that we pay," he said. "We believe we need to optimize fees, not minimize fees." ♦ *By Teddy Schleifer '14*

COMPARING RETURNS

Dartmouth	14.6%
Penn	14.3%
MIT	14.3%
Columbia	13.7%
Brown	13.4%
Stanford	13.1%
Princeton	12.5%
Cornell	12.5%
Yale	11.3%
Harvard	8.1%

INCREASING RELIANCE ON THE ENDOWMENT

51%

For the 2017–18 operating budget of \$2.1 billion, the University projects that the endowment will provide more than half the funding for the first time.

29%

In 1997–98, funds from the endowment made up less than a third of the University's \$550 million operating budget.



William Pugh '20 and Kadence Mitchell '20, founders and co-hosts of "Woke Wednesdays," in the Lewis Library broadcast studio

STUDENT PODCAST BUILDS AN AUDIENCE

Inviting Differing Viewpoints to the Table

What's a "microaggression"? Is there a distinction between the terms "African American" and "black"? What does it mean to be a black student or scholar at an Ivy League institution? Kadence Mitchell '20 and William Pugh '20 are trying to answer these questions and spark discussion within the University community with their new podcast, "Woke Wednesdays."

After the 2016 presidential election, Pugh and Mitchell came up with the idea for a podcast that would allow students to share their opinions on issues

relating to race, social justice, gender, and sexuality. Along with their friends Nathan Poland '20, Micaela Keller '20, and Matt Oakland '20, they recorded the first episode in Pugh's dorm room in January using a \$40 microphone. By the end of the spring semester, they had upgraded to a professional sound studio in Lewis Library, produced seven episodes, increased their audience from 20 listeners to more than 500, and won the Santos-Dumont Prize for Innovation from the Office of the Dean of Undergraduate Students.

In the podcast, students discuss topics that wouldn't necessarily come up in the classroom or dining hall with friends, and Pugh said he hopes that "Woke Wednesdays" will serve as a springboard for people to start conversations with others who may hold views that are different than their own.

"To me, being 'woke' is being socially aware, being willing to challenge others but also challenge yourself, and being introspective in that regard," Pugh said. "It's about sharing your truth, but also realizing that there is a lot to learn from the people around you."

Over the summer, "Woke Wednesdays" more than doubled its staff, assembling a team of nine freshmen and sophomores to help with planning, producing, and marketing the podcast. For the second season, which was to debut Nov. 1, Pugh said the team plans to cover topics such as the recent pregame protests by NFL players, the power of Confederate symbols and memorabilia, and the concept of cultural "appropriation" versus "appreciation." They have also invited well-known figures — including Cornel West '80, Al Sharpton, Toni Morrison, and Colin Kaepernick — to appear on the show.

"Woke Wednesdays" will be posted every other Wednesday through the month of December and will resume during the spring semester at <http://bit.ly/wokewed>.

"We want people that agree with us to listen, but we also want people who may strongly oppose what we're saying to listen and engage with us," Pugh said. "If you disagree with me, you're listening to me and you're active enough to want to engage with my opinion — and that's a powerful combination." ♦ By A.W.

IN SHORT

Following a gift from the Wythes family, the Center on Contemporary China has been renamed the **PAUL AND MARCIA WYTHES CENTER ON CONTEMPORARY CHINA** in honor of former University trustee Paul Wythes '55 and his wife, Marcia. Paul Wythes, who died in 2012, was a trustee for 14 years and in 1997 was chosen to lead a study of long-term strategic issues facing the University. The resulting recommendations — known as the Wythes Report — led to the expansion of the undergraduate population and enhanced policies to diversify the student body.



IN MEMORIAM: MICHAEL CURSCHMANN, Germanic languages and literatures professor emeritus, died Oct. 7 at his home in Princeton. He was 81. Curschmann joined the faculty in 1963; he served as department chair in 1979-82 and 1986-89 before retiring in 2002. He was regarded as a leading authority on medieval German literature, and his work spanned the fields of literature, visual arts, and music. In 2000, he became one of only three Germanists selected as fellows of the Medieval Academy of America. ♦



Midday for Simeon Lane '19 (center): Lunch with teammates at Cottage, then study time

A Day With ...

Simeon Lane '19: Football practice, conditioning, philosophy, and Chinese

Simeon Lane '19 is a defensive lineman on the football team. Off the field, he is concentrating in philosophy and getting a certificate in Chinese language and culture. We caught up with Lane on a Tuesday in October as the team was preparing to face Brown (the Tigers won, 53-0). Here's how he described his day.

Meeting We have early-morning meetings every Tuesday, so I was up at 5:45. The whole team has to meet at McDonnell, and they have D'Angelo's breakfast wraps for us. We usually talk about the game the weekend before, things we have to get better at and correct. We break up by defense and offense, so it gets a little more specific with what the defense needs to do this week. I had to give a scouting report on the Brown center — his height, weight, some of his tendencies when he plays, ways that we can take advantage of him. We'll watch film, talk about the other team — what they like to do, what kind of plays they like to run. We put in some new plays that will help us against Brown, and then we had a walk-through of the plays outside.

Lifting weights From there we usually go right to the stadium for lifts, and that

usually starts around 8:30. Tuesdays are usually upper-body lifts, so we'll do bench presses, pull-ups — everybody does their own thing. On bench press I can lift around 390 to 395 pounds.

Chinese 403 I took Chinese for four years in high school, and I thought I would just do the three semesters I needed and be done with it. My freshman year, I took it both semesters,



Lane at practice

and then I did Princeton in Beijing. I definitely got a lot better when I was in Beijing and just kept going. I like how the classes are taught. Our topic on Tuesday was China entering the World Trade Organization and how globalization has helped China's economy. I would say right now I'm definitely conversational, but I would need to go back and probably live there another month or two before I can confidently say I'm fluent.

Cottage Club Lunch was chicken parm, and we ate outside on the patio. I did eat with my teammates, but there's more than just the football team out there. My closest group of friends, we all decided together that we would do Cottage. Most of the team goes to Cannon, which is fine, but it seemed like we would get to meet a different variety of people if we joined Cottage. It's pretty friendly; I mean everybody seems to get along with everybody no matter what their affiliation is. Right after lunch, I did [class]work at Cottage. It really is a good place to get work done because it's usually pretty quiet.

Rest I walked back to my room and took a nap. I take a nap pretty much every day, unless I just don't have time. I set up my schedule so I can nap just before practice. I just feel like I perform better at practice, I remember things that we talked about in the morning a lot better, and I have more energy to work hard the whole practice. Practices are really fast-paced, so it's pretty important to be well-rested coming into them.

On the Campus

Taking care I rode my bike down to the training room at Caldwell [Field House]. I usually stretch and get some ice if I need it, and then I'll go back to the locker room and get ready for practice. It's a normal thing to prevent injury, make sure I'm healthy and everything is loose going into practice. We definitely do a lot of things [to take injuries seriously]. We have these monitors that you wear around your chest and it tracks your heart rate, your max speed during practice, how far you ran, different things like that. Every morning, we have a daily survey and it tracks how much rest you got, how sore you're feeling, how hydrated you are, if you're feeling fatigued. The coaches use that information to track how we're doing in practice, make sure they're not overworking us, make sure they're not going too easy on us.

Practice The offense and defense always have a scout team, younger players who aren't on the travel rosters. They'll run the other team's plays, and we'll practice those plays. Practice is usually two hours. Tuesdays and Wednesdays are our tougher practices: They're full pads, and we're all-out during those practices. It's definitely a focused environment because you're trying to perfect your technique for the games. We all understand that working hard at practice is what's going to make us good in games and will lead us to win the Ivy League.

Evening I walked up to Cottage with a few teammates — dinner was salmon and mussels. After dinner, I went to the East Asian library to work on a philosophy homework assignment. I'm in Philosophy 313, "Theory of Knowledge." It's basically talking about: How can you know if you're right in certain situations? How can you give your judgment or your rationale? I'm also in my junior seminar for philosophy. I feel like this seminar will really help me be familiar with this one philosopher, Kierkegaard, and understand his thoughts and philosophies. Hopefully, from that I can have a junior-paper idea. Then I went back to my room and chilled out with my roommates, played some video games, then went to sleep around 11 p.m. ♦ *Edited and condensed by Anna Mazarakis '16*

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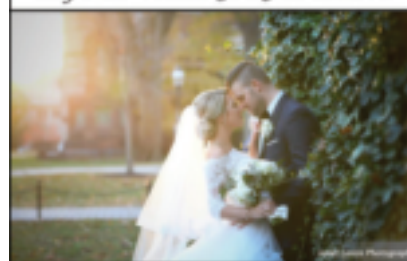


President's Award for Distinguished Teaching

The Office of the Dean of the Faculty invites all members of the community to submit letters of nomination for the 2018 President's Award for Distinguished Teaching. All current full, associate, and assistant professors, senior lecturers, and lecturers who have served at least half time for three or more years are eligible for nomination.

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STUDENT DISPATCH

Taking a Year Off From Princeton: Finding Value in a Time to Reflect

By Tammy Tseng '19



My first month back from my gap year has been a strange experience. All my friends are now seniors writing theses and

searching for jobs; I have two years of school left, after having spent the past one in California and Bangalore. But if there's one thing I've gained from my time off, it's perspective — that there's more to life outside the Orange Bubble, that growth often happens in the most uncomfortable situations, and that I have good company in navigating the post-gap-year transition.

There are 100 students or so on leave from the University at any given time, estimates Claire Fowler, senior associate dean of the college.

Some take time off to clarify their career paths — like Jin Soo Lim '18, who thought he wanted to be an astrophysics researcher but realized in his junior year that he didn't like doing research. He spent the next year working briefly in consulting, then tech marketing, and finally found his niche in software engineering.

"If I didn't take the gap year, I still wouldn't have known what I wanted to do," he said. "As a senior, I might have been prepping for consulting interviews right now and not realized I hated it until I started my job."

Others take time off for personal reasons. Rachel Yee '19 took time off between her freshman and sophomore years to work on family relationships. She called it a year that "changed the trajectory of my life. I'm way happier, more grateful post-gap year. ... I'm confident in who I am."

Similarly, Bruno Schaffa '19, a history major who returned from working at a tech startup in Brooklyn, found his greatest gap-year lesson to be "finding his own wavelength" away from the University. "One of the things I'm slowly

If there's one thing I've gained from my time off, it's perspective — that there's more to life outside the Orange Bubble.

taking back at Princeton [is] pacing myself. Here we have a tendency to do every extracurricular imaginable, plus taking five classes," Schaffa said.

Ishanya Anthapur '20 challenged herself to step outside of her comfort zone on her gap year traveling around India and Nepal — including a 20-day trek and using a squat toilet for the first time. Coming back this fall, she feels like she's been pushed to understand herself and her goals better.

Like Schaffa, she's focused on the few classes and activities she genuinely enjoys, instead of trying to do everything at once. "I found that it's very easy to just exist at Princeton and do a good job and live your life. That sometimes gets lost when you're trying to be involved and get amazing grades and be a great social person and do all these things," Anthapur said.

That doesn't mean returning to campus is all confidence and rainbows, however.

Alina Kido-Matzner '19 is president of the Princeton Gap Year Network, an organization that supports students reintegrating into Princeton after time off. "The transition back is difficult because when you get back on campus everyone is like, 'Where were you?'" she said. It may be especially difficult to speak about time off if it was taken for reasons that were unplanned, such as family emergencies or health issues, and it can be hard for sophomores and juniors to readjust if their friends have joined eating clubs in their absence, she noted.

Yee spoke about the uncertainties of class identity: "I still feel a lot more affiliated with 2018 than I do with 2019 ... As an alumna, I don't really know which I'm going to choose [at Reunions]. I would really like to be part of both."

Yet perhaps that's part of the beauty of taking time off — fluid identities spawn multiple perspectives and new communities, and a chance not only to expand your perspective outside of the Bubble, but to continue doing so back inside.

My (very humble) advice — a moment to breathe is always valuable, regardless of when you take it or how long it lasts. As Yee put it — "It's always, 'Go go go!' People are always moving toward the next thing. It can be good to have time to reflect." ♦

CLASS CLOSE-UP: ABOUT FACES

Examining Features Through Multiple Lenses

Teacher Monica Huerta *06, lecturer in English and the Council of the Humanities and a postdoctoral fellow in the Society of Fellows in the Liberal Arts

Focus Why have human beings been fascinated with faces throughout history? And how does that interest take different forms, depending on whether you're a psychologist, an author, or an actor and the time period in which you live? Students read literature and philosophical texts, consider principles of psychology, and study portraits at the University Art Museum to try to answer these questions.

Among the discussion topics are: Do actors have to physically feel a feeling in order to act it out convincingly? How do "official" portraits of people in positions of power portray the office, as opposed to the individual?

Interdisciplinary learning Assistant professor of theater Brian Herrera will lead a workshop on learning how to act using one's face, and students will learn the difference between a professional acting headshot and a portrait. Psychology professor Alexander Todorov, author of a book about how the impressions people draw from faces reveal their own biases and stereotypes, will speak about his research. And students are taking several trips to the art museum to study objects that relate to their reading assignments.

On the syllabus *Essays on Physiognomy* by Johann Kaspar Lavater, *The Face: A Time Code* by Ruth Ozeki, *Rembrandt and the Epiphany of the Face* by Joseph Koerner, and *The Player's Passion: Studies in the Science of Acting* by Joseph Roach.

Reading and Seeing Students reflect on the readings in a "Reading and Seeing" journal. On each visit to the art museum, they are given 15 to 20 minutes to describe the objects they see. "It gets them to slow down, and slowness is a time of thinking," said Huerta. After class, students are expected to write for 30 to 45 minutes in their journals about the day's conversations.

Key takeaway "That the face works like a medium — that it is neither only biology ... , nor is it only aesthetic," Huerta said. "That it is a means by which we can communicate, and that it has all kinds of failures and misunderstandings and insufficiencies built into it." ♦ By A.W.



"About Faces" class members discuss paintings by artist Titus Kapfar in the University Art Museum.

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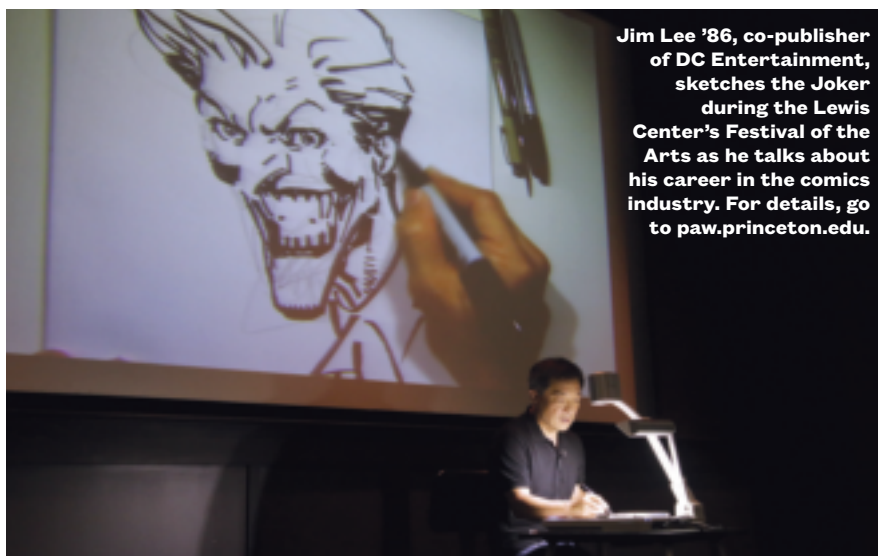
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On the Campus



Jim Lee '86, co-publisher of DC Entertainment, sketches the Joker during the Lewis Center's Festival of the Arts as he talks about his career in the comics industry. For details, go to paw.princeton.edu.

Immersed in the Arts

A taste of the offerings as a packed weekend celebrates the new arts complex

Dozens of events were offered as the Lewis Arts complex made its debut in early October. PAW sampled a few. To read more about these and others, go to paw.princeton.edu.

Music and Sculpture Tour with Sō Percussion On a warm October afternoon, the sound of bells, drums, and other percussive instruments filled the air. Outside "The Hedgehog and the Fox," the massive steel Richard Serra sculpture near Fine Hall, a crowd gathered to watch. It was there that Sō Percussion was playing the first piece on its music and sculpture tour.

About 50 people joined Sō Percussion as the group visited six prominent sculptures on campus. At each one, the musicians performed an original five-minute piece created by a Princeton composer in response to that artwork. Unsuspecting students looked on as the group banged on gongs while standing in the Woodrow Wilson School fountain. In front of the University Art Museum, the sound was different, coming from musical instruments made from spoons, knives, and forks. ♦ *By Ezra Austin '19*

Theatre for One After about 40 minutes of waiting to enter a large,

mysterious black box, I was called to begin my experience of the Theatre for One. When I entered, I was confronted by a tall white man who introduced himself as David.

David began to tell me he believed that since there is a Black Lives Matter movement, there should be a White Lives Matter movement, too; since there is an NAACP, there should be an NAAWP. He said affirmative action should be abolished, and cautioned that if we diverged from the values of our white founders, our future as a nation would be threatened.

Although I reminded myself that this was part of a show and not an actual conversation, the actor's performance and the lack of any audience-stage division made me forget that it was all scripted. The experience took on a particularly eerie quality when the actor addressed me directly: "Our movement is growing, and it's growing quickly. Soon you, too, will join."

As the curtain closed on his grinning face, I realized how powerful the five-minute performance had been. I had felt uncomfortable and threatened. And I walked away with a sense that the larger political reality was not as far removed from my personal life as it may seem. ♦ *By Layla Malamut '18*

Justin T. Goldberg '02

MEN'S HOCKEY AND MEN'S SOCCER

'Part of Our Family'

Tiger teams bond with kids who have chronic or life-threatening illnesses

Thirteen-year-old Luke Rogers sits front and center in the Princeton men's ice hockey team picture this year, flanked by captains Eric Robinson '18 and Joe Grabowski '18.

Rogers, who is from Morganville, N.J., was diagnosed in 2015 with acute lymphoblastic lymphoma, a non-Hodgkin lymphoma mostly seen in children and teenagers. He was paired with Princeton through Team IMPACT, a nonprofit that uses team connections to improve the quality of life for children with life-threatening and chronic illnesses.

"We have guys that stick around for four years playing and then become alumni forever. We hope that's the same thing for Luke — that he's ... part of our team forever."

— Men's hockey coach Ron Fogarty

"We want great people to be affiliated with Princeton University and Princeton hockey," said head coach Ron Fogarty. "He has all the characteristics we want in people in our program. We have guys that stick around for four years playing and then become alumni forever. We hope that's the same thing with Luke — that he's around here with our guys and is part of our team forever."

Luke "signed" as the newest Tigers team member in a ceremony Sept. 16, but the team had already started to bond with him over the summer.

"He's quiet," Fogarty said. "He's somewhat reserved. He has a passion for the game of hockey. Our guys were at his game earlier this month. They said he played well. He stuck around after and talked to the guys. He's a rink rat. He just loves the game; he's very similar to our guys."

Rogers is one of a handful of children
continued on page 20

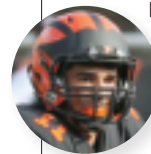


Luke Rogers, seated in the front row, joined the men's hockey program as an honorary teammate.

Photos: Beverly Schaefer

THE BIG THREE

1 Quarterback **CHAD KANOFF '18** moved into second place on Princeton's career passing-yards list Oct. 7 when he completed 25 of 29 attempts for 313 yards and four touchdowns in the Tigers' 50-30 win over Georgetown. Kanoff, who has thrown for 5,500 yards in three seasons as a starter, averaged 293 passing yards in the first five games this year.

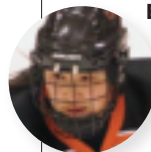


2 **EVAN QUINN '20** was Princeton's leading scorer in each of the men's golf team's four fall tournaments, including the Quechee Collegiate



Invitational at Dartmouth, where he tied for first place overall but lost in a playoff. Quinn had a hole-in-one on a 202-yard par 3 during Northwestern's Windon Memorial Championship Oct. 8. It was his fourth hole-in-one (he had his first at age 9), and the second for a Tiger this season: Jake Mayer '21 also had an ace, one week earlier at Yale.

3 Defender **ROSE ALLEVA '14** returned to the Baker Rink ice Oct. 16, playing with "Team China" in a preseason exhibition game against the Princeton women. Alleva's team, formally the Kunlun Red Star, is composed of both Chinese and North American players and competes in the seven-team Canadian Women's Hockey League. ♦





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For more information about the series visit:
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Open to the public



On the Campus / Sports

continued from page 19

who have been adopted in recent years by Princeton athletic programs. Men's basketball, baseball, field hockey, women's hockey, women's lacrosse, men's soccer, softball, and women's volleyball all have welcomed children with serious medical conditions on their sidelines.

For the last five years, the men's soccer team has had a strong connection with Derek Watson, an eighth-grader who has a meningioma that has led to complete ptosis, or drooping of the upper eyelid, of his left eye.

"Derek has become very close with a lot of guys that have already graduated and with current players on the team," said head coach Jim Barlow '91. "He keeps in touch with the alums and current players on social media. He comes to the games [and] sits on the bench with the guys."

The players have been there through their young friend's ups and downs. They drove an hour and a half to storm the field after a healthy Watson scored a goal in a club game; they've also visited him when he was sick in the hospital.

"They're always updated," said Watson's mother, Tammy. "Derek tells them everything. They are part of our family."

Twice in the last five years, the soccer

"Derek has become very close with a lot of guys that have already graduated and with current players on the team. He keeps in touch He comes to the games [and] sits on the bench with the guys."

— Men's soccer coach Jim Barlow '91

team has organized an intramural tournament to raise funds to help offset Derek's medical expenses.

"He's had a big impact on a lot of our guys," Barlow said, "and vice versa, I think."

The men's ice hockey team intends to be just as active with Rogers, who was slated to be the captain in its season opener against Holy Cross Oct. 29. The Tigers will go to his games as well.

"Luke has made an impact with our guys," Fogarty said. "That they want to be around him and see him be successful — it's great. You want to be around great people that want to help out others. We have a great bunch of guys here that realize it's more than just hockey. They want to do great things, and this is one small sample of what they can do." ♦

By Justin Feil



Derek Watson runs through a tunnel of Tigers after one of his soccer games in 2013.

Courtesy The New Jersey Herald/Daniel Freel

Life of the Mind

GEOSCIENCES

Feeling the Heat

Study finds climate change will only exacerbate inequality in the United States

By now, the scientific community overwhelmingly agrees that Earth is warming — climate models predict a national rise in temperature in the U.S. of between 2 and 7 degrees Celsius over the next 100 years. What's harder to gauge is how that rise will affect citizens in their own backyards. "No one lives at the national level — people live at the local level," says Bob Kopp, a climate scientist at Rutgers University-New Brunswick who is a former Princeton postdoc. "If you look at the impacts at too aggregated a scale, you miss a lot of the story."

Kopp is part of a research team — including Princeton geosciences and public policy professor Michael

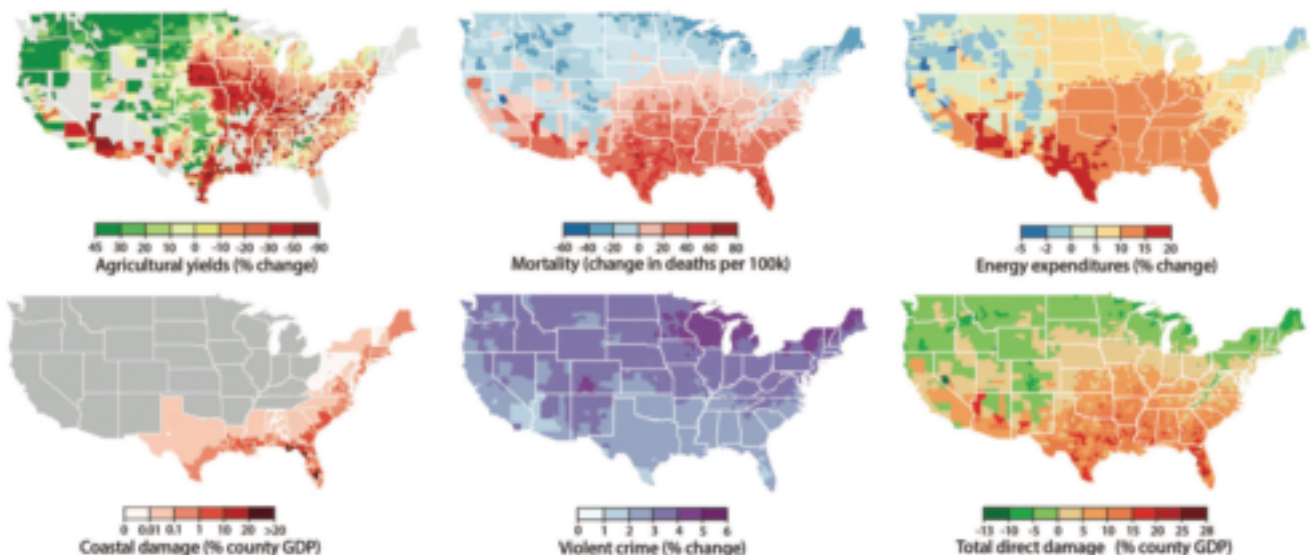
Oppenheimer, Woodrow Wilson School doctoral student DJ Rasmussen, and University of California, Berkeley professor and former Princeton postdoc Solomon Hsiang — that has developed a prognosis of how climate change is likely to affect the country on a local level. In a paper published in *Science* in June, they and their eight additional collaborators found a huge discrepancy in the effects of climate change on economic activity depending on where people live.

They examined impacts such as heat- and cold-related deaths, the ability of people to work in the heat, crop yields, energy demand, coastal storms, and crime. While some areas, including the far North and parts of the Rockies, might

not experience much net harm — or may even benefit from modestly higher temperatures — areas in the South are especially at risk.

As a result, economic inequality between regions will worsen. "Places that are already warm will be harmed much more than places that are cooler," Kopp says. "Those warmer places also coincidentally tend to be places that are already poorer, so the net effect will be a transfer of wealth from South to North and from the poorer to the wealthier."

The paper takes advantage of econometric research that has emerged in the last decade to create detailed information on the effects of weather patterns on economic activity. "In the past decade, there has been an explosion of research that has allowed us to leverage new sources of information," says Rasmussen, who analyzed much of the climate data. By using cloud computing capable of handling vast quantities of data, the researchers crunched the numbers on a county-by-



COUNTY-LEVEL ANNUAL DAMAGE: 2080-99
Median county-level annual impact of climate change for 2080-99 under a business-as-usual emissions trajectory. Clockwise, from top left: percent change averaged for maize,

wheat, soybeans, and cotton; changes in all-cause mortality rates, across all age groups; change in electricity demand; median direct economic damage; changes in violent-crime rates; change in damage from coastal storms and sea-level rise.

county basis across the country to drill down to localized effects.

Some areas, such as northern Michigan and Maine, could experience the equivalent of more than a 10 percent increase in gross domestic product (GDP), due to fewer deaths from cold weather, lower energy costs, and longer growing seasons. Areas in the southeastern states, meanwhile, could see equivalent losses of 25 percent of GDP or more. Those losses are almost entirely driven by increases in temperature, the researchers found. Despite fallout from high-profile weather events such as Hurricanes Harvey and Irma, those hardships pale in comparison to the effects of excess heat at a national scale. “The silent killer is the increase in temperature,” Rasmussen says, explaining that hotter temperatures will cause crops to wither, violent crime to increase, and people to die from heat exposure.

One thing the study doesn’t measure, however, is how people will respond to such changes in the climate — whether they’ll move from region to region, for example, or find other new ways to adapt. While ultimately the best way to mitigate these economic effects is to reduce greenhouse gases that cause climate change, the authors hope that the county-by-county data in the report will help local policymakers take preventative measures to adapt.

Decision-makers in coastal communities such as Miami, for example, could enact building codes that adapt to storm surges by providing incentives to build in different places, or elevating buildings, or adding protective structures. In other cases, communities could change the crop mix or add irrigation to combat decreases in crop yields, or install community cooling centers to stave off health effects of heat waves. “It’s no longer enough to just look at the past to decide on changes for the future,” says Rasmussen. “Our hope is that this information will give people what they need to think about what is coming down the road, and make changes now that will lower the economic cost of climate change.” ♦ *By Michael Blanding*

For a county-by-county projection of how local economies will be affected, go to <http://bit.ly/climatedamage>

FACULTY BOOK: JEFFREY EUGENIDES

Thirty Years of Wide-Ranging Fiction



For professor of creative writing Jeffrey Eugenides, publishing his first collection of short stories has been “like finding your diary. It brings you back to the person you used to be.” For the reader, *Fresh Complaint* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux) is a dive into 30 years of Eugenides’ fiction, a sampler platter of one of America’s most lauded writers.

Known for his debut novel, *The Virgin Suicides* (later a film by Sofia Coppola), Eugenides won the Pulitzer Prize in 2003 for *Middlesex*, a groundbreaking exploration of gender identity that has become increasingly relevant. His 2011 novel, *The Marriage Plot*, a tale of postcollege life in the 1980s, won the Prix Fitzgerald and the Madame Figaro Literary Prize. The three novels have sold close to 4 million copies in the United States.

The new collection includes the first story Eugenides published, when he was a 20-something aspiring writer and sometime taxi driver who regularly received rejections from *The New Yorker* and *The Paris Review*. “Capricious Gardens,” written in 1986, is a fable-like tale of revenge, lust, and friendship set in an overgrown garden full of artichokes.



“I deeply sympathize with people who love things that are vanishing,” says Jeffrey Eugenides. “Literature sometimes seems like an antique procedure. Part of the job is to keep it from becoming obsolete.”

when Eugenides came across a journal article about people who devote themselves to playing medieval instruments and decided to have his protagonist play the clavichord, a precursor to the piano. “I deeply sympathize with people who love things that are vanishing,” he says. “As a writer you feel that. Literature sometimes seems like an antique procedure. Part of the job is to keep it from becoming obsolete.”

The title story — one of two stories in the collection that had never been published before — unpeels the layers of deception in the interaction between an American woman of Indian descent and a British cosmologist on a lecture tour. “I wanted to subvert the reader’s expectations and show the collateral damage that can arise from desperate acts, either of liberation or selfishness,” says Eugenides, who has taught at Princeton since 2007.

Despite his many successes, Eugenides finds that “the writing is always just as hard as it ever was. It never gets easier.”

He has been working on a new novel for a few years but is reluctant to talk about it. “What you’re working on has a tendency to sound like a bad idea when you say it, and then you doubt yourself,” he says. “The idea that you’re in possession of a secret story or knowledge is one you have to convince yourself of.” ♦ *By Jennifer Altmann*



Betsy Levy Paluck's research has helped identify ways to effectively soften prejudice and bias.

MACARTHUR AWARD: BETSY LEVY PALUCK

The Good Message

Psychologist wins 'genius grant' for studies on combating intolerance, bullying

Betsy Levy Paluck, a professor of psychology and public affairs, had a burning secret this fall: Several weeks before it was announced on Oct. 11, she was told she'd been awarded a "genius grant" by the MacArthur Foundation. When the foundation's camera crew showed up before the announcement to get footage in her lab for its website, Paluck told her students it was for a documentary. "I thought people would be, like, 'What documentary?' and ask all these questions," she said at small celebration held at Robertson Hall. "Luckily they didn't. They were just like, 'All right.'"

Paluck's work operates on a simple premise: Because people tend to make concessions to popular opinion, she has found ways to modulate discrimination

by signaling — through various media — that society shuns certain hateful ideals. She has tested this notion in fraught locales from post-genocide Rwanda to hierarchical high schools, and so far her research has yielded results that are being heralded as a viable path to bridging deep societal rifts.

In 2002, during her graduate work at Yale, where she also received her bachelor's degree, Paluck discovered while teaching a course on hate speech and political intolerance that there were no psychological studies of how to reduce prejudice and conflict.

Using theories of social psychology, Paluck designed an experiment to try to measure ethnic tolerance in post-genocide Rwanda by interviewing listeners of a popular radio soap opera

about a divided society that ultimately reunites. By comparing their ideals to those in a group that listened to another show about health promotion, she discovered that while the soap listeners' individual assumptions about race remained unchanged, the program imbued its audience with an assumption that tolerance is an accepted principle in their community, thereby reducing racial stigmas. She recently found a similar phenomenon afoot in the United States: Study participants were questioned before and after same-sex marriage was legalized, and while individual beliefs remained unchanged, the majority reported a perceived increase in acceptance for it after the ruling.

In an ongoing study that involves 25,000 New Jersey high schoolers, Paluck identified students with high visibility within the school through data about whom they spent their time with in person and online. She and her research team found that by targeting these students for anti-prejudice interventions, a message of tolerance spread throughout the school more effectively than when it was delivered by adults. These measures have resulted in steep declines in harassment and bullying within the targeted schools.

In an interview with NPR, Paluck said it was still too early to know what exactly she'll do with the unrestricted \$625,000 award that comes with the grant. "One goal is to find creative ways to promote collaboration among activists, NGOs, and social scientists," she said. "I also want to promote and train the next generation of scholars to do this kind of work." ♦ By C.C.

IN SHORT

As countries seek to reduce their stockpiles of **NUCLEAR MATERIAL**, they face a hurdle in verifying that other nations are doing the same. Engineering and international affairs professor **Alexander Glaser** is pioneering a new way to help close that gap using virtual-reality technology. Glaser recently

received a \$400,000 grant from the Carnegie and MacArthur foundations to train inspectors and check up on other countries in a virtual environment without exposure to toxic materials.

In order for bacteria to succeed in infecting a host, millions of individual bacterial cells must

collaborate. They do this through a process called **QUORUM SENSING**, in which bacteria release tiny molecules that are detected by other bacteria, causing them to coordinate their attack. Molecular biology postdoc **Sampri Mukherjee** and professor **Bonnie Bassler** recently discovered a new quorum-

sensing molecule that increases the virulence of one particularly nasty bacterium, *Pseudomonas aeruginosa*, which has become resistant to antibiotics. The finding, published in *PLoS Pathogens* in July, could create new ways to defeat many forms of resistant bacteria. ♦ By **Michael Blanding**

Our Original Sin

Princeton reckons with its connections to slavery

BY DEBORAH YAFFE

MORE THAN 50 years after the end of the Civil War, a memorial to the Princeton alumni who lost their lives in the bloody conflict over slavery was carved into the marble walls of Nassau Hall's atrium. Alone among American universities, Princeton chose to commingle the names of Union and Confederate dead, without noting which side they had fought for.

That reticence, says Princeton history professor Martha A. Sandweiss, grew out of the University's antebellum history, and the deep ties to slavery that shaped a Northern school long known for its affinity with the South.

For more than four years, Sandweiss and some three dozen undergraduates, graduate students, and established scholars have explored those connections in a group research effort now known as the Princeton & Slavery Project, whose findings will be officially unveiled this month on a website and at a Nov. 17–18 scholarly symposium on campus. (Related events take place Nov. 16–19.)

From small personal stories and large data-mining efforts, researchers have pieced together a portrait of a Princeton with intimate but largely unacknowledged ties to the enslavement of African Americans: a university whose trustees, presidents, and faculty owned slaves; whose finances were shored up with slave money; and whose graduates sometimes went on to become apologists for America's "peculiar institution."

"On our campus — where the Continental Congress met, where the patriots won a victory against the British — human beings were enslaved," Sandweiss says. "That's the story of American liberty and freedom. Slavery was a part of it, and that's true on our campus also. We are deeply and quintessentially American in that respect."

Princeton is not the first university to investigate its

pre-Civil War ties to America's original sin. In 2003, Brown University, which is named for a family of slave traders, convened a committee to study the issue and recommend an official response, and since then, more than 30 other schools have followed suit, estimates Leslie M. Harris, a Northwestern University history professor and co-editor of a forthcoming essay collection on universities and slavery.

Unlike the research efforts at some other universities, the Princeton & Slavery Project was not an administration initiative, although it has received funding from a number of groups affiliated with the University, led by the Humanities Council. In a statement provided to PAW, President Eisgruber '83 suggested that independent research can result in "richer, more stimulating, and more varied work than would any official history published or approved by the University administration."

The research projects at universities across the country stem from American historians' renewed interest in slavery, and particularly in slavery's importance outside the South, Harris says. But she also connects the work to truth-and-reconciliation efforts in countries like post-apartheid South Africa. "That put on the map this idea that it is fruitful for societies to really confront their histories," she says. In some ways, universities are "very conscious of their past. They hold up their famous alumni, they talk about the founding," she says. "But it's another thing to investigate these other kinds of histories."

Princeton's links to slavery are less direct than those of some other schools, the Princeton & Slavery researchers found. Unlike Georgetown University, which stayed afloat using the proceeds from an 1838 sale of 272 Jesuit-owned slaves, Princeton — as an institution — apparently never owned slaves or rented their labor. And no evidence supports the oft-repeated claim that Princeton students from the South brought their slaves to campus.

But slavery was woven into campus life nonetheless. According to essays on the project website, 16 of the University's 23 founding trustees "bought, sold, traded, or inherited" slaves, and Princeton's first nine presidents, who served between 1746 and 1854, all held slaves at some point in their lives — although, in a strange cognitive dissonance, several also preached that slavery was morally wrong.

In 1766, after the death of the University's fifth president,

Sundry articles at Dr John Vancleave	16 00
Sundry Ditts at Ralph Sansbury	5 00
Deek - - - - -	10 00
Beastead bark of baston Beans & table	1 00
Book case - - - - -	10 00
Negro Girl Sae - - - - -	175 00
Negro Boy Charles Placed out with Mr John Vanhorn for 6 years then to Return to the family - - - - -	75 00
	\$3565 14
Appraised by { John Vancleave Ralph Sansbury Peter Bogart	

This inventory list from the estate of John Maclean Sr., the first chemistry professor in the country and at the University, includes items meant for his son John Maclean Jr., Class of 1816 and Princeton's 10th president. The last two entries are slaves.

the Rev. Samuel Finley, his executors advertised an auction of his property — including six slaves — to be held outside the President's House, now known as Maclean House. Nearby stood the two sycamore trees Finley had planted earlier that year, in what campus legend inaccurately holds to be a commemoration of the repeal of the Stamp Act, a milestone on the road to American independence.

Princeton's entanglement with slavery mirrors New Jersey's status as a nominally anti-slavery Northern state with unusual sympathy for the South. New Jersey was the last Northern state to abolish slavery, voting in 1804 to outlaw the institution with a gradualism that favored the interests of slaveholders and left a handful of slaves as late as 1865. Abraham Lincoln lost the popular vote in New Jersey in both 1860 and 1864, and the state initially refused to ratify the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which banned slavery.

"This is a very peculiar experience in the North," says Craig Hollander, an assistant professor of history at the College of New Jersey, who worked with the Princeton & Slavery Project as a postdoctoral fellow in 2013–15. "There were just a lot of economic and cultural ties to the South, and Princeton played an extremely important role in cultivating those ties."

But if New Jersey was an extreme case, the North was also more closely implicated in slaveholding than traditional accounts acknowledge, scholars say. "Too many people simply still see slavery as a Southern question, a Southern problem," says Eric Foner, a Columbia University history professor who directs Columbia's investigation into its own links to slavery. "But for a long time, slavery was a very significant institution in all of the Northern colonies, and indeed states. That's important for people to realize, how deeply embedded slavery is in the history of the entire country."

Although Sandweiss has published several books about 19th-century American history, she is not a specialist in the history of slavery, and as a relative newcomer to Princeton (she joined the University in 2009, after a long career at Amherst College), she knew little about Princeton's history when she taught the first Princeton & Slavery undergraduate seminar in 2013.

"I can't overemphasize how ignorant I was in the beginning," Sandweiss says. "We didn't really know what we were looking for. We didn't know what the low-hanging fruit for this story would be, we didn't know where we would find the good stories, we didn't know where to look in the archives."

Initially, University archivist Dan Linke, who helped Sandweiss and her students track down sources, wasn't optimistic. "Because of the nature of how enslaved persons are recorded in history — no last names, just as a number in a census — I really didn't think she was going to find a lot," he says. The project's biggest surprise, Linke says, is "how easily undergraduates asking fairly simple questions have found so much."

In the seminar, versions of which Sandweiss or her postdoctoral fellows have taught each year since 2013, students pored over a wide array of sources: letters, diaries, wills, sermons, speeches, newspaper advertisements, census data, genealogy records, student directories, the minutes of University trustee and faculty meetings. Some sources, such as newspaper databases, were newly digitized, available online only in the past decade; others had been gathering dust in University archives for generations.

When Hollander first arrived on campus and saw the archival riches awaiting him, "my eyes just lit up," he says. "You rarely get opportunities to see these kinds of primary sources and explore them — not for the first time; people had been perusing them for years — but with fresh eyes. We are now looking for a very different story than people in the past had looked for."

For undergraduates, the seminar offered a chance to do original work, rather than replicate the findings of established historians. "The greatest thing about this course was there were no rules," says Sven "Trip" Henningson '16, a history major who took the class in his last semester at Princeton and has continued to do research for the project since graduating, during weekend breaks from his consulting job. "You could find whatever you wanted. Whatever you dug up was fair game."

Lesa Redmond '17 enrolled in the course as a sophomore, promptly switched her major to history, and ended up writing her senior thesis on slavery connections in the family of John Witherspoon, Princeton's sixth president. Witherspoon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, opposed abolition and owned slaves — even while tutoring several black men to prepare them for work as Christian missionaries.

Three hundred years of Witherspoon genealogy made for a family tree so sprawling that it wouldn't fit on a single sheet of paper; Redmond had to post it on her bedroom wall, where it greeted her when she awoke each morning. "I've thought a lot about what it means to be an African American student enrolled in Princeton studying the history of this university," says Redmond, who plans to attend graduate school in history. "That was very powerful for me."



University archivist Dan Linke and Professor Martha Sandweiss work with students researching Princeton's connections to slavery.

Among the tasks tackled by students in successive seminars was the verification and documentation of a piece of conventional wisdom: that Princeton was the "most Southern" of what now are the Ivy League universities, in the composition of its student body if not in its geographical location.

Because Princeton has a file for virtually every undergraduate ever enrolled, students and archivists were able to build a spreadsheet listing everyone who attended Princeton before the Civil War — 6,593 men from the classes of 1748 through 1865. Then researchers set out to determine where they were from, turning to student catalogs, biographical dictionaries, and online genealogical records to verify each person's origins.

The work culminated in what project participants fondly call the "hackathon," held one night in early 2016, when a dozen student researchers gathered over pizza at the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library to nail down the last 2,200



names, with Lin-Manuel Miranda's *Hamilton* soundtrack playing in the background.

The results were illuminating. Between 1746 and 1863, the research showed, the proportion of Southern students at Princeton averaged 40 percent. From 1820 to 1860, at a time when the enrollment at Harvard and Yale averaged 9 and 11 percent Southern, 12 Princeton classes enrolled a majority of Southerners, with Southern enrollment in the Class of 1851 reaching 63 percent.

Princeton's strong Southern flavor influenced the political climate on campus, the research suggests. Violence occasionally flared; project researchers uncovered a disturbing account of an 1835 incident in which University students manhandled a visiting abolitionist and ran him out of town. But antebellum Princeton mostly dealt with slavery — the most fundamental political issue of the day — by muting discussion of it, sacrificing the University's vaunted commitment to liberty

on the altar of community harmony.

"There was this sense that if this institution could do it — could not only keep itself together but thrive as a community of both slaveholders and non-slaveholders — then the country could do the same thing," Hollander says. "They thought of themselves as a model for the nation."

In the decades before the Civil War, as the national debate about slavery intensified, Princeton grew more conservative on the issue. In 1850, a Commencement speaker told newly minted graduates that abolishing slavery would be tantamount to invalidating Christianity and welcoming anarchy. "That 63 percent of our students came from the South in 1851 helps us to better understand the conservative political culture on campus, which we could document in other ways," Sandweiss says. "You put those two bits of data together, and you get it."

For much of Princeton's history, slave money also bolstered the University's finances. As president from 1768 to 1794,

Witherspoon aggressively recruited Southern students and their tuition dollars, and Princeton's geographical reach grew as slavery spread westward. "You can map almost a 1-to-1 correlation of the cotton boom in Mississippi to the attendance of students from Mississippi," says Henningson, the 2016 Princeton graduate.

In an era when the elite universities of today were still struggling startups, Princeton was not the only school that turned to slave money to shore up shaky financial foundations, says Hollander. "It was not out of the question that these places would just collapse. Plenty of schools did during the 19th century," he says. "One of the reasons why they're willing to make these kinds of compromises is because they were worried about the bottom line."

And the financial ties did not end with emancipation: A century after Witherspoon's presidency, Moses Taylor Pyne 1877 drew on his grandfather's fortune — a fortune amassed by supplying ships and financial services to slave-dependent sugar plantations — to become one of Princeton's most generous and influential benefactors.

As Princeton's antebellum graduates moved on into their adult lives, they spread across the country, creating networks that solidified the University's influence and its ties to slave-owning families and communities. Some alumni were firmly anti-slavery, or dedicated to gradualist methods of abolishing it: Princetonians were disproportionately involved in the American Colonization Society, for example, which sought to end slavery by returning freed blacks to Africa. But many

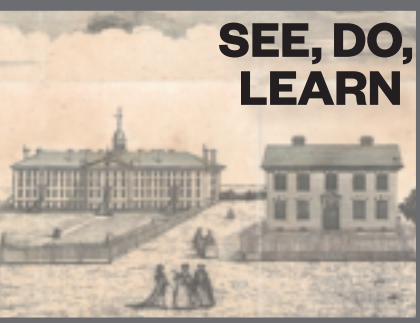
other Princeton graduates returned to their Southern homes to become lawyers, ministers, and statesmen who advocated the continuation and expansion of slavery.

"We were the most national university in America, hands down," Sandweiss says. "What happened at Princeton had a very broad national impact."

While the Princeton & Slavery Project has excavated neglected corners of the University's past, such projects also carry lessons for how we understand the place of institutions of higher education today, researchers say.

The work makes clear how deeply universities are embedded in a social context, scholars say. "We tend to think of universities as ivory towers, but they are not removed from their societies," says Harris, the Northwestern professor. "They are part of the society, and so they reflect the good, the bad, and the ugly, and the history of slavery in universities shows that."

A deeper understanding of historical context can also inform contemporary debates, like the one that raged at Princeton in 2015-16 over whether to remove Woodrow Wilson's name from campus buildings, scholars say. "The debate about Woodrow Wilson would have been a more informed conversation if we had thought about him in the context of the much longer history of racial thinking on our campus," Sandweiss says. "He didn't just appear from nowhere. He appeared on a campus that was hospitable to very



A 1764 copper engraving of Nassau Hall and the President's House by artist Henry Dawkins

SEE, DO, LEARN

The public unveiling of the Princeton & Slavery Project's scholarly research is part of a larger communitywide effort to reflect on the legacy of slavery through the lenses of visual art, film, theater, history, and education. "There are so many ways to learn about the past, and there are so many ways to understand the past," says Princeton history professor Martha A. Sandweiss, the project's director.

WEBSITE: The Princeton & Slavery Project's website, slavery.princeton.edu, was to be officially launched Nov. 6. The site features 90 essays about Princeton's links to slavery, written by some three dozen students and scholars, as well as maps, charts, portraits, student-created videos, and digitized versions of

more than 300 primary-source documents.

The project is culminating in a website, rather than a book, as a sign that the work is ongoing, with new discoveries to be made as researchers draw on the documents the site will make available, Sandweiss says. "I want our website, and this whole project, to make the argument that this isn't a story that's dead and over," she says. "These stories still matter for people around you that you see every day."

SYMPOSIUM: The Princeton & Slavery Project Symposium, Nov. 17-18, will feature panel discussions about the research and its implications. Researchers and scholars from Princeton and other universities will take

part. Nobel Prize-winning novelist Toni Morrison, a retired Princeton humanities professor, will give the Nov. 17 keynote address. Information about the symposium, including ticketing information, is available at slaverysymposium.princeton.edu.

DOCUMENTARY FILM: Journalist and educator Melvin McCray '74 will premiere a documentary about the impact of slavery on the families of modern-day Princetonians, with screenings Nov. 17 and 19 at the Princeton Garden Theatre. McCray's film includes interviews with African American and white Princeton alumni whose family histories intersect with the history of slavery, including descendants of a slave, slave-traders, the Confederate general who

“The debate about Woodrow Wilson would have been a more informed conversation if we had thought about him in the context of the much longer history of racial thinking on our campus.”

—PROFESSOR MARTHA SANDWEISS

conservative racial thought.”

Understanding the past has implications for the University’s future, as well. “Knowing your past can help you craft an identity that either looks like that past or doesn’t, depending on what you want,” says Redmond, the 2017 Princeton graduate. “But if you don’t know what you were in the past, it’s very hard to go forward.”

How should universities go forward when projects like this uncover ties to slavery? Other institutions have built on the results of their slavery investigations to make amends, both concrete and symbolic. Georgetown is offering preferential admission status to the descendants of the enslaved people it sold; Brown invested in the local public school system, erected a campus slavery memorial, and established a research center for the study of slavery. Eisgruber’s general statement to PAW did not address steps the University may take in response to the Princeton project’s findings.

“When you look at the institution of slavery honestly, and you acknowledge your complicity in it, then the next step has to be some kind of repair, it would seem to me,” says Melvin McCray ’74, a journalist, filmmaker, and educator whose documentary about Princetonians’ family ties to slavery will premiere during the weekend of the Princeton & Slavery symposium. “What kind of repair or reparation is another question. But it seems to me that it would be only natural to want to make amends.”

Those amends might include a commitment to righting contemporary inequities — social, economic, and educational — that stem from slavery, some suggest. Elite universities like Princeton and Columbia are “very eagerly engaged in promoting diversity among their student bodies,” says Foner, the Columbia professor. “Whether more should be done, whether this history tells us to do more along those lines, I don’t know.”

Ultimately, historians can only provide the information on which to base a course of action, Princeton & Slavery researchers say. What that course of action should be is a decision that the University community will have to make together.

“I hope in the end it’s a project that makes Princeton proud — we can now look at ourselves and try to understand ourselves more fully,” Sandweiss says. “Then we’ll figure out how to reckon with it.” ♦

Deborah Yaffe is a freelance writer based in Princeton Junction, N.J. Her most recent book is Among the Janeites: A Journey Through the World of Jane Austen Fandom.

fired on Fort Sumter, a U.S. Supreme Court justice who decided the infamous Dred Scott case, and the abolitionist Harriet Tubman.

The film wrestles with the question of “historical memory of this institution of slavery — how does it affect us in our current existence?” McCray says. “What role does that play in our contemporary lives?”

PLAYS: McCarter Theatre has commissioned seven 10-minute plays inspired by the work of the Princeton & Slavery Project. Readings will be held at McCarter Nov. 18 and 19. (See page 30 for more information.)

ART EXHIBITION: The Princeton University Art Museum commissioned the contemporary artist Titus Kaphar to create an

original work based on the research of the Princeton & Slavery Project. Until December, Kaphar’s piece will be installed outside Maclean House, where a slave auction was advertised to be held in 1766. Through Jan. 14, 2018, the museum will also exhibit an art installation, “Making History Visible: Of American Myths and National Heroes,” that juxtaposes contemporary and historical works in its exploration of how American history is understood and represented.

The exhibition aims to situate Princeton’s links to slavery in “a much broader national discussion about these contested narratives,” says T. Barton Thurber, the museum’s associate director for collections and exhibitions. “This is really the start of a conversation.”

LIBRARY PROGRAMMING:

The Princeton Public Library will hold a series of Princeton & Slavery events throughout the fall, including screenings of student films and a discussion of the McCarter plays, facilitated by members of Not In Our Town, Princeton’s anti-racism community coalition. Through Dec. 15, the library will display historical documents about slavery’s connections to the University and the town of Princeton, drawn from the archives of the University and the Historical Society of Princeton.

HIGH SCHOOL

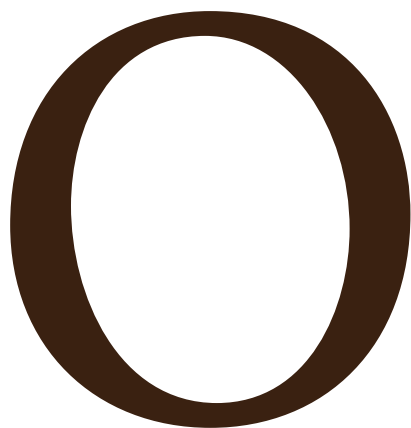
CURRICULUM: At Sandweiss’ suggestion, retired Princeton High School history and English supervisor John Anagbo created three lesson plans for high-school teachers

based on primary-source documents unearthed by project researchers. One of the lessons was successfully piloted last spring in a ninth-grade American history class at Princeton High School, and Anagbo hopes the school district will eventually incorporate all three into its history curriculum.

Basing lessons on primary sources — including newspaper advertisements, a letter from a Princeton student to his mother, and a journal kept by a white visitor to Princeton — is especially compelling for students, Anagbo says. “Everything speaks for itself. You don’t have to make anything up,” he says. “These are primary documents from which the students themselves can grapple with the issues, where the teachers get out of the way.” ♦

Plays That Probe *At McCarter, seven works*

BY CATHERINE MALLETTE '84



ON A SUMMER DAY in 1766, a family stands near two newly planted sycamores at the President's House, home of the Rev. Samuel Finley, fifth president of the College of New Jersey. The parents — like so many others who will stand in the shade of these trees at what

will later be called Maclean House — are focused on helping their child prepare for the road ahead.

But this isn't the start of a gentleman's education. This is a family of slaves, and their master, Finley, has just died. This is a family that is about to be ripped apart, denied liberty — a family headed for the auction block.

When Emily Mann, playwright and artistic director at the McCarter Theatre Center, heard about the slave auction on a campus tour led by history professor Martha Sandweiss last year, it was a trigger. "We were going by Maclean ... and my blood turned cold," she recalls. "I went charging up the stairs. I felt the people there. I stood under the trees."

Within a week, she says, she had fully imagined this scene, the family, the horror, and a play "came tearing out of me."

On a summer morning in 2017 in Princeton's New South studio space, Mann and four other playwrights, nine actors, Princeton scholars, the University archivist, a team from McCarter, and director Carl Cofield gathered for a first reading of that play and six others commissioned by McCarter. The day was an essential step in the process of honing the artists' voices into a cohesive, provocative program — the Princeton and Slavery Plays — that will be presented as part of the Princeton & Slavery Project Symposium Nov. 17 and 18. Cofield began the day by noting he was excited to work with the playwrights, who each added "their flavor to the rich gumbo" that would help launch "a conversation that's long overdue."

As the seminar Sandweiss was teaching on Princeton and slavery evolved into a larger, community project, the professor knew that the performing arts could bring another perspective to the history she and her team of scholars were uncovering as they dug into documents with University archivist Daniel Linke. Artists would not be bound by the rules of her discipline. "There are multiple ways to understand the past and access the emotions and experiences of people who lived a long time ago," Sandweiss explains. Historians "can't figure everything out" and "can't speculate in big, bold ways." So she turned to Mann to see if McCarter would be interested in a partnership. "Emily



has a deep interest in race and American history," Sandweiss says. "I pitched the idea to her: 'I'll tell you the stories, I'll give you the documents I've unearthed.'"

Mann says it took her "about 10 seconds" to say yes, and the seed for the Princeton and Slavery Plays was planted.

McCarter decided to commission playwrights to create new works in conversation with those archives. The team settled on seven 10-minute plays, making a list of writers whose work seemed well suited to the subject matter. Every person they asked said yes.

The writers — Nathan Alan Davis, Jackie Sibblies Drury, Dipika Guha, Regina Taylor, Kwame Kwei-Armah, Branden Jacobs-Jenkins '06, and Mann herself — met with Sandweiss and Linke at Mudd Library in the fall of 2016 to examine the primary sources that would inform and inspire their work. They reviewed documents from the American Colonization Society, which proposed to send free black people to Africa; Princeton presidents' records; land records; student writings; and records of gifts that led to investigations into the sources of the donors' wealth. Sandweiss then took the writers on a tour of the campus and town, highlighting little-known stories of Princeton's slave

Photos: Frank Wojciechowski

Our Original Sin

examine Princeton's connections with slavery



Playwrights gathered at Princeton for a reading of their short plays inspired by the University's links to slavery. From left: Nathan Alan Davis and Branden Jacobs-Jenkins '06. At right: McCarter artistic director Emily Mann and director Carl Cofield.



will return to the theater in the spring, “the idea of naming yourself” led to an exploration of James Collins Johnson, an escaped slave who “named himself a free man ... and went to a place that was a free state.” Taylor was also drawn to the irony in his story. Johnson was working at the University when he was spotted by someone who knew him and who turned him in; eventually a local woman paid for his freedom in full, and he paid her back. (See PAW, Oct. 5, 2016.)

Names and what they represent are a theme in many of the works. Kwei-Armah, a Briton who changed his name from Ian Roberts after researching his family's slave history, notes that we live in a culture that calls for transparency. “We’re asking for a more open history,” says the playwright, who is artistic director of Baltimore’s Center Stage. “History is written by the victor, of course,” and “some of [those forgotten] just want their name to be called.”

In his short play, Kwei-Armah created a complex character in African King Peter, who sold land for use by the American Colonization Society. Writing was a challenge, he says: “I didn’t want to celebrate someone who was a slaver, whether black or white. But I also didn’t want to create a lazy character or fall into a stereotype.” He is looking forward to the conversation the plays will stir. “You just need to say, ‘I see you. I hear you.’ Then things will happen that you have no idea of.” ♦

Catherine Mallette '84 is director of editorial services at HarperCollins Publishers' Princeton office.

THE PRINCETON AND SLAVERY PLAYS

Directed by Carl Cofield

Nov. 18–19, 2017

Berlind Theatre, McCarter Theatre Center

Information about timing and tickets, as well as about pre-show talks and a post-performance discussion, is available at www.mccarter.org/PrincetonandSlavery.

and free black communities.

At the summer readings in New South, emotions ran from grief, anger, fear, and shock to surprise and even amusement. The actors quickly embodied their characters, who ranged from contemporary students to dead presidents, and from those who wielded power to a vulnerable 9-year-old. Cofield called this the beginning of a “scratch-and-sniff” process; later, the playwrights would rewrite, the actors would rehearse, and timing would be adjusted.

Jacobs-Jenkins, whose *Gurls*, an adaptation of Euripides' *The Bacchae*, was commissioned for the opening of the Lewis Center for the Arts complex last month, was drawn to the character of Betsey Stockton, a slave owned by the Rev. Ashbel Green 1783, Princeton's eighth president, who granted her freedom so she could become a missionary and teacher in Hawaii. Stockton later came back to Princeton and started a school for black children. “There’s a novel in this woman’s life, in the risks she was taking for her gender and her color and age,” says Jacobs-Jenkins. “She had the braveness and fortitude to do so much.”

For Taylor, whose play *Crowns* premiered at McCarter and

Who Was Who

RESearchers with the Princeton & Slavery Project uncovered an advertisement for the 1766 sale, outside what is now Maclean House, of slaves who had been owned by Princeton president Samuel Finley. He was far from the only slave owner at the College. A few other officials expressed opposition to slavery. Here's a list of early College trustees, presidents, and faculty members who had a connection to slavery. (See essays beginning on page 34 for more connections.)

PRESIDENTS



Jonathan Dickinson (1688–1747, president 1747) was a Presbyterian minister and one of the four founders of the College of New Jersey. The College's first eight undergraduates took classes in his house in Elizabethtown, and it is believed that his slave, a woman named Genny, may have cared for them. Though Dickinson preached that all people were equal in the eyes of God

regardless of race, he did not call for emancipation. He encouraged masters to serve as teachers to their slaves.



Presbyterian minister **Aaron Burr Sr.** (1716–1757, president 1748–57) was another of the four founders of the College of New Jersey and the youngest president of the College. The first president to live in the President's House (now called Maclean House), he brought at least one slave into his new home: a man named Caesar, who was purchased in 1755 for 80 pounds. Burr is believed to have purchased another slave while he served as president.

Jonathan Edwards (1703–1758, president 1758) died suddenly after serving for less than two months of a fever following an inoculation for smallpox. As a Congregationalist minister, he preached the spiritual equality of all people and criticized the cruelty of the slave trade. Still, he owned multiple slaves during his life, including a married couple named Joseph and Sue who likely worked in the

President's House on campus. His son, Jonathan Edwards Jr., was an abolitionist.

Samuel Davies (1723–1761, president 1759–61) was a Presbyterian minister known for his missionary work with enslaved people in the Colonies. He preached the spiritual equality of free and enslaved people, and rejected the notion — common at the time — that race affected a person's intelligence. He helped enslaved church congregants study Scripture but stressed that conversion to Christianity did not mean a right to emancipation. Davies owned at least two slaves while he lived in Virginia; it's unclear whether he owned slaves in Princeton.



Samuel Finley (1715–1766, president 1761–66) was a traveling evangelist during the Great Awakening of the 1730s and '40s and preached about civil liberties. Finley owned at least seven slaves while he was president, six of whom were sold at an auction beside furniture and livestock at the President's House after his death in 1766.

John Witherspoon (1723–1794, president 1768–94), a member of the Continental Congress, was the only college president to sign the Declaration of Independence. Witherspoon supported the religious education of free and enslaved African Americans and once baptized a slave, but he argued against the abolition of slavery. He owned several slaves, though it is unclear whether any of them lived and worked at the President's House.



Samuel Stanhope Smith 1769 (1751–1819, president 1795–1812) owned at least two slaves whom he tried to sell during his tenure; records are not clear on whether he succeeded. He gained international recognition for his scientific arguments that racial differences did not affect a person's intelligence and resulted from living in different environments. He came to speak out against slavery, advocating the colonization of African Americans in western territories and encouraging white people to settle alongside them.

Many early College leaders owned slaves



Ashbel Green 1783 (1762–1848, president 1812–22), who had established the Princeton Theological Seminary, owned at least three slaves while he was president: teenagers John and Phoebe, whom he promised to free at the age of 25, and Betsey Stockton, whom he freed in 1817 (she later became the country's first unmarried female missionary abroad). Green opposed slavery as a moral abomination and drafted a resolution against slavery for the American Presbyterian Church's General Assembly in 1818. He supported the American Colonization Society and proposed giving slaves a religious education.

Presbyterian minister **James Carnahan 1800** (1775–1859, president 1823–54) owned two slaves — a boy and a girl younger than 14 — when he lived in Washington, D.C., in 1820, though records are not clear on whether his slaves moved with him to Princeton. Later records show that he employed “free colored persons.”

John Maclean Jr. 1816 (1800–1886, president 1854–68) did not support slavery; he acted as an officer of the American Colonization Society and hoped to spread Christianity to Africa. As a young professor in 1846, he intervened in a campus riot to protect a black man who was being beaten by Southern students. Yet, in an effort to make Southern students feel comfortable in a free state, Maclean encouraged students to decide for themselves which side to support in the Civil War.

FOUNDERS AND TRUSTEES

Most of Princeton's earliest trustees owned slaves.



Samuel Blair (1712–1751), a Pennsylvania minister, is the only one of the College's first 12 trustees for whom records of slave ownership have not been found.

The merchant family of **Peter Van Brugh Livingston** (1710–1792), a College founder, made money by investing in the slave trade in the West Indies; Livingston himself owned several slaves.

Jacob Green (1722–1790), a minister who became a trustee in 1748, owned slaves but later became an outspoken abolitionist. He denounced slavery during the Revolutionary War, saying it was hypocritical to fight for liberty while promoting slavery.

FACULTY

Princeton professors sometimes had slaves working in their homes. Among the faculty members with a connection to slavery were:

Albert Dod 1822 (1805–1845), a mathematics professor, still owned a slave in 1840, making him one of the last slaveholders in the entire state of New Jersey.

Philip Lindsley 1804 (1786–1855) was a language professor, College vice president, and acting president after Ashbel Green resigned in 1822. In his farewell sermon in 1824, Lindsley delivered a powerful condemnation of slavery and called for emancipation. But he soon moved to Tennessee, where he abandoned his anti-slavery rhetoric and purchased at least three slaves. In personal notes, he defended slavery as advantageous to the slaves, who, he said, would have suffered more had they not left Africa.

John Maclean Sr. (1771–1814), the College's first chemistry professor, owned at

least three slaves: Lydia, Sal, and Charles. The latter two were still in his possession when he died in 1814.

Richard Sears McCulloch 1836 (1818–1894), who taught chemistry before moving to Columbia College, was considered “truly Southern” by his students; he later tried to create a chemical weapon for the Confederacy during the Civil War.

Mathematics professor **Walter Minto** (1753–1796) owned at least one slave — Toney, whom he purchased for 100 pounds soon before his death. Minto had agreed to free Toney after six years and five months of work, but it is unclear whether he was actually freed at that point.

Elijah Slack 1805 *1811 (1784–1866) was a clergyman and a professor of natural philosophy and chemistry, as well as the College's first vice president. He owned at least one slave, an 18-year-old woman, whom he attempted to sell through an advertisement in the local newspaper in 1816. Slack left Princeton in 1817 after five years on the faculty, taking a post at Cincinnati College. ♦

Compiled by Anna Mazarakis '16, based on essays written by Michael Glass GS, Craig Hollander, Jessica Mack GS, Rita Isabela Morales GS, Francesca Saldan, and Martha Sandweiss

Princeton and Slavery

Princeton, Slavery, and Race

Three perspectives

A sale of the “personal effects” — including six slaves — belonging to College president Samuel Finley was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser* after his death in 1766.

which will appear to be made in the same manner he does not say is equally as good, but from his own words that the smaller the iron is drawn it is the better; and again he says, lest thus prepared in the loop may as well be made into large shanks as the flukes of an anchor; that if I understand him right, he makes his large shanks of iron from the loop so prepared, which arms the anchor as good iron as the shanks. And as he appeals to the public for a more satisfactory voucher, I answer for for myself, that it is difficult to mend those anchors made of iron so prepared from the loop, as I have had many trials of it and some of those he calls super-excellent, or at least made by sixteen years experienced foreman. And as to his saying he has no design to injure me in my business is a contradiction in itself, when he sends his anchors here and advertises one half penny in the pound lower than I, or any other can or will sell for; also in order to put a further stop to my making any at a price that I can live by and do justice to the public, the more effectually to complete his design, sends here, as I am informed, to get the model of all my anchors from one hundred to three hundred weight; for that purpose a person in the neighbourhood where I live was applied to, to get proper scantling and to spare no cost, for as he said, Off y's anchors sold much better than his did. And this is not all, but my foreman told me upon my coming into the shop, that there had been a man at the door viewing the anchors, and after enquiry found it to be the said Howshurst, and he made it his business to enquire of my foreman what wages I gave him, and how much he would come to New-England for. I confess I do not know the truth of this, and by acquiring those things above-mentioned, may it not be supposed that he would be likely way to monopolise the trade of the anchors, and then to sell them at a dear price for them to the public, who have not had ten years experience in the business as I have; and my work itself will show that, and as he flukes of anchors, and by means of justice as well as I, I am not to be dictated by any private interest, but would they should be secured to deprive me of my hands and business, &c. but when it affects him but a little to what it would have done me, if he had been a little more to the point; feeling he is not to be secured to and the public and the excellency of them appears by his own account, perhaps in such places as either Old, New-England nor Philadelphia anchors is to be had, and as to his giving his correspondants here, orders to replace them in case of failure, it gives me pleasures. But if his anchors be super-excellent as he saith, then let him put his name on them, that it may be known who the maker is, in case of failure the owner may know where to apply to for a new one, more may be said, but lest I weary the public, I leave it to their judgement and conclude.

DANIEL OFFLEY.

July 31.

TO BE SOLD,

At public vendue, on the 10th of August next, at the presidents house in Princeton, all the personal estate of the late Revd. D. **SRMUEL FINLEY**, consisting of,

TWO Negro women, a negro man, and three Negro children, household furniture, hoes, and neat cattle, a light waggon, a new chaise, a sleigh, some hay, and grain, together with a variety of farming utensils. Also a choice collection of books, religious, moral and historical, containing the complete library of the deceased. The Negroes will be disposed of at private sale previous to the day appointed for the vendue, should a suitable price be offered for them. The Negro women understand all kinds of house work, and the Negro man is well fitted for the business of farming in all its branches. The conditions of the vendue will be made known on the day of sale. All those that are indebted to the said estate by bond, note, or book debts, are desired to make immediate payment to the subscribers, and such as have any demands against the estate are desired to lend in their accounts properly attested to.

JONATHAN SEARGEANT, jun.
in Princeton, or
SAMUEL BREESE, Executor,
in New York.

JOHN WIKOFF,
 DESIRES all persons indebted to him, either by bond, bill, note or otherwise, to pay off the same immediately, unto Peter Wikoff, in Front, a few doors below Walnut Street, who has his books and is empowered to receive his money and settle his accounts; all who have owed him any considerable time after the money became due, and do not comply with the above request, may depend on being sued in a very short time, without favour or affection.

PRINCETON AND SLAVERY

Holding the Center

BY CRAIG B. HOLLANDER AND MARTHA A. SANDWEISS

IN THE SPRING OF 1766, Samuel Finley, fifth president of the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), planted two sycamore trees in front of the President's House, a stone's throw from Nassau Hall, the only other building on campus. Campus lore claims the trees celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act, and more than two and a half centuries later, those aged trees still frame the old clapboard house, now home to the University's Alumni Association. Tour guides point to the towering sycamores as living reminders of the College's devotion to the Revolutionary cause. But the guides do not mention what happened at the house just a few months later, after Finley died in July 1766. His executors announced they would sell his possessions: furniture, cattle, books, and "two Negro women, a Negro man, and three Negro children." "The Negro woman," the executors explained, "understands all kinds of house work, and the Negro man is well fitted for the business of farming in all its branches." The slaves not sold beforehand would be auctioned off Aug. 19 at the President's House, beside those two young liberty trees.

Princeton University, founded in 1746, exemplifies the central paradox at the heart of American history. From the very start, liberty and slavery were intertwined. The University boasts of being the site of an American victory during the Revolutionary War, and of hosting the Continental Congress in Nassau Hall in 1783. The campus literature fails to note, however, that the first nine presidents of the University, serving until 1854, held slaves at some point in their lives. Early College regulations required prospective students to present themselves to the president for examination before enrolling in the school. For generations of Princeton students, then, the first person they met on campus may have been the enslaved man or woman who answered their knock on the president's front door. Quite literally, if Nassau Hall provided the storied backdrop of Princeton University, slavery was the face of the school.

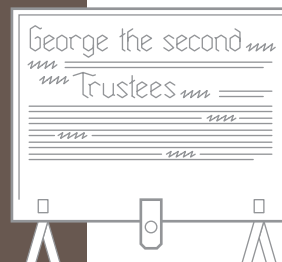
More than any other early American college, Princeton was a national institution, drawing its students not just from the surrounding mid-Atlantic region, but also from the South. Presbyterian ministers who trained at Princeton during the Colonial period spread word of the College to the cotton frontier of the early republic. From there, money and boys flowed to the college in New Jersey. Throughout the antebellum period, even as North and South developed increasingly different views about slavery, nearly 40 percent of Princeton's student body, on average, came from the slave states, providing crucial financial support for the College's operations. As one mother in Georgia wrote in 1850, "Princeton of all colleges . . . has long had the preference for our dear boys." Indeed, 63 percent of students in the Class of 1851 were from slave states.

If Princeton embodied the paradoxical connections of liberty and slavery during the Revolutionary era, the institution also exemplified the central tensions of antebellum American life, seeking — in a Northern state only mildly antipathetic toward slavery — to maintain a comfortable environment for slaveholders and their sons. Like the nation itself, Princeton struggled to create a center that would embrace Northerners

A Timeline

1746 **22 OCT.**

King George II charts the College of New Jersey, now Princeton University, in Elizabeth, N.J. The seven founding trustees all owned slaves. Of the five trustees added to the charter in 1747, four were slaveholders.



29 JULY 1754

Thomas Leonard, a College trustee who led the campaign to locate the school in Princeton, lays the cornerstone of Nassau Hall. The following year, he lists 16 slaves in his will.

1756

The second-oldest building on campus, the President's House, is erected. Now called Maclean House, it would become the primary Princeton residence for College of New Jersey presidents. At least five Princeton presidents owned slaves who lived and worked at the house. (Princeton's first nine presidents were all slaveholders at various points during their lives.)

19 AUG. 1766

After the death of College president Samuel Finley, executors of his estate sell his belongings outside of what is now Maclean House: furniture, cattle, books, and "two Negro women, a Negro man, and three Negro children."



Shortly after moving to Princeton in 1813, Ashbel Green, the College's eighth president, purchased a 12-year-old named John and an 18-year-old named Phoebe to work as servants in the house. Green wrote in his diary that he would free them each at the age of 25, or 24 "if they served me to my entire satisfaction." In the meantime, in 1817, he manumitted another of his slaves, Betsey Stockton, who went on to a remarkable career as a missionary in Hawaii and as a teacher in a school for black children in Princeton.



Betsey Stockton

and Southerners in an oft-uneasy truce. But the tenuous peace at Princeton shattered when the Confederate states seceded in 1861. The Southern boys left for home, knowing they might have to take up arms against their former schoolmates from the North. "Don't let's shoot each other," wrote one to a friend from Pennsylvania. "Though your deadly foe in public life I am in private life your friend."

Early Princeton students lived within a landscape of slavery. Throughout the Colonial period, slaves constituted 12–15 percent of the population of east New Jersey. After the Revolution, the slave populations of Middlesex and Somerset counties — the two counties that bisected the town of Princeton — increased. In 1794, the College formally prohibited students from bringing their own servants to campus. Nevertheless, students did not have to wander far from Nassau Hall to encounter slaves. Although New Jersey passed in 1804 an act for the gradual abolition of slavery, the state was painfully slow to relinquish the institution. There were 7,557 slaves in New Jersey in 1820 and still 236 slaves remaining in 1850.

Although no evidence yet suggests that Princeton students brought their own slaves to campus during the Colonial or early national periods, the students regularly encountered enslaved people delivering wood to their rooms, working in town, or laboring in the fields of the privately owned farm adjacent to the campus. They also crossed paths with the slaves who resided at the President's House. Shortly after moving to Princeton in 1813, Ashbel Green, the College's eighth president, purchased a 12-year-old named John and an 18-year-old named Phoebe to work as servants in the house. Green wrote in his diary that he would free them each at the age of 25, or 24 "if they served me to my entire satisfaction." In the meantime, in 1817, he manumitted another of his slaves, Betsey Stockton, who went on to a remarkable career as a missionary in Hawaii and as a teacher in a school for black children in Princeton.

Within this landscape of slavery, Princeton during its first 75 years produced a staggering number of leaders of the American clergy, military, and government, many of whom were "anti-slavery" in the sense that they disapproved of slavery and sought to abolish the institution. The venerated Dr. Benjamin Rush (Class of 1760) and the theologian Jonathan Edwards Jr. (Class of 1765) provided crucial moral leadership during the North's transition into the "free states." As Edwards wrote in 1791, "You ... to whom the present blaze of light as to this subject has reached, cannot sin at so cheap a rate as our fathers." Edwards meant "our fathers" literally. His own father, Jonathan Edwards Sr., had been a slaveholder and Princeton's third president.

Anti-slavery members of the Princeton community proved particularly active during the so-called "First Emancipation" — the period from the Revolution through the early 19th century when Northern states passed laws for the gradual abolition of slavery, the United States abolished the foreign slave trade, and many slaveholders emancipated their slaves. John Witherspoon provided the intellectual underpinnings for this anti-slavery sentiment at Princeton. Witherspoon emigrated from Scotland in 1768 to become the College's sixth president. During his 26-year tenure, Princeton became a primary conduit for the diffusion of Scottish moral-philosophical thought, which, in the words of Margaret Abruzzo, emphasized "both human benevolence and sympathy as the foundations of all morality." Although Witherspoon owned slaves, his teachings gave a generation of students "a language for challenging slavery," she wrote.

Witherspoon became a political role model for his students. Almost from the start, he criticized the British for encroaching upon American rights, and he later signed the Declaration of Independence and served

in the Continental Congress. The Princeton community followed the president's lead. "No other college in North America," writes the historian John Murrin, "was so nearly unanimous in support of the Patriot cause. Trustees, faculty, and nearly all alumni and students rallied to the Revolution in a colony fiercely divided by these issues."

The College's close identification with the republic came with added responsibility. Witherspoon's successor, Samuel Stanhope Smith, a member of Princeton's Class of 1769, taught his students that slavery posed a particularly dire threat to the nation's spiritual, moral, and political well-being. Like his six predecessors, Smith was — or had been — a slaveholder. Smith nonetheless became an important, if sometimes eccentric, critic of racism and slavery in the early United States. In his 1787 treatise titled an "Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species," he posited that racial differences stemmed from nothing more than climate. Later, in 1812, he argued against the ancient Aristotelian notion that civilized nations had a natural right to wage war on barbarians to enslave prisoners, and contended instead that such forms of enslavement constituted "the most unjust title of all to the servile subjection of the human species."

Smith stopped well short of calling for the immediate abolition of American slavery. "No event," he exclaimed, "can be more dangerous to a community than the sudden introduction into it of vast multitudes of persons, free in their condition, but without property, and possessing only habits and vices of slavery." Smith also doubted that the state had the right to compel slaveholders to give up their property. "Neither justice nor humanity," he wrote, "requires that [a] master, who has become the innocent possessor of that property, should impoverish himself for the benefit of the slave." As an alternative, Smith floated a few ideas to both encourage voluntary manumission and diminish racial prejudice, including one plan to assign a "district out of the unappropriated lands of the United States, in which each black freedman, or freedwoman, shall receive a certain portion." He then proposed that "every white man who should marry a black woman, and every white woman who should marry a black man, and reside within the territory, might be entitled to a double portion of the land." Smith hoped that such interracial marriages would "bring the two races nearer together, and, in a course of time ... obliterate those wide distinctions which are now created by diversity of complexion." Smith's views on race and slavery helped shape those of his students.

During Smith's administration (1795–1812), Princeton produced many graduates who sought a solution to the moral and political problems associated with slavery. Most dismissed the thought of immediate abolition and refused to question the property rights of slaveholders. Nevertheless, they contributed to the pro-reform discourse during the early republic, which in turn set the stage for the rise of the abolitionist movement. For example, in 1816, Smith's pupil Charles Fenton Mercer (Class of 1797), a slaveholder from Virginia, organized the American movement to colonize free blacks. Mercer did not invent the idea of colonization. But he latched onto it because, like Smith, he worried that emancipated slaves were a drain on public resources and a threat to social order. Mercer echoed Smith's fear that racism would prevent blacks from assimilating into white society. But while Smith proposed sending blacks to the western frontier, Mercer wanted to send them to Africa.

Mercer enlisted Princeton associates in his endeavor to colonize free blacks. In 1816, he asked Elias B. Caldwell (Class of 1796) to pitch the colonization idea to his brother-in-law, the Rev. Robert Finley (Class of 1787), director of the Princeton Theological Seminary. Finley supported colonization because he believed that slaveholders would be more willing to manumit their slaves if they could then send them far away. With that in mind, Mercer, Caldwell, Finley, and their friend John Randolph — a

**19
APRIL**

The first military engagements of the Revolutionary War take place in the towns of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts.

1768

AUGUST

John Witherspoon becomes president of the College and begins to recruit students from aristocratic families in the lucrative slave economies of British North America and the Caribbean.

1775

1776

**2
JULY**

New Jersey adopts its first state constitution, which does not restrict suffrage by race or gender: Black men and single women who meet age and property requirements are permitted to vote.

**4
JULY**

The Second Continental Congress formally declares independence from Great Britain. John Witherspoon is the only minister and only college president to sign the Declaration of Independence.

**3
JAN.**

With the Battle of Princeton, Central Jersey falls under Continental Army authority — making it more difficult for slaves to flee to British-occupied territory.



1780

Michael Hoy, enslaved on the estate of Col. George Morgan (now part of the campus), escapes on a mare believed to be stolen from Samuel Stanhope Smith 1769, then professor of moral philosophy and later Princeton president.

1781

Southern students for the first time comprise half of the College's student body.

1783

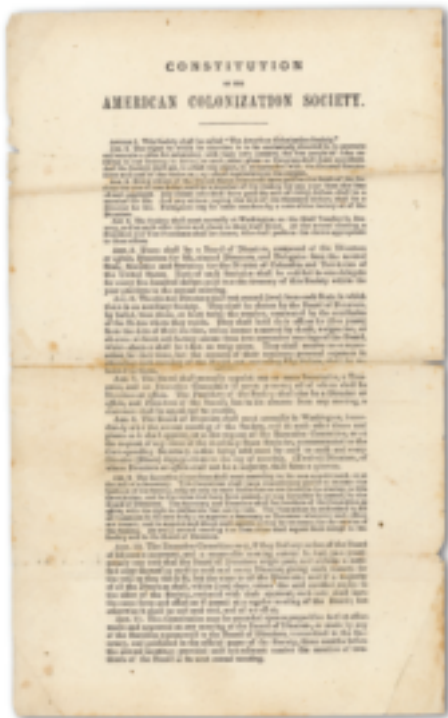
**30–4
JUNE NOV.**

The Continental Congress meets in Nassau Hall.

**3
SEPT.**

The Treaty of Paris ends the Revolutionary War.

In effect, Princeton was ground zero for the colonization movement in the United States. The College's support for the movement drew other Princeton affiliates into the American Colonization Society's effort to colonize free blacks and suppress the African slave trade.



Constitution of the American Colonization Society, which sought to move free black people to Africa.

statesman from Virginia who had briefly attended Princeton — organized the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Colour of the United States (also known as the American Colonization Society or the ACS).

In effect, Princeton was ground zero for the colonization movement in the United States. The College's support for the movement drew other Princeton affiliates into the ACS's effort to colonize free blacks and suppress the African slave trade. Members of the Princeton community helped arrange for Lt. Robert F. Stockton — the scion of Princeton's most illustrious family — to receive command of a new cruiser that the Navy planned to use in its campaign against the African slave trade. Stockton conducted two tours of the African coast. In addition to suppressing the African slave trade, he personally negotiated on behalf of the ACS the purchase of a 130-mile-long and 40-mile-wide swath of coastline. This land would form the basis of Liberia, the American colony for free blacks.

The real steward of the ACS in New Jersey was a young professor at Princeton named John Maclean Jr., who had graduated from the College in 1816. Maclean took a deep and abiding interest in colonization. As a Northern clergyman, he sought a vehicle to encourage voluntary manumissions, protect society from an influx of newly freed blacks, spread Christianity to Africa, and suppress the African slave trade. But Maclean could also empathize with the reluctance of slaveholders to part with their property. His own father, Princeton's first chemistry professor, had died in 1814 while in possession of two slaves: a girl named Sal and a boy named Charles. The younger Maclean rose through the ranks to become Princeton's 10th president in 1854, and throughout his long career sought to promote harmony between the Northern and Southern members of his beloved community. Princeton's close affiliation with the ACS seemed useful and beneficial. After all, the ACS allowed members of the College community to demonstrate their distaste for slavery, without having to call for its abolition.

In the long run, though, Princeton could not depend on the colonization movement to mediate the conflicting desires of slaveholders and non-slaveholders. During the 1830s, a new generation of abolitionists began to call for the immediate abolition of slavery. Consequently, the colonization movement came under pressure both from those who called for the slaves to be freed, and from the increasingly defensive slaveholders who responded that slavery was actually a positive good for society, rather than a necessary evil. Abolitionists abandoned the ACS and slaveholders became suspicious of the colonization movement, which had tacitly encouraged voluntary manumissions. This polarization sapped the popularity of the ACS, especially in conservative areas like Princeton. The Princeton members of the group were becoming more concerned with abolitionism, which in their view now constituted a greater threat than slavery to the survival of their beloved republic.

On May 9, 1848, Henry Craft sat down to write in his diary. The 25-year-old from Holly Springs, Miss., had come to the College just a few months earlier to study law. He spent some time that day with Daniel Baker, an undergraduate from his hometown. Baker was an aspiring minister who sought a post in New England. But he was anxious about working in a region that held “erroneous opinions & prejudices” regarding slavery. As Craft confided in his diary: “We think almost all slaveholders look upon the institution as an evil, a curse to the country & would gladly blot it out could any feasible plan be devised, but in complete destitution of any such plan think that the evil is a necessary one & should be made as tolerable as possible.”

The increasing sectional conflict during the late antebellum period

presented a special dilemma for Princeton. In essence, the College faced the same persistent challenge as the United States itself: the challenge of preserving a community of both slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Some Southern parents worried about exposing their sons to abolitionism. “I am anxious to know all about Princeton before I consent to give you up to the Institution for the formation of your character,” wrote one father in Louisiana to his son in 1856. “If there be ... [a] strong ... abolition feeling there,” he clarified, “I should not desire you to remain in it.” And for many students, from both North and South, the town of Princeton’s sizable free black community challenged their preconceived views. In 1850, Charles C. Jones Jr. of Georgia wrote to his parents that the Negro Sons of Temperance had paraded through town. “It was a strange sight to those of us who were from the slave states,” he noted.

College administrators sought to make their Southern students and slaveholding patrons feel welcome. In 1835, the trustees turned down an offer of \$1,000 — a tremendous sum at the time — if the College would admit students “irrespective of color.” Members of the faculty, including the acclaimed theologian Charles Hodge, reassured their Southern students that the Bible sanctioned slavery. Others made no secret of their sympathies for the South. Jones raved about the “truly Southern” chemistry Professor Richard Sears McCulloch (Class of 1836), who would later attempt to build a chemical weapon for the Confederacy.

During the 1830s, ’40s and ’50s, Princeton became increasingly conservative on the subject of slavery. “Whilst I was a student at Nassau Hall,” recalled Alabamian Edward W. Smith, of the Class of 1848, “the political elements that existed there seemed to be entirely conservative, and friendly to the South, and no prejudice to all external appearances, existed in the minds of educated and thoughtful men, in that locality, against our institutions.” Most of the students — Northerners and Southerners alike — avoided discussion of slavery.

Indeed, students focused less on the nation’s peculiar institution than on threats to the status quo. Abolitionists, in particular, raised the students’ ire. In 1835, John Witherspoon Woods, the grandson of President Witherspoon and a member of the Class of 1837, wrote to his mother that 60 of his fellow students nearly lynched an abolitionist. The students “went down to a negro man’s house, where they heard this Abolitionist was holding a meeting ... & taking the fellow by the arms asked him to come along with them.” The abolitionist “refused & told them to stand off, for he had the law on his side & that he would make use of it.” The students retorted that “they had Lynch law which was sufficient for them.” They proceeded to burn the abolitionist’s subscription paper and force him “to run for his life” out of town. Southern students also attempted to impose their own notions of racial superiority on Princeton’s relatively sizable free black community. In 1846, two Southern students — Grenville Peirce and Jerry Taylor — instigated a brawl between Southern and Northern students when they sought retribution against a local black man who had scuffled with them on the street two days earlier. One student recorded in his diary that the black man was ultimately “recaptured — taken out & whipped within an inch of his Life.”

In general, Princeton’s administrators encouraged the notion that abolitionism — and not slavery — posed the most pressing threat to the preservation of peace. In 1850, they invited U.S. Rep. David Kaufman of Texas (Class of 1833) to give a Commencement speech. Kaufman spent much of his hour-and-a-half-long address warning the students to “beware of demagogues in the guise of abolitionists.” He called them “murderers and dis-unionists” who threatened the very existence of American life. “Abolish slavery,” he exclaimed, “and after that the same men would abolish the Bible.”

To keep the peace during a period of mounting sectional tensions over

1787

Samuel Stanhope Smith writes “Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species,” positing that racial differences stemmed from nothing more than climate.

21 JUNE 1788

The U.S. Constitution is ratified. It mentions slavery several times: Article 1, Section 2 includes the “three-fifths compromise”; Article 1, Section 9 prohibits the federal government from banning the importation of slaves before 1808; and Article 4, Section 2 requires the return of fugitive slaves to their masters.

1790

The proportion of Southerners in the student body reaches its high point: 67 percent.

1794

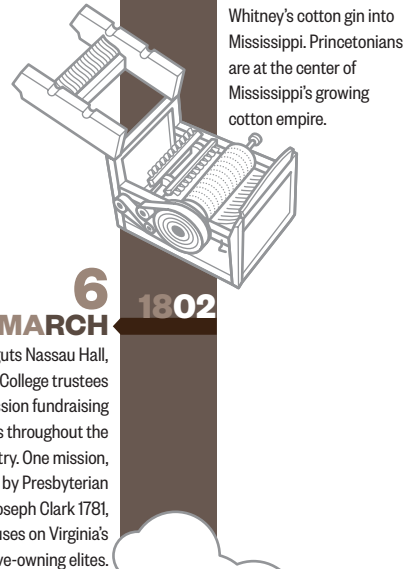
The College formally prohibits students from bringing their own servants to campus.

mid 1790s

William Gordon Forman 1786 introduces Eli Whitney’s cotton gin into Mississippi. Princetonians are at the center of Mississippi’s growing cotton empire.

6 MARCH 1802

A fire guts Nassau Hall, prompting College trustees to commission fundraising efforts throughout the country. One mission, undertaken by Presbyterian minister Joseph Clark 1781, focuses on Virginia’s slave-owning elites.



In 1924, the University held its Biennial Convention of the Princeton Alumni Association in Atlanta, where the members promoted the University's longstanding connections with the South. They donated \$1,000 toward the construction of the Confederate monument on Stone Mountain, in Georgia, and enjoyed a tour of the site.



slavery, the Princeton community agreed to disagree. As one proslavery student wrote to an anti-slavery friend in 1860: "Though politically we differ, and each has tried to convince the other that the Constitution does not & does recognize 'property in men,' yet in the broad platform of the Union I think we meet." Some students even boasted of their tolerance for political pluralism. In 1856, Henry Kirke White Muse, a member of the Class of 1859 from Louisiana, informed his father that "politics is the engrossing topic here now, and we have every class: Southern Fire-eaters, ultra-Democrats, Black Republicans, Abolitionists, old line Whigs, etc." This type of tolerance had its limits, though. "The Black Republicans and abolitionists," Muse assured, "are very few, and have sense enough to keep their principles to themselves." Princetonians promoted their community as an example for the broader American public. In one letter to his father, Muse reported that Yale — an institution of "abolition higher lawism" — had allowed the abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher to encourage students to take up arms against slaveholders. "Be sure," Muse wrote, "that such a thing could never take place at Nassau Hall." He then added: "Let the Southerners come here. I believe that old Princeton College is THE College, not the college of the South, nor of the North, but the college of the Union."

But "the college of the Union" could not remain intact without the Union itself. When the Union crumbled in 1861, the College community divided, too. Having endeavored for so long to make Southerners feel at home in Princeton, President Maclean could only advise his students to follow their hearts in picking sides. "Remember Dr. McLean's advice to us when he spoke of the present agitation in our country," wrote one member of the Class of 1861 to another. "He bid us [to] decide for ourselves which was right & then go in calmly yet manfully & support our opinion at all cost." With such advice in mind, Southern students in 1861 began writing after their signatures "CSA" — the new abbreviation for the Confederate States of America.

Princeton's antebellum distinctiveness as a Northern institution seeking a middle ground on slavery that would placate both Southern and Northern students did not end with the peace at Appomattox. The Civil War monument in the entry foyer of Nassau Hall preserves in marble the school's middle path, testifying to a distinctive strain of reconciliationist memory that celebrated brotherly sacrifice over politics or moral causes, and denied the very real differences over the institution of slavery that once divided North and South, not to mention the College community.

At Princeton University, which saw some 600 of her sons enlist for military duty during the Civil War, the erasure of history would be complete. The original plans for the University's Civil War memorial inscribed in 1921–22 called for the students to be grouped by their Union or Confederate affiliation. But University President John Grier Hibben (Class of 1882) rejected this plan: "No, the names shall be placed alphabetically, and no one shall know on which side these young men fought." The resulting memorial may be the only one in the nation to list the dead from both sides, without indicating the cause for which they died. Well into the 20th century, then, Princeton sought to remain a congenial home for Northerners and Southerners alike, emphasizing the sacrifice that drew its students together rather than the politics that pushed them apart.

Meanwhile, far away from campus, Princeton employed the politics of memory in order to regain its reputation as a welcoming oasis in the North for white Southerners. In 1924, the University held its Biennial Convention of the Princeton Alumni Association in Atlanta, where the members promoted the University's longstanding connections with the South. They

donated \$1,000 toward the construction of the Confederate monument on Stone Mountain, in Georgia, and enjoyed a tour of the site. The *Trenton Sunday Times* noted that Gutzon Borglum, the famous sculptor of the monument, had received an honorary degree from the University. The newspaper also remarked that the Alumni Association's generous "tribute" to the new Confederate monument could be considered "a memorial to the association of Princeton, from its beginning, with the South, for in antebellum days the sons of Southern families were numerously represented at the old College of New Jersey." Many of Princeton's Southern students "gave their lives for the lost cause."

Not surprisingly, the representatives from Princeton who attended the meeting also took the opportunity to assure Southerners of the University's commitment to sectional reconciliation. In a radio address broadcast from Atlanta, President Hibben stated proudly: "It might be of interest to draw attention to the fact that on the memorial tablet in Nassau Hall, our oldest college building, in memory of Princeton men who died in the Civil War, we have placed the names of men of the North and of the South in alphabetical order, indicating that they are all united without distinction in our memory." In failing, at that particular moment, to grapple as an institution with the larger meanings of the Civil War, Princeton University once again proved itself a mirror to a nation that even now has not fully reckoned with the legacy of slavery. ♦

This essay has been excerpted and adapted from a longer version found at <https://slavery.princeton.edu>.

Craig B. Hollander, a history professor at the College of New Jersey, was a postdoctoral fellow at Princeton. Princeton history professor Martha A. Sandweiss has directed the Princeton & Slavery Project, begun in 2013.

THE SCIENTIST'S ASSISTANT

Famed professor Joseph Henry had an indispensable helper in his lab: a free black man, Sam Parker

BY JULIA GRUMMITT GS

BEFORE ACCEPTING AN appointment in Washington, D.C., as the first secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Joseph Henry spent 14 years at the College of New Jersey — now Princeton — where he served as chair of the natural history department between 1832 and 1846. During his tenure at Princeton, Henry taught courses on subjects ranging from natural history and chemistry to architecture, while assembling an impressive physical laboratory in Philosophical Hall.

In an 1876 letter to Samuel Bayard Dod 1857, Henry recalled the "several thousand original investigations on electricity, magnetism, and electro-magnetism" he

1804

15 FEB.

New Jersey passes an act mandating the gradual abolition of slavery.

2 MARCH

1807

Congress passes a law prohibiting the international importation of slaves.

1813

15 NOV.

The New Jersey Legislature limits voting rights to taxpaying white men (the state constitution itself is amended to restrict suffrage to white men in 1844).

1816

21 DEC.

Charles Fenton Mercer 1797, who had studied under Samuel Stanhope Smith, helps organize the American Colonization Society, a movement to colonize free blacks.

1817

Ashbel Green frees one of his slaves, Betsey Stockton, who goes on to become a missionary and teacher.

ca. 1830

About one-quarter of New Jersey's black population are either slaves or "slaves for a term" with a scheduled release date under state law.

1832

NOVEMBER

Joseph Henry begins a 14-year stint as chairman of natural history at the College of New Jersey, where a free black man named Sam Parker works as his laboratory assistant. Henry continues to be celebrated at Princeton; there is little record of what happened to Parker.

1835

The College turns down an offer of \$1,000 — a large gift at the time — if it would admit students "irrespective of color."

The vision of Henry as an ingenious inventor and “great discoverer” expressed in Dod’s 1878 memorial address lives on at Princeton today. ... Far less attention, however, has been paid to the free black man who made much of Henry’s research possible: Sam Parker.



Statue of Joseph Henry outside the front doors of Frist Campus Center

made while at Princeton, writing: “They have cost me years of labor and much expense.” Following Henry’s death two years later, Dod delivered a memorial address in the College chapel celebrating the former professor as a “great discoverer” who had ingeniously “devised and in great measure constructed the apparatus with which many of his wonderful discoveries were made.” Henry’s laboratory included several large instruments, among them a galvanic battery with adjustable output, an electromagnet of unprecedented strength, and induction coils of his own devising, but his research at Princeton was not the work of a self-sacrificing genius. The laboratory — and the experiments carried out in it — depended upon the assistance of his mixed-race servant and assistant, Sam Parker.

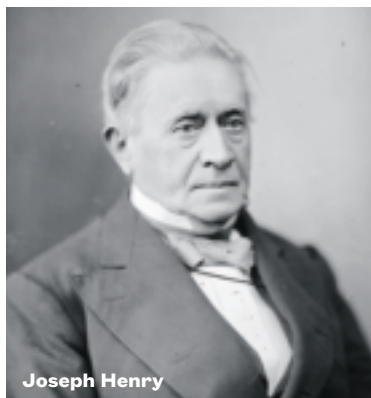
By the time Henry came to Princeton in 1832, he had already established his reputation as one of the 19th century’s leading researchers in electromagnetism. But while student memoirs from the 1840s recalled the prototype telegraph the professor operated between his classroom and home (now the Joseph Henry House) with great amazement, Henry’s earliest years at Princeton were scientifically disappointing. Henry lamented that “no lectures had been given ... nor experiments shown to the class for many years,” and considered the laboratory equipment “deficient in quality” and in “a very bad state of preservation.” Henry set about the task of improving Princeton’s research facilities, and in 1840 the College provided the assistance of Sam Parker. As Henry explained in an 1841 letter to mathematician Elias Loomis: “The Trustees have however furnished me with an article which I now find indispensable, namely with a coloured servant whom I have taught to manage my batteries and who now relieves me from all the dirty work of the laboratory.”

Paid an annual salary of \$48, Parker would work in Henry’s laboratory and household for the next six years. His assistance became so critical to Henry’s research that when Parker fell ill for a brief period in June 1842, Henry’s experiments halted entirely.

Parker was responsible for a number of tasks in the laboratory, and Henry’s correspondence documented Parker obtaining material for experiments (“Sam my assistant provided a piece of the long gut of an ox”), solving technical issues (“Sam has remedied the defect today by rolling the pasteboard into a scroll of double thickness”), and occasionally serving as a test subject in Henry’s electrical experiments (“When the discharge was made Sam felt a severe shock up to his shoulders”).

Other individuals, including Henry himself and an unidentified “Mr —”, participated alongside Parker as human galvanometers in these experiments, but it seems unlikely that Henry’s “assistant” had much say in the matter of his participation. Student memoirist Edward Shippen 1845 recalled that students who assisted with Professor Henry’s lecture demonstrations would “insulate” Parker, “snapping sparks from his nose and chin,” and Parker “stood for it like a hero, ‘in the interests of science,’” but notes that Parker did find ways to respond. Having established a bustling trade exchanging the turkey dinners he delivered to student dorm rooms late at night for secondhand clothing, Parker “made up for these jokes awfully when he began to bargain with the boys,” Shippen wrote.

According to Shippen, “Professor Henry’s Sam” was “one of the most important persons in Princeton (according to the Students view).” Describing Parker several times over the course of his memoir as a “big, very light-colored, shrewd mulatto man,” “a wily mulatto,” and a “supple big yellow man,” Shippen presented an almost mythic account of the free black man rumored to own more than 100 suits of clothing. Changing his outfit several times each day, Parker was “much pleased with the attention he attracted” and always “passed along the front of North College on his way to the Laboratory.” The Princeton alumnus made no secret of



Joseph Henry

the ambivalence he and other students felt for Parker, writing: “We liked Sam — as an engine — and hated him as a ‘ginger nigger’ who owned 100 suits of clothes, and put on airs.” According to Shippen, Parker became “very docile” after being “thoroughly flailed” by a north Jerseyman. He suggested, approvingly, that Parker understood his place: He “knew exactly ‘when he lived.’”

For his part, Henry referred to Parker as a “servant” and “assistant” interchangeably — perhaps revealing just how central the interests of science were to the way the professor and future statesman understood the world, and how blind he could sometimes be to the world beyond it. Like many Northerners, Henry was an anti-slavery sympathizer who “did not much like the idea of living in a slave state,” though he freely admitted that his political principles alone would not have stopped him from accepting a teaching position in the South.

Like many educated men of his day, Henry believed in the existence of a hierarchy of human races and the impossibility of a racially integrated society, and he actively supported colonization schemes, donating three dollars to the New Jersey Colonization Society in 1839. As late as 1862, Henry wrote to Asa Gray — botanist, Harvard professor, and friend of Charles Darwin — that he was “warmly” in favor of colonization. That same year, when a series of lectures from prominent abolitionists including Wendell Phillips, Horace Greeley, Henry Ward Beecher, and Ralph Waldo Emerson took place in the Smithsonian auditorium before an audience that included President Lincoln, Henry barred Frederick Douglass from speaking. Henry explained, “I would not let the lecture of the coloured man be given in the rooms of the Smithsonian.”

There is little record of what happened to Sam Parker after the Henry family left New Jersey in 1846. Though Parker had been an indispensable assistant, his work in Henry’s laboratory was ultimately contingent upon his servitude. The nature of the relationship between Henry and Parker is perhaps expressed most clearly in one of the professor’s final references to Parker. In a letter sent in January 1847 to his wife, Harriet, who remained on campus with their children for a period following his departure for Washington, Henry wrote: “I hope Sam is attentive and steady — He must not be allowed to be out at nights now that I am away.”

The vision of Henry as an ingenious inventor and “great discoverer” expressed in Dod’s 1878 memorial address lives on at Princeton today. The professor is memorialized at the Joseph Henry House, by a statue outside the main doors of the Frist Campus Center, and in the murals in Green Hall painted by Gifford Beal in 1946. Several instruments from Henry’s Princeton laboratory are also displayed in the lobby of Jadwin Hall. Far less attention, however, has been paid to the free black man who made much of Henry’s research possible: Sam Parker. ♦

This article was adapted from an essay that can be found at <https://slavery.princeton.edu>.

Julia Grummitt is a graduate student in Princeton’s history department studying visual culture in 19th-century North America.

1835 SEPTEMBER

About 60 Princeton students mob a white abolitionist known as Silas Tripp, threatening to tar and feather him. He escapes serious injury but is run out of town.

1839

AUGUST

James Collins Johnson arrives in Princeton after escaping slavery in Maryland, beginning work as a janitor on campus.

1840

Professor Albert Dod is one of the last remaining slaveholders in New Jersey.

28 JULY

James Collins Johnson is arrested as a fugitive slave, but later is freed by a local woman. A local celebrity, he continues to work on campus until his death in 1902.

1843

1846

JUNE

More than a dozen Southern students mob, whip, and nearly kill a black man who had come to the defense of a black woman on the street. A student describes how future College president John Maclean Jr. 1816 “took active part in the defence” of the man “and dealt blows about [himself] lustily.”



24 JULY

1850

U.S. Rep. David Kaufman 1833 of Texas gives an anti-abolitionist, pro-slavery speech at Commencement. “Abolish slavery, and the same men would abolish the Bible,” he says.



MOSES TAYLOR PYNE AND THE SUGAR PLANTATIONS OF THE AMERICAS

What was behind a great benefactor's fortune

BY MAEVE GLASS *16

During his tenure as trustee, Pyne's financial contributions subsidized not only the new library, but also the construction of two undergraduate dormitories on Nassau Street, a slew of new faculty and graduate housing, and endowments for initiatives ranging from a history seminar to a professorship.



Princeton benefactor Moses Taylor Pyne in conversation at Drumthwacket, which he purchased in 1893. Today it is the official residence of the governor of New Jersey.

WHEN THE heat of the first summer of the 20th century settled over campus, a 45-year-old New York lawyer drafted a check for the ceiling fans that would soon turn overhead in the new wing of the Chancellor Green library. The payment of \$37 that offered relief to the students was by far one of the smallest contributions that Moses Taylor Pyne, Class of 1877, made to his beloved alma mater. Since joining the Board of Trustees 16 years earlier, the lawyer had contributed anonymous donations with such frequency that when he died in 1921, obituary writers dared not even venture an estimate.

Indeed, by that summer of 1900, Pyne's support for the new library stacks adjacent to Chancellor Green had accrued to a sum that would alone be worth nearly \$14 million today. During his tenure as trustee, Pyne's financial contributions subsidized not only the new library, but also the construction of two undergraduate dormitories on Nassau Street, a slew of new faculty and graduate housing, and endowments for initiatives ranging from a history seminar to a professorship. Today, the Pyne family name graces some of the most iconic buildings on campus, as well as the résumés of celebrated graduates who have received the Pyne Prize, Princeton's highest undergraduate honor.

Despite the prominence of Pyne's financial support to Princeton, the complex roots of that support have remained largely out of view. Pyne's fortune is most often explained with broad references to either his success as a commercial lawyer in New York or his inheritance of a large estate from his grandfather, Moses Taylor, usually described in his capacity as a successful merchant and founding president of a New York bank.

A return to the leather-bound account book in which Pyne or his clerk inscribed the payments for the library fans that July of 1900, however, reveals the beginnings of a more complicated story. These records show that Pyne's payments stemmed directly from an estate whose earliest foundations lay not simply in the financial industry of New York, but in the daily work of carrying the produce of the continent's largest sugar plantations to the markets of the world.

Those foundations began to be constructed in the early spring of 1832, in a Manhattan counting house up the road from the city's bustling wharves. That March, Pyne's grandfather — 23-year-old Moses Taylor — drafted a handwritten circular announcing the launch of a new commission firm at 44 South St. The letter was succinct and to the point. For a

percentage of the profits, Moses Taylor and Co. would transport and sell the produce of the continent's richest soils to the markets of the world.

Over the next four decades, as Taylor's son-in-law Percy Rivington Pyne took over the firm's day-to-day management, the fledgling business grew to become one of the most successful firms in the global sugar trade. By the eve of the Civil War, the firm had secured control of nearly one-fifth of the commercial exchanges between Cuba, the world's largest sugar exporter, and the United States. In doing so, it created the foundations of an estate whose roots lay inextricably entangled with the rise of the largest sugar plantations in North America, fueled by the labor of the enslaved.

From the outset, the geographic scope of the firm's shipping business made clear that neither Taylor nor his son-in-law had any aversion to carrying the produce harvested by the enslaved. Like many ship owners in New York starting out in the commission business in the 1830s, Taylor originally cast a broad net, offering to carry the produce of plantations that ran along the full length of the southern Atlantic Coast and the Gulf Coast, from the rice of the Carolinas to the cotton of the Mississippi Delta. Taylor's incoming correspondence in the opening decade of business teemed with letters and reports listing the most current prices of produce from Charleston to Savannah to New Orleans.

By the mid-1830s, the firm had focused its shipping enterprise on a zone of production that would become the last great bastion of slavery in North America: the island of Cuba, where newly constructed railroads promised a route into the less-depleted interior and where the recently enacted laws of neighboring islands abolishing slave labor did not apply.

For centuries, the great slave ships had arrived from the coast of Africa in the warm waters of the Caribbean Sea, each laden with chained men and a handful of women to work the fields on the archipelago of small islands. The English called the region by its produce: the "Sugar Islands." By the eve of the American Revolution in 1774, this archipelago had become one of the densest slave societies in the Americas.

Beginning in the early 1800s, however, the fleet of slave ships that arrived from Africa had begun to sail past these smaller islands. Instead, they converged on the ports of Cuba: a place where the slave traders could still find a welcome market for their cargos and where, for the first time, in 1837, iron rails leading out from Havana along the old cart roads into the deep valleys of the interior promised the conquest of some of the most fertile soils in the hemisphere.

Eager to capitalize on the opening of this last sugar frontier, under Percy Pyne's management, Moses Taylor and Co. began to construct a portfolio of partnerships with some of the island's most powerful planters — some of whom were engaged in the slave trade itself.

One of the first and most prominent members of the firm's network was the Havana-based firm of Drake Brothers, said to be responsible for two-thirds of all sugar exported off the island. Although the business was primarily a mercantile firm, its head, Carlos Drake, proudly introduced himself as "... a proprietor ... of a sugar plantation" with some 400 slaves. Other key partners in the portfolio included Tomás Terry, a planter with so much sugar to his name he did not even always know how much of it was held in Moses Taylor's warehouse. Terry — who reportedly had made his initial fortune buying sick slaves and then reselling them for profit — first began doing business with Moses Taylor as early as 1838. By 1865, Terry was consigning more than \$1 million worth of sugar and molasses to the firm on an annual basis, from his property holdings in Cuba that grew to include seven of the largest plantations on the island. Indeed, by the time of the American Civil War, the firm had built a network that encompassed at least 24 estates on the island and that profited directly from the labor of thousands of enslaved men and women.

As the ships of Moses Taylor and Co. sailed for the island with ever-

1851

About 63 percent of students in the Class of 1851 are from slave states.

29
JUNE

The College sends its new graduates off with a pro-slavery perspective. As John P. Jackson 1823 says in an address: "It has not been the destiny of Princeton College to prove a nursery for the ultraists, the agitators, and the fanatics of the day," but to maintain and advance its "great social institutions."

1859

1860

6
NOV.

Abraham Lincoln is elected as the 16th president of the United States. In New Jersey, Lincoln loses the popular vote but narrowly prevails in the electoral count.



18
DEC.

Two days before South Carolina becomes the first Southern state to secede from the Union, four Southern students withdraw from the College. By June 1861, 74 Southern students have returned home, many of whom would later fight opposite their Northern classmates during the Civil War.

1861

Southern students begin tacking "CSA," for Confederate States of America, onto their signatures.

11
APRIL

Confederate forces open fire on the Union garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston, S.C., touching off the first battle of the Civil War.

1863

1
JAN.

The Emancipation Proclamation takes effect, bolstering the anti-slavery movement and encouraging enslaved people to flee to Union lines.



increasing frequency, so too did an ever-growing number of ships arrive in Havana from Africa, carrying hundreds of chained men and women who had been sold into slavery. Within the first decade of the first arrival of Taylor's fleets, 180,000 enslaved people had been brought to the island to work the booming plantation economy.

Those who visited the new estates of the interior returned with stories recounting the horrors they had witnessed. Nine years after Moses Taylor and Co. opened for business, for example, one abolitionist declared the conditions on the island to be "more destructive to human life ... than in any other slave-holding country on the face of the habitable globe." Later visitors would remember the bloodhounds who lay in wait at the gates of the estates. Slaves who survived recalled the endless work of turning the forests of cane into sugar, moving as if imprisoned in a state of half-consciousness, harvesting the sugar soon to be sent down to the docks where the cargo ships lay waiting.

The firm's connection to slave labor was not limited to these formal transactions of carrying the produce of the plantations to market. Increasingly, Moses Taylor and Co. began to offer financial services to the island's planters, investing the profits from their sugar estates in the United States' growing number of industries and corporations. In November of 1851, for example, the firm purchased 120 shares of a coal company in Pennsylvania on behalf of Tomás Terry. By 1872, the firm had invested almost \$3 million in American securities on behalf of Cuban planters.

The continuous stream of handwritten letters that arrived from the island in the firm's Manhattan offices, moreover, suggests that beneath these financial transactions lay a series of intimate and long-standing relationships, particularly between the planters and Percy Pyne, who undertook painstaking efforts to learn Spanish. In 1864, for example, the wealthy planter Ramón Fernández Criado, who owned the Ingenio Neda estate and nearly 400 slaves, sought Pyne's help in resolving a sensitive matter. As he explained in his letter, he had decided to write to Pyne "and not to Moses Taylor because as you know Spanish, it is not necessary for an interpreter to enter into this business, which is very confidential and especially entrusted to you for my protection."

This level of intimacy appears in the nature of the requests that Pyne fielded from the island, ranging from requests for help with urgently needed financial loans to hosting friends who were planning to visit New York. The planter F.G. Rolando wrote to request the firm's help in securing machinery for his plantation; nearly 20 years later, the planter's widow, Mariana Rolando, wrote to request a loan, to be repaid in sugar.

Indeed, amid the firm's records, one finds the will of a planter named Lorenzo Jay dated 1866 — the year after Congress ratified the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery in the United States. In neat cursive, the will lists both the 220 slaves who worked on Jay's plantation at the time of his death, as well as a statement of the \$322,435 he had on account with Moses Taylor and Co.

On the strength of these networks, Taylor accumulated one of the largest fortunes in the country. By the autumn of 1882, when the estate lawyers assembled in an office in Manhattan to take stock of the recently deceased man's estate, they calculated his assets at a sum worth the equivalent today of \$750 million. And there, amid the paperwork listing the names of the heirs to the estate and executors of the trust was that of Taylor's grandson: a young lawyer named Moses Taylor Pyne, who at the age of 27 found himself as the guardian of a fortune that could transform a small college in New Jersey into one of the world's leading universities. ♦

This article was adapted from a longer essay that can be found at <https://slavery.princeton.edu>.

*Legal historian Maeve Glass *16 is an academic fellow at Columbia Law School.*

1865 **16 MARCH**

New Jersey is the only state in the North to vote against the ratification of the 13th Amendment, which abolishes slavery.

9 MAY

President Andrew Johnson declares the end of the Civil War.



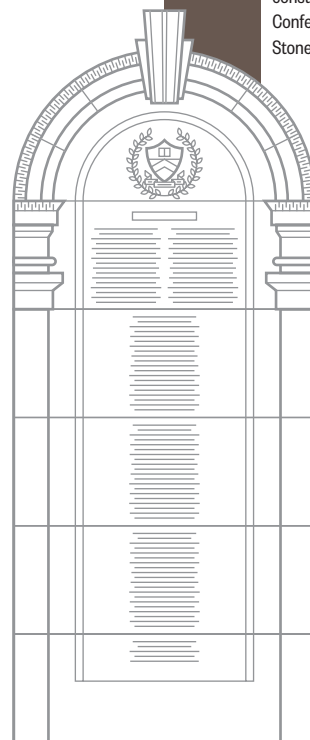
1923

The names of alumni who died in the Civil War are added to Princeton's Memorial Atrium in Nassau Hall. It is believed to be the only memorial in the United States that lists both Union and Confederate Civil War dead without indicating the side each soldier fought for.

1924

21–23 MARCH

The Princeton Alumni Association meets in Atlanta; a week later, it donates \$1,000 toward the construction of the Confederate monument on Stone Mountain.



READ MORE ESSAYS at
<https://slavery.princeton.edu>

In Videos, Family Conversations

As part of the Princeton & Slavery Project, students made short videos that illustrate how the legacy of slavery continues to have an impact on Princetonians. The students interviewed alumni and family members and used archived materials to tell multifaceted stories about ancestors' relationships to the institution of slavery. The videos can be seen at <https://slavery.princeton.edu>. ♦ *Compiled by James Haynes '18*



KIM PEARSON '78

Eli Berman '20 interviewed Kim Pearson '78, who describes the pain she felt upon learning about her great-grandfather Jordan Mitchell, above, who had been enslaved as a young child. Pearson found Mitchell's name in a tax record that listed the slaves belonging to a family in Hancock County, Ga.

Pearson: "The things that are supposed to help you understand yourself — whether it's the history books, or the primary or secondary documents — you can't trust those things. You can't. Because there's a whole lot of missing information because your family wasn't important enough for anybody to keep track of them, except as property."



DESTINY SALTER '20

Christo Ritter '20 interviewed Destiny Salter '20, whose earliest known ancestor was purchased in 1796 by Henry Salter in Early County, Ga. Destiny Salter's great-great-great-grandfather Berny was freed after the Civil War, registered to vote, became a sharecropper, and eventually bought land from the white Salter family that remains in her family today.

Salter: "I was not at all surprised to learn about Princeton's connection to slavery ... this place was not built for people that look like me, and yet I'm here. I made it here, and I'm going to graduate from this institution, and so knowing its connections to slavery makes me feel the progress, in a way."



JOHN RODERICK HELLER III '59

Natalie Nagorski '20 interviewed her grandfather John Roderick Heller III '59, a descendant of a slaveholding family.

Heller: "I'm embarrassed and disappointed that my own ancestors were a part of [the institution of slavery]. On the other hand, they happened to settle in the South rather than in the North, so they wound up in an area of slavery over which they presumably had almost no control. I've never felt that the sins of the fathers were visited on the descendants."



NATALIE MCGOWEN '20

Destiny Salter '20 interviewed Natalie McGowen '20, an African American student who learned that she is descended from a black slaveholder. McGowen's great-great-great-grandfather was a property-owning second lieutenant in a mulatto militia.

McGowen: "We always have this image when you're learning about slavery of a white master and a black slave, so it's kind of crazy to know that my black ancestor would enslave people of his own race, and it is upsetting."

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Titus Kaphar (American, born 1976), *Billy Lee: Portrait in Tar*, 2016. Collection of Bill and Christy Gautreaux, Kansas City, Missouri. © Titus Kaphar / image courtesy Jack Shainman Gallery, New York

PRINCETONIANS



OFF TO THE RACES: EJ Bennett '82's Honda motorcycle used to turn heads at Princeton; in 2009, her need for speed took the form of a Porsche Boxster. She was hooked. Today, the Denver-based real-estate attorney gets her thrills from endurance road racing, four to 24 hours of racing that take place on a closed road with several turns and changes in elevation. One race requires several drivers; Bennett takes the wheel or serves as crew chief, communicating with the driver through a headset from the pit. 🏁

Johnny Brewer



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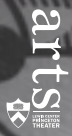
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10-11, 16-18

8 p.m.

Berlind Theatre,
McCarter Theatre Center

\$8 students, \$12 seniors;
\$12 general admission
\$17 general admission day
of show

arts.princeton.edu



What she's reading now:
Echo Tree: The Collected Short Fiction of Henry Dumas. "I am teaching a class on African American science fiction and surrealist literature. It has been wonderful to explore stories from this unique and evocative collection with my students."

family evacuated during Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and spent six months in upstate New York before they could return; the experience prompted her to return to writing fiction. (She has published several short stories over the last decade.) While shaping the novel — her first — she thought back to W.E.B. Du Bois' 1903 essay "The Talented Tenth," which she had first read in a class at Princeton and later taught to her students at Tulane. His idea of a black leadership class inspired Hubbard to literalize Du Bois' essay by endowing her characters with superpowers: One can scale any wall, one belches fire, and another can make precise maps of anywhere, sight unseen. They use their powers for good (advancing civil rights) and ill (burglaries).

The characters' superpowers serve to unearth a layer of truth that is often hidden: "There's an official history of how things were, of how people interact, what their histories are in relation to each other, and the truth is — for a variety of reasons — not included in that," she told *The Guardian*. The characters are "outside the parameters of the normal, of the natural, because that's the only way you can actually see them. They don't fit into the official narrative of history."

The story of the Ribkins family, says Hubbard, is about "appreciating your uniqueness. Sometimes people don't know what to do with their talents. For me, there is a certain heroism in not giving up." ♦ *By Jennifer Altmann*

PRINCETONIANS

READING ROOM: LADEE HUBBARD '93

NEW HEROES FOR A NEW ERA



At the age of 42, Ladee Hubbard '93 packed up her three kids — the youngest 4 months old — and moved from New Orleans to Madison, Wis., to pursue her dream of writing a novel. It was "an enormous leap of faith," Hubbard says.

She arrived with the first chapter of *The Talented Ribkins* (Melville House), a chronicle of a thief's road trip to dig up cash he has stashed in backyards and under floorboards throughout Florida, his 13-year-old niece in tow. The story was inspired by Hubbard's memories of riding in the backseat of her grandfather's car during summer vacations. The Ribkins family harbors an unusual secret: Each member is born with a superpower.

With her husband staying behind to continue teaching at Tulane University, Hubbard enrolled in the master's degree program in creative writing at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, which admits six students a year. She felt self-conscious

among her fellow students, who were mostly in their 20s and 30s, but was determined to finish the book, which she had begun crafting during 5 a.m. writing sessions in her backyard in New Orleans. Before she completed the first semester of the two-year program, she had landed an agent.

Having the opportunity to study with professor emerita Toni Morrison was one of the reasons that Hubbard — who won a Rona Jaffe Foundation Writers' Award in 2016 — chose Princeton.

"I was awestruck by her work, and she was very supportive of my exuberance," says Hubbard, who had Morrison as her thesis adviser. Doing an independent study with professor emeritus Cornel West '80 on African American poetry, Hubbard was introduced to authors Amiri Baraka and Jean Toomer, who have been important influences. West "helped me learn how to analyze a poem line by line and not be intimidated," she says.

After Princeton, Hubbard earned a Ph.D. in folklore and mythology from UCLA and began teaching Africana studies at Tulane. She and her

Cecilia Peck '80 with her mentor: *To Kill a Mockingbird* author and family friend Harper Lee, who died in 2016.



CECILIA PECK '80

A FILMMAKER WITH A MISSION

Lessons about social justice learned at Princeton fuel an activist documentarian

Actor-turned-documentarian Cecilia Peck '80 has lived a life following the moral example set by Atticus Finch of *To Kill A Mockingbird*, played in the film by her father, Gregory. Cecilia Peck, the only daughter of Gregory and wife Veronique, a French journalist, grew up in Los Angeles and went to Catholic schools. She lived a relatively sheltered life, although she traveled to film sets across the world and family dinner guests included Hollywood A-listers like Cary Grant, Audrey Hepburn, and Fred Astaire.

"I developed an awareness of women's issues while at Princeton," Peck says. "While my primary focus was on theater, I knew there was a long way for women to go on campus, and we had the advantage of having an outspoken activist for women's rights — Sally Frank '80 — there to educate us."

Carrying on her penchant for social activism, Peck's latest film is a forthcoming documentary called *Breaking Bones, Breaking Barriers*, about women and minority stunt

performers in Hollywood.

After graduation, Peck was unable to break through in publishing in New York, so she began acting in plays and films. Her acting credits range from *Wall Street* to *My Best Friend Is a Vampire* to *Torn Apart*, where she plays a Palestinian teacher in love with an Israeli soldier.



"I developed an awareness of women's issues while at Princeton. While my primary focus was on theater, I knew there was a long way for women to go on campus."

— Cecilia Peck '80

She was nominated for a Golden Globe for her role in *The Portrait*, a 1993 made-for-television movie that co-starred her father and Lauren Bacall.

But at 35, Peck reassessed her career and started to make the move into documentaries. Peck, who speaks French, apprenticed with Barbara Kopple, director of two Oscar-winning documentaries, who was shooting in France and needed a bilingual assistant producer. The pair later collaborated on a documentary about Gregory Peck. Kopple and Peck would also co-direct and produce the critically acclaimed *Shut Up & Sing*, about the public backlash against the Dixie Chicks after their lead singer said that she was ashamed then-President George W. Bush was a Texan.

A model from Israel, Linor Abargil, saw the film and was so moved by Peck's work that in 2008 she sought out Peck to help tell her own story. Abargil had been crowned Miss World in 1998, just weeks after being raped at knifepoint. Making what became the Emmy-nominated *Brave Miss World* took five years, with shoots in South Africa, Israel, Italy, and on U.S. college campuses, including Princeton. It demanded thousands of hours of fundraising.

The film follows Abargil as she helps rape survivors take back their lives through her own example. At one point, Abargil's PTSD symptoms returned and she left the project for six months. Peck stuck with it; "I felt [this] was one of the most important films I could ever make."

Peck still tours with *Brave Miss World* on college campuses and says its website, bravemissworld.com, has had 5.6 million visitors and has become an important online resource for survivors of sexual assault.

Peck is married to journalist Daniel Voll and has a son, Harper (named for *Mockingbird* author Harper Lee), and daughter, Ondine. Her latest film takes aim at widespread and deeply entrenched discrimination facing stunt performers. She is in the final phases of fundraising for *Breaking Bones*, due out next year.

"Did you know," she asks, "that white stuntmen were 'painted down' to double for black performers? And for women, sometimes they put wigs on a guy?" ♦ By Michael Goldstein '78

Princeton Pride



Ryan McCarty '14

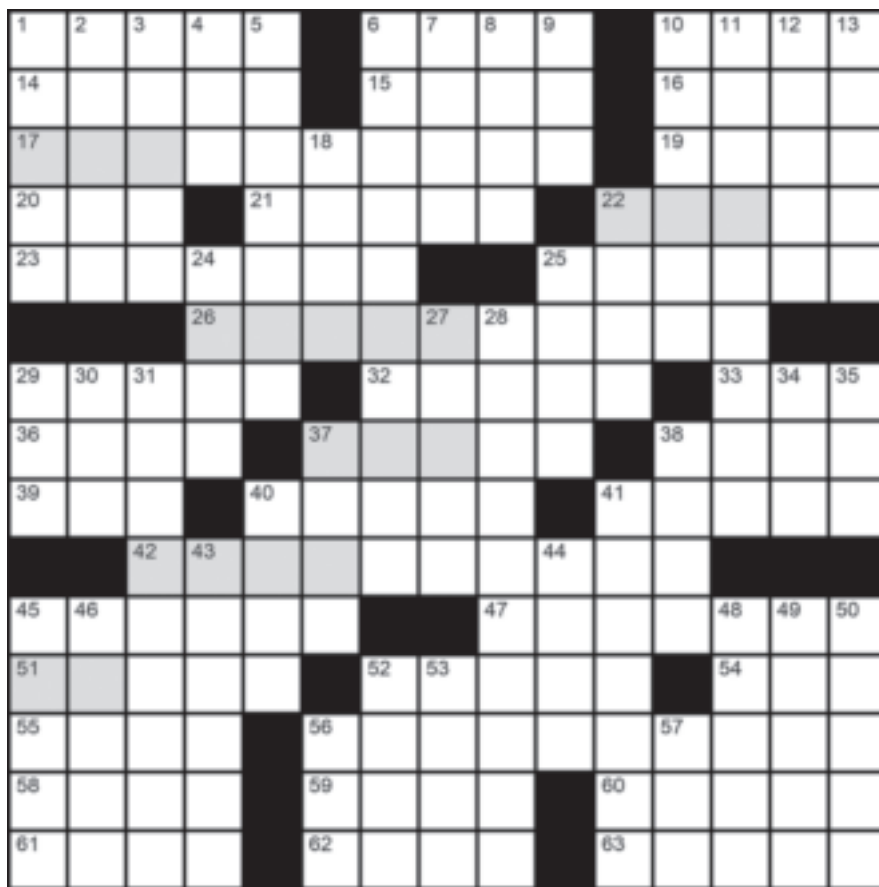
started doing crossword puzzles at Princeton:

"I have always had a penchant for word games, but I can't say I was too great at

crosswords at first," he says. When he tried creating puzzles from scratch, the music major (with a certificate in applications of computing) found both his creative and analytical skills helpful. McCarty, now a technology consultant at the Securities and Exchange Commission, began submitting puzzles for publication only last year — since then, his work has appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and the *Los Angeles Times*. ♦

Across

1. Panache
6. Drunkards
10. Trials and tribulations
14. Crazy Ex-Girlfriend network
15. Biblical twin
16. Losing strategy?
17. *Trendy nighttime dancing locale
19. Like a thick custard
20. Suffix with "elect"
21. Hybrid fruit with a pit
22. *Former Indy champ Bobby
23. Horseman?
25. Baby's plaything
26. *Golden-brown quartz stones
29. Ivy's support, maybe
32. Some pregame beers
33. Performer yukking it up
36. Sudden takeover
37. *Fiber used to make rugs
38. 2008 Obama catchword
39. Die down
40. Chief Justice in the Dred Scott case
41. Scattered, as seeds
42. *Toys making a comeback?
45. Hannity's onetime counterpart, on Fox News
47. Wobbles
51. *In the lead
52. Architect who designed the Lewis Library
54. Nada
55. Dog owner's ordeal
56. Princeton cheer that's indicated by the beginnings of the six starred clues (with proper repeats, of course)



58. 18.36 square miles, for Princeton
59. Cyclotron fodder
60. ___ calculus (kidney stone)
61. Tilt
62. Funny ___
63. Ring ominously

Down

1. Work ___ (good student's value system)
2. Sour cream morsel
3. Also-ran in the 2017 French presidential election
4. Katzenjammer cry
5. Makeup of the "dead man's hand"
6. It's used to prevent tapping
7. Where to get one's Nobel Peace Prize
8. Like a drumhead
9. Hero
10. Do some brainstorming
11. Colorful rock concert display
12. Allowed
13. Collegiate Gothic, e.g.
18. Ad
22. They're caught at the beach
24. Convertible cover
25. Microfilm unit

27. Glee Club platform
28. Like some dads
29. Fly through, as a test
30. ___ Lowe, portrayer of *The West Wing*'s Sam Seaborn, a Princeton graduate
31. Fruity Yogurt study-break beverage
34. Copycat
35. Pre-___ (undergrad track)
37. Professor Wang and others
38. Princeton Preview volunteer
40. ___ the line (conformed)
41. WWI hero played by Gary Cooper
43. Alumnus Bruce Lauritzen '65, notably
44. Sociology study
45. Group bent on a 36-Across
46. Alternative to Midway
48. Periodical with click bait, maybe
49. Harvard, for one
50. One cast in a *Harry Potter* movie
52. First choice, as a strategy
53. Domain of Bowen and Shapiro, abbr.
56. Necessary science-course selection
57. Number of Turing Award laureates affiliated with Princeton University

Puzzle solution is on page 70.

CLASS NOTES

Online Class Notes are password protected. To access, alumni must use their TigerNet ID and password. [Click here to log in: http://paw.princeton.edu/class-notes](http://paw.princeton.edu/class-notes)



Crossword solution from page 52.

E	C	L	A	T		S	O	T	S		I	L	L	S
T	H	E	C	W		E	S	A	U		D	I	E	T
H	I	P	H	O	P	C	L	U	B		E	G	G	Y
I	V	E		P	L	U	O	T		R	A	H	A	L
C	E	N	T	A	U	R				R	A	T	T	L
						T	I	G	E	R	S	E	Y	E
A	R	B	O	R		L	I	T	E	S		H	A	M
C	O	U	P		S	I	S	A	L		H	O	P	E
E	B	B		T	A	N	E	Y		S	O	W	E	D
						B	O	O	M	E	R	A	N	G
C	O	L	M	E	S					T	O	T	T	E
A	H	E	A	D		G	E	H	R	Y		Z	I	P
B	A	T	H		L	O	C	O	M	O	T	I	V	E
A	R	E	A		A	T	O	M		R	E	N	A	L
L	E	A	N		B	O	N	E		K	N	E	L	L

MEMORIALS

PAW posts a list of recent alumni deaths at paw.princeton.edu. Go to Reader Services on PAW's home page and click on the link "Recent Alumni Deaths." The list is updated with each new issue.

THE CLASS OF 1940

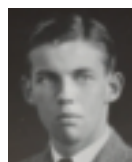
Zim E. Lawhon '40 *51

Zim died April 7, 2017, in Scranton, Pa., his home of many years. Known to all as "The Colonel," he was born in Yoakum, Texas. The only child in an Army family, he came to Princeton from the Texas Military Institute. At Princeton, he majored in chemistry and took his meals at Dial Lodge. He was a member of the band, the Catholic Club, ROTC, the Pistol Club, and the Chemical Club.

Zim served as an Army officer in the Chemical Corps for 30 years, emerging as a colonel. He earned a master's degree at Princeton in 1951. With the 86th Infantry Division, he served in the Ruhr Pocket and in Bavaria, followed by service in the Pacific in the forces headed for Japan at the time of the surrender, and then a post-war stint in the Philippines. In subsequent years he was posted in many places — including Stuttgart — and ended his career as professor of military science at the University of Scranton, which he served as registrar after his retirement from the Army.

Devout Catholics, Zim and Patricia had 13 children, 19 grandchildren, and probably close to a battalion of great-grandchildren, all of who survive him. He is interred at Arlington National Cemetery.

THE CLASS OF 1945



Tom L. Horn Jr. '45

Tom grew up in Charleston, W.Va., and attended the Woodberry Forest School in Orange, Va. At Princeton he was on the freshman and championship intramural-wrestling teams and the golf team. He was the '45 dance committee treasurer, on the senior prom committee, and a member of Cap and Gown. He majored in politics and graduated *cum laude* in 1948.

During World War II, Tom served as a diplomatic courier for the Department of State in South America, Europe, and North Africa. He joined Kanawha Steel & Equipment Co., which had been founded by his parents, eventually succeeding his father as president.

He was a member of the Rotary Club, Edgewood Country Club, Sea Pines Country Club, Farmington Country Club, and St. Matthew's Episcopal Church.

Tom died June 4, 2017. He was predeceased by his two sons, Thomas III and John. He is survived by his wife, Anna Andersen Buck Horn; daughters Mary Preston Yates and Hollister Ann Horn; and grandsons Alex Yates IV, Preston Yates, John Buckland Horn II, and James Dillon Horn.

THE CLASS OF 1948



Roger A. MacKinnon '48

Roger died July 24, 2017, at home in Tenafly, N.J., at age 90. He was a prominent psychiatrist and psychoanalyst in New York City: Roger

had jobs including professor of psychiatry, consultant, author of professional literature, and clinician.

Born in 1927 in Attleboro, Mass., he graduated from the Taft School in 1944, was in the Navy V-12 program at Princeton, and graduated from medical school at Columbia in 1950.

He was on the faculty at Columbia University College of Physicians and Surgeons and maintained a private practice in New York City from the mid-1950s until his retirement in 2014. He also served as president of the New York Institute of Psychoanalysis.

Roger was married three times. He and his first wife, Florence, married during his last year at medical school and were divorced in 1970. They were parents of a son, Stuart; a daughter, Carol; and grandparents of four. Roger also left three adult stepchildren and numerous step-grandchildren.

THE CLASS OF 1949



Frederick W. Hayes '49

Fred died Feb. 22, 2017, at home in Seattle. Born in Minneapolis, Minn., he was the son of Anna and Edmund Hayes 1918 and lived all over the Pacific Northwest when he was with Weyerhaeuser

Timber Co., the family concern.

Fred came to Princeton from Andover. He majored in economics, joined Elm Club, rowed on the 150-pound crew, and ran track. After two years in Holder, he roomed at 101 Patton for his junior and senior years with his cousin Don McGraw '49. After two years in the Army, Fred eventually joined Weyerhaeuser, and held many responsibilities with them over the years. In 1969 Fred left the company and ran several businesses, ending up as owner of a large tree farm.

Fred married Catherine, known to all as Mike, in 1954. Fred and Mike took an active interest in sailing programs for people with disabilities. The family encourages memorial contributions to the Center for Wooden Boats in Seattle.

Fred was predeceased by his son, Fred Jr. (known as Fritz). He is survived by Mike and daughters Catherine M. Hayes (known as Terry), Julia H. Ernest, and Ruth H. Arista. Our sympathy goes to Mike and their daughters.

THE CLASS OF 1950



William F. Bernart '50

Bill died April 6, 2017, in Raleigh, N.C., where he had lived in recent years.

After graduating from Exeter, he enlisted in the Navy.

At Princeton, he was vice president of Tiger Inn and an honors graduate in biology. He moved on to graduate from Columbia College of Physicians and Surgeons with honors and to complete residencies in Boston, Puerto Rico, and Virginia.

Bill then forsook the big city and took his skills to the rural Eastern Shore of Virginia, specifically to Nassawadox, whose population at the time was 350 people. He practiced internal medicine there until 1991, and was instrumental in the building of a 125-bed hospital in the area.

He was deeply involved with many medical and community organizations and worked with the University of Virginia to encourage doctors to practice in rural areas. Habitat for Humanity was his major community interest. One of the 15 homes built during his leadership was named for him and his wife, Cynthia, whom he had married in 1954.

Bill enjoyed outdoors activities including fishing, tennis, and competitive sailing. With Cynthia, he shared bird-watching worldwide and removing trash along local roadways.

Bill is survived by Cynthia; daughter Sarah; sons William, Matthew, Christopher, and Douglas; and nine grandchildren.

Benjamin K. Doane '50

Ben died May 5, 2017, at his home in Barrington, Nova Scotia.

He graduated from Philadelphia's



POST A REMEMBRANCE with a memorial at paw.princeton.edu



Germantown Friends School. At Princeton, he belonged to Court Club and graduated with honors in psychology. He continued his education in Canada by earning a master's degree at Dalhousie

University in 1952, a Ph.D. from McGill in 1955, and a medical degree from Dalhousie in 1962.

He became a psychiatrist in 1967 and then a neuropsychiatrist. Ben served as assistant dean of medicine at Dalhousie and as head of the psychiatry department. He authored many academic papers during his career.

It was no surprise to anyone when Ben became a Canadian citizen in 1957, as his family roots went back to Nova Scotia, where his great-great-grandfather sailed on whaling ships in the early 1800s.

His life went beyond academia. He was an avid bird watcher and a longtime member of the Halifax Curling Club. He also enjoyed carpentry — building a barn and undertaking many projects at the old family home. He took great delight in entertaining family and friends with limericks and stories, which reflected his witty sense of humor.

Ben is survived by his wife of 55 years, Margaret; children Heather and Rod; four grandchildren; and three great-grandchildren.



Robert F. Frantz '50

Bob died June 9, 2017, in Greenville, S.C.

A graduate of Montclair (N.J.) High School, at Princeton he was a member of Tower Club and majored in economics. After three years as an officer in the Navy, mostly Atlantic sea duty, he entered Harvard Business School and graduated in 1955.

His first job after Harvard was with Procter & Gamble. Another job took him to Greenville in 1969, where he settled for the remainder of his life. In 1973 he formed Frantz-Harder and Associates, a management-consulting business. His entrepreneurial drive led to ownership of several small businesses, ventures into wireless communications, and lastly, a tax-credit service. He had sold most of these businesses and was essentially retired by 2000.

While devotion to his family came first with Bob, he loved his dogs, history, and family genealogy. Exercise was part of his daily routine.

Bob was predeceased by his wife, Dorothy, in 2011. He is survived by sons Scott and Chris, daughters Diane and Wendy, and 12 grandchildren.

Mark L. Robinson '50

Mark died Jan. 1, 2016, at his home in Albuquerque, N.M. He pursued his passion for petroleum geology throughout his life. His professional stature was greatly enhanced by wildcat oil and gas discoveries, including new



fields in Mississippi, Montana, and New Mexico.

He attended St. Louis (Mo.) Country Day School, and spent a year as a seaman first class in the Navy. At Princeton he was a member of Elm and Triangle Club, and graduated with honors in geology.

His career started with Shell Oil. After 18 years with Shell and 15 major moves, he founded Robinson Resource Development Co. in 1969, an independent oil-exploration company in Roswell, N.M., where he lived for about 50 years before moving to Albuquerque in 2009.

Mark enjoyed traveling and was an avid reader of history. At our 50th reunion, he reported that his principal hobby was maintaining a 40-acre hunter/jumper horse farm, which provided his sons with show and polo mounts.

He is survived by his wife, Jean, whom he married in 1954; children Frances, Mark, and Paul; and grandchildren.



Henry Spitz '50

Hank died May 17, 2016, from a stroke in Bozeman, Mont., where he lived after spending most of his life in the Chicago area.

He came to Princeton after three years in the Army Air Corps. A member of Campus Club, he graduated with honors in electrical engineering. After a 12-month recall to active duty, he headed to Harvard Business School and graduated in 1953.

Following a short stint in marketing with Motorola, he entered the family printing and mailing business. He expanded the business, then sold it and joined Brodie Advertising Service. By our 50th reunion, he had retired and become a part-time manufacturer's agent.

Early on, Hank was active in the Princeton Club of Chicago. Among other activities were the United Way, teaching computer classes, and participating in professional organizations.

He and his wife, Carol, whom he met in New York, enjoyed Broadway musicals, especially *My Fair Lady*, which they attended on a blind date that led to their marriage in 1959. He was a fan of Chicago's professional teams, most notably the Bears.

Hank is survived by Carol, daughter Elin, son Peter, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Friends will remember him for his sense of humor and optimism.

Wallace H. Wallace '50

Wally died April 16, 2017. He was a lifelong resident of the Philadelphia area.

After graduating from the Haverford School, where he was active in sports and student government, he served in the Naval Air Corps for a year.



At Princeton — where his father was in the Class of 1921 — he belonged to Dial, graduated with honors in psychology, and was inducted into Sigma Xi. He continued his study

of psychology by earning a master's degree in 1952 and a Ph.D. in 1958 from the University of Pennsylvania.

After doing consulting and research work, he formed his own market-research company in 1963. He later added an educational group for training the disadvantaged. Though he retired in 1991, he reported at our 50th reunion that he had started two small companies, one dealing with education and the other with market research.

He and his wife, Helen, whom he married in 1951, enjoyed vacations in New Jersey and Florida and occasional golf outings.

Wally is survived by Helen, daughter Cynthia, sons Dale and Paul, and three grandchildren. His daughter, Carol, and brother, James '45, predeceased him.

THE CLASS OF 1951



George Haight Deyo '51

Chick was born June 7, 1929, in Anniston, Ala., to Anne Tyler and William H. Deyo 1916.

He was descended from Gen. Daniel Tyler, co-founder of

Anniston, a planned community established after the Civil War.

He prepared at Lawrenceville. At Princeton he majored in architecture, played freshman soccer, belonged to Cap and Gown, and was president of the Advertising Council. He roomed with Carlton Jacob and John Preston.

Chick and Ann "Barry" Barrington Lupton were married in 1951. He served for two years as an Army officer in Korea. He was an officer of the local bank from 1953 to 1961 and then ventured for four years into manufacturing boating and water-ski items with some success.

Starting in 1964 he signed on with New York Life as its man in Anniston and remained with the company for the rest of his working career. He was treasurer and trustee of the Stringfellow Hospital, a Boy Scout leader, vestryman at Grace Episcopal Church, and a member of the county Republican Executive Committee.

Chick died Jan. 16, 2017. He is survived by Barry and their children, Marion Deyo-Hollingsworth, Lane Neura, Daniel Deyo, and Edward Deyo, and their families. His brother William predeceased him.

William Albert Norris '51

Bill was born Aug. 30, 1927, in Turtle Creek, Pa., to George and Florence Clive Norris.

After two years' service in the Navy, he and his Turtle Creek High School classmate, Layman Allen, matriculated at Princeton.



Bill was president of the University Press Club and belonged to Campus Club. He majored in SPIA, graduated with high honors, and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He roomed with Layman Allen, Pete Spruance, and Don Stokes.

He graduated from Stanford Law School in 1954, where he was the executive editor of the *Stanford Law Review*. He then clerked for Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas.

For 24 years he practiced law at Tuttle & Taylor in Los Angeles before President Jimmy Carter appointed him to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit in 1980. Bill's more than 400 published opinions written during 17 years of service as an appellate judge established his reputation as a liberal jurist. His marriages to Kitty Horn and Merry Wiester ended in divorce.

Bill died Jan. 21, 2017, of heart failure at home in Bel-Air, Calif. He is survived by his wife, Jane Jelenko Norris; his children, Barbara, Donald, Kim, and Alison; four stepchildren; two grandchildren; and his sister, Dorothy Lankford.

THE CLASS OF 1954



Robert M. Westberg '54

Robbie died July 25, 2017, at his home in Montana, surrounded by his family.

Born in Seattle, he attended Phillips Exeter Academy. At Princeton he majored in politics, participated in crew, and joined Charter Club. Robbie held many campus jobs to pay for his education. He was forced to leave at the end of his third year when an alumnus reported to the University that his father had purchased a new Cadillac. His scholarship was withdrawn, and he withdrew. That year he was accepted to the Washington University School of Law, where he became the editor of the law review. He worked all during his time there to pay his tuition.

Robbie was invited to join Judge F.G. Hamley in the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and became a clerk in San Francisco. He became a partner in the San Francisco law firm of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro, where he worked for 50 years. He specialized in antitrust law, appellate work and legal ethics. After retiring from his law practice, he volunteered for seven years at Kalispell Regional Medical Center.

He is survived by Nancy, his wife of 62 years; daughters Britt, Jennifer, and Catherine; seven grandchildren; and brother David. The class extends condolences to them in their loss.

THE CLASS OF 1955

Peter B. Elliman '55

Peter was born April 26, 1933, to Natica and George T. Elliman 1928 in New York City. After a fall and broken hip complications, Peter died



Aug. 3, 2017, in Austin, Texas.

He prepared at St. Paul's School and graduated *cum laude* from Princeton with a major in politics. He joined Elm Club. His senior-year roommates were Henry Felix Kroman and Alexander McKinney.

At the University of Virginia, Peter earned both an MBA and, through ROTC, an Army commission. While on leave, Peter met his future wife, Julia Cunningham. They had children George, Julia, and Peter. Twenty-five years as a corporate executive — including serving as president and CEO and 10 years as a financial consultant — were complemented by service on boards of directors of small and medium-sized companies and nonprofit secondary schools. His favorite jobs were in Hong Kong with Gulf Resources & Chemical Corp. and as executive director of St. Paul's School Alumni Association, a role that allowed him to live on the campus of the school he dearly loved.

Peter is survived by his former wife, Julia Cunningham Bagalay; children George II, Julia, and Peter; and two granddaughters.



Howard C. Lonsdale '55

Born Sept. 26, 1933, in Berlin, Germany, Howie lived a long and colorful life. He died June 29, 2017, in East Wenatchee, Wash.

He graduated from Little Rock (Ark.) High School. At Princeton he majored in biology, wrote his thesis on protoplasmic streaming, and joined Cloister. After a long career in medicine, and fatherhood resulting in four children — Lauren, Liz, Henry, and our class child Geraldine — Howie became an executive, serving on the board of his homeowners association and of Bralorne Gold Mines in British Columbia.

He was included in *Marquis Who's Who in America* three times, earned a lifetime achievement in martial arts as a third-degree black belt, was a judge in championship martial-arts matches, and served on the Republican State Committee.

He had no fatalities in more than 2,000 surgeries. Noting that Howie's class-child daughter, Geraldine, is now 19 (a 64-year difference in age), it is easy to believe Howie's assertion that he wore his wives out.

In a letter dated June 28, 2017, Howie wrote that he had "been kicked out of hospice three times because he refuses to die." Unfortunately, the man with the scythe caught up with him the next day, so Howie departed praising life and his great kids.

Thomas J. Winans '55

Tom, a direct descendant of Ulysses S. Grant, was born July 8, 1933, in Cincinnati. He died unexpectedly Aug. 3, 2017.



Graduating from Bronxville (N.Y.) High School, he studied at the Woodrow Wilson School, wrote his senior thesis on "U.S. Policy toward the Formosa Problem since 1949," and joined

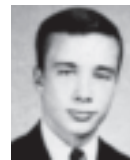
Quad Club. His senior-year roommates at 154 Little Hall were James Vivian and John Doebele.

After Army service, Tom graduated from Yale Law School and worked as corporate counsel for Mobil Corp. for close to 30 years. He led a restructuring of the Mobil Corp. legal function worldwide.

Tom was an avid reader and a die-hard Yankees fan. Often, he could be found outside with binoculars spotting birds, particularly woodpeckers and hummingbirds. Tom enjoyed traveling through the world with his wife, Jane Stubenbord, and they especially enjoyed Turkey and England. Tom and Jane were enthusiastic travelers, boaters, and readers, who enjoyed taking courses at the Smithsonian Institution. With their powerboat, they cruised Chesapeake Bay. They traveled extensively in Europe, the eastern and southern Mediterranean, and the Far East.

Tom is survived by Jane, son Thomas, daughter Susan, and grandchildren Brandon, Joseph, Tyler, Abby, and Ethan.

THE CLASS OF 1958



E. Bayard Halsted '58

Bayard died July 10, 2017, in Alford, Mass., from complications of Parkinson's disease.

Bayard, whose father was in the Class of 1926, was in a large contingent from Deerfield Academy who joined our class. A history major, Bayard joined Charter Club and played squash. His roommate for two years was Bob Bennett. After Princeton came the Navy and an assignment in the Pacific on the aircraft carrier USS *Bonhomme Richard*.

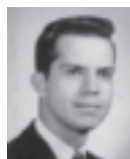
Bayard went to Harvard Law School and later joined the New York law firm of White & Case. He interrupted his long tenure there with service at the U.S. Transportation Department and the Environmental Protection Agency in those organizations' early years. He retired from White & Case in 1998 and moved to a vacation home in Alford. He and his wife became regular travelers, especially to France.

Bayard had a wide range of interests, including music, art, and conservation. He volunteered his talents to support the Conservation Law Foundation. All who knew him benefited from his insights into public affairs and relished his wit, highlighted by his being strikingly articulate.

He is survived by his wife of 40 years, Alice; sister Peggy Tenney; brother David; several nieces and nephews; and many grandnephews and nieces. The class extends its deepest sympathy to them all.



THE CLASS OF 1962



John Barr III '62

John died June 27, 2017, in Plano, Texas, from rare, respiratory onset ALS. Although weakened physically in his last days, he was still organizing a

fundraising appeal for the ALS Association.

He came to Princeton from Weehawken (N.J.) High School, where he was a three-sport varsity athlete, including participation on two state championship basketball teams. At Princeton, he majored in religion and was a spark plug of Campus Club's 1962 intramural championship.

After graduation, he served as an officer in the Navy. Upon discharge, he became a corporate-lending officer for Chase while attending the NYU Stern School of Business. He joined the Mennen Co. and worked there for 20 years, retiring as senior vice president of corporate development. He then co-founded Madison Capital Partners, an investment partnership.

His many charitable activities included leadership roles at Early Childhood Learning Centers of New Jersey, the Morris Educational Foundation, the Shakespeare Theater of New Jersey, and TeenPride. He and his wife, Joyce, were avid world travelers.

John is survived by Joyce Chabora Barr, his wife of 47 years; daughter Alexandra "Sasha" Webb '94; her husband, Anthony Webb; their children, Andrew and Nicholas; and by son Tristan; his wife, Christine; and their children, Emma and Ella. The class offers its condolences to all.



Carl F. Pfaff '62

Carl died June 19, 2017, of natural causes in Hayden, Idaho.

After graduating from North Hollywood (Calif.) High School, he majored in politics at Princeton. A member of Campus Club, Carl roomed in Lockhart Hall with a large contingent of classmates.

At Princeton, Carl made a major contribution to the marching band — first as a clarinetist, and then becoming the drum major his senior year. He loved singing and formed a quartet called the Jolly Rogues along with three other Tigers.

In November 1962, Carl joined the Air Force and became an instructor at its Radar School. In 1967 he was discharged with the rank of major. Carl determined that he wanted to serve others in the nonprofit arena. He worked for many years in the administrative leadership of the Campfire Girls and later with the Holy Land Christian Commission, addressing surgical needs of Arab children. In the early '90s, he discovered a keen interest in fly-fishing, and pursued this as both a vocation and avocation.

Condolences are extended to children Kathy and Carl, stepdaughters Sabrina and Samantha McEnaney, sisters Leanna Pfaff and Linda Scott, granddaughter Elizabeth, nephew Jon Scott, niece and husband Kristen and Wes Deitrick, and their daughter, Nicole.

THE CLASS OF 1965



Felix A. Cohen '65

Felix died May 26, 2017, in Chadds Ford, Pa.

Born in Pittsburgh, Pa., he attended Taylor Allderdice High School. At Princeton he majored in sociology and joined Colonial Club. Among his happiest college memories were his years in Triangle Club, whose orchestra he played in and helped conduct. Decades later, he still recalled Triangle's cross-country tours with great fondness.

After studying at the University of Pittsburgh School of Law, Felix worked as an attorney for a variety of companies and firms in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia, including Buchanan Ingersoll, Signal Finance, CoreStates Financial Corp., and WolfBlock. He was also a founding member of the Ronald McDonald House of Pittsburgh.

Felix's love of music continued throughout his life. He played acoustic and electric bass in groups such as the Pittsburgh Youth Symphony Orchestra, Camelot Productions, the Newark Symphony Orchestra, the Chester County Pops, and countless pickup bands and pit orchestras. He gave his time and support to young musicians in programs at the Delaware All-State Theatre, the Music School of Delaware, and Lincoln University, among others. He also enjoyed surf fishing, stamp collecting, working around the house, and searching for the best barbecue.

He is survived by his wife, Nancy; his sister, Mary Louise; his son, Tim; his stepdaughter, Blair; and his grandsons, Ken and Charlie.

THE CLASS OF 1967



Wayne E. Bowman '67

Wayne died Dec. 21, 2016, of cancer at his home in Alexandria, Va. He had been in failing health for several months but was nonetheless

planning to attend our 50th reunion when the cancer suddenly worsened.

Wayne graduated from Norfolk (Va.) Academy, where he was art editor of the yearbook, a National Merit scholar, and played varsity football, track, and soccer.

At Princeton Wayne majored in romance languages with a goal of serving in the Foreign Service in Latin America. His senior thesis, "Some Aspects of the United States-Latin American Relations," indicated his career goals. As he wrote in his reunion essay, that

interest eventually merged with a career in journalism in his later years. He was an active member of Elm Club, was instrumental in organizing Whig-Clio's Latin American Affairs Conference, and participated for four years on the track team and 150-pound football. He roomed with Stephen Watson and Don Knight.

After graduation Wayne served in the Navy from 1967 to 1971, and was stationed in Iceland, Rhode Island, and Guantanamo Bay. After service he returned to civilian work before enrolling in and graduating in 1974 from Columbia's renowned journalism school. He met his wife, Patricia, in a recreational Scottish dance group and they remained together through two distinct phases of his career: his many years as a local television reporter, assignment editor, and producer; and then a long second term as a TV journalist for the U.S. Information Agency.

His teammates, clubmates, and classmates remember Wayne as a thoughtful and serious student, a wonderful person, and a thoroughly ethical and decent man. His loss leaves us with only fond memories of this tall, smiling, gentle friend.



Charles Iobst '67

Chuck died Feb. 27, 2017, on Singer Island, Riviera Beach, Fla. A veteran of the Army, he had been treated for illnesses by the Veterans Administration

in his late years.

Chuck came to the Class of '67 from Liberty High School in Bethlehem, Pa., where he was a leader, scholar, and athlete of distinction. He was sophomore class treasurer, junior class vice president, a National Merit Scholar, and a member of the basketball, track, and golf teams.

At Princeton he was a very talented member of the University golf team all four years. He roomed with Mike Wyatt, Charlie McDowell, Manny Johnson, John Baker, and Randy Spence. He was also very active in IAA sports for Tiger Inn and was a member of the 21 Club.

After graduation Chuck was drafted and initially assigned to South Korea with an expectation to be rotated to Vietnam. However, he continued his great love of golf and placed second in the Korean Open Tournament, which caught the attention of the commanding general of his Army base. The general thereupon made him a permanent base assignee, golf instructor, and playing partner.

After military service Chuck returned to the States to pursue a business career. He lived in Phoenix for a number of years. His close friends from the golf team, former roommates, and classmates uniformly spoke of Chuck as a uniquely special friend whose loss was deeply felt. He was a trusting man — naively innocent in ways — whose friendship was always extended in unexpected, often extraordinary

efforts to assist, though he was enigmatically withdrawn in late years.

Chuck's death had a deep emotional impact on his classmates that was revealing of his character. The class will always remember him.

THE CLASS OF 1969



James R. Forstner '69

Bob died May 29, 2017. He grew up in Aiken, S.C., and graduated as salutatorian from Aiken High School.

After Princeton, he completed medical school at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Following a residency in obstetrics and gynecology at the USC Medical Center, he earned board certification in family medicine. After caring for the underserved population of Centreville, Miss., he moved to Southport, N.C., where he served the community for nearly 40 years. On the Brunswick County Board of Education, he worked to improve education for local students.

Until the end of his career, Bob made house calls on patients who were unable to come to his office. Both of his sons followed him into the health-care world and currently work for hospitals, providing care for members of their communities.

A natural teacher, raconteur, collector, and storyteller, he visited nearly every continent and some of the most remote places on Earth. In recent years, he delighted in family — especially watching his children, granddaughters, and nieces flourish — and in a quiet and consistent love of cherished friends, the seashore, scuba and snorkeling, and wood turning.

Bob is survived by his cherished companion, Jane Blood Siegfried; sons William Robert Forstner and James Dean Forstner; granddaughters Addison and Sidney; and sisters Laurie and Linda. We joined the Forstner family and the Southport community in noting a life of commitment and meaning.

THE CLASS OF 1973



Richard K. Anderson Jr. '73

Richard died June 17, 2017, at home, after a two-year battle with a very rare form of cancer. He was surrounded by his wife, his daughter, and the Lord.

Richard was born May 21, 1951, in Newport News, Va. He graduated *cum laude* from the Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. At Princeton he majored in architecture and graduated with honors. Richard earned a master of architecture degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1976.

In 1978, Richard married Amelia Elizabeth "Betty" Harper. They made their home in Washington, D.C., for 11 years, where Richard worked for the Historic American Buildings

Survey/Historic American Engineering Record Program of the National Park Service.

Richard and his family relocated to Sumter, S.C., where he continued his documentary work, illustrated technical books and journals, and taught at the Savannah College of Art and Design. He offered his talents to several local organizations, including the Sumter County Historical Commission and the Society of the Cincinnati of South Carolina. Richard was very dedicated to his Christian faith.

Richard is survived by his beloved wife, Betty; and daughter Amelia "Aimee" Heron Anderson; both of Sumter.

THE CLASS OF 1974



Michael S. McMurphy '74

Mike was born July 20, 1952, and died May 2, 2017, in Lexington, Ky.

At Princeton Mike committed his life to Jesus through the ministry of Campus Crusade for Christ and became a leader. He enjoyed Campus Club and joining in Frisbee free-for-alls.

Upon graduation, he pursued a master's degree in architecture at N.C. State, where he continued to develop a keen interest in landscaping. He began his career in Tampa, where he met his wife, Debbie. In 1984, he joined Chuck Hultstrand '74 at the Boudreaux Group in Columbia, S.C.

Mike loved developing his yard using circles, rectangles, and free forms to welcome friends and showcase native plants and a wide variety of daylilies. He even transformed a bush into a ukulele for his wife. Mike was a dedicated spiritual leader for his family, church, and community.

He served as the president of the Christian Business Men's Committee, led prison chapel at the Department of Juvenile Justice, and counseled young men at Daybreak Crisis Pregnancy Center. He is most loved as a man of integrity, wisdom, and faith.

Mike is survived by Debbie, five children, one son-in-law, one daughter-in-law, one granddaughter, and his mother, LaVerne.

THE CLASS OF 1976



Lauren V. LaMay '76

Lauren died suddenly July 19, 2017, of natural causes at home in Sacramento, Calif.

She transferred to Princeton as a sophomore from Indiana University. She majored in English, was a member of the swim team, and ate at Stevenson Hall. Her senior thesis was titled "Outpost of Eternity: The Moment in Virginia Woolf."

After graduation, Lauren earned a master's degree in English at Brown in 1978, followed by

a master's of education from Harvard in 1980. She applied for teaching positions in California and was hired sight unseen during a telephone interview by Sacramento Country Day School.

Lauren had intended to move west for only a couple of years, but stayed and taught English at the same school for 37 years. During her career she taught every grade from kindergarten to 12th grade except 10th, and devoted her energy to teaching middle school English for decades. She is remembered fondly for instilling the love of literature and the skill of writing to generations. Lauren volunteered with Habitat for Humanity and the Princeton Alumni Schools Committee.

The class officers extend deepest sympathy to her dear friend, Geoff Wong; her siblings, Edward, Craig, Teri, and Bronwyn; and her many former students.

Mark Pierson Pentecost III '76

Mark died Jan. 16, 2017, in Athens, Ga., surrounded by his family, following a two-year struggle with ALS.

Born and raised in Atlanta, Ga., Mark came to Princeton from Westminster Boys High School. He matriculated with the Class of 1973 and graduated with the Class of 1976. Mark concentrated his studies in philosophy and literature, and was a member of Terrace Club. During a break from college in 1974, he met the love of his life and wife of 33 years, Jane Howell of Atlanta.

After graduation from Princeton, Mark continued postgraduate study in philosophy and earned advanced degrees from the University of California, Berkeley and Stanford University. He and Jane married and settled in Georgia.

In 1989, following the birth of their first son, Mark pivoted from his academic career to retrain as a psychotherapist at the University of Georgia. He worked for two decades at the Family Counseling Services in Athens. He and Jane, a physician, together raised their two sons in Athens.

The class extends deepest sympathy to Jane, sons Owen and Thomas, sisters Martha and Claire, and extended family.

THE CLASS OF 1978



Mary Claire Kilty '78

Mary died peacefully Aug. 9, 2017, after managing cancer for 14 productive years — a tribute to her grit and the loving attention she received from a wide circle of family, physicians, and friends.

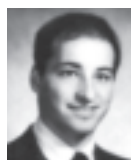
Mary graduated from Magnificat High School in Rocky River, Ohio, before majoring in art history at Princeton. After Harvard Business School she was a managing director at Bankers Trust, director at Société Générale, and chairman's assistant at the Export-Import

Bank. In her 50s Mary earned a Ph.D. in epidemiology from Columbia's School of Public Health and conducted leading-edge research there. An accomplished figure skater and arts aficionado, Mary made the most of life in New York City. She maintained close ties to Princeton, serving as class treasurer and ASC interviewer, participating in a storied '78 book club, and traveling the world in the company of classmates.

Mary will be remembered for her brilliance, courage, and generous embrace of people from all walks of life. Not only did she open her doors to far-flung acquaintances and transient 20-somethings, she also famously befriended a homeless man, who became her trusted house sitter and dog walker par excellence.

Mary is survived by her father, S. Timothy Kilty '55; siblings Laura Kilty and David Kilty and their spouses; a cherished nephew; and three beloved nieces.

THE CLASS OF 1986



Michael Arena '86

Michael died May 14, 2016, in a whitewater rafting accident while accompanying his son's Boy Scout troop.

He came to Princeton as an accomplished soccer player, sailor, skier, and athlete from Marblehead, Mass. Freshman year he lived in Butler College and formed lifelong friendships with roommates. He was treasurer of Dial Lodge and spent many hours at the computer center pursuing a computer science degree. He earned a master's degree at Harvard in computer science.

Michael was known for his sly social commentaries. He took great delight in his vibrant extended Italian family.

He met his wife, Kristine, in Bermuda and they were happily married for 25 years. They were raising two sons in Lexington, Mass. He was recognized as an innovative programmer, working at Paytronix as a software architect.

Michael was well known as a youth soccer and Little League coach and a Scout leader. He was an active member of Hancock Church, serving on the prudential committee and a member of the handbell choir.

He is survived by his wife, Kristine; their sons, David and Andrew; his parents, John and Rosemarie Arena; his twin brother, Mark Arena, and his wife, Katy; and his in-laws, Eugene and Anne MacDermott.

The class marks the passing of this thoughtful member who was admired by the many communities he touched. We extend condolences to his family and his friends.

THE CLASS OF 1989

Janet Wong '89

Janet died peacefully June 30, 2017, in West Hartford, Conn., after a courageous battle with



gastric cancer. She was 50.

She was born Dec. 23, 1966, in Oak Ridge, Tenn., to Jeanne and Cheuk-Yin "Felix" Wong '61 '66. She grew up in Oak Ridge, with two years

in Copenhagen, Denmark, and a year in Lexington, Mass.

At Princeton, she majored in English, was a senior writer for the *Nassau Weekly* and *Moonlighting Magazine*, and was a member of Campus Club. After Princeton, she earned a master's degree in anthropology from Columbia University and worked briefly as a journalist at the *Bergen Record* and the *Anchorage Daily News*.

Janet earned a medical degree in 1996 from the University of Illinois, Chicago, where she also completed her dermatology residency. She was a dermatologist and partner at New England Dermatology Associates.

Janet had a passion for outdoor activities, playing piano, creative writing, poetry, artwork, and spending time with her family and friends. She had a genuine concern for the welfare of others and was a truly compassionate person.

She is survived by her husband, Ronald Small; their children, Benjamin Jun-Ming Small and Naomi Mei-Ming Wong; her parents; brother Albert Jun-Wei Wong '91; and sister Lisa Jun-Pei Wong '99 and her family.

GRADUATE ALUMNI

Felix E. Browder *48

Felix Browder, a former vice president at Rutgers University, died Dec. 10, 2016. He was 89.

Browder graduated from MIT in 1946, at age 18. In 1948, he earned a Ph.D. in mathematics from Princeton. With his father, Earl, known as a prominent leader of the Communist Party USA, the younger Browder had difficulty getting hired in the McCarthy era.

After Army service, Eleanor Roosevelt helped him gain a faculty position at Brandeis University in 1955. Browder later taught at Yale for seven years, and then joined the University of Chicago for more than 20 years, including 11 as department chair. In 1986, he joined Rutgers in the new position of vice president of research.

Browder was instrumental in establishing a science and technology center in conjunction with Princeton and Bell Labs. As president of the American Mathematical Society in 1999 and 2000, he lobbied Congress for added funds for math education. Browder was renowned in the field of non-linear functional analysis, a branch of mathematics with wide application to physics, engineering, and finance. In 2000, President Bill Clinton awarded him the National Medal of Science.

Browder was predeceased in 2015 by his wife of 66 years, Eva Tislowitz. He is survived by

two sons, five grandchildren, and two brothers (including William *58, Princeton professor of mathematics).

Gerard Washnitzer *50

Gerard Washnitzer, professor of mathematics emeritus at Princeton, died April 2, 2017, at age 91.

Washnitzer enlisted in the Army Air Force in 1944 and earned a bachelor's degree in mathematics from Brooklyn College in 1947. He earned a Ph.D. in mathematics from Princeton in 1950, having studied under Salomon Bochner.

After positions at MIT and Johns Hopkins University, Washnitzer joined the Princeton faculty in 1963 and remained until he retired in 1995. He was known for his work in algebraic geometry, his love of the history of mathematics, and his lively personality. According to a past student, William Fulton *66, a math professor at Michigan, "He was always generous and he would cheerfully spend hours explaining his ideas."

Washnitzer enthusiastically embraced a fundamental change occurring in pure mathematics and algebra during the 1960s, led by Alexander Grothendieck. Washnitzer was one of those who welcomed this revolutionary development, which affected the approach to several important questions in algebraic geometry.

In January 2017, Washnitzer was predeceased by his wife, Lillian Berg Noble, whom he married in 1953. He is survived by three sons and seven grandchildren. In his memory, the University flag was flown at half-staff over East Pyne.

Ross Eckler *54

Ross Eckler, retired editor and publisher of a small quarterly on linguistics, died Dec. 9, 2016, at the age of 89.

In 1950, Eckler graduated from Swarthmore College, and he earned a Ph.D. in mathematics from Princeton in 1954. He was at Bell Labs for 30 years, retiring in 1985.

In 1970, he began as editor and publisher of *Word Ways*, a small quarterly journal of wordplay, a word coined to describe recreational wordplay and letter play. During the next 40 years, Eckler became a world authority on this, and created a number of new ways to juggle words and letters into patterns. He wrote several books on the subject, including *Making the Alphabet Dance* (St. Martin's Press, 1996).

He was devoted to outdoor activities, and for many years he and his wife hiked in many major mountain ranges in the United States and the British Isles. Among his volunteer activities, he served as carillonneur for 30 years at St. Peter's Church in Morristown, N.J.

Eckler is survived by his wife, Faith, whom

he married in 1951; their three daughters; and five grandchildren.

Clarke E. Hermance *64

Clarke Hermance, professor emeritus of mechanical engineering at the University of Vermont, died Sept. 18, 2016, after a short battle with cancer. He was 79.

In 1958, Hermance earned a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering from Yale. In 1964, he graduated from Princeton with a Ph.D. in mechanical and aeronautical engineering, researching solid rocket-propulsion ignition and combustion. Hermance spent a year in Sweden studying at the National Aeronautical Research Institute. Then he moved to Canada and worked in the mechanical engineering department of the University of Waterloo.

In 1982 Hermance became a professor and chair of the mechanical and civil engineering department at the University of Vermont. He continued his research involving composite solid propellants and the elimination of diesel-combustion particulates by filtration of the exhaust. He also continued with his research into the pyrolysis of organic waste materials.

Hermance retired from Vermont in 2000. He immersed himself in playing clarinet in local bands and an amateur orchestra as well as at his local church. He cared for his wife, Harriette, in her last years. They had married in 1963.

He is survived by two daughters and one granddaughter. He was also predeceased by a son.

William R. Ellis *67

William Ellis, former chief scientist at the Raytheon Co., died Oct. 11, 2016, at the age of 76.

Ellis graduated from Clemson in 1962, and earned a Ph.D. in mechanical and aerospace engineering from Princeton in 1967. He then worked on fusion energy at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico.

In the 1980s, Ellis was an associate director at the Naval Research Laboratory in Washington, D.C., where he worked on technologies such as GPS. In 1989, President George H.W. Bush gave him the Presidential Senior Executive Service Award.

In 1991, Ellis moved to New York City, where he became vice president and chief scientist at Raytheon, and taught physics at Pace University. He ran five New York City marathons and collected American Indian pottery, which he donated to the Smithsonian. He was active in his community and the Episcopal Church.

Ellis is survived by his wife, Carol, and two sons.

Stephen Jasperson *68

Stephen Jasperson, a longtime professor of physics at Worcester Polytechnic Institute

(WPI), died Oct. 5, 2016, at the age of 75.

Jasperson graduated from the University of Wisconsin, Madison in 1963 with a bachelor's degree in physics. In 1968, he earned a Ph.D. in physics from Princeton. Then, he completed postdoctoral research at the University of Illinois before joining WPI.

He taught physics at WPI for 39 years and was chair of the physics department for 10 years. He was also secretary of the faculty. Jasperson's research interests centered on solid-state physics and included optically detecting plasma oscillations in metals and semiconductors. He had a passion for teaching and in 2001 received the WPI Board of Trustees Award for Outstanding Teaching.

Jasperson was an accomplished pianist and sang in the Worcester Chorus for 38 years. An outdoorsman and hiker, he enjoyed traveling cross-country with his family, visiting almost every state in the continental United States. In 2012, after being diagnosed with progressive supranuclear palsy, he faced his health challenges with courage, determination, and humor.

He is survived by Ann, his wife of 51 years; two daughters; two grandchildren; and his father, Newell.

Gary Wise *74

Gary Wise, professor of electrical engineering at the University of Texas at Austin, died Nov. 5, 2016, at age 71.

A math wiz who taught himself calculus, Wise attended MIT and later earned a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering in 1971 from Rice University. In 1974, he earned a Ph.D. in electrical engineering from Princeton. Earlier, he began working for NASA in 1969, and earned a letter of commendation from President Richard Nixon for helping create the landing module for that year's first manned mission to the moon.

In the years that followed, Wise taught electrical and computer engineering and mathematics as a professor at University of California, Berkeley; Texas Tech; and for many years, at the University of Texas at Austin.

He co-authored the book, *Counterexamples in Probability and Real Analysis*. Wise also created valuable theorems helpful to all branches of the military. He also wrote more than 200 articles in peer-reviewed scientific journals; one of which he co-authored with Vincent Poor *77, former dean of engineering and applied science at Princeton. This innovative paper is still referenced.

Wise is survived by Stella, his wife; daughter Tanna; and many appreciative students he mentored.

Karen Schoonmaker Freudenberger

*83 Karen Schoonmaker Freudenberger, who spent her professional and personal life helping

others, died unexpectedly of a heart attack Dec. 1, 2016, at age 60.

Freudenberger graduated from Bryn Mawr College in 1978, then worked for a congressman and spent a year in Kenya as a Rotary Fellow before earning an MPA degree from Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School in 1983. Then she served in the Peace Corps for two-plus years in Senegal, where she met her husband.

After she worked with him in international-community development in Senegal; Madison, Wis.; and Washington, D.C., they spent 11 years in Madagascar. There she was singularly responsible for resurrecting a railroad after a cyclone destroyed it. The king of Thailand and the Madagascar government honored her for this.

Returning to the United States and settling in Burlington, Vt., she lectured at the University of Vermont. Upon realizing that local immigrants were importing 3,000 pounds of frozen goat meat from Australia, she set up a collaborative farm on which two immigrant families raise goats and chickens for sale, and 60 families grow vegetables of their native countries.

She is survived by her husband, Mark; two daughters; and her parents.

David Giovacchini *84

David Giovacchini, Middle East studies librarian at the University of Pennsylvania, died suddenly Nov. 5, 2016. He was 57.

He graduated from Cornell in 1981, majoring in history and Middle East studies. In 1984, he earned a master's degree in Near Eastern studies from Princeton. Before beginning his library career, Giovacchini served five years in the Army, rising to the rank of captain.

Prior to working at Penn, he held similar library positions at Stanford and Harvard. At Penn, he was proud of bringing in a major collection of Fez lithographs as part of the rare books and manuscripts collection. He enjoyed traveling to Morocco to attend the annual Casablanca book fair.

Giovacchini spent the last five years at Penn managing print and electronic collections relating to the Middle East, in Middle Eastern and West European languages. In addition to being a scholar and researcher, he was an adviser to students and faculty. He enjoyed playing music, creating art, watching Middle Eastern films, and studying history.

He is survived by his wife, Lois; two children; and his mother, Dianna.

Graduate memorials are prepared by the APGA.

*This issue contains an undergraduate memorial for Zim E. Lawhon '40 *51.*



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Paris, Marais: Elegant, 2 bedroom, 2 bath apartment, vibrant Pompidou museum/sidewalk café quarter on 13c pedestrian street, full kitchen, w/d, AC, cable. desaix@verizon.net, 212-473-9472.

France, Paris-Marais: Exquisite, sunny, quiet one-bedroom apartment behind Place des Vosges. King-size bed, living/dining room, six chairs, full kitchen, washer, dryer, weekly maid service, WiFi, \$1350 weekly. max@gwu.edu

Ile St-Louis: Elegant, spacious, top floor, skylighted apartment, gorgeous views overlooking the Seine, 2 bedrooms sleep 4, 2 baths, elevator, well-appointed, full kitchen, WiFi. 678-232-8444. truff@mindspring.com

Italy/Todi: Luxurious 8BR, 7.5BA villa, amazing views, infinity pool, olives, lavender, grapes, vegetable garden, housekeeper, A/C, Wi-Fi. Photos/prices/availability: VRBO.com, #398660. Discount — Princetonians. 914-320-2865. MarilynGasparini@aol.com, p'11.

Paris, Tuileries Gardens: Beautifully-appointed, spacious, 1BR queen, 6th floor, elevator, concierge. karin.demorest@gmail.com, w*49.

Aix-en-Provence: Cours Mirabeau, heart of town. 2 bedroom apartment, garage, wifi, terrace. Perfect for exploring Provence. \$1,450/week. greatfrenchrentals@comcast.net

Paris 16th: Live le charme discret de la bourgeoisie. Spacious one-bedroom apartment, 6th floor, elevator, metro Mirabeau. Perfect for sabbaticals. trips@frenchtraveler.com

Paris 7th: Fifth floor, quiet, studio sleeps 3. Balcony. View Eiffel Tower. www.parisgrenelle.com, 207-752-0285.

England, Cotswolds: 3BR stone cottage, quiet country village near Broadway and Stratford-upon-Avon. Information: www.pottersfarmcottage.com, availability: pottersfarmcottage@msn.com

Provence: Delightful five-bedroom stone farmhouse, facing Roman theater. Pool, WiFi. 860-672-6608. www.Frenchfarmhouse.com

Paris, South Pigalle: Bright, spacious (600 sq ft) 1BR (queen). Fully-equipped kitchen, rain shower, washer/dryer, WiFi, TV. 2-floor walkup, 19th c. building, exposed beams. Sleeper sofa available. « SoPi » is the new Marais! k'54, k'80, k'92. linda.eglin.mayer@orange.fr

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Bahamas, Eleuthera. Beachfront villa, 4BR, 5BA, swim, snorkel, fish. www.heronhill.net

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Blaze at Whig Hall

John S. Weeren

Fire has taken a toll on Princeton's campus, most notably in 1802 and 1855, when Nassau Hall was gutted. The first half of the 20th century was inauspicious, with flames consuming Marquand Chapel and Dickinson Hall in 1920, the John C. Green School of Science in 1928, and the University Gymnasium in 1944, but only one major conflagration has occurred since then: the destruction of Whig Hall on Nov. 9, 1969.

The neoclassical edifice and its sister, Clio Hall, had graced the University's architectural landscape since 1893, replacing similar structures erected in 1838. But around 5:30 a.m., proctors discovered a blaze that would reduce the home of the American Whig-Cliosophic Society to a roofless shell.

Although the fire was blamed on "human carelessness" — likely a cigarette — the editors of *The Daily Princetonian* also reproached the University for not doing more to safeguard the building, noting, "The smoke sensors now being installed in dormitories did not exist in Whig Hall. ... Only fire extinguishers — helpful only in the smallest blazes — were provided."

Officers made a valiant attempt to

combat the fire in this way, but it took the efforts of three fire departments to quench the flames, which at their most intense shot 20 feet into the air. Mercifully, no one was injured, and according to the *Prince*, firefighters managed to remove "about 25 paintings, six typewriters, an Addressograph machine, and 26 captain's chairs." But "several choice paintings, a movie projector, a color television set, and the Society's new \$400 pool table" were lost.

The reconstruction of Whig Hall took three years and proved contentious, both in terms of its insurance valuation and architectural design. Recognizing that the cost of replicating its richly ornamented interior would be prohibitive, Whig-Clio President Christopher G. Lee '70 predicted the building would feature "a charming mixture of concrete and plastic," but even the prescient could not have guessed its future sobriquet, the "Yellow Submarine" — a nod to the color of many of its doors and their porthole-like openings. ♦

John S. Weeren is founding director of Princeton Writes and a former assistant University archivist.

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